E 11 91



Waldenses fleeing from the burning village.—P. 88.

THE BOOK OF MARTYRS

BEING A HISTORY OF THE

PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS,

CAREFULLY COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT STATE PAPER OFFICE, AND KNOWN AS THE "ACTS AND MONUMENTS" OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

JOHN FOXE

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, AND A PREFACE BY

REV. S. G. POTTER, D.D.



LONDON:
WALTER SCOTT, 14 PATERNOSTER SQUARE,
AND NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.
1883.

Preface.

IT is "most necessary that the church, by doctrine and decree, all princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever the facts and opinions tending to support the same—'The worse than the devil's blasphemy.'" These words just quoted are the words of the calm, judicious, wise, and learned Lord Bacon, in his essay on Religion, written of, and applied to the religion of Rome—Popery, as it is called in our statute books—which at the present day many Englishmen seem to be so enamoured of that they not only propose a union with it, but a return thereto, in order that the halcyon days of a mediæval millenium may return.

Considering all that Englishmen have suffered from "the great apostacy" in days gone by, in the trial they had of her "cruel mockings and scourgings, tortures, bonds, and imprisonments;" considering how, when she had the power, Rome made the iron enter into their soul; considering that, terrible as were the pagan persecutions of the early church, when Pagan Rome, the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, cast out of his mouth a flood to devour the symbolical woman representing the church of Christ, these "pale their ineffectual fires" in presence of the lurid light of those flames that issued from the

pyres of the Reformation Martyrs; considering all this, we say it is marvellous that these terrible endurances and sufferings should ever be in danger of being forgotten, if not disbelieved. Yet so it is. Rome, taking advantage of our glorious and boasted doctrine of civil and religious liberty, has urged her claims to its enjoyment, and has invoked liberty against liberty but too successfully; and though all Europe, not even excepting Italy, and even a Pope (Ganganelli), upon the principle of self-protection, have banished the Jesuits—Rome's train-bands, plotters of mischief, sowers of sedition, hatchers of treason, and executioners of her vengeance, when the time for it arrives they have been permitted, in defiance of statute law—the "Catholic Relief Act" of 1829, agreed to by the Romanists themselves, and accepted as a boon—to nestle in our bosom, to infest our seats of learning, to poison the mind of our youth, and to throw discredit and disgrace upon the greatest effort ever made by man to emancipate himself from that mental thraldom which "confines the intellect and enslaves the soul;" and that physical bondage, combined therewith, compared to which pagan slavery was but a "trifle light as air."

Of what pagan persecutions, and woes, and religions was it ever written in the word of inspiration that these "reached up to heaven?" of what pagan religion was it ever said that "in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth?" This is the language used of "Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth," Rev. xviii. That this refers to Rome is admitted even by Romanists themselves in the notes to their Rhenish testament; but they say it was of Pagan Rome it was said, and assert the impossibility of the application to Papal Rome, on the ground, not that she has not "slain" her tens of thousands, when Pagan Rome had but slain her thousands, but (will it be credited?) on the ground that Protestant heretics are not saints. See the following comment on Rev. xvii. 6—"And I saw the woman drunken with the BLOOD of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus" (the words "Protestants" and "martyrs" are of similar signification—*i.e.*, witnesses for the truth). The note is as follows:—"Drunken with blood"—"The Protestants foolishly expound it of Rome, for that they put heretics to death, and allow of their punishment in other countries; but their blood is not called the blood of saints, no more than the blood of thieves, man-killers, and

other malefactors, for the shedding of which by order of justice no commonwealth shall answer!" And Dr. Cullen's Bible, published in 1857, has a note on Rev. xvii., referring this terrible picture of Babylon to *Rome*, but to Pagan Rome. To her it cannot possibly refer, for two reasons—first, the pagan persecutions had been referred to previously at large; and as the symbolism of that wonderful book (for the study of which a special blessing is promised, Rev. i. 3—"Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of the books of this prophecy")—as that symbolism is a foreshadowing of the terrible consecutive persecutions to be endured by the church of the living God, the reduplication of the reference to Pagan Rome is not legitimate. But secondly, this reference to the text of Rev. xviii. to Pagan Rome will prove too much; for it is said, *after the fall of Babylon, she* "*is become* the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird"—*i.e.*, upon the Romish principle of interpretation, this was to be the picture of Rome Papal, which succeeded to Rome Pagan.

Persecution, tyranny, intolerance are the attributes of every false religion; that the great "apostasy" from the Christian faith was thus also to be characterised, we learn plainly from the forewarning of our Lord—"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I am not come to send peace, but a *sword*." Again, "The time cometh that whoso killeth you will think that he doeth God service." The antichristian system was predicted under the symbol of a "wild beast" by both Daniel, the "beloved seer," and John, the "beloved apostle;" and the dominating antichrist was foreshadowed by the former under the symbol of a "*little* HORN"—that is, a miniature quasi-secular power, which was "to wear out the saints of the *Most High*," and "think to change time and *laws*." That this system was the Papacy, and that this antichrist was the Pope, is declared by the *law of England*, and is the uniform and *authoritative* testimony of the churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland—a fact which should never be lost sight of. The church of England in one of her homilies—that against wilful rebellion, sixth part, which our articles declare contain "a godly and a wholesome doctrine," and which is law—speaks thus—"In King John's time the Bishop of Rome, understanding the brute blindness, ignorance of God's word, and superstition of Englishmen, and how much they were inclined to worship the BABYLONICAL BEAST OF ROME, and to fear all his threatenings and causeless

cursings, he abused them thus, and by their rebellion brought this noble realm of England under his *most cruel* tyranny."

Again, in her homily against peril of idolatry, part third, speaking of Romish miracles, she says—"For the scriptures have, for a warning hereof, foreshowed that the kingdom of ANTICHRIST shall be mighty in miracles and wonders, to the strong illusion of all the reprobate." Again—"Who if they saw her (*i.e.*, the Roman Church), I will not say naked, but in simple apparel, would abhor her as the foulest and filthiest harlot that ever was seen; *according as appeareth* by the description of the great strumpet of all strumpets, the *mother of whoredom*, set forth by St. John in his Revelation."

The Church of Ireland, in her authorised articles of A.D. 1615, thus speaks—"80. The Bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, that his works and doctrines do plainly discover him to be that MAN OF SIN foretold in the holy scriptures, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall abolish with the brightness of His coming."

So likewise the Church of Scotland, in her Confession of Faith, xxv. 6—"There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof, but is that antichrist, that MAN OF SIN, and SON OF PERDITION, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God." The Waldenses, that noble church, which, on the testimony of the Jesuits themselves, reaches back nearly to, if not entirely to, the days of the apostles, held the same. Reinerius Saccho, in 1254, declared that the Waldenses asserted that "THE CHURCH OF ROME IS THE HARLOT OF THE APOCALYPSE."

All this seems by many Englishmen to have been forgotten, and the memories of Rome's dark deeds to have been fading from the nation's heart and intelligence, as if Rome was changed. Yet the very last Pope, Gregory XVI., pronounced the doctrine of religious liberty as "indifference in religion" and liberty of conscience a "raving madness, a pestilential error;" the liberty of the press, "that worst and never to be sufficiently execrated and detested liberty of the press" (Gregory XVI., encyclical to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, August 1832); and a living Pope, Pius IX., says he "hath

taken this principle for basis that the Catholic religion, with all its rights, ought to be *exclusively dominant*, in such sort that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted." See his allocution to the cardinals of the Church of Rome, September 1851.

But it will be said, "What fear have we in this nineteenth century of a recurrence of the dark days and deeds of Papal tyranny?" I reply, that Rome has not abated one jot of her pretensions, which, perhaps, might be of little importance; but though driven out, disestablished, and disendowed in every country in Europe, she finds here, in Protestant England, factors, co-conspirators, in church and state, who, either bewitched by her sorceries and spells wherewith she has more than once bewitched the nations, or fancying that they see in her compact organisation, and demoralising teaching, a fit engine for enslaving men, making them subservient subjects, and easy to be ruled, and exalting to a superhuman and blasphemous eminence the priesthood, welcome her back, and care not though, in exalting themselves, they extinguish liberty, yea, even Christianity itself! Alas! alas! "How is the mighty fallen!"

The *Univers* newspaper, the late Dr. Wiseman's paper, not long since contained an article to this effect:—"The heresy of Huss cost Protestantism 100,000 lives; the heresy of Wcyliffe cost her 100,000 lives; the heresy of Luther cost 100,000 lives, AND IT IS NOT YET OVER; WE ARE ON THE EVE OF A RECOMMENCEMENT"!! Tractarians and Ritualists, co-conspirators with Rome, are preparing Englishmen to imbrue their hands again in the blood of their fellow-countrymen. Writing of the Papal persecutions, Mr. Palmer, fellow of St. Magdalen's College, Oxford, says—"So, then, if there has been much and terrible misapplication of the principle of persecution in the West, this has been owing to the fault of particular rulers and governments; NOT TO ANYTHING FALSE OR EVIL IN THE PRINCIPLE ITSELF; nor to the church, which, as such, merely teaches princes the abstract truth, that it is their duty to protect their subjects against heresy, no less than against robbery and murder!"—Masters, London, 1853. The claims made by Rome, and by all who sympathise with her, are unaltered, and she is ready again to send her executioners forth, with sword and crucifix, with "torches and weapons," to do to death all "heretics and rebels against our lord the Pope." This is ordered to be sworn by every bishop; she is ready to re-enact the

scenes of Vassy, the Sicilian Vespers, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Dragonades of France, and the bloody scenes of the Irish rebellion of 1641, writing of which latter Lamartine says, in his work *Angleterre*, 1559—"The massacre of St. Bartholomew, the days of September, the proscriptions of Rome under Marius, or *of France during the Reign of Terror*, did not equal the barbarities with which the Irish of these provinces stained the character of their race, and tarnished the annals of their country. . . . They put in practice tortures the most cruel and the most lingering which the imaginations of cannibals even could not have invented. They prolonged the agonies of either sex to prolong their own delight. They allowed blood to flow, drop by drop, and life to escape by slow degrees, more fully to satiate their own fury." And he adds—"We can account for heaven's long curse on Ireland. No person can for one moment justify tyranny, but a nation which has to atone for such slaughter cannot accuse the acts of her oppressors without bringing back to remembrance her own evil deeds. The misfortunes of a nation are not always the fault of her conquerors; it is sometimes vengeance, resulting from her own crimes." This is true and dispassionate history, written by a Roman Catholic historian; how different the account given by the present Premier of England, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in order to justify his iniquitous legislation and Popish leanings, and the atrocious sentiment uttered by him in Lancashire, that the Protestant Church was one branch of the Upas tree of Protestant ascendancy, which, with its deadly blight and poison, paralysed the national life.

The republication of this book of *Foxe's Martyrs* is, indeed, timely, when between haughty, confident, and encouraged Romanism, and insinuating Jesuitical, and equally diabolical Ritualism, we are in danger once more of being developed into a nation of idolaters. This book was, by the canons of 1571, ordered to be placed in all bishop's halls and eating rooms, and, with the old English Bible, and Jewell's *Apology*, to be in all the parish churches for reading by the people, till Archbishop Laud ordered them away. While these were kept there, and while the first English canon was obeyed by the clergy, which orders that Romanism shall be publicly preached against and exposed *at least four times* a-year to the scorn of English protestants, the people were kept sound in the faith, England was honoured and respected, and "the fear of her was upon the nations round about," so that as in the case of Jehosaphat of old, they made no war on England:

but now, owing to her cessation of protest, through her wicked traduction of the martyrs' memories, she is in danger of being once more handed over to that judicial blindness, which fails to see in Rome's bosom the lap of Delilah, or in Rome's sorcercies the "wine-cup of abomination," and all Romanists hate, despise, and no longer dread her.

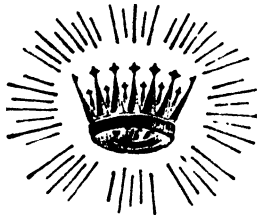
No history has ever been so severely tried as the *Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, and no book has ever come out of such remorseless criticism with such glory and advantage. Knowing its terrible effect, if uncontradicted and circulated, the Papists have denied its facts, scurrilously called it *Foxe's Golden Legend*, charged it with lies. Parsons, a Jesuit, accused Foxe of spoiling the Bishops' Registers and ancient records, and destroying them, "as we *presume*," so that he could not be convicted of his lies. But this charge, which was true of Polydore Virgil, the *Romish* historian in the days of Henry VII., falls pointless on Foxe; he had his facts chiefly from "living witnesses;" his letters, which are to be seen in the British Museum, prove his great care to commit nothing to history but the exact truth, as well as the pains he took by travelling to the very places spoken of, to learn the truth on the spot. Dr. Wordsworth has examined the ancient records used by Foxe, and says, in his preface to his *Ecclesiastical Biography:* "These writings (of the Papists) have not proved, and it never will be proved, that John Foxe is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Foxe's melancholy narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken." Neal, the Puritan historian, commends it; so does Brook, in his *Lives of the Puritans*. The neglect of the writings of such men as Foxe is discreditable to the English people, whose name and fame have been glorified by the laborious lives, gigantic intellect, and herculean labours of such men as he, the giants of the Reformation era.

We cannot too highly praise the laudable effort to circulate broadcast the history of the agonies and torments endured by our martyred forefathers, who "counted not their life dear unto them, so that they might finish their course with joy," and hand down to us, their children, unimpaired the glorious legacy of "civil and religious liberty" which they won with their blood. He who "putteth the brethren in mind of these things shall be a good minister of Jesus Christ," 1 Tim. iv. 6.

The political advance of Romanism to power in this country by the abolition of tests and oaths, and the gradual removal of all the fences and securities with which our church and faith were hedged in ; the preparation to go still further in this direction by the repealing the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," and by the abolition of the oath of the *Queen's Supremacy!*—which has been abolished ; the handing over education in Ireland to Rome ; and the proposal of Mr. Gladstone last session to *legalise the Jesuit order* in this country, by removing the clause of the Act of 1829, that makes them illegal here ; the demand to change the Coronation Oath, and open the throne to Romanists, openly demanded by English and Irish Roman Catholic bishops, on the plea that "religious equality" will not have been fully established till then—may well make English Protestants awake and rub their eyes. God grant that when they do thus awake, and seek "to go out and shake themselves," they may not find that their "strength is departed."

S. G. POTTER, D.D.

ST. LUKE'S VICARAGE, SHEFFIELD,
May 1873.



MEMOIR OF JOHN FOXE.

IN 1517, when Luther's public exposure of the errors and superstitions of the Roman Catholic Church was beginning to attract the attention and arouse the sympathies of enlightened men throughout Europe, John Foxe, afterwards destined to become the historian of the persecutions which preceded the establishment of the Reformation, was born in the town of Boston, in Lincolnshire. His parents were of good repute and comfortable circumstances. His father died when he was very young; and his mother marrying again, he was fortunate in finding a step-father who taught him to lead a pure and godly life, and superintended his education.

At the age of sixteen he removed to Brazenose College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by his attention to his studies and the propriety of his life. After taking the degrees of Master and Bachelor of Arts with credit, he was elected a fellow of Magdalen College.

Originally a devoted follower of the Roman Catholic Church, his increased acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and biography awakened in his active and inquiring mind grave doubts as to the purity of the doctrine and practice of the church. Apart from the unsettling of the convictions and beliefs of his early years, which to a young and ardent mind like that of Foxe would be a matter of extreme disquiet, the adoption of views at variance with those of the priest-

hood subjected him to danger and difficulties, the nature of which will be readily understood by readers of his great work, the *Book of Martyrs*. He was not long a resident in Magdalen College before he became an object of suspicion. His son tells us that "he used, besides his day's exercises, to bestow the whole nights at his study, or not to betake himself to his rest till very late. Near the college was a grove, where, for the pleasantness of the place, the students used to walk, and spend some hours in recreation. This place, and the dead time of night, Mr. Foxe chose, with the solemnity of darkness and solitude, to confirm his mind, which, as a newly-enlisted soldier, trembled at the guilt of a new imagination. . . . How many nights he watched in these solitary walks, what combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself, how many heavy sighs, sobs, and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God, I had rather be spared, lest it savour of ostentation. But of necessity it was to be remembered, because from thence sprang the first suspicion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, but the more understanding sort, out of their own wisdom, others, according as they stood inclined towards him, interpreted all to the worst sense. At length some were employed, who, under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry into his words and actions. These wanted not others to aggravate the facts. Why should he not come to church so often as he had been accustomed? Why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself in his accustomed manner?"

Finding that he was become an object of suspicion to the authorities of his college, Foxe was too upright to attempt to conceal the change which had come over his opinions, and as a consequence, he was either removed from his fellowship, or finding (which is more likely) his position irksome and untenable, he resigned his position, and returned to the house of his father-in-law at Boston.

His step-father had no sympathy with the new opinions which Foxe had formed, after much pain and tribulation. He was so enraged against him that he drove him from his house, and taking advantage of the cruel laws against heretics, withheld his patrimony, thus turning him upon the world penniless and friendless. Foxe himself has left little record of his trials and experiences during several years after his departure from Oxford. We gather that he resided for a few years as tutor with Sir Thomas Lucy, a gentleman of advanced religious opinions, in Warwickshire. While in this position he met and married

the daughter of a citizen of Coventry. The persecution of the priests drove him from the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, and he found an asylum with his wife's father for a time, and also with his step-father, who had somewhat relented towards him, although the assistance he rendered to him was very inconsiderable.

On the abandonment of the persecutions against heretics, about the commencement of the reign of Edward VI., Foxe removed to London in search of preferment, where, being scantily provided with means, and finding no employment, he suffered great privations. One of his biographers relates a singular experience which he had when his distress had reached a climax. "As Master Foxe one day sat in Paul's church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin and eyes hollow, after the ghastly manner of dying men, everyone shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before; who, sitting by him and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, adding that he knew not how great were the misfortunes which oppressed him, but suspected it was no light calamity. He should, therefore, accept in good part from his countryman that small gift which his courtesy enforced him to offer; he should go and make much of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; adding, that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood." Foxe never could learn to whom he was indebted for this relief, though he earnestly endeavoured to ascertain. Some believe that the bearer was sent by others who were anxious for the welfare of Foxe. However that might be, in a few days he was invited to reside with the Duchess of Richmond, to become tutor to the grandsons of the Duke of Norfolk, then a prisoner in the Tower. With this family Foxe lived at Reigate till after the death of Edward VI., having under his charge Thomas, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, Henry, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and Jane, Countess of Westmoreland; all of whom made considerable progress under his tuition. Herein was a remarkable instance of the interference of divine Providence. The old Duke of Norfolk was a papist, but the Duchess of Richmond, the aunt to the Earl of Surrey, was favourably inclined to the truth. During his residence at Reigate, Foxe did not confine his labours to the family wherein he was tutor. On 24th June 1550 he received ordination from Bishop Ridley. At that time he was living with the Duchess of Suffolk. From a dedication to the translation of his *Christ Triumphant*, by Richard Day, afterwards minister of

Reigate, it also appears that Foxe preached the gospel in that neighbourhood, and was instrumental in the removing of popish idolatries.

Day, writing to the Earl of Northampton, the son of one of Foxe's pupils, says :—

"In the time of his youth, and under the wings of that great Lord of Reigate, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, he may be truly said to plant the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ there ; to that work he was encouraged and maintained, without fee or salary from any other than of you honourable house of Howard. To their great honour be it spoken, he was the first man that ever preached the gospel in that place, even when idolatry was yet in great strength. Exceedingly did his free and voluntary labours fructify among them, for many were there converted from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God—witness thereof the old superstitious and idolatrous Lady of Ouldsworth, an idol saint, who was worshipped at Reigate in place of God, for the miraculous power of saving health. Ouldsworth was an honourable man among the old English Saxons. There are of the name in London to this hour ; but this old saint lost her name, her place, her power, and friarly false miracles there, through the ministry of this good man."

Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, when those parties who were favourable to the doctrines of the reformed religion were being persecuted to the death by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese Foxe was, he was compelled to seek safety in flight. He escaped to Newport, in Flanders, and from thence went to Basle, where, along with several others of his countrymen, he was employed as a corrector of the press, Basle at that time ranking high as a seat of the printing art.

While at Basle, and in the employment of Oporinus, a celebrated printer, he commenced his *Church History*, and issued portions of it from time to time. He also wrote an earnest appeal to the nobility of England on behalf of the Protestants, and translated Cranmer's answer to *Gardiner on the Sacrament.* In his great work he was assisted by many eminent adherents of the Protestant cause, the most notable of these were Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, then a fugitive at Strasburg, and Aylmer, tutor to Lady Jane Grey, and afterwards Bishop of London.

It was some time after the death of Queen Mary before Foxe returned to England. This was partly owing to the straitness of his

means, and his being engaged on the *Acts and Monuments.* The poverty of his circumstances at this time may be guessed from the following extract from a letter addressed to his former pupil, the Duke of Norfolk :—

"I have so often written to your highness, that I am ashamed to trouble you with more letters. Yet I so well know the ingenuous kindness of your disposition, that I am persuaded there would be no necessity for my petition, if will only was needful. But, perhaps, these times present impediments, hindering you from sending to us, and me from venturing to urge my requests to you. I cannot think that it is from forgetfulness of us, or from any undue feelings of your own importance, that for so long a period you have not sent assistance to us. But whatever may be the cause why your liberality has thus ceased, this I know, my beloved Thomas, that it is most easy for you, possessing such abundance of all things, to impart some small pension to us from your large expenditure. More earnest entreaties would be needful where there was less disposition to confer benefits, but you always appeared more ready to bestow of your own accord than on account of the prayer of others ; and I think that my disposition is well known to you, as so averse to importunate craving, that I would sooner perish with hunger."

It is pleasant to think that the appeal of the suffering scholar and Christian was not made in vain. The Duke replied :—

"I have received your letters, my excellent preceptor, from whence I learn your affection towards me, and prize it highly. If the return of my servants had not preceded my letters, you should have been with me long since. For I wrote to them that I should so provide you with all things, that you might speedily come to me, and this would have been done had they not returned sooner than I expected. Now, since I shall myself soon be in London, I would that you should await me there, when, as I desire, and as I ought, I shall look to you. In the meantime, farewell."

This letter was written in October 1559, and shortly after that date the Duke took Foxe into his household, where he remained, or at any rate received of his bounty up till the period of the Duke getting into trouble in consequence of his espousing the cause of Mary, Queen of Scots, which brought him to the scaffold in 1572. The Duke not only assisted him in maintaining himself and family, but spent large sums in printing the *Martyrology.* Foxe warned him in vain of the danger he ran in intriguing with Queen Mary and her partisans ; and as a last testimony of respect for his old pupil and benefactor, he accompanied him to the scaffold, and comforted him in his last moments. The

Duke left a small pension to Foxe, which he enjoyed till the day of his death. His life was an unceasing example of industry, as, in addition to his great work, he published many treatises on religious topics and questions of church ceremonial and discipline. The only preferment he would accept was a prebend's stall at Salisbury, although many men in power who greatly respected his character and attainments would gladly have exerted themselves on his behalf. He objected to several of the canons and ceremonies, retained with a view to induce as many Romanists as possible to conform to the new order of things; and when asked to subscribe to these by Bishop Grindal, he took a copy of the Greek Testament from his pocket and said, "To this I will subscribe." And poor as he was, he was ready to give up his modest preferment rather than act contrary to his convictions. "I have nothing," he said, "save a prebend at Salisbury, and if you take it away from me, much good may it do you."

The bishop was unwilling to proceed to extremes, but as Foxe on several occasions, and notably in a sermon on Christ crucified, preached at Paul's Cross, stoutly maintained his opinions, he was threatened with a compulsory penance for his boldness. This drew from Foxe two remarkable letters in his own defence, which have been preserved. In the first he is curious to know "who could have instigated Grindal to think of crucifying him at Paul's Cross." After dealing with his own unworthiness and incapacity, he says—"In fairness consider how unequally this will press upon me, when, as I believe, there never yet was ass or mule so weighed down and overdone by carrying burdens as I have long been by literary labours; every day employed in investigating and drawing forth the contents of writers, reading copies, and reading them again, and putting together materials which may be of public benefit to the church. By these labours I am almost worn out, not to speak of ill-health and want of books; yet amidst all these labours and defects which I have narrated, I am summoned in addition to St. Paul's Cross, the celebrated spot, where, like an ape among cardinals, I shall be received with derision, or driven away by the hisses of the auditory."

The allusion to his spent and worn-out body was no figure of speech. Years of incessant literary labour, and many of them marked by narrow circumstances, had worn him to the mere skeleton of his former self, so that even those who had been among his familiar acquaintances failed to recognise him. After his return from exile, when his pecuniary circumstances were so much improved, the habit of incessant appli-

cation to literary work of various kinds had so grown upon him that he could not be induced to afford himself the slightest relaxation.

The differences and controversies which arose in the reformed church as to forms and ceremonials were to him a source of great grief. A letter of his on the subject, addressed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is preserved. What he then said is as necessary and significant in relation to the Church of England, and to other communions of the present day, as it was then. From then till now men have sacrificed themselves, and disturbed the peace of their church, over mere forms. He says—

"The more earnestly I desire the peace and tranquillity of the church, the more am I tortured by their internal differences of opinions and controversies, arisen I know not whence; yet had they sprung from unwarrantable causes they would have troubled me less. But while from light matters occasions are drawn for grievous contentions, and we agitate unnecessary questions, not only is the fruit of brotherly communion lost, but the forces of our enemies are strengthened against us, to whom this our quarrel exhibits a joyful spectacle. How much preferable would it be, that uniting our strength, we should do the work of Christ, and diffuse his faith as widely as possible in the minds of the faithful, contending with the sworn enemies of our salvation rather than with the friends of the faith. I know that much remains among us if we seek to be a perfect church. But herein we should seek to imitate prudent physicians, whose first care is, that the body live, then that it should flourish as well as possible. But we, by a misplaced anxiety, while we strive so earnestly to bring the church to a most perfect rule of reformation, do indeed, by our contentions, cause that it is scarcely to be perceived, or at best very deformed. For what church can be discerned when we have peace neither with friends nor enemies? What peace with God we can have things plainly enough declare. Atheism prevails, lust is unpunished, avarice overcomes, benefices are bought and sold, priests are cold—would that they were cold indeed! The pulpits are silenced, Christ's sheep are fleeced, not fed, His harvest is despised. That it is so may be learned from the labourers themselves, who are either few in number, or for the most part are those who sedulously care for the things which are their own, while scarcely anyone thinks seriously respecting Christ."

Foxe was remarkable for his charity to the poor and needy, and did not hesitate to read his richer friends a sharp lesson as to their duty in this respect. It is told of him that going to call upon his friend Bishop Aylmer, he found a number of poor people outside his gates asking alms, and apparently receiving none. Having no money with him, he passed into the palace, and borrowed five pounds from the bishop, and

returning to the gate, distributed it among the poor people. Some time afterwards the bishop asked Foxe for the money he had borrowed. "I have laid it out for you," said Foxe, "and paid it where you owed it, to the poor people who laid at your gate." The bishop, who was of a charitable disposition, although not so instant in his expression of it as Foxe, smiled, and thanked him for acting as his steward.

His eager and restless mind wore out his originally strong constitution, and he died in his seventieth year, from sheer decay of his physical powers. His son Samuel said of him that "his virtues were fenced about as with a bulwark, by a singular modesty and integrity of life, which suffered not anything to enter into his manners, or to break forth into his actions, without first diligently examining whether it might beseem him or not. Having this always before him, if at any time by human frailty aught within began to be shaken, he quickly forsook it before the matter proceeded."

Of his great work, the *Book of Martyrs*, it need only be said here that it has stood the test of friendly and unfriendly criticism for three hundred years, and remains the most striking monument to a life of painstaking research and truthfulness of which we have any knowledge in the annals of literary labour.

The first edition appeared at a time when the production of such a work subjected its author to the abuse and malice, not only of his Catholic countrymen, but of many who were only half-hearted Protestants. It had the good fortune, however, not only to meet with acceptance from the multitude, who naturally read with avidity the records of the cruel persecution which their fathers had suffered for holding religious opinions which were only then half tolerated, simply because the flower of the country had embraced it; but among the learned it was hailed as a masterly exposure of the cruelty and the bigotry of the Church of Rome, and a monument to the industry and integrity of its author. In his own day, and down to the present time, its singular honesty and fairness as a record of facts have been the subject of remark by the learned and the wise. Bishop Burnet, who was also a narrator of events connected with the Reformation, after premising that he had compared it with many of the authorities, says that he "had never been able to observe any prevarications or errors in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness." Neale, in his *History of the Puritans*, says—"No book ever gave such a mortal wound to Popery as this. It was dedicated to the queen, and was in such high reputation that it was ordered to be set up in churches; where it

raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion which had shed so much innocent blood." Strype records that "great was the expectation of the book in England before it came abroad. . . . Foxe was an indefatigable searcher into old registers, and left them as he found them, after he had made his collections and transcriptions out of them, many whereof I have seen and do possess. And it was his interest that they should remain and be seen by posterity; therefore we frequently find references to them in the margins of his book. Many have diligently compared his books with registers and council books, and have always found them faithful." Brooke remarks that "*The Acts and Monuments* of the martyrs have long been, and will always continue, substantial pillars of the Protestant Church, and of more force than many volumes of bare arguments to withstand the tide of Popery; and, like a Pharos, should be lighted up in every age, as a warning to all posterity." A high authority in our own time, Dr. Wordsworth, in his *Ecclesiastical Biography*, says—"That it has not been proved, and it never will be proved, that John Foxe is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. We know too much of the strength of Foxe's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by such censures than to charge them with falsehood."

In reproducing Foxe's famous book in a manner worthy of its high reputation, these certificates to its truth and fairness are not uncalled for in an age of toleration, in which the Romish Church has been permitted to set its marvellous and complex machinery in motion for the recovery of the position lost by it in this country three hundred years ago. The able men who direct its operations at the present day, vie with each other in their professions of apostolic fervour and meekness, until it is hard to believe that they are the successors of the men who then practised such cruelties in a hopeless endeavour to suppress the highest aspirations of which mankind are capable. The beacon light which brought into startling prominence the horrors perpetrated by Romanism three hundred years ago, and did much towards bringing about the downfall of that system of superstition and persecution, should remind us that if she has less power over the bodies of mankind now, the Romish Church exercises the same baneful influence over their minds.

J. S. R.

THE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING WITH THE TIME OF WYCLIFFE.

JOHN WYCLIFFE.

THERE were not a few by whom it pleased the Lord to work against the Bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friars; but our countryman was specially raised up to detect more fully and amply the poison of the Pope's doctrine, and the false religion set up by the friars. In his opinion some blemishes perhaps may be observed, yet they are such blemishes as rather show him to be a man that might err, than one who could directly fight against Christ our Saviour, as the popes and friars did; and from the primitive ages of the church, what learned man has been so perfect, so absolutely sure, that no opinion of his has ever been erroneous? And yet these articles of his would be seen to be neither so many in number, nor yet so gross in themselves, as his enemies give them out to be, if his books which they destroyed were remaining to be compared with those articles which they have wrested to the worst.

This much is certain, and cannot be denied, that he, being the public reader of divinity to the University of Oxford, was, for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great clergyman, a deep scholar, and no less expert in all kinds of philosophy; which not only appears by his famous and learned writings, but also by the confession of Walden, his most cruel and bitter enemy, who, in a letter written to Pope Martin V., says, "that he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons, etc." When the

world was in a most desperate and vile state, and lamentable darkness and ignorance of God's truth overshadowed the whole earth, this man stepped out like a valiant champion.

Thus does Almighty God continually succour and help us, when all things else are in despair, being always, according to the Psalm, "a help in time of need." This was never more apparent than in these later days of the church, when the whole state, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was depraved and corrupted. The state of religion amongst the divines was in a deep lethargy, and past all the help and remedy of man. Only the name of Christ remained among the Christians; His true and lively doctrine was as far unknown to most men as His name was common to all men. As to faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, our impotency and weakness, the Holy Ghost, the greatness and strength of sin, true works, grace, and free justification by faith, the liberty of a Christian man; of all these things wherein consists the sum of our profession, there was no mention, and scarcely a word spoken. Scripture, learning, and divinity, were known but to a few, and that in the schools only, and there also it was almost all turned into sophistry. The world, leaving and forsaking God's spiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed, so that scarcely anything else was taught in the churches.

The whole world was filled and overwhelmed with error and darkness. And no great wonder, for the simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the holy scripture, thought it sufficient for them to know only these things which were delivered to them by their pastors and shepherds; and they, on the other hand, taught nothing else but such things as came forth from the court of Rome, of which the greater part tended to the profit of their order more than to the glory of Christ.

The Christian faith was nothing then, but that every man should know that Christ once suffered—that is to say, that all men should know and understand that which the devils themselves also knew. Hypocrisy was counted for wonderful holiness. Men were so given to outward forms, that even they who professed the knowledge of the scriptures scarcely understood or knew anything but these forms. And this appeared not only in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captains of the church, whose whole religion and holiness consisted in the observing of days, meats, and garments, and such circumstances as of place, time, person, etc. From this there sprang so many fashions of vestures and garments, so many differences of colours and meats, so many pilgrimages to several places—as if St. James at Compostella could do that which Christ could not do at Canterbury; or else, that God was not of the same power and strength in every place, or could not be found, unless by running hither and thither in the pilgrimages, etc. Thus the holiness of the whole year was transported and put off to the Lent season. No country or land was counted holy, but only Palestine. Such was the

blindness of that time, that men did strive and fight for the cross at Jerusalem, as if it had been for the chief and only strength of our faith. It is a wonder to read the monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this cross had caused in almost every Christian commonwealth. For the Romish champions never ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea, and by quarrelling, to move and stir up princes to mind war and battle, even as though the faith and belief of the gospel were of no power or little effect without that wooden cross.

In these troublous times and horrible darkness of ignorance, when there seemed to be no spark of pure doctrine remaining, this Wycliffe sprang up by God's providence. He was born in Yorkshire in 1324.

After he had a long time professed divinity in the University of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Christ's gospel to be defiled with the inventions of bishops, orders of monks, and dark errors, and after long deliberating with himself with many secret sighs, and bewailing the general ignorance of the world, could no longer bear it, he at last determined to remedy such things as he saw to be out of the way. But as he saw that this could not be attempted without great trouble, and that these things which had been so long time rooted and grafted in men's minds could not be suddenly plucked up, he thought that it should be done by little and little.

From these beginnings the way was opened to greater matters, so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the sacraments, and other abuses of the church. Touching these things this holy man took great pains, protesting openly in the schools, that it was his chief and principal purpose to call back the church from her idolatry, to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but this sore point could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world. For, first of all, the whole body of monks and begging friars were set into a rage and madness, and, even as hornets with their sharp stings, assailed him on every side. After them the priests, and then after them the archbishop, took the matter in hand, depriving him of his benefice which he had in Oxford; but being somewhat befriended and supported by the king (Edward III.), he continued and bare up against the malice of the friars and of the archbishop till about A.D. 1377.

Through the favour and support of the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Henry Percy, he was protected long against the violence and cruelty of his enemies; but at last the bishops, still urging and inciting their archbishop, Simon Sudbury, who had already deprived him, and afterwards prohibited him, obtained by process an order of citation to have him brought before them.

The duke having intelligence that Wycliffe was to appear before the bishops, and fearing that he was too weak against such a multitude, called to him out of the orders of friars, four bachelors of divinity, one out of every order, to join them with Wycliffe, for the greater security. When the day was come assigned to Wycliffe to appear (Thursday, the 19th of February), he went accompanied with the four friars, and

the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, Lord Marshal of England.

When they approached the church of St. Paul in London, a great concourse of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was the throng of the multitude, that the lords (notwithstanding all the authority of the high marshal) with great difficulty could get through. The Bishop of London seeing the stir that the lord marshal kept in the church among the people, speaking to the Lord Percy, said, "That if he had known before what authority he would have assumed in the church, he would have stopped him from coming there." At which words the duke answered, "That he would keep such authority there, whether the bishop liked it or not."

At last they pierced through and came to Our Lady's Chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting with the archbishops and other bishops. John Wycliffe, according to the custom, stood before them, to learn what should be laid to his charge. The Lord Percy kindly bade him to sit down; but the Bishop of London, in anger, said, "He should not sit there. Neither was it fitting," said he, "that he who was cited before his ordinary should sit during the time of his answer." On these words a fire began to kindle between them, so that they began to rate and revile one another.

Then the duke, taking Lord Percy's part, answered the bishop with hasty words. The bishop far excelled him in the art of railing; so the duke fell to threatening the bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England; and softly whispering in the ear of the person next him, said that he would rather pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of the church than he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly but that the Londoners overheard him. Upon which they cried out in rage, that they would not suffer their bishop to be abused so contemptuously, but would lose their lives rather than allow him to be drawn out by the hair. Thus that council, being broken up with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine o'clock.

The next year following (A.D. 1378) being the first year of King Richard II., Pope Gregory sent a bull by means of one Master Edmund Stafford, directed to the University of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wycliffe to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine.

The bull concludes thus, "And further (we will and command), that ye apprehend immediately, or cause to be apprehended, the said John Wycliffe, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custody of our well-beloved brethren, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall find any gainsayers, corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your university within your jurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the said errors; that then in like manner ye apprehend them, and commit them to safe custody, and otherwise to do in this case as it shall appertain unto you; so as by your careful proceedings herein, your

negligence past concerning the premises may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not only purchase unto you the favour and benevolence of the See apostolical, but also great reward and merit of Almighty God."

The bishops being again assembled, and Wycliffe being brought before them, they proceeded to examine him, when a certain personage of the prince's court, and yet of no very noble birth, named Lewes Clifford, entering in among the bishops, commanded that they should not proceed with any final sentence against John Wycliffe. At these words they all were so amazed that they became speechless. And thus, by the unforeseen providence of God, John Wycliffe escaped the second time out of the bishops' hands.

During his examination Wycliffe gave in a protestation, with a declaration of his sentiments, some of which were adjudged simply and plainly heretical, others half erroneous, others irreligious, and some seditious and not consonant to the church of Rome.

The Archbishop of Canterbury forthwith directed his letters patent to the Chancellor of Oxford, against John Wycliffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and Laurence Redman, and all others suspected of similar heresy, suspending them from all office, and forbidding them to preach or to be hearkened unto. On the 18th of June 1382, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton were summoned before the archbishop in the presence of many doctors and lawyers, both civil and canon. Their answers to some of the charges against them were adjudged "insufficient, heretical, and subtle;" and their answers to others, "insufficient, erroneous, and perverse." Eight days' space was assigned to them, but failing to appear at the end of it, they (at least the two former) were excommunicated.

The archbishop sent a letter to Master Rigge, commissary at Oxford, straightly enjoining and charging him, not only to denounce the sentence of excommunication and to give out public citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all Oxford for them, to have them apprehended and sent up to him, personally before him to appear at a certain day prescribed for the same. Not contented with this, he solicits the king to join the power of his temporal sword; for he well perceived that as yet the popish clergy had not sufficient authority, by any public law or statute of this land, to proceed unto death against any person in question of religion, but only by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome.

The young king was further induced, by the importunity of the archbishop, to send special letters to the vice-chancellor and proctors of the University of Oxford, in which he straightly and sharply enjoins them to make a general inquisition through the whole university for John Wycliffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and such others; and also for all whom they know or judge to be suspected of that doctrine, or to be maintainers, receivers, and defenders of the parties or their opinions; to the intent that they being so apprehended, may be, within seven days of their admonition, expelled the university,

and cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury; moreover, commanding the vice-chancellor and proctors, with their assistants, that if any person or persons, in any house, hall, or college, or in any other place, shall be found to have any of the books or treatises compiled by John Wycliffe, Nicholas Herford, etc., they will cause the said person or persons to be arrested and attached, and their books to be seized and presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or alteration, to the archbishop, upon their faith and allegiance, as they would avoid the forfeiture of all privileges of the university, etc.

The vice-chancellor (Robert Rigge) connived at the practices and doctrines of the reformers, and encouraged them so long as he could; but being accused for contempt of the archbishop's letters, when he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevail to avoid that danger, humbling himself upon his knees, he desired pardon, which, when he had obtained, by the help of the Bishop of Winchester, he was sent away again with certain commands and suspensions of heretics. Then began the hatred on both sides to appear and develope itself; and all men were offended at these friars and monks, to whom they imputed whatever trouble or mischief was raised up, as to the authors and causers of the same.

Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington, being privately warned by the vice-chancellor, conveyed themselves out of sight, and fled to the Duke of Lancaster; but the duke, whether for fear, or for what cause we cannot say, in the end forsook his poor and miserable clients. Being repulsed by the duke, and destitute of his support, whether they were sent, or of their own accord went to the archbishop, is uncertain; but Reppington was reconciled again to the archbishop, and admitted to the university; and so was also John Ashton, who seems, however, to have been restored to the truth afterwards; for we find him cited and condemned by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury; but whether he died in prison or was burnt we have no certainty.

What became of John Wycliffe all this while is not certainly known. Part of it he spent in exile or in concealment. He discharged the duties of his rectory at Lutterworth for two years with diligence and zeal, and departed this mortal life there in peace, in the beginning of the year 1384. Much of the quiet which he enjoyed was owing no doubt to the schism in the popedom, and the hot wars between Pope Urban VI. and his rival, the French Pope, Clement VII.

But the enemies of the truth would not let him alone, even when he was gone. The council of Constance, assembled to heal the schism by which the church was torn, passed a decree against his writings, which they concluded in these words:—

"Also, we forbid the reading, learning, exposition, or alleging of any of the said books unto all faithful Christians, except so far as shall tend to the reproof of the same; forbidding all and singular catholic persons, under the pain of curse, that from henceforth they be not so hardy, openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any means to allege the said articles, or any of them, except, as foresaid, that it do tend to the reproof of them; commanding all those books, treatises, works, and

volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the synod at Rome, as it is afore expressed. For the execution whereof duly to be observed and done, the said sacred synod doth straightly charge and command the ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look unto the matter, according as it appertaineth unto every man's duty by the canonical laws and ordinances."

The same council in their vain wrath resolved to desecrate his sepulchre.

"The sacred synod declares, determines, and gives sentence, that the said John Wycliffe was a notorious, obstinate heretic, and that he died in his heresy, and that they curse and condemn both him and his memory. This synod also decrees and ordains that the body and bones of the said John Wycliffe, if it might be discerned and known from the bodies of other faithful people, should be taken out of the ground and thrown away far from the burial of any church, according to the canon laws and decrees."

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to see these sage and reverend Catoes occupy their heads about taking up a poor man's body who had been dead and buried for the space of thirty years? and yet, perhaps, they were not able to find his right bones, but took up some other body, and so of a catholic made an heretic! Yet herein Wycliffe had some cause to give them thanks, that they at least spared him so long till he was dead, and gave him so long respite after his death, before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes, which ashes they also took and threw into the river. And so he was resolved into three elements—earth, fire, and water—thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wycliffe for ever. Not much unlike the example of the old Pharisees, who, when they had brought the Lord to the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise again. But these and all other must know, that as there is no counsel against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of the truth, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God, and the truth of His doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn. His doctrines spread widely, and many suffered much persecution for embracing them. But although King Richard allowed himself to be stirred up by Pope Urban, and afterwards by Pope Boniface IX., to publish severe decrees against the favourers of the new doctrines, we do not find that any were put to death during his reign.

SIR WILLIAM SAUTRE.

Richard II. was deposed in the year 1399, and was succeeded by Henry IV. The next year a parliament was held at Westminster, in which one Sir William Sautre, a good man and a faithful priest, inflamed with zeal for true religion, required that he might be heard

for the advantage of the whole realm. But the matter being suspected by the bishops, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the convocation. There, on the 12th day of February A.D. 1400, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his provincial council, objected against him that he had once renounced and abjured, before the Bishop of Norwich, divers and sundry conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that, after such abjuration, he publicly and privately held, taught, and preached the same conclusions, or such like, contrary to the catholic faith, and to the great peril and pernicious example of others. And after this he caused such conclusions, held and preached by Sir William, then and there to be read, in a certain scroll, written in tenor of words as follows:—

"Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, parish priest of the church of St. Scithe the Virgin, in London, publicly and privately doth hold these conclusions under-written.

"1. That he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered on the cross.

"2. That he would sooner worship a temporal king than the wooden cross.

"3. That he would rather worship the bodies of the saints than the very cross of Christ on which he hung, if it were before him.

"4. That he would rather worship a man truly contrite than the cross of Christ.

"5. That he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate than an angel of God.

"6. That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket, or anywhere else, for obtaining of any temporal benefit, he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

"7. That every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God than to say the canonical hours.

"8. That, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remains of the same nature that it was before, neither does it cease to be bread."

On the Friday following Sir William Sautre gave in his answers, which were not deemed satisfactory. When they were read the archbishop inquired whether he had abjured the heresies and errors objected against him, or else had revoked and renounced the conclusions or articles or not? To which he answered and affirmed that he had not. And then the archbishop examined him, especially upon the sacrament of the altar.

First, whether in the sacrament of the altar, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, the bread remains really material or not? To which interrogation Sir William somewhat waveringly answered, that he knew not. He said, however, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life, which came down from heaven. After that the archbishop demanded of him, whether in the sacrament, after the sacramental words, rightly pronounced of the priests, the same bread

remains which was before the words were pronounced or not? And to this question Sir William answered as before, saying that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life. After that the archbishop asked him whether the same material bread before consecration, by the sacramental words of the priest, rightly pronounced, be transubstantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Christ? Sir William said that he knew not what that meant.

And then the archbishop assigned Sir William time to deliberate and more fully to make his answer, till the next day, and continued this convocation then and there till the morrow. Which morrow, to wit—the 19th day of February—being come, the archbishop demanded whether he would stand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirms, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration being rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread, which before in nature was bread, ceases any more to be bread? To this interrogation Sir William said that he would stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrary to the will of God.

He then demanded of him again, what the judgment was concerning the sacrament of the altar? Sir William replied, that after the words of consecration, by the priest duly pronounced, it remained very bread, and the same bread which was before the words spoken. Wherefore, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of the whole convocation, gave sentence against him, and on a future day proceeded to his degradation and actual deposition. This was done step by step; first, as a priest, then as a deacon, then as a sub-deacon, then as an acolyte, then as an exorcist, then as a reader, then as a sexton, till he was thus deprived even of "all and singular manner of commodities of a door-keeper." The solemnity concluded thus:—"Also, in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we have caused thy crown and ecclesiastical tonsure, in our presence, to be razed away, and utterly to be abolished, like to the form of a secular layman; and here we do put upon the head of thee, the aforesaid William, the cap of a secular lay person; beseeching the court aforesaid [the court of the high constable and marshal of England] that they will receive favourably the said William to them thus recommitted."

Thus William Sautre, the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the Pope's kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular layman, was committed to the secular power. The bishops not yet contented, ceased not to call upon the king to cause him to be brought forth to speedy execution. Whereupon the king, too ready to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favours, directs out a terrible decree against William Sautre, and sent it to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to be put in execution, as follows:—"The decree of our sovereign lord the king and his council in the parliament, against a certain new sprung up heretic. To the mayor and sheriffs of London, etc.—Whereas the Reverend Father Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the assent, consent,

and counsel of other bishops, and his brother suffragans, and also of all the whole clergy within his province or diocese, gathered together in his provincial council, the due order of the law being observed in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sautre, sometime chaplain, fallen again into his most damnable heresy, the which beforetime the said William had abjured, thereupon to be a most manifest heretic, and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy, decreeing to leave him to the secular power; and hath really so left him, according to the laws and canonical sanctions set forth in this behalf, and also that our holy mother the church hath no further to do in the premises: we, therefore, being zealous in religion, and reverend lovers of the catholic faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and the laws and liberties of the same, to root out all such errors and heresies out of our kingdom of England, and with condign punishment to correct and punish all heretics or such as be convicted; provided always, that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, such heretics, convicted and condemned in form aforesaid, ought to be burned with fire: we command you, as straightly as we may, or can, firmly enjoining you that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some public or open place within the liberties of your city foresaid (the cause foresaid being published unto the people), to be put into the fire, and there, in the same fire, really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon."

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, insomuch that they have been their slaves and butchers, to slay Christ's poor innocent members. As King Henry IV., who was the deposer of King Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope, so was this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all of them who I find to be burned in the reign of this king.

After the martyrdom of this godly man the rest of the same company began to conceal themselves for fear of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the Pope's prelacy. Such was the reign of this prince, that he was ever terrible to the godly, immeasurable in his actions, and really beloved by very few men; but princes never want flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his reign quiet, but full of trouble, of blood, and misery.

The king, seeing himself so disliked by his subjects, sought to keep in with the clergy and with the Bishop of Rome; and, therefore, he was compelled in all things to serve their humour, as appeared as well in condemning William Sautre, as also in others whom we have now to treat of.

JOHN BADBY.

In A.D. 1409, 1st March, John Badby, a layman, was examined before Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a great number of other lords, both spiritual and temporal.

The principal charge against him was, that he maintained that after the sacramental words spoken by the priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread remains upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the sacramental words spoken of the priests.

When the examination was finished, and all the conclusions were read in the vulgar tongue, the archbishop demanded of him whether he would renounce and forsake his opinions and such conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and the catholic faith? He answered, that according to what he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words which before he had made answer unto. Then the archbishop oftentimes required him, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he would forsake those opinions and conclusions, and that henceforth he would cleave to the catholic faith: which in the audience of all the lords and others that were present he expressly denied and refused.

After all this, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had consulted to what safe keeping John Badby might be committed, it was concluded that he should be put into a certain chamber, or safe house within the mansion of the friars preachers; and then the Archbishop of Canterbury said that he himself would keep the key thereof in the meantime. And when the day was expired, being the 15th day of March, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brethren and suffragans, were assembled in the church of St. Paul, in London, the articles were read by the official of the court of Canterbury, and by the archbishop (in the vulgar tongue) expounded publicly and expressly; and as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended his opinions, and said that while he lived he would never retract the same. The archbishop, considering and weighing that he would in nowise be altered, and seeing, moreover, his countenance stout, and heart confirmed, so that he began to persuade others, as it appeared, proceeded to confirm and ratify the former sentence given by the Bishop of Worcester against John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and public heretic. And thus they delivered him to the secular power; and hypocritically desired the temporal lords then and there present, that they would not put John Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death in the presence of all the lords.

These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoon, in the afternoon the king's writ was not far behind. John Badby, still persevering in his constancy unto the death, was brought into

Smithfield, and there being put in an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him. As he was thus standing in the barrel, it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, was present; who, showing some part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour to save the life of him whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings which might have daunted any man's courage.

In the meantime the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, brought with all solemnity the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and so showed the sacrament to the poor man at the stake. When they demanded of him how he believed in it, he answered, That he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the barrel put over him, and fire put to him. When he felt the fire, he cried, Mercy, calling upon the Lord, and so the prince immediately commanded to take away the barrel and quench the fire. The prince's commandment being obeyed, he asked him if he would forsake heresy and take to the faith of holy church? which if he would do, he should have goods enough, promising also a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury. But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, refused the offer of worldly promises, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when he continued unmovable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the barrel, and that he must not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant champion of Christ, he persevered to the end—not without a great and most cruel battle, but with a much greater victory; the Spirit of Christ having always the upper hand in his members, notwithstanding the fury, rage, and power of the whole world.

This godly martyr, John Badby, having thus perfected his testimony and martyrdom in fire, the persecuting bishops (not yet contented, and thinking themselves as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharp enough against the poor innocent flock of Christ, to make all things sure and substantial on their side, so that this doctrine of the gospel now springing should be suppressed for ever) laid their conspiring heads together; and having now a king for their own purpose, ready to serve their turn, the bishops and clergy of the realm exhibited a bill to the king's majesty; subtlely declaring what quietness had been maintained within this realm by his most noble progenitors, who always defended the ancient rites and customs of the church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honour of God and the realm: and contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness was now risen by wicked and perverse men teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of holy church. The king, always oppressed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means and subtle pretences of the

clergy, granted in the parliament (by consent of the nobility assembled) a statute to be observed, called the statute *ex-officio*, condemning the books of the heretics, denouncing their conventicles, and charging all diocesans and their commissaries to proceed against their persons with all rigour and zeal—appointing death by fire as the ultimatum of the obstinacy of those who would not recant.

By this bloody statute, so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men, the reader may well consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it has been set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible, to strive against the ways of God, and to overthrow that which he will have set up. And although the world may see by many histories and examples that it is but in vain to strive against Him; yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignity) that it will not cease still to be like itself.

After this was issued the terrible constitution of the Archbishop of Canterbury against the followers of God's truth, full of cruelty and persecution unto blood, but which is too long for insertion here.

Who would have thought by these laws and constitutions, but that the name and memory of this persecuted sort should utterly have been rooted up, and never could have stood? And yet such be the works of the Lord, passing all men's admiration, that notwithstanding all this, so far was the number and courage of these good men from being vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in registers recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the king and the catholic fathers did so greatly detest for heretics, were in divers counties of this realm increased, especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsbury, in Calais, and other quarters. However, there were some that did shrink, many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the law: among whom was John Purvey, who recanted at Paul's Cross; also John Edward, priest of the diocese of Lincoln, who revoked in the Greenyard at Norwich; Richard Herbert and Emmot Willy, of London; also John Becket, who recanted at London; John Seynons, of Lincolnshire, who was caused to revoke at Canterbury.

WILLIAM THORPE.

Master William Thorpe was a valiant warrior under the triumphant banner of Christ. In his examination before the Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1407), thou shalt have, good reader, both to learn and to marvel. To learn, in that thou shalt hear truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved. To marvel, for that thou shalt behold here in this man the marvellous force and strength of the Lord's grace, working and fighting in His soldiers, and also speaking in their mouths, according to the word of His promise. Master Thorpe, in his preface to the account of his examination, says, that he was moved to write it, not only by the

desire of his friends, but also that other Christian people might profit by seeing truth opposed to error, and that they might be prepared to forsake all the things of this life, not knowing how soon they may be called to a like trial. We shall relate the matter chiefly in his own words—

"The archbishop said to me, 'William, I know well that thou hast this twenty winters or more travelled in the north country, and in divers other countries of England, sowing false doctrine, labouring with untrue teaching to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstood and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine evil purpose, and prevent thee from poisoning the sheep of my province. Nevertheless, St. Paul saith, If it may be, as much as in us lies, we ought to live peaceably with all men. Therefore, William, if thou wilt now meekly and of good heart, without any feigning, kneel down and lay thy hand upon a book and kiss it, promising faithfully, as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfil it duly by all thy skill and power, thou shalt yet find me gracious to thee.' Then said I to the archbishop, 'Sir, since ye deem me an heretic, and out of the faith, will you give me here audience to tell you my belief?' And he said, 'Yea, tell on.'"

The accused then stated his views of the Divine Being of Christ, and of the gospel—the latter chiefly in an historical form. He proceeded thus in regard to the Church—

"'And I believe an holy church, that is, all they that have been, and that now are, and always to the end of the world shall be, a people who shall endeavour to know and to keep the commandments of God, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving and seeking to please Him; and I believe that all they that have had, and yet have, and all they that yet shall have, the aforesaid virtues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping steadfastly in His merciful doings, continuing to their end in perfect charity, willingly, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chiefly and His apostles; all these have their names written in the book of life.'"

The archbishop said to him, "I require that thou swear to me that thou wilt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold; so that neither privily nor openly wilt thou hold any opinion which I shall rehearse to thee. And that thou wilt not favour any man or woman, young or old, that hold these opinions: but after thy knowledge and power thou shalt exert thyself to withstand all such disturbers of holy church in every diocese that thou comest into; and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou wilt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the bishop of the diocese, or to the bishop's ministers. And besides this, I will that thou preach no more until I know, by good witness and true, that thy conversation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truly in one, contradicting all the secular learning that thou has taught here before."

"And I," says Thorpe, "hearing these words, thought in my heart

that this was an unlawful demand; and I deemed myself accursed of God if I consented to it. And because I stood still and spake not, the archbishop said to me, 'Answer one way or the other;' and I said, 'Sir, if I consented to swear to you thus as ye require, I should become an appealer, or every bishop's spy in all England.'

"Soon after the archbishop said to me, 'Art thou not yet determined whether thou wilt do as I have said to thee?' And I said then to him, 'Sir, my father and my mother spent much money about my learning, to have made me a priest to God. But when I came to years of discretion I had no will to be a priest, and therefore my friends were very harsh towards me; and then methought their grudging against me was so painful, that I purposed to have left their company. They spake to me oftentimes very grievous words, and menaced me in divers manners. And thus they were a long time busy about me ere I consented to be a priest. At last I prayed them that they would give me license to go to wise priests, and of virtuous conversation, to have their counsel, and to know of them the office and charge of priesthood. My father and my mother consented gladly, and gave me their blessing and leave, and also money to spend in this journey. And so I went to those priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy living, and best learned, and most wise of heavenly wisdom; and so I communed with them to the time that I perceived, by their virtuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable works passed their fame which I had heard before of them.'

"And the archbishop said, 'I say to thee, who are these holy and wise men of whom thou hast taken thine information?'

"And I said, 'Sir, Master John Wycliffe was held by many men the greatest clerk that they knew then living, and he was named an able, a good, and an innocent man in his living; and therefore great men communed often with him; and they loved so his learning that they wrote it, and endeavoured to rule themselves after it. Therefore, sir, this learning of Master John Wycliffe is yet held by many men and women, the learning most in accordance with the living and teaching of Christ and His apostles, and most openly showing and declaring how the church of Christ has been, and yet should be, ruled and governed. Therefore it is that so many men and women desire his learning, and purpose, through God's grace, to conform their lives like to this learning of Wycliffe.'"

The archbishop then charged him with venomously sowing heresies in Shrewsbury, and troubling the people, to which he thus spoke—

"Sir, ye say that I have troubled the commonalty of Shrewsbury, and many other men and women with my teaching. If it thus be, it is not to be wondered at, since all the commonalty of the city of Jerusalem was troubled by Christ's own person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher that ever was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was moved against Christ, and so filled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose up and cast Christ out of their city, and led him up to the top of a mountain to cast him down headlong."

And the archbishop said to his clerks, "See ye not how his heart is hardened, and how he has travelled with the devil, bringing in such sentences to maintain his errors and heresies. Certainly he will occupy us here all day, if we suffer him."

After many attempts by the clerks to cajole or to frighten Master Thorpe, one of them said to the archbishop, "Sir, it is late in the day, and ye have far to ride to-night, therefore, make an end with him, for he will make none; but the more, sir, that ye busy you to draw him toward you, the more contumacious he is made."

And then Malvern said to Thorpe, "William, kneel down and pray my lord's grace; and leave all thy fancies, and become a child of holy church."

And he said, "Sir, I have prayed the archbishop often, and yet I pray him for the love of Christ, that he will cease his indignation against me, and that he will suffer me to do mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I desire naught else but to serve my God to His pleasing in the state that I stand in."

And the archbishop said to him, "If of good heart thou wilt submit thee now here meekly, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsel, obeying meekly and willingly my ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee to do thus. Therefore, delay thou me no longer; do this I have said to thee now here shortly, or deny it utterly."

And he said, "Sir, as I have before rehearsed, I will be ready gladly to obey Christ, the head of the holy church, and the learnings, and biddings, and counsels of every pleasing member of Him."

Then the archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely upon a table, spake to him with a great spirit, saying, "By Jesus, but if thou leave not such additions, obliging thyself without any exception to submit to mine ordinance (before I go out of this place) I shall make thee as sure as any thief that is in prison; advise thee now what thou wilt do." And then as if he had been angered, he went from the table where he stood to a window.

And then the archbishop called to him a clerk, and conferred with him; and that clerk went forth, and soon he brought in the constable of Saltwood Castle, and the archbishop conferred a good while with him; and then the constable went forth, and then came in divers seculars, and they scorned me on every side, and menaced me greatly; and some counselled the archbishop to burn me by-and-by, and some other counselled him to drown me in the sea, for it is near hand there.

"And the archbishop said that he would settle for me himself.

"And then came again the constable and spake privily to the archbishop; and the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth with him, and he did so. And when we were gone forth we were sent for again. And when I came in again before the archbishop, a clerk bade me kneel down and ask grace, and submit myself, and I should find it for the best.

"And I said then to the archbishop, 'Sir, as I have said to you

several times to-day, I will willingly and humbly obey and submit to God and to his law, and to every member of holy church, as far as I can perceive that these members accord with their head, Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authority, specially of God's law.'

"And the archbishop said, 'I knew well he would not without such additions submit.'

"And then I was rebuked, scorned, and menaced on every side; and yet after this divers persons cried upon me to kneel down and submit me; but I stood still and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many words; and I stood and heard them menace, curse, and scorn me, but I said nothing.

"Then, awhile after, the archbishop said to me, 'Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church?'

"And I said, 'Sir, I will full gladly submit me, as I have showed you before'

"And then the archbishop bade the constable to have me forth thence in haste.

"And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foul prison, where I never was before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had barred fast the prison-door after them, I by myself busied me to think on God, and to thank Him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted, not only because I was then delivered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the menacing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoiced in the Lord, because that through His grace he so kept me, both among the flattering and among the menacing of mine adversaries, that without heaviness and anguish of my conscience I passed away from them. For as a tree laid upon another tree, overthwart or crosswise, so was the archbishop and his three clerks always contrary to me and I to them.

"Now, good God, for thine holy name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make us one together, if it be thy will. And that it may be thus, let all who read or hear this writing pray heartily to the Lord God, that He, for His great goodness, that cannot be with tongue expressed, grant to us, and to all other who in the same wise, and for the cause specially, or for any other cause, are separated, may be knit and made one in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity. Amen."

What was the end of this good man and servant of God, William Thorpe, I find as yet specified in no history. It is thought that the Archbishop, Thomas Arundel, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him go. Much less is it to be supposed that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the bishop; neither does it seem that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned; wherefore it remains most like to be true, that he being committed to some strait prison (according as the archbishop in his examination threatened him), there (as Thorpe himself confesses) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or died by sickness.

Thus the poor Christians, like the simple Israelites under the tyranny of Pharaoh, were oppressed in every place, but especially here in England, because the English king entirely held with the Pope and his prelates against the gospellers. By reason of which, the kingdom of the Pope and his members began to be so strong in this realm that none dost stir or move against them. The bishops having the king so entirely on their side, armed, moreover, with laws, statutes, punishments, sword, fire, and faggot, reigned and ruled as they pleased, as kings and princes within themselves. So strong were they, that no human force was able to stand against them; so exalted in pride, and puffed up in glory, that they thought all things to be subject to their reverend majesties. Whatever they set forth or decreed, it must by all men be received and obeyed.

JOHN HUSS.

The queen of Richard II. of England was a Bohemian; and it was probably by means of her attendants that the works of Wycliffe were carried into Bohemia. By the preaching of John Huss, the Bohemians increased more and more in the knowledge of the gospel; insomuch that Pope Alexander V., hearing of it, directed his bull to the Archbishop of Swinco, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain that doctrine, citing also John Huss to appear before him. John Huss, in answer, declared that the mandate or bull of the Pope was opposed to the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of His apostles, and prejudicial to the liberty of the gospel, in binding the word of God so as not to have free course. And therefore from this mandate of the Pope he appealed to the same Pope better advised; but while he was prosecuting his appeal, Pope Alexander died.

After him succeeded Pope John XXIII., who sought by all means possible to suppress the Bohemians, beginning to work his malice upon John Huss, their preacher; who, preaching at Prague, seemed willing to teach the gospel of Christ rather than the traditions of bishops, and was therefore accused to the Pope as a heretic. The bishop committed the whole matter to Cardinal de Columna, who, when he had heard the accusation, appointed a day to John Huss that he should appear in the court of Rome; which thing once done, Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, at the request of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, as also at the earnest suit and desire of the town and University of Prague, sent his ambassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to deliver John Huss from that sentence and judgment; and that, if the bishop suspected the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or false doctrine, he should send his ambassadors, who might correct and amend the same, if there were any error or fault in them; and that all this should be done at the

costs and charges of the King of Bohemia; and to promise in his name that he would aid and assist the bishop's legates with all his power and authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. John Huss also, before his appointed day, sent his proctors to the court of Rome, and with most firm and strong reasons proved his innocency. But when the Cardinal de Columna (to whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed) would not admit any defence or excuse, John Huss's proctors appealed to the high bishop; yet, notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so prevail with Cardinal de Columna but that he openly excommunicated John Huss as an obstinate heretic, because he came not at his appointed day to Rome.

However, as his proctors had appealed to the high bishop, they had other judges appointed, as Cardinal Aquileianus and Cardinal Venetus, with others. The judges, after they had deferred the matter for the space of one year and a-half, at last returned to the sentence and judgment of Cardinal de Columna, and confirming it, commanded John Huss's proctors that they should leave off defending him any more, for they would suffer it no longer. Upon which, when his proctors would not cease their urgent suit, some of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished; the others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia.

The Bohemians, however, little cared for all this, but continuing still, as they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the Pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the work of God and the gospel of Christ to be preached, saying, 'That by their indulgences and other practices of the court of Rome and of the bishop's consistory, they sought their own profit and not the glory of Jesus Christ; that they took from the sheep of Christ the wool and milk, and did not feed them, either with the word of God or with good examples. Teaching, moreover, and affirming that the commandments of the Pope and prelates are not to be obeyed but so far as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of His apostles; and that laymen ought to judge the works of prelates, as Paul judged the works of Peter in correcting him, Gal. ii. Furthermore, they had amongst them certain notes and observations, whereby they might discern how far and wherein they might obey their prelates; they derided also and scorned the Pope's jurisdiction, because of the schism that was then in the church, when there were three Popes together, one striving against another for the papacy.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, the one objecting, the other answering, it happened, by the occasion of Ladislaus, King of Naples, who had besieged the Pope's towns and territories, that Pope John, raising up war against Ladislaus, gave full remission of sins to all them which would war on his side to defend the church. When this bull of the Pope's indulgence was come to Prague, and there published, the King Wenceslaus, who then favoured that Pope, gave command that no man should attempt anything

against the Pope's indulgences. But Huss, with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began to speak against them; of which company were three artificers, who, hearing the priest preaching these indulgences, openly spoke against them, and called the Pope anti-Christ, who would set up the cross to fight against his fellow Christians. For this they were brought before the senate, and committed to prison; but the people joining together in arms, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates with gentle words and fair promises satisfied the people, so that every man returned home to his own house, and the tumult was assuaged; but the captains, whose names were John Martin and Stascon, being in prison, were there beheaded. The death and martyrdom of these men being known to the people, they took their bodies, and with great solemnity brought them to the church of Bethlehem. And so they were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlehem, John Huss preaching at the funeral, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had hid the way of His truth from the prudent of this world, and had revealed it to the simple lay people and inferior priests, who chose rather to please God than men.

Thus the city of Prague was divided. The prelates, with the greatest part of the clergy, and most of the barons who had anything to lose, did hold with the Pope. On the contrary part, the commons, with part of the clergy and students of the university, went with John Huss. Wenceslaus, the king, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the doctors and prelates, and council of his barons, thought best to remove John Huss out of the city, who had been excommunicated before by the Pope. And further, to end this dissension in the church, he committed the matter to the doctors and clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the sum of eighteen articles, for the maintenance of the Pope and of the see of Rome against the doctrine of Wycliffe and John Huss. John Huss, thus departing out of Prague, went to his country, where, being protected by the lord of the soil, he continued preaching there, to whom resorted a great concourse of people; neither yet was he so expelled out of Prague but that sometimes he resorted to his church at Bethlehem, and there also preached unto the people.

Thus, then, Master John Huss being driven out of Prague by these doctors, and, moreover, being so excommunicated that no mass must be said where he was present, the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests, who were the workers thereof, accusing them to be simoniacs, covetous, immoral, adulterers, proud; sparing not to lay open their vices, to their great ignominy and shame, and greatly crying for a reformation amongst the clergy.

The king, seeing the inclination of the people, and being not ignorant of the wickedness of the clergy, began, under pretence of reforming the church, to require greater exactions upon such priests

and men of the clergy as were known and accused to be wicked livers. Upon which they that favoured John Huss, taking the occasion, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whoever they knew to be of the popish faction or enemies to John Huss. By reason of which the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear, so that they were glād to fall in, at least not to fall out, with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means Master Huss began to take some more liberty, and to preach in his church at Bethlehem. By the same means the people also received some comfort, and the king much gain and money.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Huss, were entrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, so that women and children were against them; and by the means with which they thought to entangle him they were overthrown themselves.

Here is to be noted, that during all this time of Pope John there were three popes together, on account of which a general council was held at Constance (A.D. 1414), called by the Emperor Sigismund and Pope John XXIII., for healing the schism between the three popes striving for the popedom. Yet notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the affair of the Bohemians, and especially for John Huss. For, before the council began, the Emperor Sigismund sent certain gentlemen of his own household to bring John Huss to the council under his safe-conduct. The meaning of which was, that John Huss should purge and clear himself of the blame which they had laid against him; and for the better assurance, the emperor not only promised him safe-conduct that he might come freely to Constance, but also that he should return again to Bohemia, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire. This safe-conduct was granted not in the time of the council by the bishop, but before the council by the emperor, who was, or ought to be, the principal ordainer or director of the council under God. Now, whether the bishops did well in breaking this promise of the emperor, I will defer to such time as may be more convenient to the full examination thereof.

John Huss, seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the emperor had given, sent answer that he would come to the council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and especially out of the town of Prague, he wrote certain letters and caused them to be fastened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbeys, declaring his readiness to give a reason of his faith and hope, and to prove his innocency.

About the ides of October A.D. 1414, John Huss, being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, Wancelat of Duba and John of Clum, departed from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance.

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of Bohemia and entered into Germany, a great number of people

did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained through all the towns of Germany, and especially by the citizens and burgesses, and oftentimes by the curates. And if it happened that there were any information before of his coming, the streets were always full of people desirous to see and gratify him; and especially at Nuremberg, where certain merchants certified the citizens of his coming. There were many curates who came to him, desiring that they might talk with him secretly: to whom he answered, that he loved much rather to pronounce and show forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, for he would keep nothing hidden So, after dinner, till it was night, he spake before the priests and senators, and other citizens, so that they all had him in great estimation and reverence.

On the 3rd of November John Huss arrived in Constance. The morrow after, Master John de Clum and Master Henry Latzemboge went to the Pope, and certified him that John Huss was come under the Emperor's safe-conduct, desiring also that he on his part would grant John Huss liberty to remain in Constance without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. To whom the Pope answered, that even if John Huss had killed his brother, yet he might go about as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done to him during his abode in the town of Constance.

The twenty-sixth day after the said Huss was come to Constance, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends, the cardinals sent two bishops—to wit, the Bishops of Augusta and of Trent, to the place where John Huss lodged, to report to him that they were sent by the Pope and his cardinals to advertise him that he should come to render some account of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready to hear him.

John Huss answered, "I am not come for any such intent as to defend my cause before the Pope and his cardinals, protesting that I never desired any such thing; but I would willingly appear before the whole assembly of the council, and there answer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding," said he, "forasmuch as you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals. And if it happen that they evil entreat or handle me, yet, nevertheless, I trust in my Lord Jesus that he will so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for His glory's sake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by His holy Scriptures." Wherefore, it came to pass, that the bishops being urgent upon him, and not showing any outward appearance that they bore any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, John Huss went to the court of the Pope and the cardinals.

When he was come, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speak to him in this sort—"We have heard many reports of you, which, if they be true, are in no case to be suffered; for men say that you have taught great and manifest errors against the doctrine of the

true church; and that you have sowed your errors abroad through all the realm of Bohemia for a long time; wherefore we have caused you to be called before us, that we might understand and know how the matter stands."

John Huss answered in few words—"Reverend fathers, you shall understand that I am thus minded, that I should rather choose to die than I should be found culpable of one only error, much less of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come to the general council, to show myself ready, even with all my heart, to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me." The cardinals answered him again, that his sayings pleased them very well; and upon that they went away, leaving John Huss with Master John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.

A little before night they sent the provost of the Roman court to Master John de Clum, to show him that he might return to his lodging; but as for John Huss, they had otherwise provided for him. When Master John de Clum heard this news he was wonderfully displeased, as through their crafts, subtleties, and glossing words, they had so drawn this good man into their snares; whereupon he went to the Pope, declaring to him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made unto him and Master Henry Latzemboge, and that he would not so lightly falsify and break his faith and promise. The Pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandment, and said further to Master Clum apart, "What reason is it that you should impute this deed unto me, seeing that you know well enough that I myself am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops?"

So Master Clum returned very pensive and sorrowful, and complained very sore, both privately and openly, of the injury and outrage that the Pope had done: but all profited nothing. After this John Huss was led by the officers to the charter-house of the great church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner for the space of eight days; from thence he was carried to the Jacobines, hard by the river of the Rhine, and was shut up in the prison of the abbey.

After he had been enclosed there a certain time, he fell sore sick of an ague, by means of the stench of the place, and became so weak that they despaired of his life. And for fear lest this good man should die in prison, as others are wont to do, the Pope sent to him certain of his physicians to cure and help him. In the midst of his sickness his accusers made importunate suit to the principals of the council, that John Huss might be condemned; and presented to the Pope eight articles against him, touching chiefly his doctrines regarding the sacraments, the church, and the ministers of the church.

Upon this accusation they ordained and appointed three commissioners or judges—that is to say, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Bishop of Castile, and the Bishop of Lybuss—which prelates heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain priests of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterward recited the

accusation to Huss in the prison, at such time as his ague was fervent and extreme upon him.

Upon this, John Huss required to have an advocate to answer for him, which was utterly denied him.

Thus John Huss remained in the prison of the convent of the Franciscans until the Wednesday before Palm Sunday; and in the meantime, to employ his time, he wrote certain books concerning the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the supper of our Lord.

The same day Pope John XXIII. changed his apparel and conveyed himself secretly out of Constance, fearing the judgment by which afterward he was deprived of his papal dignity, for the most execrable and abominable doings. This was the cause that John Huss was transported and carried to another prison; for the Pope's servants, who had the charge and keeping of John Huss, understanding that their master was fled and gone, delivered up the keys of the prison unto the Emperor Sigismund and to the cardinals, and followed their master the Pope. Then, by the consent of the whole council, John Huss was put into the hands of the Bishop of Constance, who sent him to a castle on the other side of the river of the Rhine, not very far from Constance, where he was shut up in a tower, with fetters on his legs, that he could scarce walk in the day-time, and at night he was fastened up to a rack against the wall hard by his bed.

In the meantime certain noblemen and gentlemen of Poland and Bohemia did all their endeavour to procure his deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the realm, which was wonderfully defamed and slandered by certain wicked persons. The matter was grown to this point, that all they who were in the town of Constance that seemed to bear any favour to John Huss, were made as mocking-stocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the slaves and base people. Wherefore they took counsel, and concluded together to present their request in writing to the whole council, or at least to the four nations of Germany, Italy, France, and England; this request was presented the 14th day of May A.D. 1415.

When the noblemen of Bohemia for a long time could obtain no answer to this, and a second supplication which they had already put up, they determined, the last day of May, by another supplication to the principals of the council, to entreat that John Huss might be delivered out of prison, and defend his own cause openly; and they complained again of the violation of faith towards him.

The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication to the emperor, embodying the foregoing supplication. But what answer the emperor made hereto we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge that this good emperor was brought, through the obstinate mischief of the cardinals and bishops, to break and falsify his promise and faith which he had made and promised; and this was their reason, that no defence could or might be given, either by safe-conduct or by any other means,

to him who was suspected or judged to be an heretic. By the epistles and letters of John Huss a man may easily judge what the king's mind was.

The 5th day of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests, all that were in Constance, assembled to a great number at the convent of the Franciscans in Constance, and there it was commanded that, before John Huss should be brought forth, in his absence they should rehearse the witnesses and articles which they had slanderously gathered out of his books.

Now, hearken a little to the holy proceedings of these reverend fathers, for here happened a strange and shameful matter. With much ado they had scarcely read one article and brought forth a few witnesses upon the same against him, but as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad herd or flock began so to cry out upon him that he was not able to speak one word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement that a man might well have called it an uproar or noise of wild beasts, and not of men; much less was it to be judged a congregation of men gathered together to judge and determine so grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and cry did ever so little cease, that he might answer anything at all out of the holy Scriptures or ecclesiastical doctors, by-and-by he would hear such replies as were nothing to the purpose.

The next day, which was the 7th of June, on which day the sun was almost wholly eclipsed, John Huss was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the gentlemen, master of Duba and Clum, and the notary named Peter, which were great friends of the said Huss, did follow to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accusation of Michael de Causis they read these words following—John Huss hath taught the people divers and many errors, both in the chapel of Bethlehem and also in many other places of the city of Prague; of the which errors some of them he hath drawn out of Wycliffe's books, and the rest he has forged and invented of his own head, and maintains the same very obstinately.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation in this manner—That John Huss, to confirm the heresy which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wycliffe's books, said openly these words, That at what time a great number of monks and friars and other learned men were gathered together in England, in a certain church, to dispute against John Wycliffe, and could by no means vanquish him, suddenly the church door was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wycilffe's enemies hardly escaped without hurt. He added, moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wycliffe's soul was. Whereunto John Huss answered, "That a dozen years before that any books of divinity of John Wycliffe's were in Bohemia, he saw certain works of philosophy of his which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understood the good and godly life of Wycliffe he spake

these words—I trust, said he, that Wycliffe is saved ; and although I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish that my soul were in the same place where John Wycliffe's is." Then again did all the company jest and laugh at him.

When all the articles were in this way gone through, John Huss was committed to the custody of the Bishop of Reggeo, under whom Jerome of Prague was also prisoner. After he was carried away, the emperor began to exhort the presidents of the council in this manner, saying—

"You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Huss, which are not only proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him, of which every one of them by my judgment and advice have deserved and are worthy of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be punished with fire. And although he do that which he is willed and commanded to do, notwithstanding, I do counsel you that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he return no more into the kingdom of Bohemia. For if he be admitted again to teach and preach, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, he will not observe and keep that which he is commanded ; but hoping upon the favour and good-will of such as be his adherents and favourers there, he will return again unto his former purpose and intent, and then, besides these errors, he will also sow new errors amongst the people ; so the last error shall be worse than the first.

"Last of all, if there be any found here at Constance who are familiars unto John Huss, they also ought to be punished with such severity and punishment as is due unto them, and especially his scholar, Jerome of Prague." Then said the rest, "When the master is once punished, we hope we shall find the scholar much more tractable and gentle."

When the articles were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemy, which they all imputed to John Huss—that is, that he said there should be a fourth person in divinity, and that a certain doctor did hear him speak of the same. When John Huss desired that the doctor might be named, the bishop that alleged the article said that it was not needful to name him. Then said John Huss, "O miserable and wretched man that I am, who am forced and compelled to bear such a blasphemy and slander."

When he had spoken these words, one of them, who was appointed judge, read the definite sentence against him.

When the sentence and judgment was ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he said, "Lord Jesus Christ, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsely accused, and that they have used false witness and slanders against me ; forgive them, I say, for thy great mercy's sake." This, his prayer and oration, the greater part, and especially the chief of the priests, derided and mocked.

At last, the seven bishops who were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood commanded him to put on the garments pertaining unto priesthood, which, when he had done, he came to the putting on of the

albe, he called to his remembrance the purple vesture which Herod put on Jesus Christ to mock him withal. So likewise in all other things he comforted himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his mind and provide for his honour and safety, then he (according as the manner of the ceremony is) going up to the top of the scaffold, being full of tears, spake to the people in this sort—"I will never do it; neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile carcass, appointed unto death, than their health and salvation."

At this most godly word he was forced again to hear, by the sentence of the bishops, that he did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven bishops before-rehearsed first took away from him the chalice which he held in his hand, saying, "O cursed Judas, why hast thou forsaken the council and ways of peace, and hast counselled with the Jews? We take away from thee this chalice of thy salvation." But John Huss received this curse in this manner—"But I trust unto God the Father omnipotent and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that He will not take away the chalice of His redemption, but I have a steadfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in His kingdom." Then followed the other bishops in order, who every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their curse. Whereunto John Huss answered, "That he did willingly embrace and bear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." At the last they came to the erasing of his shaven crown. But before the bishops would go in hand with it there was a great contention between them with what instrument it should be done, with a razor or with a pair of shears.

In the meantime John Huss, turning himself toward the emperor, said, "I marvel that forasmuch as they be all of like cruel mind and spirit, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty." Notwithstanding, at last they agreed to cut off the skin of the crown of his head with a pair of shears. And when they had done that they added these words: "Now hath the church taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him. Now there resteth nothing else but that he be delivered over unto the secular power." But before they did that there yet remained another reproach. For they caused to be made a certain crown of paper, almost a cubit deep, in the which were painted three devils of wonderful ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, "ARCH-HERETIC," which when he saw, he said, "My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake did wear a crown of thorns; why should I not then for His sake again wear this light crown, be it never so ignominious? Truly, I will do it, and that willingly." When it was set upon his head the bishop said, "Now we commit thy soul to the devil." "But I," said John Huss, lifting his eyes up towards the heavens, "do commit

my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ; unto thee I commend my spirit which thou hast redeemed." These contumelies thus ended, the bishops, turning themselves towards the emperor, said, "This most sacred synod of Constance leaveth now John Huss, who has no more any office in the church of God, to the civil judgment and power." Then the emperor commanded Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, who stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the cross in his hand, that he should receive John Huss from the bishops, and deliver him to them who should do the execution. As he was led by them to the place of execution, before the church doors he saw his books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed; and all men that passed by he exhorted not to think that he should die for any error or heresy, but only for the hatred and ill-will of his adversaries, who had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. Nearly the whole city followed him in armour.

The place appointed for the execution was before the gate Gotlebain, between the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. When John Huss was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he prayed and said certain psalms, and especially the thirty-first and fiftieth psalms. And they who stood hard by heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a lively and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," etc. Which thing, when the lay people beheld who stood next to him, they said, "What he hath done before we know not, but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly." Others wished that he had a confessor. There was a certain priest by, sitting on horseback, in a green gown, drawn about with red silk, who said, "He ought not to be heard, because he is an heretic." Yet, notwithstanding, while he was in prison he was both confessed and also absolved by a certain doctor, a monk, as Huss himself witnesses, in an epistle which he wrote to his friends out of prison. Thus Christ reigns unknown to the world, even in the midst of his enemies. In the meantime, while he prayed, as he bowed his neck backwards to look upward unto heaven, the crown of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the soldiers, taking it up again, said, "Let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his masters, the devils, whom he has served."

When by the commandment of the tormentors he was risen up from his prayer, with a loud voice he said, "Lord Jesus Christ assist and help me, that with a constant and patient mind, by Thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching of Thy most holy gospel and word." Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death to the people. In the meantime the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast to the stake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the east, certain cried out that he should not look towards the east, for he was a heretic; so he was turned towards the west. Then was his neck tied with a chain to the stake, which chain, when he

beheld, smiling he said, "That he would willingly receive the same chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worse chain." Under his feet they set two faggots, mixing straw with them, and so likewise from the feet up to the chin he was enclosed in round about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, with another gentleman, who was the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Huss that he would yet be mindful of his safety, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, "What errors should I renounce, when I know myself guilty of none? For, as for those things which are falsely alleged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less preach them. For this was the principal end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men repentance and the remission of sins, according to the verity of the gospel of Jesus Christ and the exposition of the holy doctors; wherefore, with a cheerful mind and courage, I am here ready to suffer death." When he had spoken these words they left him, and shaking hands together they departed.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Huss began to sing with a loud voice, "Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, have mercy upon me." And when he began to say the same the third time the wind drove the flame so upon his face that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding, he moved awhile after, by the space that a man might almost say the Lord's Prayer three times. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chain; so they threw down stake and all, and making a new fire burned it, the head being first cut in small pieces, that it might be the sooner consumed unto ashes. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river Rhone, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not be left upon the earth, whose memory, notwithstanding, cannot be abolished out of the mind of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

This martyrdom was suffered on the 6th of July, A.D. 1415.

JEROME OF PRAGUE.

These things being discoursed, touching the life, acts, and constant martyrdom of Master John Huss, it now remains to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his Christian companion, Master Jerome of Prague. He, grievously sorrowing for the slanderous reproach and defamation of his country of Bohemia, and also hearing of the manifest injuries done to that man of worthy memory, Master John Huss, freely and of his own accord came to Constance the 4th day of April (A.D. 1415). Perceiving that John Huss was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait was laid for him on every side, he departed to Iberling, which was a mile from Constance, and from thence he wrote his letters to Sigismund, King of Hungary, and his barons, and also to the council, most earnestly requiring that the king and council would

give him a safe-conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answer to every man, if there were any of the council that would lay any crime to him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

When the King of Hungary was required thereto, being in the house of the Lord Cardinal of Cambray, he refused to give Master Jerome any safe-conduct, excusing himself for the evil speed he had with the safe-conduct of John Huss before, and alleging also certain other causes. The deputies also of the four nations of the council, being moved thereto by the lords of the King of Bohemia, answered, "We will give him a safe-conduct to come, but not to depart." When these answers were reported to Master Jerome, he the next day after wrote certain intimations, which he sent to Constance to be set upon the gates of the city, and upon the gates of the churches and monasteries, and of the houses of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelates.

When he could not get any safe-conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights, especially of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gave to Master Jerome their letters patent, confirmed with their seals, for a testimony and witness of what has been here stated. With these letters Master Jerome returned to Bohemia; but by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirsaw by the officers of Duke John, and brought back to the presence of the duke. In the meantime, such as were the setters forward of the council against Master John Huss and Master Jerome, that is to say, Michael de Causis and Master Paletz, and other their accomplices, required that Master Jerome should be cited by reason of his intimations; and certain days afterwards a citation was set upon the gates and porches of the city and churches.

After Sigismund, King of Hungary, with the rest of the council, understood that Master Jerome was taken, they earnestly required that he should be brought before them to the council. The Duke John, after he had received letters of the king and the council, brought Master Jerome bound to Constance, whom his brother, Duke Lewis, led through the city to the cloisters of the friars minors in Constance, where the chief priest and elders of the people, Scribes and Pharisees, were gathered together, attending and waiting for his coming. When he was brought into the cloister, they read before him the letter of Duke John. After this they read the citation which was given out by the council against Master Jerome. Then certain of the bishops said to him, "Jerome, why didst thou fly and run away, and not appear when thou wast cited?" He answered, "Because I could not have any safe-conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appears by these letters patent of the barons, which you have; neither by my open intimations could I obtain any safe-conduct. Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy friends to be here present in the council, would not myself be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any understanding of this citation, without all doubt, although I had been in Bohemia I would have returned again." Then all the whole rabble rising up, alleged various

accusations against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake Master Gerson, the chancellor of Paris, "Jerome, when thou wast at Paris, thou thoughtest thyself by means of thy eloquence to be an angel, and didst trouble the whole university, alleging openly in the schools many erroneous conclusions with their corollaries, and especially in the question *de universalibus et de Idæis*, with many other very offensive questions." To whom Master Jerome said, "I answer to you, Master Gerson: those matters which I did put forth there in the schools at Paris, in which also I answered the arguments of the masters, I did put them forth philosophically, and as a philosopher, and master of the university; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they are erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend them."

While he was yet speaking, another, rising up, said, "When thou wast also at Cologne, in thy position which thou didst there determine, thou didst propound many erroneous matters." Then said Master Jerome unto him, "Show me first one error which I propounded." Wherewithal he being in a manner astonished, said, "I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be objected against you."

Then certain cried out, "Let him be burned, let him be burned." To whom he answered, "If my death do delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so."

Then said the Archbishop of Saltzburg, "Not so, Master Jerome, forsomuch as it is written, 'I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live.'"

When these and many other tumults and cries were passed, whereby they most disorderly and outrageously witnessed against him, they delivered him bound to the officers of the city of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night; and so every one of them returned to their lodgings.

In the meantime, one of the friends of Master John Huss, looking out at a window of the cloister, said unto him, "Master Jerome." Then said he, "You are welcome, my dear brother." Then said Peter to him, "Be constant, and fear not to suffer death for the truth sake, of which, when you were in times past at liberty, you did preach so much and so well." Jerome answered, "Truly, brother, I do not fear death; and as we know that we have spoken much thereof in times past, let us now see what may be known or done in effect." By-and-by his keepers coming to the window, threatening him with blows, put away Peter from the window of the cloister.

Master Jerome, unknown to his friends whither he was carried, lay in the tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers, coming to Master Peter, declared to him how Master Jerome lay hard by in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Master Peter desired that he might have leave given him to give him meat, because he would procure the same for him. The keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried meat to him. Within eleven days after, so hanging by the heels, he used so small

repast, that he fell sore sick even to death. When living in that captivity and prison, he desired to have a confessor; the council denied that he should have any, until such time as, by great importunity, he obtained one; his friends being then present in the prison and tower, wherein he lay by the space of one year, lacking but seven days.

After they had put John Huss to death, then about the feast of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, they brought forth Master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chains; and threatening him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent to the death of Master John Huss, that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited to him, did make abjuration, and that in the cathedral church and open session, the draught whereof was penned to him by the papists.

After all this they caused him to be carried again to the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before, notwithstanding kept every day with soldiers and armed men; and when his enemies understood and knew by the words and talk of Master Jerome, and by other certain tokens, that he made the same abjuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to escape their hands, they put up new accusations against Master Jerome, and drew the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto; and as his judges, and certain cardinals, as the Cardinal of Cambray, the Cardinal de Ursinis, the Cardinal of Aquilegia, and of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of Master Jerome, saw the great injury that was done to him, they laboured before the whole council for his delivery.

It happened upon a certain day, as they were labouring in the council for the delivery of Master Jerome, that his enemies with all force and power resisted against it, crying out that he should in no case be dismissed. Then started up one called Doctor Naso, who said unto the cardinals, "We marvel much of you, most reverend fathers, that your reverences will make intercession for such a wicked heretic, for whose sake we in Bohemia, with the whole clergy, have suffered much trouble and mischief, and peradventure your fatherhoods shall suffer; and I greatly fear, lest that you have received some rewards either of the king of Bohemia, or of these heretics." When the cardinals were thus rebuked they discharged themselves of Master Jerome's cause and matter.

Then his enemies obtained to have other judges appointed, as the patriarch of Constantinople, and a German doctor, as they did know that the patriarch was a grievous enemy to Master Jerome, because he being before appointed judge by the council, had condemned John Huss to death.

But Master Jerome would not answer them in prison, requiring to have open audience, because he would there finally declare to them his mind, neither would he by any means consent to those private

judges. Whereupon the presidents of the council, thinking that Master Jerome would renew his recantation before the audience, and confirm the same, did grant him open audience.

In the year A.D. 1416, the 25th day of May, Master Jerome was brought to open audience before the whole council, in the great cathedral church of Constance, where the commissioners of the council laid against him a hundred and seven articles, to the intent that he should not escape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him. He answered to more than forty articles most subtlely objected against him; denying that he held or maintained any such articles as were either hurtful or false, and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely and slanderously, as his most cruel and mortal enemies. In the same session they had not yet proceeded to death, because that the noon-time drew so fast on, that he could not answer to the articles. Wherefore, for lack of time sufficient to answer to the residue of the articles, there was another time appointed, at which time again, early in the morning, he was brought to the cathedral church to answer to all the residue of the articles.

In all which articles, as well those which he had answered before as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly, refuting his adversaries in such a way that they were themselves astonished at his oration and the refutation of their testimonies against him, and with shame enough were put to silence. As when one of them had demanded of him what he thought of the sacrament of the altar, he answered, "Before consecration," said he, "it is bread and wine: after the consecration it is the true body and blood of Christ," adding more words according to their catholic faith. Then another rising up, "Jerome," said he, "there goes a great rumour of thee, that thou dost hold bread to remain upon the altar." To whom he pleasantly answered, saying, "That he believed bread to be at the baker's." At which words one of the Dominican friars rose angrily, and said, "What! dost thou deny that which no man doubts?" His peevish sauciness Jerome with these words did well repress: "Hold thy peace, thou monk, thou hypocrite!" And thus the monk being nipped in the head, sat down dumb. After whom started up another, who, with a loud voice, cried out, "I swear by my conscience that to be true which thou dost deny." To whom Jerome replied, "Thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive." After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter nor in any other, then they were all driven to keep silence.

Then the witnesses were called, who, coming, gave testimony to the articles before produced. By reason whereof the innocent cause of Jerome was oppressed, and began to be concluded in the council. Then Jerome rising up, began to speak, "Forsomuch," said he, "as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently, it is convenient that you should also now hear me speak for myself." Whereupon, with much difficulty, at last audience was given in the council for him to say his mind. Which being granted, he continued from morning to noon, treating of many matters with great learning and eloquence.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by several of them carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him who escaped unscathed; but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began he ceased to speak, and after began again, proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to give him leave awhile to speak, whom they hereafter should hear no more; nor was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults.

And this was marvellous to behold in him, notwithstanding he continued in prison three hundred and forty days, having neither book nor almost light to read by, yet how admirably his memory served him; declaring how all those pains of his strait handling did not so much grieve him, as he did wonder rather to see their unkind humanity towards him.

When he had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of John Wycliffe and John Huss, they who sat in the council whispered together, saying, By these his words it appears that he is resolved with himself. Then was he again carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms, and feet, with great chains and fetters of iron.

The Saturday next before the Ascension Day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men to the cathedral church before the open congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid, touching the praise and commendation of Master John Wycliffe and Master John Huss, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant; but he spake against them without all fear, and among other things said to them, "I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I do believe and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy catholic church does hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, because I will not consent with you to the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life." Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no means could they induce or persuade him to recant.

Then the Bishop of Londy made a certain sermon against Master Jerome, persuading them to condemn him.

After the bishop had ended the sermon, Master Jerome said again unto them, "You will condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But I after my death will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts. And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years."

No pen can sufficiently write or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and philosophically had spoken in the said audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same.

Finally, when they could by no means persuade him to recant the premises, immediately even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him. After relating his crimes, the sentence concluded thus :—

"Wherefore the said sacred synod determineth the said Master Jerome as a rotten and withered branch, not growing upon the vine, to be cut off and cast out. The said synod also pronounceth, declareth, and condemneth him as an heretic, and drowned in all kinds of heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leaving him unto the sentence and judgment of the secular judge, to receive just and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offence; the sacred synod, notwithstanding, entreating that the said judge would moderate his sentence of judgment without peril of death."

Which sentence so given before his face being ended, a great and long mitre of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red devils, which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood upon the ground amongst the prelates, he took the mitre and put it upon his head, saying, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he should suffer death for me, most wretched sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon His head; and I for His sake, instead of that crown, will willingly wear this mitre and cap." Afterwards he was laid hold of by the secular power.

After that he was led out of the said church to the place of execution. When he was going out of the church, with a cheerful countenance and loud voice, lifting his eyes up into heaven, he began to sing, "I believe in one God," etc., as it is accustomed to be sung in the church. Afterward, as he passed along, he sung some canticles of the church; which being ended, in the entering out of the gate of the city, as men go to Gothlehem, he sung this hymn, *Felix namque.* After that he came to the place of execution where Master John Huss before had innocently suffered death, and kneeling down before an image, which was like to the picture of Master John Huss (which was there prepared to burn Master Jerome), he made a certain devout prayer.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground, spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loins with a linen cloth, and bound him fast, with cords and chains of iron, to the image, which was made fast unto the earth; and so standing upon the ground, when as they began to lay the wood about him, he sung *Salve festa dies.* And when the hymn was ended, he sung again with a loud voice, "I believe in one God," unto the end. That being ended, he said to the people, in the German tongue, in effect as follows:—"Dearly beloved children, even as I have now sung, so do I believe, and none otherwise. And this creed is my whole faith, notwithstanding now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the council, and with them affirm and hold that Master John Huss was by them holily and justly condemned, for I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ."

After he was compassed in with the wood up to the crown of the

head, they cast all his garments upon the wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire; which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burn, he said, in the common Bohemian tongue, "O Lord God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences, for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth." Then his voice by the vehemency of the fire was choked and stopped, that it was no longer heard; but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though he had still prayed or spoken within himself.

When his whole body was so burned round about that there appeared through the burning upon his body great blisters, yet he continually very strongly and stoutly moved, and shaked his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an hour. After he was dead in the fire, they brought his bedding, his straw bed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire. Which ashes, after that the fire was out, they diligently gathered together, and carried them in a cart, and cast them into the river Rhone, which ran hard by the city.

The man who was the true reporter hereof, and who testified the acts and doings about the condemnation of Master Jerome, and sent the same to Prague in writing, thus concludes:—"All these things," said he, "I did behold, see, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him, for all those things which happened unto him when he came toward Constance, and also at his first coming to Constance of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound to Constance, as is aforesaid, I myself did see and perfectly behold; and for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the same unto you, not lying or falsifying any point thereof, as He which is the searcher of all men's hearts can bear me witness, willing rather to sustain the charge of ignorance and rudeness of style, to bear witness to the truth, than I would by any means be compelled, by tickling or flattering the ears of the hearers with feigned and cloaked speech, to swerve or go aside from the truth."

Henry Chichesley succeeded Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury, and was guilty of manifold persecution. Many, through its severity and their weakness, abjured the articles they held, and some who abjured repented and suffered martyrdom.

King Henry VI. sent down most cruel letters of commission to John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White, priest, and others, suspected of heresies. By virtue of this commission, we find in old muniments that within a short time after, John Exeter, who was appointed one of the commissioners, attached six persons in the town of Bungay, in the diocese of Norwich, and committed them to be sent within ten days following, under safe custody, unto the castle of Norwich.

Besides these, we also find in the said old muniments within the diocese of Norfolk and Suffolk, specially in the towns of Beccles, Ersham, and Ludney, a great number, both of men and women, to have been vexed and cast into prison, and after their abjuration brought to open shame in churches and markets, by the bishop of the diocese, called William, and his chancellor, William Bernham, John Exeter being the registrar; so that within the space of three or four years—that is, from the year 1428 to the year 1431—about the number of one hundred and twenty men and women were examined, and sustained great vexation for the profession of the christian faith: of whom some were only taken upon suspicion for eating meats prohibited upon vigil days, who, upon their purgation made, escaped more easily away, and with less punishment.

Others were more cruelly handled, and some of them were put to death and burned. A great number of good men and women, seventy-eight in all, were forced to abjure, sustaining such cruel penance as the bishop and his chancellor pleased to lay upon them.

Malignant adversaries, following rather blind prejudice than the true knowledge of history, blame what they know not, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God as novelty, and carping at the teachers thereof as new-made brethren. They should understand by these histories how this doctrine of the grace of God, lacking no antiquity, has from time to time continually sought to burst out, and in some places has prevailed, although in most places, through tyranny and the malice of men, Christ's proceedings have been suppressed and kept under from rising, so much as men's power and strength, joined with craft and subtlety, could labour to keep it down; as here by these good men of Norfolk and Suffolk may well appear. For if the knowledge and the goodness of those men had had the same liberty of time, with the help of the same authority, as we have now, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of the times and the tyranny of prelates, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would have been, which now they contemn and reject for its newness: neither needed Bonner to have asked of Thomas Hawks and such others where their church was forty years ago, inasmuch as for forty years ago and more, within the country of Norfolk and Suffolk, was then found such plenty of persons of the same profession and the like doctrine which we now profess. And thus much for the number of these persons.

Now, as touching their articles which they maintained and defended—

Concerning the articles, many of them either were falsely objected against them or not truly reported, according to the common manner of these adversaries. The notaries reported them erroneously; either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptism and paying of tithes. For when speaking against the ceremonial and superfluous traditions then used in baptism, as salt, oil, spittle, taper, light, chrisomes, exorcising of the water, with such other, they accounted them as no material thing in the holy institution of

baptism ; the notaries slanderously depraving this assertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, so gave out the article as if they held that the sacrament of baptism used in the church by water is but a light matter, and of small effect.

Again, in speaking against women baptising new-born infants in private houses, against the opinion of such as think children damned who depart before they come to their baptism, they are falsely reported, as if they said that Christian people are sufficiently baptised in the blood of Christ, and need no water, and that infants are sufficiently baptised if their parents be baptised before them.

Moreover, they thought, or said perhaps, that in certain cases tithes might be withheld from wicked priests sometimes, and be conferred to better uses to the benefits of the poor : therefore they are falsely slandered, as saying and affirming that no tithes were to be given to the ministers and curates of the churches.

And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as if it consisted only in the mutual consent betwixt the man and the woman, needing no other solemnising in the public church, and all because they denied it to be a sacrament. Other articles were objected against them, as these which hereafter follow—

That auricular confession is not to be made to a priest, but to God only; because no priest has any power to absolve a sinner from his sin.

That no priest has power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar ; but that after the sacramental words there remains pure material bread as before.

That every true Christian man is a priest to God.

That no man is bound, under pain of damnation, to observe Lent, or any other days prohibited by the church of Rome.

That the Pope is antichrist, and his prelates the disciples of antichrist ; and the Pope has no power to bind and loose upon earth.

That it is lawful for every Christian to do any bodily work (sin only except) upon holy-days.

That it is lawful for priests to have wives.

That excommunications and ecclesiastical censures, given out by the prelates, are not to be regarded.

It is not lawful to swear in private cases.

That men ought not to go on pilgrimages.

That there is no honour to be given to the images of the crucifix, of our Lady, or any other saint.

That the holy water, hallowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or of more virtue than other running or well-water, because the Lord blessed all waters in their first creation.

That the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy nor meritorious.

That the relics, as dead men's bones, ought not to be worshipped or digged out of their graves, or set up in shrines.

That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

That men ought not to pray to any saint, but only to God.

That the bells and ringing in the church was ordained for no other purpose but to fill the priests' purses.

That it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiastical precepts.

That the catholic church is only the congregation of elect.

These were the articles which were generally objected against them all, wherein they did so agree in one uniform faith, that whatever one held all the others maintained and held the same. By which their consent and doctrine it appears that they all received it of some one instructor, who was William White; who being a scholar and follower of John Wycliffe, resorted afterwards into the country of Norfolk, and there instructed these men in the light of the gospel. Now it remains to speak of their troubles, how they were handled, beginning with William White.

WILLIAM WHITE.

This William White, being a follower of John Wycliffe and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather reputed amongst the number of them of whom the wise man speaketh, "He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud," etc.—this man was well learned, upright, and a well-spoken priest. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took him a godly young woman to his wife; notwithstanding, he did not therefore cease from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by reading, writing, preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury:—

That men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the Pope and his holiness is nothing else but a devilish estate and heavy yoke of antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy unto Christ's truth.

That men ought not to worship images or other idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men which are dead.

That the Romish church is the fig-tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That such as wear cowls or be anointed or shorn are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out when the Lord shall come.

Upon which articles, he being attached at Canterbury, under the Archbishop Henry Chichesley (A.D. 1424), there for a certain space stoutly and manfully witnessed the truth which he had preached; but as there he lost his courage and strength, so afterwards he became again much stouter and stronger in Jesus Christ, and confessed his own error and offence. For after this, going into Norfolk with his wife, and there occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people to the true doctrine of Christ, at the last, by the means of the king's letters, sent down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and brought before William, Bishop of Norwich, by whom he was convicted and condemned of thirty articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, A.D. 1424.

This William White was of so devout and holy life that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them; so that one Margaret Wright confessed that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come to the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak to the people, to exhort and confirm them in the truth, one of the bishop's servants struck him on the mouth to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life, to the great sorrow and grief of all the good men of Norfolk. His wife, following her husband's footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth. She suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the bishop.

JOAN BOUGHTON.

In the ninth year of the reign of Henry VII., on the 28th day of April, a very old woman named Joan Boughton, widow, and mother to the Lady Young, was burned, which lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was fourscore years of age or more, and held eight of Wycliffe's opinions (which opinions my author does not show) for which she was burnt in Smithfield. Our author says she was a disciple of Wycliffe, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them; and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for she said she was so beloved of God and His holy angels that she cared not for the fire; and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soul into His holy hands. The night following that on which she was burnt the most part of her ashes were taken away by such as had a love to the doctrine that she died for.

Shortly after the martyrdom of this godly, aged mother, on the 17th of January, A.D 1497, being Sunday, two men, the one called Richard Milderdale and the other James Sturdy, performed the penance of carrying faggots before the procession of St. Paul's, and afterwards stood before the preacher in the time of his sermon. And upon the Sunday following, two other men stood at Paul's Cross all the sermon time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a faggot on his neck. After that, in Lent season, upon Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glover bore a faggot before the procession of St. Paul's, and after, with the faggot, stood before the preacher all the sermon time at Paul's Cross. And on the Sunday next following, four men stood and did their open penance at Paul's Cross in the sermon time, and many of their books were burnt before them at the cross.

The next day following, which was in the beginning of May, A.D. 1498, the king then being at Canterbury, a priest was burnt, who

so strong in his opinion that all the clerks and doctors then there being could not remove him from his faith. Whereof the king being informed, he caused the priest to be brought before his presence, who by his persuasion caused him to revoke, but still he was burnt immediately.

In the same year above-mentioned, which was A.D. 1498, after the beheading of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, and son to the Duke of Clarence, the king and queen being removed to Calais, a certain godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, in Norfolk, was burnt in the month of July. About which year likewise, or in the year next following, the 20th day of July, was an old man burnt in Smithfield.

JEROME SAVONAROLA.

In the year 1499, the martyrdom and burning of Jerome Savonarola took place in Florence. He was a monk in Italy, and singularly well learned; preached against the evil living of the spirituality, and especially of his own order, complaining against them as the springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickedness. Whereupon, by the help of certain learned men, he began to seek reformation in his own order. The Pope perceiving this, and fearing that Jerome, who was now in great reputation among all men, should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to see reformation of these matters, which vicar, with great superstition, began to reform things; but Jerome always withstood him, whereupon he was complained of to the Pope, and because, contrary to the Pope's commandment, he withstood his vicar, he was accursed. But for all that Jerome left not off preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied to them that the land should be overthrown for the pride and wickedness of the people, and for the untruth, hypocrisy, and falsehood of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenged; as it afterwards came to pass, when King Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straitly beset Pope Alexander that he was forced to make composition with the king.

Now, as Jerome would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the Pope, to give account of his new learning (for so then they called the truth of the gospel), but he made his excuse that he could not come. Then he was again forbidden by the Pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false, and seditious.

This Jerome, as a man worldly wise, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for fear left off preaching; but when the people, who sore hungered and longed for God's word, were urgent on him that he would preach again, he began again to preach, A.D. 1496, in the city of Florence; and although many counselled him that he should not do so without the Pope's commandment, yet he did not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good-will. When the

Pope and his slaves heard news of this they were grievously incensed and inflamed against him, and now again cursed him as an obstinate and stiff-necked heretic. But for all that Jerome proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying that men ought not to regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common advantage, whereby the people should be taught and amended, Christ's kingdom enlarged, and the kingdom of the devil utterly overthrown.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing than only the pure and simple word of God, making often protestation that all men should certify him if they heard him teach or preach anything contrary thereto, for upon his own conscience he knew not that he had taught anything but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was all men may easily judge by his books that he has written.

After this (A.D. 1498) he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloister, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Sylvester, who favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirty-first psalm—"In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust; let me never be ashamed; deliver me in thy righteousness;" wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth the continual strife between the flesh and the spirit.

After this the Pope's legates came to Florence, and called forth these three good men, threatening them marvellously; but they continued still constant. Then came the chief counsellors of the city, with the Pope's commissioners, who had gathered out certain articles against these men, whereupon they were condemned to death, the tenor of which articles hereafter ensue:—

1. The first article was as touching our free justification through faith in Christ.
2. That the communion ought to be ministered under both kinds.
3. That the indulgences and pardons of the Pope were of no effect.
4. For preaching against the filthy and wicked living of the cardinals and clergy.
5. For denying the Pope's supremacy.
6. Also, that he had affirmed that the keys were not given to Peter alone, but unto the universal church.
7. Also, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ; for that he attributed more to his own pardons and traditions than to Christ's merits, and therefore he was antichrist.
8. Also, that the Pope's excommunications are not to be feared, and that he who doth fear or flee them is excommunicated of God.
9. That auricular confession is not necessary.
10. That he had moved the citizens to uproar and sedition.
11. That he had neglected and condemned the Pope's citation.
12. That he had shamefully spoken against and slandered the Pope.
13. That he had taken Christ to witness of his naughtiness and heresy.
14. Also, that Italy must be cleansed through God's scourge, for the manifold wickedness of the princes and clergy.

These and such other articles were laid against them and read

before them. Then they demanded of Jerome and his companions whether they would recant and give over their opinions. They answered, that through God's help they would steadfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they degraded one after another by the Bishop of Vasion, and so delivered over to the secular rulers of Florence, with commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiff-necked heretics.

Thus was this worthy witness of Christ, with the other two, first hanged up openly in the market-place, and afterwards burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up and cast into the river of Arum, the 24th of May, A.D. 1499. This Savonarola suffered under Pope Alexander VI.

WILLIAM TYLSWORTH AND OTHERS.

In the days of King Henry VII. (A.D. 1506), in the diocese of Lincoln, in Buckinghamshire, one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Stanley. At which time one Joan Clerk, a married woman, who was the only daughter of William Tylsworth, and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father; and at the same time her husband, John Clerk, did penance, at her father's burning, and bear a faggot, as did also twenty-three other persons; and who afterwards were compelled to wear certain badges, and went abroad to certain towns to do penance, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other towns. And also several of these men were afterwards burned in the cheek, as William Page, who at this present day is alive,* and likewise carried a faggot with the others. Agnes Wetherly, who is still alive, testifies that at the burning of this William Tylsworth were above sixty others, who were obliged to carry faggots for their penance, of whom some were enjoined to bear and wear faggots at Lincoln the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another, etc. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who for his professions' sake was put out of his farm and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashryge, where he wore on his right sleeve a square piece of cloth the space of seven years together.

About the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth was one Father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelt at Missenden. At his burning there were about twenty persons that were compelled to carry faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked Pharisees compelled them to. After that, by the space of two or three years, was burned at Amersham, Thomas Bernard, a husbandman, and James Mordon, a labourer; they were both burned at one fire; and there was William Littlepage (who is yet alive) compelled to be burned in the right cheek, and Father Rogers and Father Reive, who afterwards were burned. This Father Rogers was in the bishop's prison fourteen weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly

* *i.e.*, when John Foxe wrote.

handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after his coming out of the prison he was so lame in his back that he could never go upright as long as he lived, as several honest men that are now living can testify. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek, and obliged to carry faggots the same time. The cause was that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the Holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this: their necks were tied fast to a post, and their hands holden fast, that they might not stir, and so the iron being hot was put to their cheeks; and thus they bore about them the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus.

Among those who were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel and word of Christ was one Thomas Chase of Amersham. This man, by the report of such as knew him, was a man of a godly, sober, and honest behaviour (whose virtuous doings yet remain in memory), and could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and took him and brought him before the blind bishop, being at that time at Woburn, in the county of Buckingham; and as it is written in the Acts that wicked Herod vexed certain of the church, and killed James, the brother of John, with the sword, and because he saw that it pleased the Jews he proceeded further, so this bishop had Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes; but what answer this godly man, Thomas Chase, made them is unknown. However, it is to be supposed that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christ's true religion and gospel, and to the extirpation of idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisy, for that he was commanded to be put in prison, in the bishop's house at Woburn, which had not been done to him had not his answers been sound and upright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chains, manacles, and irons, often pining with hunger, where the bishop's alms was daily brought to him by his chaplains, which alms were nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christ's promises, "Blessed are they which suffer for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," Matt. v.; and as follows, "Blessed are ye when men revile ye and persecute you," etc. When the bishop, with his band of slaves, perceived that by their daily practices of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he did bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty to him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproar among the people. And as Richard Hunne shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lollards' Tower, about A.D. 1514, even so these blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and put to death this Thomas Chase in prison, who most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit.

After these vipers of the wicked brood of antichrist had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make to cloak their shameful murder; as last, to blind the ignorant, silly people, they most slanderously caused it to be rumoured abroad by their dependants that Thomas Chase had hanged himself in prison; which was a most shameful lie, for the prison was such that a man could not stand upright nor lie at ease. And besides, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman declares that saw him dead. And yet these holy catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland Wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen; and thus commonly are innocent men laid up by these unworthy clergymen. But He that is true hath promised at one time or another to clear His true servants, not with lies and fables but by His own true word. No secret, saith He, is so close but it shall be opened; neither is anything so hid that shall not at the last be known clearly. Such a faithful Lord is God always to those that are His true servants. Blessed be His holy name for ever and ever. Amen.

Thomas Harding being one of this company thus molested and troubled in the town of Amersham for the truth of the gospel, after his abjuration and penance was again sought for, and brought to the fire in the days of Henry VIII.

After the martyrdom of these two I also read of one Thomas Norris, who for the same cause—that is, for the profession of Christ's gospel—was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich the last day of March, A.D. 1507.

LAURENCE GHEST.

It is lamentable to remember, and almost impossible to comprehend, the names, times, and persons of all who have been slain for the true maintaining of Christ's cause. In the catalogue of them next in order comes the memorial of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the days of King Henry VII. He was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise not unfriended, for which the bishop and the clergy were the more loth to burn him, but kept him in prison for the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they, thinking to influence and persuade his mind by awakening his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake they brought before him his wife and his seven children. At the sight of them, although nature is commonly wont to work in other men, yet in him religion overcoming nature made his constancy remain immovable; so that when his wife exhorted and

desired him to save himself, he again began to desire her to be content, and not to be a stumbling-block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation; and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself, to follow Christ. As he was burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face. At this the brother of Laurence, who was standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him had he not been otherwise prevented.

A GODLY WOMAN.

Of all the examples of godly persons, of whom so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and His truth, I cannot tell if ever there were any martyrdom more notable and admirable, or wherein the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment has at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman, put to death in Chipping Sodbury, about the same time, under the reign of King Henry VII.

The constancy of this blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold, so the example of the bishop's chancellor, who cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors to consider and to take example, which the living God grant they may Amen. The chancellor who condemned was Doctor Whittington.

After this godly woman and manly martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched chancellor, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresy, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about, was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the chancellor, there present to see the execution. Thus this faithful woman and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her conscience clear and unreprovable till the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward. It happened in the meantime that as the popish executioners were busy in slaying this lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was as busy within the town slaying a bull, which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher (belike not so skilful in his art of killing beasts as the persecutors were in murdering Christians) as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else how he smit I know not: this was certain, that the bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken down, put his strength to the ropes, and broke loose from the butcher into the street, at the very time when the people were coming in great crowd from the burning; who seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild, gave way for the beast, every man shifting

for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was, against whom the bull, with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns, and gored him through and through, and so killed him immediately, to the great wonder of all that saw it.

JOHN BROWNE.

The occasion of the first trouble of this John Browne was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne, being at the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him. After some communication, the priest asked him, "Dost thou know," said he, "who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes." "No, sir," said he, "I know not what you are." "I tell thee I am a priest." "What, sir, are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," quoth he again, "I am a soul-priest, I sing for a soul," said he. "Do you so, sir?" quoth the other; "that is well done. I pray you, sir," quoth he, "where do you find the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how can you then save the soul?" said he. "Go thy ways," said he, "thou art an heretic, and I will be even with thee." So at the landing, the priest, taking with him Walter More and William More, rode straightways to the Archbishop Warham, whereupon John Browne, within three days after, his wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the table to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought to Canterbury, neither his wife nor he, nor any of his, knowing where he was taken; and there continuing from Low Sunday till the Friday before Whit-Sunday, his wife not knowing all this while where he was. He was set in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, A.D. 1517. The same night as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he was burned: to whom he, declaring the whole story of how he was handled, showed and told how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burnt to the bones, and told her how, by the two bishops, Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, "To make me," said he, "to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, He should hereafter deny me. I pray thee, therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God." And so the next day, on Whit-Sunday even, this godly martyr was burned. When standing at the stake, he said, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth."

DOCTOR COLET.

About this time died Doctor John Colet, A.D. 1519, who, although not a martyr, deserves a place among such. To his sermons the men of Buckinghamshire had a great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of reading the works of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. From whence he was called by the king, and made Dean of St. Paul's; where he used to preach much with a great auditory, as well of the king's court as of the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright, in discipline he was severe; so that his canons, because of their stricter rule, complained that they were made like monks. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of St. Paul or of Solomon's Proverbs. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed to incline from the common opinions of that age. The order of monks and friars he fancied not; neither could he favour the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors; so that when Erasmus, speaking in the praise of Thomas Aquinas, commended him, Colet first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in jest, but afterwards finding that he was in earnest, burst out, saying, "Why tell you me of the commendation of that man, who unless he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss so boldly and rashly; and also, except he had been more worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's holy doctrine with man's profane doctrine as he has done?"

Fitzjames, bearing an old grudge and displeasure against Colet, with other two bishops entered complaint against Colet to the Archbishop of Canterbury, then William Warham. His complaint was divided into three articles—The *first* was for speaking against worshipping images; the *second* was about hospitality, that in treating of the words of the gospel, "Feed—feed—feed," John xxi. 15, when he had expounded the first two, as feeding with example of life and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it in another way. The *third* crime with which they charged him was for speaking against such as used to preach only by written sermons, preaching nothing to the people but what they brought in their papers with them. And because the Bishop of London used much to do this, he took it as spoken against himself, and therefore bare this displeasure against Dr. Colet. The archbishop weighing the matter more wisely, and being well acquainted with Colet, took his part against his accusers, and at that time he was got out of trouble.

William Tindal, in his book in answer to Master More, testifies that the Bishop of London would have pronounced Colet, the Dean of

St. Paul's, an heretic, for translating the Lord's Prayer into English, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury helped the dean.

And yet the malice of the bishop ceased not; being thus repulsed by the archbishop, he laid by another train how to accuse him to the king. It happened at the time that the king was making preparation for war against France; so the bishop with his coadjutors taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, in which he seemed to prefer peace before war, were it never so just, accused him of it in their sermons, and also in the presence of the king.

It so happened at this time that on Good Friday Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, treated of the victory of Christ; exhorting all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ against the devil; adding, moreover, what an hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all they who upon private hatred or ambition took weapons against their enemy (one Christian to slay another) did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan; and therefore he exhorted that Christian men in their wars would follow Christ, their prince and captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the example of Cæsar, or Alexander, etc. The king, hearing Colet thus speak, and fearing lest the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his wars which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret conference, walking in his garden. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were his enemies, thought now that Colet must needs be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the king, treating Dr. Colet with great gentleness, and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, only he required him (that the soldiers should not rashly mistake what he had said) more plainly to explain his words, which he did; and so, after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying, "Let every man choose what doctor he pleases, Colet shall be my doctor;" and so he departed. So that none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

In turning over the registers and records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to A.D. 1520 and 1521, I find that as the light of the gospel began the more to appear, and the number of professors to increase, so the vehemency of persecution and stir of the bishops began also to increase. Upon which then ensued great trouble and grievous affliction in many quarters of this realm, especially about Buckinghamshire and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the diocese of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and other places. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people; so that they are much deceived and misinformed who condemn this kind of doctrine of novelty, asking where was this church and religion before Luther's time? To whom it may be answered that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops; it afterwards decayed, and is now reformed again; and although it was not received nor admitted by the Pope's clergy before Luther's time, neither is now, yet it was

received by others, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work, and they a great number, who both professed and suffered for the same. And if they think this doctrine so new that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which the Pope's clergy were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable so to persecute their own fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or the professors of it so lately sprung up, as they pretend to be? But this comes only of ignorance, and through not knowing and well considering the times and antiquities of the church; which if they did they would see and confess that England has not wanted great multitudes who tasted and followed the sweetness of God's holy word. The fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times, as may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing, also by the expenses and charges they incurred in buying books in English; some of whom gave five marks, some more, some less, for a book; some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English. In which time of scarcity of books, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel at, to note in the registers, and to consider how notwithstanding the word of truth multiplied so exceedingly as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty power; for I find and observe in considering the registers how one neighbour resorting and conferring with another, soon with a few words did win and turn their minds to the truth of God's word. To see their labours, their earnest seeking, their burning zeals, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful, may make us now, in these our days of free profession, to blush for shame.

There were four principal points in which they stood against the church of Rome—in pilgrimage, in adoration of saints, in reading scripture books in English, and in the carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtlety so circumvented them, that the popish clergy caused the wife to detect the husband, the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother to disclose his brother, and the neighbour the neighbour. Neither were any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the books were known; neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtlely did these prelates use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these men, fifteen or twenty years before, so covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence.

For the better declaration of all which, here first is to be noted touching the see of Lincoln.

After William Smith followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel

vexer of the faithful servants of Christ. He to renew again the old persecution, which was not yet utterly quenched, began with one or two of those who had abjured, and caused them by oath to detect and betray not only their own opinions, but also to discover all others who were suspected. By which an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens were brought to examination, and strictly handled. And such as were found in relapse were burned. The rest were so burdened with superstitions and idolatrous penance and injunction, that either through grief of conscience they shortly afterwards died, or else lived with shame.

One Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother, were detected as having abjured before in the time of William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln. They being sworn, and confessing nothing before the bishop, at last were convicted by witness. Wherefore they were constrained at their next examination to utter themselves, and confess what they had both done and said—that is, that Robert had read to Richard his brother a parcel of scripture beginning thus—"James, the servant of God, to the twelve tribes," etc. That he heard Tylsworth say that images of saints were but stocks and stones, and dead things; and that he taught the same to his brother Richard, and concealed the words of Tylsworth. That he partly believed Thomas Mastal, teaching him that the true presence of Christ was not in the sacrament; and likewise of images and pilgrimages: for receiving the communion at Easter without confession, etc. Robert Bartlet was obliged to prove against Agnes Wellis, his own sister, that he had twice instructed her not to worship images, and also had taught her in the epistle of St. James.

By a cruel system of examination, brother was compelled to inform against brother, sister, or neighbour, until evidence was thus craftily obtained against several hundreds of godly men and women, that they used to assemble together and read portions of the holy scriptures in the English tongue. The reader may thus learn the number of the good men and women who were troubled and molested by the church of Rome, and all in one year; of whom few or none were learned, being simple labourers and artificers: but it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledge and understanding, by reading a few English books, such as they could get.

To assist the Bishop of Lincoln in his destroying work, King Henry directed down the following letter to the sheriffs, bailiffs, officers, and others:—

"Henry VIII., by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, hearing or seeing these our letters, and to every of them, greeting—Forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, the Bishop of Lincoln, hath now within his diocese no small number of heretics, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heaviness: We, therefore, being in will and mind safely to provide for the said right reverend father in God and

his officers, that they, or none of them shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the said heretics, or their favourers, in executing and ministering justice to the said heretics, according to the laws of holy church; do straitly charge and command you, and every of you, as ye regard our high displeasure, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to the said right reverend father in God, and his said officers, in the executing of justice in the premises, as they or any of them shall require you so to do; not failing to accomplish our commandment and pleasure in the premises, as ye intend to please us, and will answer to the contrary at your uttermost peril. Given under our signet at our castle at Windsor, the 20th day of October, the thirteenth year of our reign."

The bishop thus being armed with the authority of the king's letter, and incited by his own fierceness, lost no time, but to accomplish his violence upon the poor flock of Christ he called before him all those in his diocese who were suspected to incline towards those opinions, and made great havoc of the flock. The opinions for which they suffered are sufficiently indicated in the accounts already before the reader.



CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMATION—FOREIGN PERSECUTIONS.

ALTHOUGH it cannot be sufficiently expressed with the tongue or pen of man into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter days, yet partly by the reading of these histories some intelligence may be given to those who have judgment to mark, or eyes to see in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned during the space of upwards of four hundred years. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayst understand, gentle reader, how the religion of Christ, which only consists in spirit and truth, was wholly turned into outward observances, ceremonies, and idolatry. We had so many saints, so many gods, so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages; we had as many churches, as many reliques, forged and feigned; again, we believed so many reliques, so many lying miracles. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones; in place of immortal Christ, we adored mortal bread. How the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. Instead of God's word, man's word was set up. Instead of Christ's testament, the Pope's testament—that is, the canon-law. Instead of St. Paul, Aquinas took place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, the use and end of it was less known; and as the end of the law was unknown, so the difference between the gospel and the law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not examined. Through this ignorance it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world, as with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel; for where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand or prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this, the promise of God in the blood of Christ, His Son, giving and promising life to all that believe in Him; giving (saith the scripture) *to* us, and not bargaining or indenting *with* us; and that freely for Christ's sake, and not conditionally for our merits' sake.

In these so blind and miserably corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good reader, how necessary it was, and high time, that the reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work, through the merciful providence of Almighty God. Although He suffered His church to wander and start aside, through the seduction of pride and prosperity, for a long time, yet at length it pleased His goodness to have respect to His people, and to reduce His church to its pristine foundation and frame again, from whence it was piteously decayed.

And here we have first to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For, as the first decay and ruin of the church began by rude ignorance and lack of knowledge in teachers, so, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing shortly after the burning of John Huss and Jerome. Printing opened to the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge, which were good books and authors, who before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God, which stirred up good understandings to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment; by which light darkness began to be seen, and ignorance to be detected, truth to be discerned from error, and religion from superstition.

After these men, stirred up by God, there followed others, increasing daily more and more in science, in languages, and perfection of knowledge, who, being so armed and furnished with the help of good letters that they encountered the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbarity, of truth against error, of true religion against superstition. Here began the first assault against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the Pope's church. After these men, by their learned writings and laborious travel, had opened a window of light to the world, and had made, as it were, a way more ready for others to come after them immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with others after him, by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of His church.

MARTIN LUTHER.

Martin Luther, born at Isleben, in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was sent to the university of Erfurth. There he entered in the convent of the Augustinians, in which there was an aged man, with whom Luther, being of the same order, had conference upon many things, especially touching the article of remission of sins.

Luther was thus not only strengthened, but was also instructed in the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeats so many times this sentence, "We are justified by faith." And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he perceived, as well by the purpose of the old man as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations which he had read before by the schoolmen. And so reading by little and little, comparing the sayings and examples of the prophets

and apostles, and continual invocation of God, and exercise of faith and prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then he began to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable things, among others, in the *Exposition of the Psalms*, and especially of the *Book of the Spirit and Letter*, which confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the Sententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracensis. Also he read the books of Occam, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Scotus. He read also Gerson; but above all the rest he perused St. Augustine's works all over, with attentive meditation; and thus he continued his study at Erfurth for the space of four years in the convent of the Augustines.

About this time one Staupitius, a famous man, was promoting the erection of an university in Wittemberg, and endeavouring to have schools of divinity founded in this new university. When he had considered the spirit and learning of Luther, he invited him from Erfurth, to place him in Wittemberg (A.D. 1508), at the age of twenty-six. There his learning appeared in the ordinary exercise, both of his disputations in the schools and in preaching in churches, where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther.

Dr. Mellarstad would often say that Luther was of such a wonderful spirit, and so ingenious, that he was sure that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching.

There he expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the meanwhile omitted not his study in theology. Three years afterwards he went to Rome, about some contentions of the monks, and returning the same year, he was graduated as a doctor, at the expense of the Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of the schools; for he had heard him preach, well understood the quietness of his spirit, diligently considered the force of his words, and held in high admiration those profound matters which he so exactly explained in his sermons.

After this he began to expound the epistle to the Romans, and then the Psalms, where he showed the difference betwixt the law and the gospel. He also overthrew the error that then reigned in schools and sermons, that men may merit remission of sins by their own works, and that they are just before God by outward discipline, as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently led the minds of men to the Son of God; and as John the Baptist pointed to the Lamb of God which took away the sins of the world, even so Luther, shining in the church as a bright star after a long, cloudy, and obscure sky, clearly showed that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

These happy beginnings got him great authority, especially as his life corresponded to his profession; the consideration of which allured to him wonderfully the hearts of his auditors, and also many notable personages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows; he meddled in no

doubtful opinions, but taught this only doctrine as the principal of all others to men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, as the only true comfort in times of adversity. Every man received good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets, and apostles, come forth into light out of darkness, by which they began to understand the difference between the law and the gospel, between the promises of the law and the promise of the gospel, between spiritual righteousness and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and such like authors, who were studied at that time.

It happened about this time that many were induced by Erasmus's learned works to study the Greek and Latin tongues, who, perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical doctrine, and especially such as were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongue, that after he had learned the phrase and propriety of the language, and drawn the doctrine from the very fountains, he might give more sound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany (A.D 1516), Leo X., having succeeded Julius II., was Pope of Rome, who sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all Christian realms and dominions, by which he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure. The gatherers and collectors persuaded the people that whoever should give ten shillings should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held, as a general rule, that God would do whatever they would have Him, according to the saying, "Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven." But if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing.

This filthy kind of Pope's merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions, so came also to Germany, through means of a certain Dominican friar named Tetzel, who most impudently caused the Pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, and set them openly on the temple that joins the castle of Wittemberg, on the 30th of September, A.D. 1517.

This friar, hoping to obtain the Pope's blessing, assembled certain monks and divines of his convent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And while he would not himself seem to be dumb, he began not only to inveigh in his sermons, but to thunder against Luther, crying, "Luther is an heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with fire." And besides this, he burned openly Luther's propositions and the sermons which he wrote on indulgences. The rage and fury of this friar forced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his argument.

And thus arose the beginning of this controversy, wherein Luther,

neither suspecting nor dreaming of any change that might happen, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but only required a moderation in them; and therefore they falsely accuse him who blaze that he began with plausible matter, by which he might get praise, to the end that in process of time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or others.

And certainly he was not stirred up by the court, for Duke Frederick was offended that such contention and controversy should arise.

And as this Duke Frederick was one of all the princes of the time that most loved quietness and tranquillity, so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often showed the heaviness and sorrow which he bore in his heart, fearing still greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God, and well deliberating thereon, he thought with himself that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things. Nor was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned by God, obstinately to oppose the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly prince should do, he obeyed God, committing himself to His holy grace and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilian, the emperor, Charles, King of Spain, and the Pope had given commandment to the Duke Frederick that he should prohibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching, yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of scripture which he alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged to be true and sincere. And yet he did not do this, trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious to hear the judgment of others, who were both aged and learned. In the number of whom was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther, saying and protesting that he would rather that the ground should open and swallow him than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth; and therefore he desired him to declare his judgment in the matter freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated by the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the duke's request, saying that in Luther were two great faults—first, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the second, that he would touch the Pope's crown; which two matters are in no case to be tampered with. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, he said that Luther was occupied in detecting errors, and that a reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the church; and he added that the effect of his doctrine was true, but only he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing. Duke Frederick shortly after wrote to Luther, seriously exhorting him to temper the vehemence of his style. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor.

Erasmus the next year wrote to the Archbishop of Mentz an epistle touching the cause of Luther; in which epistle he signifies to the bishop, "That many things were in the books of Luther condemned by monks and divines for heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read as sound and godly."

"Once," said he, "it was counted an heresy when a man opposed the gospel or articles of the faith; now, he that dissents from Thomas Aquinas is an heretic; whatever they like not, whatever they understand not, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy, or to speak more finely than they do, that is with them heresy." And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

Now to return, and to treat of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. The contention increased, and Luther was compelled to write more largely and fully than otherwise he thought; which was, in A.D. 1517. Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as aftewards followed. But hearing that he was accused to the Bishop of Rome, he wrote humbly to him, in which writing he declares the outrage of those pardon-mongers who so excessively cheated the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his holiness; and so proceeding, in the end of his writing thus submits himself—

"Wherefore," saith he, "most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your holiness, with all that I am, and all that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in your speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be contented to die; for the earth is the Lord's, and all the fulness thereof, who is blessed for ever. Amen." This was in A.D. 1518.

After Martin Luther, provoked by Tetzel, had declared his mind in writing, lowly and humbly, and had set up certain propositions to be disputed, not long after, among other monks and friars, steps up Silvester de Prierio, a Dominican friar, who began to publish abroad an impudent and railing dialogue against him. Next after this Silvester stept forth Eckius, and opposed the conclusions of Luther. Against whom D. Andrew Bedenstein, Archbishop of Wittemberg, came forth, making his apology in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the 7th of August, by Jerome, Bishop of Ascalon, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, the Pope's legate, was then at the city of Augsburg, having before been sent down with certain mandates of Pope Leo to that city. The university at Wittemberg hearing of Luther's citation, soon directed their letters, with their public seal, to the Pope in Luther's behalf. Also another letter they sent to Charles Miltitz, the Pope's chamberlain; also good Frederick ceased not for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with Cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be removed from Rome to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the duke, wrote to the Pope, from whom he received this answer, 23d August—"That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Jerome, Bishop of Ascalon, auditor of the chamber, which bishop had diligently done what was commanded him; but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, not only refused to come, but also became more bold and stubborn, continuing, or rather increasing, in his former heresy. Wherefore he desired that the cardinal should cite and call

up the said Luther, to appear at the city of Augsburg before him, enjoining withal the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if need required: so that when the said Luther should appear, he should lay hands upon him, and commit him to safe custody, and then he should be brought up to Rome; and if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the church again, or else he should be interdicted, with all his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatever state or condition they were, whether they were dukes, marquises, earls, barons, etc. Against all which persons and degrees he desired him to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted), interdicting, by the censure of the church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tenements, and villages, as should minister any harbour to Luther, and were not obedient to the see of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as showed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their sins."

The cardinal being thus charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commission sends with all speed for Luther to appear at Augsburg before him.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther, yielding his obedience to the church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's message (at the charges of the noble prince-elector, and also with his letters of commendation), where he remained three days before he came to his presence; for it was provided by his friends that he should not confer with the cardinal till a sufficient warrant or safe-conduct was obtained of the Emperor Maximilian; which being obtained, he soon entered, offering himself to the presence of the cardinal, and was there received by the cardinal very gently, who, according to the Pope's command, propounded to Martin Luther three things, to wit:—

1. That he should repent and revoke his errors.
2. That he should promise from that time forward to refrain from the same.
3. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate brought forth a papal bull, called the Extravagant of Clement, which begins, "Unigenitus," etc., because that he contrary to that canon had held and taught in his fifty-eight propositions, "that the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons." Secondly, the cardinal, contrary to the seventh proposition of Luther, affirmed that faith is not necessary to him that receives the sacrament.

On another day Luther protested his attachment to the church of Rome; his conviction that all he had taught was sound, true, and catholic; and his readiness to give a reason for his sayings.

After this, Luther prepares an answer to the legate, teaching that the merits of Christ are not committed to men; that the Pope's voice is to be heard when he speaks agreeably to the scriptures; that the Pope may err, and that he ought to be reprehended. Moreover, he

showed that in matters of faith, not only the general council, but also every faithful Christian is above the Pope, if he depend on better authority and better reason; that the Extravagant bull contains untruth; that it is an infallible truth that none is righteous; that it is necessary for him that comes to the receiving of the sacrament to believe; that faith in the remission of sins is necessary; that he ought not to decline from the truth of the scripture; that he sought nothing but the light of the truth, etc.

But the cardinal would hear no scriptures; he disputed without scriptures; he devised glosses and expositions out of his own head; and by subtle distinctions, like a very Proteus, he avoided all things. After this, Luther being commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate except he would recant, abode there still, and would not depart. Then the cardinal sent for John Staupitius, vicar of the Augustinians, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said to him. The third day also he tarried, and delivered his mind in writing. As to the matters of pardons, he promised to proceed no further, if his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But as he was pressed to retract his sentence which he had previously defended, as he had said nothing but with a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm testimonies of the scripture, therefore he humbly desired the determination of it to be referred to the Bishop of Rome.

Who does not see by this humble submission of Luther, that if the Bishop of Rome would have been satisfied or contented with any reason, he had never been troubled any further by Luther? But the secret purpose of God had a further work to do; for the time was now come when God thought good that pride should have a fall. Thus, while the unmeasurable desire of that bishop sought more than enough (like Æsop's dog, coveting to have both flesh and shadow), he not only missed what he gaped for, but also lost that he had.

Luther, being rejected from the presence of the Cardinal Cajetan, after six days' waiting, departed by the advice of his friends, and returned into Wittemberg, leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal, wherein he declared sufficiently his obedience in his coming, the reasons of his doctrine, his reasonable submission to the See of Rome, his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal's presence, the charges of the duke, and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the cardinal, he left also an appeal to the Bishop of Rome from the cardinal, which he caused to be published before his departure.

After Luther had departed and returned again into his own country, Cajetan writes to Duke Frederick a sharp and biting letter. To this letter the duke answers at large, clearing both Luther and himself; Luther, in that he, following his conscience, grounded upon the word of God, would not revoke that for an error which could be proved to be no error; and himself he excuses thus—that where it is required of him to banish him from his country, or to send him up to Rome, it

would be little becoming him to do so, and less conscientious, unless he knew just cause why he should do so, which, if the cardinal would or could declare to him, there should lack nothing in him which was the duty of a Christian prince to do. And therefore he desired him to endeavour with the Bishop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

At this time the letters which the whole university of Wittemberg (stirred up to support the truth) addressed to the duke, were of good service in confirming that prince in the favour of Luther and of his cause.

As this passed on, Pope Leo, in the month of November, had sent forth new indulgences into Germany and all quarters abroad, with a new edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother church of Rome, prince of all other churches, That bishops of Rome, who are successors of Peter and vicars of Christ, have this power and authority given to release and dispense, also to grant indulgences available both for the living and for the dead lying in the pains of purgatory; and this doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful Christian men, under pain of the great curse, and utter separation from all holy church. Luther, in the meantime, hearing that at Rome they were about to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain appeal in due form of law, wherein he appeals from the Pope to the general council.

When Pope Leo perceived that his pardons would not prosper to his mind, and that Luther could not be brought to Rome, he sent his chamberlain, Charles Miltitz, who was a German, into Saxony to Duke Frederick, with a golden rose, after the usual ceremony, with secret letters also to certain noblemen of the duke's council, to solicit in favour of the Pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if it might be, from Luther.

But before Miltitz approached Germany, the Emperor Maximilian died in January 1519. Then two candidates stood for the election—to wit, Francis, the French king, and Charles, King of Spain, who was also Duke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy. To make this matter short, through the means of Frederick, prince-elector (who having the offer of the preferment refused it), the election fell to Charles, called Charles V., about the end of August.

In the next year, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvaine and of Cologne condemned the books of Luther as heretical. Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. About this same time flashed out of Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo against Luther, although he had so humbly and obediently reverenced both the person of the Pope and the authority of his see, and had also dedicated to him the book intituled, *Of Christian Liberty.*

In the month of October this year, the new emperor, Charles V., was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; and about the month of November Pope Leo sent again to Duke Frederick two cardinals, of whom the one was Jerome Leander, who, after a few words of high commendation,

premised to the duke, touching his noble progeny and his other famous virtues, then they made two requests to him in the Pope's name—first, that he would cause all the books of Luther to be burnt; secondly, that he would either cause Luther to be executed, or else would send him up to Rome to the Pope.

These two requests seemed very strange to the duke, who answered that he was ready to do his duty wherever right and equity required. But as in this cause he saw much hatred and violence shown on one side, and no error yet convicted on the other side, but that it had rather the approbation of many well-learned and sound men of judgment, and as also the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, therefore he desired the legates to arrange with the Pope's holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error might first be known and proved before he was made a heretic, or his books burned. And then when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of scripture, Luther should find no favour at his hands; otherwise he trusted that the Pope's holiness would exact nothing of him which he might not, with equity and honour of his place and estate, reasonably perform

Then the cardinals declared to the duke again that they could do no otherwise than according to the form of their commission; and so they took the books of Luther, and shortly after set fire upon them, and openly burnt them. Luther hearing this, in like manner called together all the students and learned men in Wittemburg, and there taking the Pope's decrees, and the bull lately sent down against himself, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, he set them likewise on fire, and burnt them on the 10th of December.

In the year 1521 Luther attended the diet of Worms, having obtained a safe-conduct from the emperor, at whose call he was present. His friends endeavoured to dissuade him from putting himself into the lion's power; but his reply was, that "were he obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, it would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there."

The fourth day after his arrival, a gentleman named Ulric, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men-at-arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor, before dinner, to go to Luther, and to enjoin him to appear before his imperial majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to be informed of the cause of his being sent for; to which he willingly assented, as was his duty.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of the empire assembled there, he was first advertised by Ulric, of Pappenheim, to keep silence until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius, in name of his imperial majesty, demanded of him—

"First, whether thou confess these books here (for he showed a heap of Luther's books, written in the Latin and Dutch tongues), and which

are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and that thou dost affirm them to be thine or not?

"Secondly, whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to what thou hast written?"

Among the books named were his *Commentaries upon the Psalms*, his book on *Good Works*, his *Commentary upon the Lord's Prayer*, and others which were not controversial.

Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch—

"In the first place, I can do no otherwise than recognise those books to be mine which were named; and certainly I will never recant any clause of them. In the second place, to declare whether I will wholly defend or call back anything contained in them; as there are questions of faith and the salvation of the soul (and this concerns the word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and which we ought duly and evermore to reverence), this might be accounted a rashness of judgment in me, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I should pronounce anything before I were better advised, considering I might recite something less than the matter imports, and more than the truth requires, if I did not premeditate what I would speak. These two things being well considered, both bring to my mind this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, where it is said, 'Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven.' I require, then, for this cause, and humbly beseech his imperial majesty to grant me, liberty and leisure to deliberate, so that I may satisfy the interrogation made to me, without prejudice of the word of God and peril of mine own soul."

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate Then Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced their resolution, saying, "Although, Master Luther, thou hast sufficiently understood, by the emperor's command, the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to have any further respite given thee to determine, yet the emperor's majesty, of his mere clemency, grants to thee one day to meditate thy answer, so that to-morrow, at this hour, thou shalt exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but pronounce the same with thy voice."

The following day Martin Luther answered, in Latin and in Dutch, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of spirit and Christian constancy, so that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased; but yet more earnestly they desired his recantation, of which they were in some hopes, when they heard him desire respite, to make his answer.

His answer was this:—"Most magnificent emperor, and you, most noble princes, and my most gentle lords, I appear before you here, at the hour prescribed to me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's mercy, your most renowned majesty, and your graces and honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend to this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of justice and truth. And if, by ignorance, I have not given to every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies

and countenance of the court, offending against them, it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that hath frequented cloisters—and not courtly civilities. And first, as touching myself, I can affirm or promise no other thing, but only this that I have taught hitherto in simplicity of mind that which I have thought to tend to God's glory, and to the salvation of men's souls.

"Now, as concerning the two articles objected by your most excellent majesty, whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and are published in my name, and whether I would maintain or revoke them—I have given a resolved answer to the first, in which I persist and shall persevere for evermore, that these books are mine, and published by me in my name, unless it has since happened, by some fraudulent dealing of mine enemies, that there be anything foisted into them, or corruptly altered. For I will acknowledge nothing but what I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

"Nevertheless, as I am a man, and not God, I can no otherwise defend my books than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend His doctrine; who, being examined before Annas, and having received a buffet of the officials, said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.'

"If the Lord (who was perfect, and could not err) refused not to have testimony given against His doctrine, yea, of a most vile servant, how much the more ought I, who am but vile corruption, and can of myself do nothing but err, earnestly see and require if any will bear witness against my doctrine."

Then Eckius, the emperor's prolocutor, with a stern countenance, began, and said, "That Luther had not answered to any purpose; neither behoved it him to call in question things concluded and defined by general councils; and, therefore, required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no."

Then Luther, "Considering," said he, "your sovereign majesty and your honours require a plain answer, this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubtfulness or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I believe not the Pope, neither his general councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves), my conscience is so bound in these scriptures, and the word of God, which I have alleged, that I will not and may not revoke anything, considering it is not godly or lawful to do anything against conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest. God have mercy upon me."

The princes consulted together upon this answer; and when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began thus:—

"Martin," said he, "thou hast more immodestly answered than beseemed thy person, and also little to the purpose. The emperor's majesty requires of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as Christian or no."

Then Luther, turning to the emperor and the nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed



Luther at the Diet of Worms.—P. 62.

with the holy scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary by his adversaries.

They entreated him to submit to the judgment of the emperor, but he declared that he could not give place unless they could confute his doctrine by the word of God. This lesson, said he, he learned of St. Augustine, who writes, "That he gave this honour only to those books which are called canonical, that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other doctors, although in holiness and excellency of learning they surpassed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God's word." Further, said he, St. Paul gives us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good;" and to the Galatians, "Though an angel from heaven preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed." Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his conscience to deny the word of God. In all other causes he would submit himself with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim the elector, Marquis of Brandenburgh, demanded if his meaning was this, that he would not yield unless he were convinced by the scripture. "Yea, truly, right noble lord," quoth Luther, "or else by ancient and evident reasons." And so the assembly broke up, and the princes repaired to the emperor's court.

Luther was soon after summoned to the dwelling of the Archbishop of Triers, who inquired of him what he would do if certain articles were taken out of his books to be submitted to the general council. Luther answered, "Provided that they be not those which the council of Constance condemned." The archbishop said, "I fear they will be the very same; but what then?" Luther replied, "I will not, and I cannot hold my peace on such matters, for I am sure by their decrees the word of God was condemned; therefore, I will rather lose head and life than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God."

It being manifest that Luther was not to be moved, he was ordered to depart under the safe-conduct which had been granted. Luther answered very modestly and Christianly, "Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass; the name of the Lord be blessed." His usual prayer was, "Confirm in us, O God, what thou hast wrought, and perfect the work that thou hast begun in us, to thy glory. Amen." He departed from Worms on April 26th, the day after he received orders so to do. He had only one-and-twenty days granted to him for his return. In the meantime, he writes to the emperor, and to other nobles of the empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good-will and favour; signifying, moreover, that whenever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their command, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear.

In the year 1521 Leo X. died, being of the age of forty-seven years. Some suspect that he died of poison. Adrian VI., schoolmaster to Charles the emperor, succeeded, and lived not much above one year and a-half in his papacy. This Adrian was a German, brought up at

Louvaine ; and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not so intemperate as some other popes. And yet like a right pope, nothing degenerating from his see, he was a mortal enemy to Martin Luther. In his time, shortly after the council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, of the princes, nobles, and States of Germany, A.D. 1522.

To this assembly Adrian sent his letters in manner of a brief, with an instruction also to his legate Cheregato, to inform him how to proceed, and what to allege against Luther before the assembled princes.

The Pope urged the diet at the same time speedily to execute the sentence which had been pronounced against Luther at the diet of Worms.

The assembled princes, in their reply to the Pope, avowed their zealous opposition to Luther, but stated the necessity of caution, in consequence of the many grievances which the German States had to complain of against Rome. They urged the Pope to summon a general council in Germany ; and by a public law prohibited all innovation in religious matters, until a general council should decide what was to be done in an affair of such high moment and importance.

In the meantime Pope Adrian died in 1523. After him succeeded Pope Clement VII., who, A.D. 1524, sent down his legate, Cardinal Campejius, to the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, with letters also to Duke Frederick, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints. But as to the grievances above-mentioned, no word nor message at all was sent, neither by Campejius nor by any other. Thus, when anything was to be complained of against Luther, either for suppression of the liberty of the gospel, or for upholding of the Pope's dignity, the Pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the princes ; but when any redress was to be required for the public weal of Christian people, or touching the necessary reformation of the church, the Pope gives neither ear nor answer.

Luther was kept secret and solitary for a time by certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict. In the meantime, while Luther had thus absented himself from Wittemberg, Andrew Carolostadt, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in matters of religion, had excited the people to throw down images in the temples. Luther, returning again to the city, greatly reproved the rashness of Carolostadt, declaring that such proceedings were not orderly, but that pictures and images ought first to be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men, and that the people ought first to be taught that we are saved before God, and please Him only by faith, and that images serve to no good purpose. This being done, and the people being well instructed, there would be no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he would maintain images, or suffer them ; but that their removal ought to be done by the magistrate, and not by every private man without order and authority.

Luther lived until the age of sixty-three, and had continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. He died on 18th February 1546. Melancthon relates—"Feeling his fatal hour approach, before nine o'clock in the morning, 18th February, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer :—

"'My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou hast manifested unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ ; I have taught Him, I have known Him, I love Him as my life, my health, my redemption ; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my soul to thee.'

"After this he said, thrice, 'I commend my spirit into thy hands ; thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth. God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.' John iii. 16.

"Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, to whom he so faithfully commended his spirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he taught. Let us learn to be modest and meek : let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes that shall follow this sorrowful event. I beseech thee, O Son of God, crucified for us, the risen Emmanuel, govern, preserve, and defend thy church."

ULRIC ZWINGLE.

Ulricus Zuinglius first lived at Glarona, in a place then called our Lord's Hermitage ; from thence he removed to Zurich, about A.D. 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the Minster, among the canons or priests of that close, using with them the same rites and ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the scriptures to the people, with great pains and no less dexterity. And as Pope Leo the same year had renewed his pardons again through all countries, Zwingle zealously withstood them, detecting such abuses by the scriptures, and such other corruptions as reigned then in the church ; and so he continued for the space of two years and more, till at length Hugo, Bishop of Constance, wrote his letter to the senate of the said city of Zurich, complaining grievously of Zwingle. He also wrote another letter to the college of canons, where Zwingle was dwelling, complaining of those new teachers who troubled the church, and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And as both the Pope and the imperial majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no such new innovations of doctrine without the common consent of those to whom they appertained. Zwingle, hearing of this, refers his cause to the judgment and hearing of the senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his faith. And as the bishop's letter was read openly in the college,

Zwingle directs another letter to the bishop, declaring that the said letter proceeded not from the bishop, and that he was not ignorant who were the authors thereof, desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels; because truth, said he, is a thing invincible, and cannot be resisted. After the same tenor, certain other persons of the city likewise wrote to the bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the gospel; requiring, moreover, that he would restrain the filthy and infamous lives of the priests, and that he should permit them to have their lawful wives, etc. This was A.D. 1522.

Besides this, Zwingle wrote also another letter to the whole nation of the Swiss, admonishing them in no case to hinder the course of pure doctrine, nor to bring any trouble upon the priests that were married. For as for the vow of their single life, it came, saith he, from the devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore, as the Swiss had a right and custom in their towns, that when they received a new priest into their churches, they used to advise him to take his concubine, Zwingle exhorted them to grant permission to them to take their wives in honest matrimony, rather than to take concubines against the precept of God.

Thus, as Zwingle continued some years labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to rise at this doctrine, and the Dominican friars began to preach against him. But he, ever keeping himself within the scriptures, protested that he would make good by the word of God what he taught. Upon this, the magistrates and senate of Zurich sent forth a command to all priests and ministers within their dominions, to repair to the city of Zurich, against the 29th day of January next ensuing, A.D. 1523, and there every one to speak freely, and to be heard quietly, touching these controversies of religion; directing also their letters to the Bishop of Constance, that he would either repair there himself, or else send his deputy. When the appointed day came, the bishop's vicegerent, John Faber, was present. The counsel first stating the object of this assembly, required that if any one had to object against the doctrine of Zwingle, he should freely and quietly declare his mind.

Zwingle had set forth all his doctrine in order, to the number of sixty-seven articles, which articles he published, that they who were so disposed might be the better prepared for the disputation. Faber began to state the cause of his being sent there, and argued that neither the time nor the place were fit for discussing such matters, but that the matter belonged to a general council. Zwingle, however, still continued requiring him, that if he had anything to say, he would openly and freely say it. To this he answered, that he would confute his doctrine by writing. After this, when no man appeared to dispute, the assembly broke up. Upon which the senate of Zurich caused it to be proclaimed through all their dominion, that the traditions of men should be abandoned, and that the gospel of Christ should be purely taught out of the Old and New Testament.

In the meantime the Bishop of Constance, with the advice of his

council, answered them as he was requested to do, in a book, wherein he declares what images and pictures those were which the profane Jews and Gentiles adored, and what images these are which the church has received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion was that, whereas the scripture speaks against images, and permits them not to be suffered, that, said he, is to be understood of such images and idols as the Jews and idolatrous Gentiles used, and not such images and pictures as the church has received. From this he enters into the discourse of the mass, where he endeavours to prove, by the Pope's canons and councils, that the mass is a sacrifice and oblation.

This book he sent to the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, exhorting them not to suffer their images or the mass to be abrogated; and shortly afterwards he published the book in print, and sent it to the priests and canons of the Minister of Zurich, requiring them to follow the custom of the church.

The senate, in answer to the bishop's book, about the middle of August wrote to him, declaring that they had read over and over again his book with all diligence; and that they were glad he had sent it abroad in print, because the whole world thereby would be the better judge between them. After this they explained to him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers; and finally, by the authority and testimony of the scriptures, proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answers to him, about the 13th day of June, they commanded all the images within the city, and through all their dominions, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult.

And in the month of April following, the magistrates and senate of the city of Zurich commanded the mass, with all its ceremonies, to be suppressed, both within the city and throughout all their jurisdiction; and instead thereof was placed the Lord's Supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching.

All this while the gospel was not as yet received in any other part of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Wherefore the other twelve towns appointed a meeting at Baden, where were present among the divines, John Faber, Eckius, and Murnerus. The bishops also of Lucerne, Basil, Coire, and Lausanne sent their deputies there. The questions there propounded were these—

That the true body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament.

That the mass is a sacrifice for the quick and dead.

That the blessed Virgin and other saints are to be invoked as mediators and intercessors.

That images ought not to be abolished.

That there is a purgatory.

Which conclusions or assertions Eckius took upon him to defend. Against him reasoned Oecolampadius (who was then chief preacher at Basil) with others. Zwingle at that time was not present, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius, declaring the causes of his

absence—which were, that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself to the hands of his enemies; and that he refused not to dispute, but only the place of the disputation; and that if they would assign the place of disputation either at Zurich, or at Berne, or at Saintgallum, he would not refuse to come. The conclusion of the disputation was this—that all should remain in that religion which they had hitherto kept, and should follow the authority of the council, and should not admit any new doctrine within their dominions.

As the time proceeded, and dissension about religion increased, it followed the next year after (A.D. 1527), in the month of December, that the senate and people of Berne assigned another disputation within their city, and called to it all the bishops near them, warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them, or else to lose all such possessions as they had within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed certain ecclesiastical persons to dispute, prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come they granted a safe-conduct. Also, they appointed that all things should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; and that everyone should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation that every man's saying might be received by the notary, and penned; with this proviso previously arranged, that whatever should be agreed upon, should be ratified and observed through all their dominions; and that men might come there better prepared, they propounded in public writing ten questions to be defended of their ministers by the scriptures.

The doctors of the city of Berne began the disputation. There were present Zwingle, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurerus, with others—all of whom defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the other side, the chief was Conrad Tregerus, an Augustinian friar, who, when he, to prove his assertion, was driven out of the scriptures, sought help of other authority; but the moderators of the disputation would not permit it (as being contrary to the order before arranged)—so he departed, and would dispute no more.

The disputation continued nineteen days. In the end it was agreed by the assent of the most part, that the conclusions were consonant to the truth of God's word, and should be ratified not only in the city of Berne, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in other cities adjoining; and that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

At the city of Constance some things began to be altered a little before. And now, after this disputation at Berne, the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

They of Geneva also were not behind in following the example of the city of Berne, in extirpating images and ceremonies; by reason of which the bishop and clergy left the city in no small anger.

To commemorate this event, they caused a pillar to be erected, and thereupon to be placed in golden letters the day and year

when this reformation from popery to true Christianity began among them, as a perpetual memorial to all posterity to come. This was A.D. 1528.

After the account of this disputation at Berne had reached other cities, the ministers of Strasburg began likewise to affirm and teach that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore should be abolished, and the right use of the Lord's Supper restored. On the other hand, the Bishop of Rome's clergy held that the mass was good and holy; which kindled great contention on both sides. When the senate and magistrates of that city would have brought the matter to a discussion, but they could not, because the priests would not consent; they therefore commanded them to silence.

For a long time the Bishop of Strasburg succeeded in putting off the change of religion, till at last the senate of Strasburg, seeing the matter hang in controversy for the space of two years, and the preachers daily calling upon them for a reformation; and petition also having been made to them by the citizens, assembled in their great council to the number of three hundred, as they are accustomed to do on great matters of importance. And there debating the case with themselves, some declaring on one side, if they abolished the mass, what danger they should incur from the emperor; on the other side, if they did not, how much they would offend God; and therefore, giving time to consult, required them at the next meeting to declare their sentence in the matter. When the day came, the voices and judgment of those who went against the mass prevailed. Upon which immediately a decree was made the 20th of February, A.D. 1529, that the mass should be suspended till the Romanists could prove by good scripture the mass to be a service available and acceptable before God.

What followed in Basil remains to be stated. In Basil was Oecolampadius, a preacher, by whose diligent labour and travail the gospel began to take such effect, that there arose great dissension among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass. Upon this the senate of Basil appointed, that after an open discussion it should be determined by voices what was to be done.

Owing to the intrigues of some of the senate, this discussion was delayed, and the reformation retarded. The citizens proceeded to violent measures, armed themselves, and proceeded to coerce the senate. It happened the very same day that certain of the citizens, such as were appointed to go about the city to see things in order, came into the church, where one of them, thrusting at a certain image with his staff, it fell down and broke. Other images also were served after the same sort of devotion. When the priests came running to them, the citizens, as they would not go beyond their commission, departed.

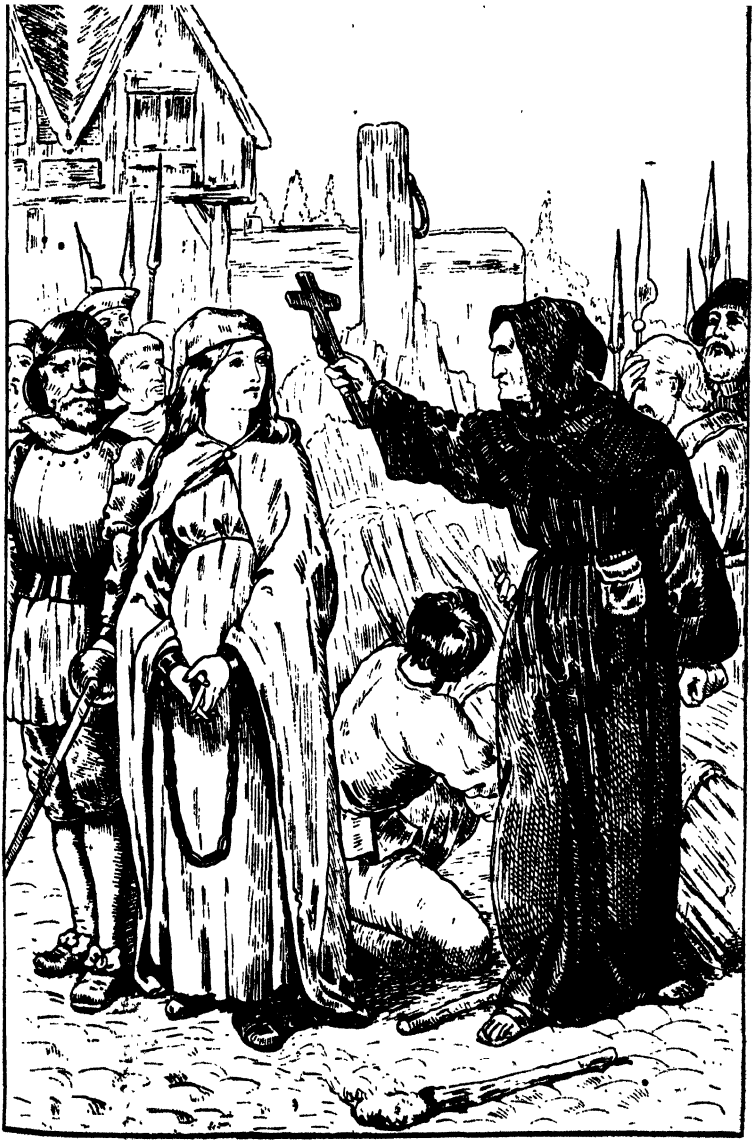
When word was brought to the citizens in the market-place, the matter seemed worse to them than it really was, so they sent three hundred armed men to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger. On coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet, save only a few images broken down,

they, likewise, lest they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other idols and images which they found standing there; and so passing through all the churches in the city, did the same; and when some of the senate came forth to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "What you have been consulting and advising about for these three years, whether it were best to be done or not, we have despatched in one hour, that from henceforth no more contentions may arise between us for images;" and so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance. A decree at the same time was made, that as well within the city of Basil as without, throughout their whole jurisdiction, the mass, with all idols, should be abandoned; and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God and the affairs of the public weal, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred and sixty of the burghers or citizens should be appointed out of every ward in the city to sit with them in council. These decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the city three days and nights, everyone returned again to his house, quiet and joyful, without any blood or stroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the images.

All this time the emperor and the French king were together occupied in wars and strife; which, as it turned to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who was taken prisoner by the emperor, so it happened most opportunely for the success of the gospel; for otherwise, these Helvetians, and other Germans, would not have had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God, of His secret wisdom, disposes times and occasions to serve His will and purpose in all things.

To return, therefore, to Zwingle and the Helvetians. The two cantons of Zurich and Berne, who had reformed their religion, were grossly insulted by the five other cantons, who insultingly hanged the arms of those other two cities on a gallows, which led to a war between them (A.D. 1531).

The French king, with other townships of Switzerland, laboured to bring them to agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them, which conditions were:—That all contumelies and injuries should be forgotten; that hereafter neither part should molest the other; that they who were banished for religion should again be restored; that the five cantons might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none should be restrained among them from the reading of the Old and New Testament; that no kind of disturbance should be raised against those of Berne and Zurich; and that all should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the other, as in times past. But the five cantons would not observe these covenants. Wherefore the men of Zurich and Berne, declaring, first, their cause in public writing, to excuse the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, beset the highways and passages, that no victuals or other forage should come to the other cantons. When they of the five towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed them-



Wendelmuta at the place of execution.– P. 74.

selves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zurich. There was a garrison of the Zurich men there, to the number of a thousand and more; and word was sent to the city of Zurich to succour their men with speed; but their enemies approached so fast that they could hardly come to rescue them; for, when they were come to the top of the hill, they saw their fellows in great distress in the valley under them. Upon which they, encouraging themselves, made down the hill with more haste than order, striving who might go fastest; but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one go down at once, and so they were discomfited and overmatched by the multitude. Among the slain was Ulric Zwingle, the blessed servant and saint of God.

As to the cause which moved Zwingle to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused by Sleidan, and especially by Oecolampadius. It was an old received custom among the Zurich men, that when they went forth in warfare the chief minister of the church went with them. Zwingle also, being a man of courage, considering if he should remain at home when war was attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons so encouraged others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind when the time of danger came, thought that he ought not to refuse to take part with his brethren.

Oecolampadius adds that he went out, not as a captain of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and a good shepherd ready to die with his flock. And which of them all, saith he, that most cry against Zwingle, can show any such noble heart to do the like? Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather desired not to go, foreseeing, belike, what danger thereof would ensue. But the senate being importunate upon him, would have no refusal, urging him to go; among whom were thought to have been some false betrayers, objecting to him that he was a dastard if he refused to accompany his brethren, as well in time of danger as in peace. When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon the dead corpse by his popish enemies; such was their hatred to him that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should burn his dead body.

Such, too, was the rage of these five popish cantons against the Abbot Cappello, who was also killed, that they took his dead body, and putting out both its eyes, clothed it in a monk's cowl, and set it in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most despiteful manner. Ulric Zwingle was, when he died, fourty-four years of age, having been born four years after Martin Luther.

Oecolampadius, the preacher of the city of Strasburg, hearing of the death of Zwingle, his dear friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow, so that it is thought to have increased his disease; and so he also departed this life November, A.D. 1531, at the age of forty-nine years, having been born one year before Martin Luther. Although this Oecolampadius then died, yet his learned and famous commentaries upon the prophets, with other works which he left behind him, live still, and shall never die.

WENDELMUTA.

In Holland also, in the year 1527, was martyred and burned a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmuta. This widow, receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace, by the appearing of the gospel, was apprehended and committed to the castle of Werden, and shortly after was brought to appear at the general sessions of that country. Several monks were appointed to talk with her, that they might convince her and win her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in the truth, would not be moved. Many also of her kindred were suffered to reason with her; among whom there was a noble matron, who loved and favoured dearly the widow in prison. This matron coming and communing with her, said, "My Wendelmuta, why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life?" She answered, "Ah, you know not what you say. It is written, 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.'" (Rom. x. 10.) And thus, remaining firm and steadfast in her belief and confession, on the 20th day of November she was condemned by sentence as an heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated; she taking the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

After she came to the place where she was to be executed, a monk had brought out a cross, desiring her to kiss and worship her God. "I worship," said she, "no wooden god, but only that God who is in heaven;" and so, with a joyful countenance, she went to the stake. Then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, and with an ardent prayer commended herself to the hands of God. When the time came that she should be strangled, she modestly closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a sleep. The fire then was put to the wood, and she, being strangled, was burned afterwards to ashes—instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven.

THE ALBIGENSES AND WALDENSES.

About the year 1160 some of the best and chief inhabitants of the city of Lyons, walking in a certain place after their old accustomed manner, especially in the summer time, conferred and consulted together on various matters, either to pass away the time, or to debate their measures. Among them one fell down suddenly dead; Peter Waldo, a man of great substance, was among them at the time. He, looking on the matter more earnestly than the others, and terrified with so awful an example, and God's holy spirit working within him, was stricken with a deep and inward repentance. Upon this followed a great change, with a careful study to reform his former life; so that

first he began to minister large alms of his goods to such as were in need; secondly, to instruct himself and his family with the true knowledge of God's word; thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him on any occasion to repentance and virtuous amendment of life. Partly through his extensive charities to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more of the people daily frequented about him; and when he saw them ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain easy portions of the scripture which he had translated himself into the French tongue; for as he was wealthy in riches, so he was also not unlearned in languages.

Although Laziard, Volateran, with others, describe him as utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, yet by others that have seen his works still remaining in old parchment muniments, it appears he was both able to declare and translate the books of scripture, and also to collect the comments of the learned upon them.

But whatever he was, whether lettered or unlettered, the bishops and prelates seeing him thus intermeddle with the scriptures, and have such resort about him, although it was only in his own house and in private conference, could not abide that the scriptures should be explained by any other than themselves; and yet they would not take the pains to explain it themselves. So they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not cease to do so. Waldo, seeing his proceedings to be godly, and their malice stirred up without just or godly cause, neglected the threatenings and frettings of the wicked, and said, that God must be obeyed rather than man. To be brief, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of antichrist, the more maliciously their fierceness increased; so that, when they saw their excommunication despised, they ceased not to persecute him with prison, with sword, and banishment, till at length they had driven both Waldo and all the favourers of his true preaching out of the city.

Whereupon they were called Waldenses, or the poor men of Lyons; not because they would have all things common among them, or that they, professing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the apostles did (as Eneas Sylvius falsely belied them), but because, being thrust out both of country and of goods, they were compelled to live poorly whether they would or not.

The exiled Waldenses were dispersed in many and various places. Many remained long in Bohemia, who, writing to their king, Uladislaus, to clear themselves against the slanderous accusations of Dr. Austin, gave their confession, together with an apology of their Christian profession: defending with strong and learned arguments the same defence and confession which is now received in most reformed churches, concerning grace, faith, charity, hope, repentance, and works of mercy.

The order of their life and conversation is thus registered in a certain old book of inquisition—"The manner of the Waldenses is this—kneeling upon their knees, and leaning on some bank or stay, they

continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say the Lord's Prayer thirty or forty times. And this they do every day with great reverence, among themselves, and such as are of their own religion, and no strangers with them, both before and after dinner; likewise before and after supper; also when they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times also, as well in the day as in the night. They use no other prayer but the Lord's Prayer, and that without any 'Hail, Mary' or the Creed, which they affirm not to be by Christ, but only by the church of Rome; although they use the seven articles of faith concerning the divinity, and seven articles concerning the humanity, and the ten commandments, and seven works of mercy, which they have compiled together in a compendious book.

"Before they go to meat they ask a blessing, and that the Lord Christ may have mercy upon them, and they say the Lord's Prayer; which being said, then the elder among them begins thus in their own tongue—'God, who blessed the five barley loaves and two fishes in the desert before His disciples, bless this table, and what is set upon it, or shall be set upon it. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' And likewise again, when they rise from meat, the senior gives thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse—'Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, virtue, and strength, to God alone, for ever and ever. Amen.' And adds, moreover, 'God reward them in their bosoms, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us, and bless us. And may the God who has given us bodily food grant us His spiritual life; and may God be with us, and we always with Him.' To which they answer again, 'Amen.' And thus saying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to heaven. After their meat and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, conferring together upon their doctrine," etc.

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painstaking, that Reinerius, a writer about their time, and a violent enemy against them, in a long process, wherein he describes their doctrine and teaching, testifies that he heard from one who knew the party, that a certain heretic, as he calls him, merely to turn a person away from our (Roman) faith, and to bring him to that of the Waldenses, swam in the night, and in the winter time, over the river Ibis, to come to him, and to teach him. So perfect were they in the scriptures, that Reinerius says, he heard and saw an unlettered countryman who could recite the whole book of Job word by word, without book, and others who had the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

And although some of them rather strangely than unskilfully expounded the words, "*Sui non receperunt eum*," John i. 11, "swine received him not," yet they were not so ignorant and devoid of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they greatly spread; so that Reinerius has these words—"There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbered forty churches infected with their heresy, insomuch that in one parish of Cammach, were ten open schools of them," etc.

And Reinerius, when he had said all he could in slandering and impugning them, yet is driven to confess this, where he distinguishes their sect from every other sect—"This sect of the Lyonists has a great show of holiness; they live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the Romish church, and hate it," etc.

Now, to say a little about their persecutions. After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into various places (the providence of God so permitting it), that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some went to Bohemia, many fled into the provinces of France, some into Lombardy, others into other places, etc. But as the cross commonly follows the true and sincere preaching of God's word, so neither could these be suffered to live or remain at rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, which yet remain in writing, for the extirpation of these Waldenses, written above three hundred years ago; by which it appears that there was a great number of them in France.

Besides, there was a council held in Toulouse about three hundred and fifty-five years ago (A.D. 1229) against these Waldenses, who were condemned in another council at Rome before that.

What great persecutions were raised up against them in France by the Pope's commissioners before alluded to, appears by their writings; I will recite some of their words, which, towards the end, are these—"Who is such a stranger that he knows not the condemnation of the heretical Waldenses, decreed so many years ago, so famous, so public, followed up with so great labours, expenses, and travail of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so solemnly condemned and openly punished?" By this we may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when antichrist so long before began to rage against these Waldenses. Never was persecution stirred up against them, or against any other people more terrible than in these later years in France by the French king (A.D. 1545).

At this time the French king held the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogna, and others, and they were under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Turin. In the end of December following, news was brought that it was ordained by the parliament that certain horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogna. Some who pretended great friendship to this people, counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for a better opportunity. But they, notwithstanding, calling upon God, determined, with one accord, constantly to persist in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against Angrogna was soon dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in Lucerne.

In the month of March 1556, the ministers of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took a good man, named Bartholomew, a bookbinder, prisoner, as he passed by the said valley, and sent him to Turin; and

there, with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death; so that several of the parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy.

From thence they went to the valley of St. Martin, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that they came to Lucerne, troubling and vexing the people there in like manner. From thence they went to Angrogna, accompanied with many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests.

After they were come to Angrogna, the president having visited the two temples, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being there assembled: who pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to return to the obedience of the see of Rome. The aforesaid monk, with the president, and all his whole retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary; but the ministers and all the people stood still, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the monk had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly that their minister might also be suffered to preach, affirming that the monk had spoken many things which were not according to the word of God. But the president would not grant their request. After that the president admonished them, in the name of the king and the parliament of Turin, that they should return to the obedience of the Pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life and utter destruction of their town. And he recited unto them the piteous discomfiture of their brethren and friends, which had been done before in Merindole and Cabrieres, and other places in the country of Provence. The ministers and the people answered that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their superiors in all things, so that God thereby were not displeased; and if it were shown to them by the word of God that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours together, even until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, to which the people gladly agreed.

Here he remained fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations; now calling to him the syndics and head-officers, now severally, and now altogether, that so, through terror, he might make them relent; causing also assemblies to be made in every parish, by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding, he prevailed nothing with all that he could do; but still they continued constant; insomuch that they with one accord presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories propounded by the president, in which they confessed—

That the religion wherein both they and their elders had been long instructed and brought up was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, and which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the Christian belief.

Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ,

whereby he distributes abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures, to all those who receive the same with a true and lively faith.

Furthermore, that they received the creeds of the four general councils; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and also the creed of Athanasius, wherein the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.

Also the ten commandments expressed in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and the fifth of Deuteronomy, in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requires of us, is briefly comprised; and therefore, following this article, they suffered not by any means (said they) any gross iniquities to reign amongst them; as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong-dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, theft, murder, or such like; but wholly endeavoured themselves to live in the fear of God, and according to His holy will.

Moreover, they acknowledged the superior powers, as princes and magistrates, to be ordained of God; and that whosoever resisteth the same resisteth the ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitteth themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

Finally, they protested that they would in no point be stubborn; but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Wherefore they required the commissioners that a disputation might be had publicly, and in their presence; and then, if it were proved by the word of God that they erred, either in doctrine, or conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed; beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors, until their time, many hundred years together; and yet, for their parts, being convicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof. They said, moreover, that they, together with the said lords' deputies, confessed all one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one law, one baptism, one hope in heaven; and, in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion was firmly founded and grounded upon the pure word of God.

Now after four years—viz., A.D. 1559—there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain, when the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the Duke of Savoy, under whom the churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont, continued in great quietness, and were not molested; and the duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, by his ministers stirred up the duke against the churches of Piedmont, and his own natural subjects. For the Pope and the cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards his people, incensed him to do that which otherwise he would

not. The Pope's legate also, who then followed the court, and others that favoured the church of Rome, laboured by all means to persuade the duke that he ought to banish the Waldois; alleging that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion without prejudice and dishonour to the apostolic see; also, that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church; and briefly, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son, that he would no longer suffer the people being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of those horrible and furious persecutions wherewith these poor people of the valleys, and in the country of Piedmont, were so long vexed; and because they foresaw the great calamities which they were likely to suffer, to find some remedy for the same, if it were possible, all the churches of Piedmont, with one common consent, wrote to the duke, declaring in effect that the only cause why they were so hated, and for which he was by their enemies so sore incensed against them, was their religion, which was no new or light opinion, but that wherein they and their ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved by the same word that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this advertisement was delivered unto the duke, for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. But, however, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poor Christians who were at Carignan, amongst whom there were certain godly persons taken and burned within four days after.

Shortly after, these churches of the Waldois, that is to say Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, and Suse, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villainy that was there committed were too long. For brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Suse suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken among others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. The minister was a good and faithful servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces, who in the end was put to a most cruel and shameful death. The great patience which he showed in the midst of the fire greatly astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of Larch and Meronne were greatly tormented and afflicted. For some were taken and sent to the galleys, others consented and yielded to the adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known that those who yielded to the adversaries were more cruelly handled than the others who continued constant in the truth, whereby God declares how greatly he detests all such as play the apostate and shrink from the truth.

After this, there were many commandments and injunctions given out through all the country to banish these poor Waldois, with the

doctrine of the gospel, if it were possible, out of the mountains and valleys of Piedmont; but the poor people still desired that, according to that which they had so often before protested by word and writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in His word, simply obeying their Lord and Prince always, and in all things.

In the end of October following, the rumour went that an army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour's warning. Those malefactors who heretofore had fled or were banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together if they would take them to their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogna thereupon assembled together oftentimes to take advice what, in such an extremity, was best to be done. In the end they determined that, for certain days following, there should be kept a general fast, and to have a communion the Sunday after; also, that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that every one should withdraw himself to the high mountains, and every one to carry away such goods as they were able to bear; and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and counsel as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just; but yet every one began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains, and for the space of eight days all the ways were filled with comers and goers to the mountains, like ants in summer, which provide for winter. All this they did in this great perplexity and danger with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God and singing psalms, and every one comforting another.

A few days after, certain other ministers, hearing what they of Angrogna and Lucerne had concluded, wrote to them that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the violence of their enemies, alleging many reasons—that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being just, that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children, knowing that it was the Pope and his ministers which were the cause of all these troubles and cruel wars, and not the duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by their instigations. Wherefore, they might well, and with good conscience, withstand such furious and outrageous violence.

On the 22d of October the lord of Angrogna went from Lucerne to Mondevis, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogna at several times, declaring the great perils and dangers wherewith they were environed, the army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves, he would send immediately to stay the army. They of Angrogna answered, that they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their assembly, had put in writing. With this answer he seemed at

that present to be content. The next day the rumour was that they of Angrogna had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, there was nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrogna. The sermon being ended, the rulers were called before the ministers and the people, who affirmed that they wholly cleaved to their former writing, and they sent secretly to the notary for the copy of that which was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the Lord de Comptes, in which was comprised, that Angrogna had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people, hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And hereupon it was agreed that at that very instant certain should be sent to the lord of Angrogna to signify to him that the determination of the council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogna, to hear the voice of the people, not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the uproar, but sent thither the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected, the judge laying all the blame upon the notary.

During this time the adversaries cried out through all the country of Piedmont, "To the fire with them, to the fire with them!" The Thursday after Angrogna, by proclamations set up in every place, was exposed to the fire and sword. On Friday after, being the 2d of November, the army approached to the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. John, a little beneath Angrogna. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain of St. John, perceiving that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also took their fellows prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of their enemies were there slain, but suddenly they retired to Bubiane, where their camp then was, and not one of them of St. John was slain or hurt. It happened at the same time that two of the horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, which was ready to march towards Angrogna, crying, "They come, they come!" At this cry the whole army was so astonished that every man fled his way, and they were all so scattered that the captains that day were not able to bring them into order again, and yet no creature followed them.

On the Saturday, in the morning, the army mustered near Angrogna. They of Angrogna had sent certain of their men to keep the passes, and stop the army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the meantime the people retired into the meadow of Toure, and little thought of the coming of the army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden assault, for they were yet carrying victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passes. Now they who kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers to God, that it would please Him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but to the cause which they maintained, and to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so to work that there might be no effusion of blood; and if it were His will to take them, with their wives and infants, out

of this world, that He would then mercifully receive them into His kingdom. In this sort most fervent prayers were made by all those that kept the passes, with exhortation that they should all together cry unto God, and crave His succour and assistance in this great distress.

Their prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their enemies coming towards them through the vines, to win the top of the mountain of Angrogna. In the meantime the priors of St. John and Jacomel were within the temple of Angrogna, and communed with the rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the lord of La Trinite, to keep the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in several places, and endured for a long space in the passes of Angrogna. The poor Waldois, being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were sore pressed by the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountain, where they defended themselves until night.

Many of their enemies that day were slain, and many wounded, of which very few escaped; so they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor, simple people never used to do in all these wars. Of the Angrognians that day there were but three slain and one wounded, who afterwards was healed again. This combat gave great courage to the Waldois, and astonished their adversaries. At the same time, when the army retired, they burned many houses, and made great spoil as they went, destroying also the wines which were in the presses. They of Angrogna (seeing themselves to be now, as it were, in a sea of troubles), after they had recommended themselves unto God by prayer, and committed their cause unto Him, sent to them of Perouse, St. Martin, and of Pragela, for aid and succour, who sent them all the help they were able.

Shortly after, this lord sent his army to the temple of St. Lawrence, in Angrogna, pretending to sing a mass there, and suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister being warned, essayed to escape. The soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the soldiers followed him half-a-mile, but fearing the people, durst go no further. The minister withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied with five others. The army was by-and-by at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where their minister was, spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating others; but yet they could not learn of them where their minister was. At length they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him, and so they pursued him in the rocks, all covered with snow, until it was night, but could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, and diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of La Trinite in a sack, who caused them all to be burned in his presence. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogna, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found.

About midnight the soldiers returned with torchlight to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning commandment was given to the rulers of Angrogna, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister or else Angrogna should be put to fire and sword. The rulers answered, that they could not do so, for they knew not where he was. After certain days, when the soldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broke their mills, and did what mischief they could, they retired.

The poor Waldois were in great captivity and distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's word among them as they were wont to have; and therefore, taking to them good courage, they determined to begin preaching again. The messengers which were sent to the duke were detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the popish doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Now, when the messengers were returned, and the people understood that there was a new command that they should return to the mass, also that popish preachers were appointed, there was wonderful lamentations, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

About this time, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldois earnestly requested the lord of Raconig to present a supplication which they had made to the Duchess of Savoy, for they had intelligence that she was displeased that her subjects were so cruelly treated. In which supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke, their sovereign lord, and if it might be proved by the pure word of God that they held any error, they would, with all humble submission, receive correction, and be reformed; humbly beseeching her grace to appease the displeasure which the duke had conceived against them by the untrue surmises of their adversaries; and if there were anything wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon.

About the same time the lord of La Trinite, by sickness, was in great danger of his life. Soon after the supplication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer to the Waldois by the lord of Raconig; the effect whereof was, that she had obtained of his grace the duke all that they demanded in their supplications, upon such conditions as the lord of Raconig would propose to them. But when they understood that the conditions were very rigorous they sent another supplication to the duchess, in which they humbly besought her grace to interpose in their behalf, that the conditions and articles might be moderated The articles here follow :—

1. That they should banish their ministers.
2. That they should receive the mass, and other ceremonies of the Romish church.
3. That they should pay a ransom to the soldiers for some of their men whom they had taken.
4. That they should not assemble and preach as they used to do.
5. That the duke would make fortresses at his pleasure in all that country; with other like things.

The people made humble request in this their last supplication, that it would please the duchess to give the duke, her husband, to understand how that these conditions were strange and rigorous; and as for their parts, although they had good trial of their ministers, that they were good men, and fearing God; of sound doctrine, of good life, and honest conversation; yet, nevertheless, they were contented to do so, if he would give leave to some of them to remain; requesting this, that it might be permitted to them to choose some other good ministers in their places before they departed, lest their churches should remain without pastors. They expressed their sentiments on the other conditions with boldness, but with humility. And after their supplication was viewed and read of the duchess, she so persuaded the duke, that answer was made much more favourably than might have been expected. The general purport of the conclusions and articles agreed upon between the lord of Raconig, on the part of his highness the duke, and the Waldenses, was, that the duke should pardon those who had taken up arms, and that it should be lawful for the people to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in places accustomed, but not out of their own borders. A few restrictions were likewise imposed on some localities.

All the franchises, freedoms, and privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his highness' predecessors as by himself, and obtained of other inferior lords, whereof they should make proof by public writing, were confirmed unto them. The said valleys were provided for, to have good justice ministered unto them, whereby they might know they were kept in safeguard by his highness, as well as all his other subjects. They were to make a roll of all the names and surnames of all them of the valleys who were fled for religion, as well such as had abjured as others, to the end that they might be restored and maintained in their goods and households, and enjoy such graces and benefits as their prince and lord had bestowed on them. The mass, and other service, after the usage of Rome, was to be kept in all the parishes of the said valleys, where the sermons, assemblies, and other ministries of their religion were made; but none should be compelled to be present thereat, nor to support, aid, or favour such as should use that service.

This accord being thus made and passed, by means of the Duchess of Savoy, the poor Waldois have been in quiet to this present time; and God of His infinite goodness having delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at liberty to serve Him purely, and with quietness of conscience. Wherefore there is not one at this time but he sees and well perceives that God would make it known by experience to these poor Waldois, and all other faithful people, that all things turn to the best to them who love and fear Him; for by all these afflictions which they suffered, their heavenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life; He hath effectually taught them to have recourse to His fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ for their only Saviour and Redeemer. He hath taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh; to withdraw their hearts from the

world and lift them to heaven; and to be always in readiness to come to Him, as unto their most loving and gracious Father. To be short, He has sent them to the school of His children, to the end that they should profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry unto them. And above all, He has made them so often to prove His succours in time of need, to see them before their eyes, to know and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) after such sort, that they have had good occasion, and all the faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, and so careful for the health of his children, but to assure themselves they shall never be confounded, what thing soever happens.



CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMATION CONTINUED—ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

THOMAS BILNEY.

THOMAS BILNEY was brought up in the University of Cambridge, even from a child profiting in all kind of liberal sciences, even to the profession of both laws. But at last, having got a better schoolmaster, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at last to this point—that, forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more unto godliness than profit.

As he was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so there was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many to the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vain, for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the gospel, among which number was Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer. Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days. At last Bilney, forsaking the university, went to many places, teaching and preaching, being associated with Arthur, who accompanied him from the university. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolence of the clergy, whom they could no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to question the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent, for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded; neither was he

ignorant that their luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God, especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes; only this he feared, the voice of Christ in His gospel, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into godly discipline; wherefore he thought good speedily in time to withstand these beginnings. So he caused Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison.

After this, on the 27th November, A.D. 1527, the cardinal, accompanied with a great number of bishops, and many other divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where Master Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the cardinal inquired of Master Bilney whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther, or any other condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church. Bilney answered that knowingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him whether he had not once made an oath before that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same everywhere? He answered that he had made such an oath, but not lawfully. The cardinal then caused him to swear, to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, as well in the city and diocese of London as in that of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying, or leaving out any part of the truth.

The 4th day of December, the Bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster; where also Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant; who answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered;" and, making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops, he gave sentence against Master Bilney in this manner:—

"I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy: and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow."

The 5th day of December, the bishops assembled there again, before whom Bilney was brought; whom the bishop asked if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, that he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought against him; which witnesses the bishop said

came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the law.

In the afternoon, the Bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the church, and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separate from the church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses, which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the catholic church? He answered, that if they could teach and prove sufficiently that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself, and desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses; and other answer he would give none.

Being again asked whether he would return, or else the sentence must be read, he required the bishop to give him license to deliberate until the morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate. But Bilney required space till the next morrow. But the bishop would not grant him his request, lest he should appeal. But at last the bishop granted him two nights' respite to deliberate—that is to say, till Saturday, at nine o'clock forenoon, and then to give a plain and determinate answer.

The 7th day of December, the Bishop of London with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared. The Bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration, which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in these premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed and delivered it to the bishop, who then absolved him, and for his penance enjoined him that he should abide in prison appointed by the cardinal till he was released by him; and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, bare-headed, with a fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the preacher at St. Paul's Cross during the sermon.

After which abjuration, made about A.D. 1528, Bilney felt such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as is credibly testified by Master Latimer, whose words I here annex, written in his seventh sermon, preached before King Edward:—"I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who what time he had borne his fagot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself (beholding this image of death), that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them to him, it was as though a man should run

him through the heart with a sword. Yet, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome."

Again, Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, has these words—"That same Master Bilney, who was burned here in England for the sake of God's word, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a fagot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bore the swinge. Now, when Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word, for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him (for I was familiarly acquainted with him); but all things whatever any man could allege to his comfort seemed to him to make against him. Yet, for all that, he afterwards came again. God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake which we now preach in England," etc.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of Master Latimer, before the Duchess of Sutherland, he infers as follows—"Here I have," said he, "occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God, for I was as obstinate a papist as any in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. I did so, and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years. So from that time forward I began to inhale the word of God, and forsake the school doctors and such fooleries," etc.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration for the space of nearly two years—that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed, then, that he, by God's grace and good counsel, came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth which he had renounced. And thus, being fully determined in his mind, he, in Trinity Hall, at ten o'clock at night, took his leave of his friends, and said that he would go to Jerusalem, alluding to the words and example of Christ in the gospel going up to Jerusalem when He was appointed to suffer His passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and would see them no more; and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in household, to confirm the brethren and sisters. Then he preached openly in the fields, confessing his sin, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he had abjured to be the very truth, and desired all men

to learn by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey towards the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to Norwich, upon which he was apprehended and carried to prison.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doctor Pellas, doctor of law and chancellor, was first degraded by Suffragan Underwood, according to their popish manner, by the assistance of the friars and doctors. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's especial friend, and sorry to receive him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could not do otherwise but needs must receive him. Who, notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death, so for the time that he was in his custody he caused him to be more friendly looked to, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was before the day of his execution, Bilney had his friends resorting to him in the Guildhall, where he was kept.

Some put him in mind that though the fire which he should suffer next day should be of great heat to his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word Thomas Bilney, putting his hand to the flame of the candle burning before them, and feeling the heat, "Oh," said he, "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot; but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some mentioned in that word, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption; and I constantly believe, however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby, a pain for the time, whereon, notwithstanding, followeth joy unspeakable." And then he spoke much of this place of scripture—"Fear not; for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; thou art mine. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel."—Isa. xliii. 1. Which he most comfortably treated of, as well in respect of himself as applying it to the particular use of his friends, of whom some took such sweet fruit that they caused the whole sentence to be fair written on tables, and some in their books, the comforts of which (on some of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday following, when the officers of execution, with their gloves and halberts, were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's Gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollard's Pit, under St. Leonard's Hill, environed about with great hills (which place was chosen for the people's quiet sitting to see the execution), at the coming forth of

Thomas Bilney out of the prison door, one of his friends came to him, and with a few words spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troubled sea, how for a while he is tossed in the billows, but yet, in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he bears in better comfort the perils which he feels, so am I now toward this sailing; and whatever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one Doctor Warner, doctor of divinity, and pastor of Winterton, whom he chose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort, he came at last to the place of execution, and descended from the hill, appareled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves hanging down and his arms out, his hair having been piteously mangled at his degradation, and drew near to the stake, and desired that he might speak some words to the people, and standing there, he said—

"Good people, I am come hither to die; I was born to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse to you the articles of my creed;" and then he began to rehearse them in order, as they are in the common creed, with often elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God, and at the article of Christ's Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *crucified*, he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence, and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to these words, "I believe the catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words—"Good people, I must here confess to have offended the church in preaching once contrary to her prohibition, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, where I was a fellow, earnestly entreated to do so by the curate and other good people of the parish, saying that they had no sermon there for a long time before, and so moved in my conscience, I did make a poor collation to them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of authority in the church. However, I trust that at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God;" and so he proceeded, without any words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, on which he was afterwards to stand, to be better seen, he made his prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good, quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death; and ended at the last his private prayers with the 143d Psalm, beginning, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, give ear to my supplications;" and the next verse he repeated in deep meditation, thrice, "And enter

not into judgment with thy servant—for in thy sight shall no man living be justified;" and so finishing that psalm he ended his private prayers.

After that he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. He then put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went to the stake, and the chain was cast about him. Doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, and spake but few words for weeping.

Thomas Bilney most gently smiled, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these—"Feed your flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord cometh He may find you doing; and farewell, good master doctor, and pray for me;" and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses being present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, etc.), came to him and said, "Oh, Master Bilney, the people are persuaded that we are the causers of your death, and that we have procured it; and it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Upon this Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people—"I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they were the authors of my death; it was not they;" and so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and fagots about his body, and set fire to them, which made a very great flame, and deformed his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes, "Jesus," sometimes "I believe" The flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, very great; and so for a little pause he stood without flame; but soon the wood again took the flame, and then he gave up the ghost, and his body, being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it; and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye the true history and martyrdom of this good man. As his death did much good in Norfolk, where he was burned, so his diligent travail, in teaching and exhorting others, and example of life, corresponding to his doctrine, had left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that university, and drawing many to Christ. Through him, and partly also another called Master Stafford, the word of God began to spread there. Among them was Master Latimer, Doctor Barnes, Doctor Thistel of Pembroke Hall, Master Fooke of Bennet College, and Master Soude of the same college, Doctor Warner above mentioned, with others.

JOHN TEWKESBURY.

John Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of Tindal's Testament and *The Wicked Mammon.* He had the Bible. In all points of religion he openly disputed in the bishop's chapel in his palace: and in the doctrine of justification, and all other articles of his faith, was very prompt in his answers, so that Tonstal and all his learned men were ashamed that a leather-seller should dispute with them, with such power of the scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued a week. The process of examinations and answers here follow, as they are extracted out of the bishop's register:—

On Wednesday, 21st April (A.D. 1529), John Tewkesbury was brought into the Consistory at London, before Cuthbert, Bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, Bishop of St. Asaph, and John, Abbot of Westminster. The Bishop of London then declared that he had often exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother the church. He made answer, that in his judgment he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. And at the last, being examined upon errors which, they said, were in the book called *The Wicked Mammon*, he answered—"Take ye the book and read it over, and I think, in my conscience, ye shall find no fault in it." Being asked by the bishop whether he had rather give credit to this book or the gospel, he answered that the gospel is and ever has been true.

The bishop said further to John Tewkesbury—"I tell thee, before God, and those here present, that the articles contained in the book are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church—how thinkest thou?" He commanded him to answer determinately, under pain of the law, saying that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law.

He answered—"That he thought in his conscience there was nothing in the book but that which is true;" and to this article objected to, that is, that faith only justifies without works, he answered, "That is well said;" and added, "I pray God that the condemnation of the gospel and translation of the Testament be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it." He said that he had studied the holy scriptures for the space of these seventeen years, and as he could see the spots of his face in the glass, so, in reading the New Testament, he knew the faults of his soul.

The bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. John Tewkesbury answered—"I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book let it be reformed; I think it is good enough." The bishop appointed him to determine with himself against the morrow.

After some days, with advice of his friends, he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance.

Being afterwards confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Byfield, who was burned in Smithfield, he returned and constantly remained in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for it. Recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after, being apprehended again, he was brought before Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of London, where certain articles were objected of him, the chief of which we briefly recite :—

1. That he confessed that he was baptised, and intended to keep the catholic faith.

2. That he affirms that the abjuration, oath, and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late Bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

3. That he had the books of *The Obedience of a Christian Man* and of *The Wicked Mammon* in his custody, and had read them since his abjuration.

4. That he affirms that he suffered the two fagots that were embroidered on his sleeve to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

5. He saith *that* faith only justifies which has charity.

6. He saith that Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made to saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem—"Hail, queen of heaven, our *advocate*." To which he answered that he knew no other advocate but Christ alone.

7. He affirms that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

8. He affirms that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

9. He affirms that a priest, by receiving orders, receives more grace if his faith be increased, but otherwise not.

10. And last of all, he believes that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ is not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same, after which the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him to the sheriffs of London, who burned him in Smithfield, 20th December 1531.

JOHN FRITH.

Amongst all other evils there has been none for a long time which seemed to us more grievous than the lamentable death and cruel usage of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man, who had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge that there was scarcely his equal among all his companions ; and besides, he had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he excelled, being greatly praiseworthy in them both ; but, as to his doctrine, by the grace of Christ, we will speak hereafter. Notwithstanding his other singular gifts and ornaments of

the mind, by which he might have opened an easy way to honour and dignity, yet he chose rather to consecrate himself wholly to the church of Christ, showing forth and practising the precept so highly commended of the philosophers, touching the life of man; which life, they say, is given to us in such sort, that how much better the man is, so much the less he should live to himself, but that we should think a great part of our birth due to our parents, a greater part to our country, and the greatest part of all bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men. First of all, he began his study at Cambridge. Nature had planted in him, while a child, a great love of learning. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand anything; neither was there any diligence wanting in him, by which it came to pass that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became a very learned man. When he had diligently laboured for certain years, with great profit to himself, in the study of Latin and Greek, he at last became acquainted with William Tindal, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but now named Christ's Church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bore to learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name to posterity. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatever excellent things there were in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, besides provision of all kind of precious things. He also appointed to it all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge.

These men, conferring together upon the abuses of religion at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy to the cardinal, and cast into a prison.

John Frith was dismissed from prison upon condition that he would not pass above ten miles out of Oxford. Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garrett, who bore fagots, went over the sea, and after two years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading (as was thought), and had the prior over with him.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination; where the simple man, who could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks; where, after he had sat a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and yet would not declare what he was, at last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came to him, Frith by-and-by began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster, by-and-by being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition, especially in such misery. Afterwards conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from the

Latin into the Greek; in which Frith inflamed the love of that schoolmaster towards him, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad. Upon this the schoolmaster went with all speed to the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they showed to so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely let out of the stocks, and set at liberty without further punishment. Yet his safety continued not long, owing to the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who, at that time being Chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith, being on every side beset with troubles, and not knowing which way to turn, seeks for some place to hide himself in. Thus fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and his place, he yet could be in safety in no place, not long even among his friends; so that, at last, being traitorously taken, he was sent to the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with Sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: he had a communication with a certain old familiar friend of his about the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The whole disputation consisted especially in these four points:—

1. That the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

2. That forsomuch as Christ's natural body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable to reason, that He should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

3. Moreover, it shall not seem meet or necessary that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the scripture.

4. Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, although that the order which at this time is crept into the church, and is used nowadays by the priests, do never so much differ from it.

And as the treatise seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him that he would briefly commit it to writing, and give it to him for the help of his memory. Frith, although he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a matter, at the last, overcome by the entreaty of his friend, complied.

There was at that time in London a tailor, named William Holt, who, feigning great friendship toward his party, urgently begged of him to let him read over that writing of Frith's; which, when he did, the other by-and-by carried it to More the chancellor. This was the occasion of great trouble, and also of death to Frith.

When More had got a copy of this treatise, he sharpened his pen to

make answer unto this young man (for so he calls him throughout his whole book), but when the book was once set forth, Frith got a copy by means of his friends, and answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect handling of the matter.

What knowledge and genius and excellency of doctrine was in him may appear not only by his books which he wrote on the sacrament, but also in those which he wrote on purgatory; in which controversy he withstood the violence of three opponents—viz., Rochester, More, and Rastal; one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the scriptures, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, had conspired against him; but he, as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness; which has always so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that without it all other good gifts of knowledge, be they ever so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would to God that all things in all places were so free from all kinds of dissension, that there were no mention made among Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, as neither Zwingle nor Luther died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. We think that nothing could more grieve those worthy men than that their names should be so abused to sects and factions, who so greatly withstood and strove against all factions.

But now, as we treat of the history of John Frith, we cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who, maintaining his controversy of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, no less godly than learnedly, yet did it so moderately, that he never seemed to strive against the papists, except he had been driven to it. In all other matters, where necessity did not force him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for the sake of quietness.

When More brought against him the authority of Dr. Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, he answered, that he would promise under this condition—that the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be held as ratified—he would never speak more of it, for they agreed with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament as God should put it into their hearts; for then there remained no more poison that any man ought or might be afraid of.

After he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester, and Rastal, he was at last carried to Lambeth, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards to Croydon, before the Bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the bishops in a common assembly at London.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination, and

articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself, in a letter written to his friends, whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower. The whole matter of his examination was comprehended in two special articles—namely, of purgatory and of the substance of the sacrament. After stating his examination, he thus proceeds :—

"Here, peradventure, many would marvel that forsomuch as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament, being separate from the articles of the faith, and binding no man of necessity either to salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either in the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do contemn or despise the other; but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions—what, then, is the cause why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this—I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not being changed; which thing, if it were most true (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the scriptures or doctors), yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that doctrine, be it ever so true, should be held for a necessary article of faith; for there are many things, both in the scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an article of faith."

But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the 20th day of June, A.D. 1533, he was brought before the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln. When he could not be persuaded to recant, or be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, he was condemned by the Bishop of London to be burned, and sentence was given against him.

The sentence being read, the Bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, Mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the city, for receiving John Frith into their charge; who, being so delivered over to them, on the 4th day of July 1533 was carried to Smithfield to be burned, and when he was tied to the stake it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death; for when the fagots and fire were put to him, he willingly embraced them, thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, as it bore away the flame from him to his companion, who was tied to his back; but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his companion than to be careful for himself.

ANDREW HEWET.

Andrew Hewet, a young man of the age of four-and-twenty years, was apprentice with Master Warren, a tailor; and as he went, upon a holiday, into Fleet Street towards St. Dunstan's, he met with William Holt; and being suspected by Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk with him, he went into a bookseller's house to avoid him. Then Holt sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons. Being there a good while, he had a file conveyed to him, with which he filed off his irons, and got out of the gate. But he was retaken, and, after a long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith.

It was objected against Andrew Hewet, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. So, being demanded what he thought of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he answered, "Even as John Frith thinks." Then one of the bishops asked, "Dost thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary?" So he said, "I do not believe." "Why not?" said the bishop. "Because," said he, "Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly to all men who say, 'Behold here is Christ, and there is Christ, for many false prophets shall arise.'"

Then the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the Bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is an heretic, and already judged to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him." He saith, "I am content." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions. He answered, he would do as Frith did. He was sent to the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth; but he manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore, on the 4th day of July, in the afternoon, he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people that they should in nowise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog. At which words, Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words not a little moved the people to anger. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

THOMAS BENNET.

This Thomas Bennet was born in Cambridge, and made master of arts, a man very well learned, and of a godly disposition. The more he grew and increased in the knowledge of God and His holy word,

the more he disliked and abhorred the then corrupt state of religion; and, therefore, being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he forsook the university, and went into Devonshire, A.D. 1524. He came to the city of Exeter, and hiring a house, commenced teaching children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, of which he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching he gave wholly to his private study in the scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with anybody, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion.

But as every tree and herb has his due time to bring forth his fruit, so did it appear by this man; for daily seeing the glory of God blasphemed, idolatrous religion embraced and maintained, and that most false, usurped power of the Bishop of Rome extolled, he was so grieved in his conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he uttered his mind therein. He plainly opened and disclosed how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, His word contemned, and His people, whom He so dearly bought, were by blind guides carried headlong to everlasting destruction; and, therefore, he could no longer endure, but must needs testify against their abominations; and, for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently, as God would give him grace, to die and to shed his blood therein, alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of His people, than his life should be. His friends promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end; which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such books as he had; and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind on certain scrolls of paper, which he set upon the doors of the cathedral church, in which was written, "The Pope is antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the heretic that had set them up: and the mayor and his officers were most anxious to find out this heretic; but to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should resort to their pulpits every day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless, this Thomas Bennet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sat down by two men who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for heretics; and they beholding Bennet, said the one to the other, "Surely this fellow by all likelihood is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a

Testament in the Latin tongue, were astonished, and had no power to speak to him, but departed and left him reading in his book.

In the meantime the canons and priests, with the officers and commons of the city, were very earnestly busied how, or by what means, such an enormous heretic, who had put up those bills, might be espied and known; but it was long first. At last the priests found out a way to curse him, whoever he was, with book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort—

One of the priests, apparalled all in white, ascended the pulpit. The other priests, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house, standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon, which was not so long as it was tedious and superstitious; and concluded, "That that foul and abominable heretic who has put up such blasphemous bills, was for his blasphemy damnably cursed; and he besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might escape the vengeance."

The manner of the cursing of Bennet was extraordinary; the prelate said, "By the authority of God, the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whosoever he or she be, that have—in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the Pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, who serve God daily in this cathedral church—fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he or she, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he, or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him, or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, Popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out [and with that he put out one of the candles]: and let us pray to God (if they be alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle

light is [so he put out the other candle]: and let us pray to God and our Lady, and to St. Peter and St. Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone [and so he put out the third candle]: except they, he, or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance (as in them shall lie) make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church; and as this holy cross staff now falleth down, so might they, except they repent and show themselves;" [and one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down]. But oh, what a shout and noise was there, what terrible fear, what holding up of hands to heaven—that curse was so terrible.

Now this fond foolish mockery being done and played off, Bennet could no longer forebear, but fell to great laughter, and for a long time could not cease, by which the poor man was observed. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Bennet for what cause he did so laugh. "My friend," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, "Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast!" With that there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands; and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or not. Some say, that upon that he was taken and apprehended; others report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house.

He was soon after apprehended, and on the morrow the canons and heads of the city examined him, when he confessed and said, "It was even I that put up those bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but what is very truth." "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers you are, and that they might the better know your antichrist, the Pope, to be that boar out of the wood, who destroys and throws down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now, I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

When the canons and priests, with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means recant, they proceeded to judgment, and drew out their sentence against him, condemning him to be burned. This Christian martyr, rejoicing that his end approached so near, yielded himself, "as a sheep before the shearer," with all humbleness, to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to his execution, he made his most humble confession and prayer to Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him. He exhorted them likewise with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honouring

of God, and the true knowledge of Him, as also to leave the devices, fantasies, and imaginations of men's inventions, that all the beholders of him were astonished. Insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Two esquires—namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse—standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and good words, but at length through threatenings, desired him to revoke his errors, and to call upon our Lady and the saints. To whom he with all meekness answered, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call, and we have no other advocate with Him, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of the Father to be an advocate for us; and by Him must we offer our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard." With this answer Barnehouse was so enraged, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into his face, saying, "Ah, heretic, pray to our Lady, or I will make thee do it."

Thomas Bennet, with an humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir, trouble me not;" and holding up his hands, he said, "Father, forgive them." After which the gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire; and this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Lord, receive my spirit." And so continuing in prayer, he never stirred, but most patiently abode the torments of the fire until his life was ended. For which let the Lord God be praised, and send us His grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the children of God.

WILLIAM TINDAL.

William Tindal, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the University of Oxford, where he grew up, and increased in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, but more especially in the knowledge of the scriptures, to which his mind was singularly addicted; so that in Magdalen Hall he read privately to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College some divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scripture. His life and conversation were such, that all who knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition and of unspotted life.

Thus he, in the University of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode some time, and being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, he left that university also, and resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there tutor to his children. To this gentleman there resorted abbots, deans, archdeacons, with other doctors and great

beneficed men, who, there together with Master Tindal, used often to enter into communication, and talked of learned men, as of Luther and Erasmus; also of other controversies and questions upon the scriptures.

Then Master Tindal, as he was learned and well-practised in divine matters, so he spared not to show simply and plainly his judgment; and when they, at any time, varied from Tindal in opinion and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them, the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors and confirm his sayings. And thus they continued for some time reasoning and contending together, until at length they entertained a secret dislike in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that some of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they talked at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance. Then Master Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Master Tindal, began to reason with him about those matters which the priests had talked about at their banquet. Master Tindal answering by scripture, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman, "Well, there was such a doctor who could expend an hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds; and what, is it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Master Tindal gave her no answer at that time, and after that he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book, written by Erasmus, called, *The Manual of a Christian Soldier*, which he delivered to his master and lady. After they had well perused it, the doctors and the prelates were not so often invited to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came which they had before.

As this grew on, the priests of the country clustering together, began to storm against Tindal, and railed against him in alehouses and other places. They raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding to his sayings more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed, not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tindal was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given to him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but he prayed heartily to God to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word.

Then when the time of his appearance before the chancellor came, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, though no accuser could be produced. Master Tindal, after his examination, escaping out of their hands, departed home.

There dwelt not far off a doctor, who had been chancellor to a

bishop; he had been a familiar acquaintance with Master Tindal, and favoured him much. To him Tindal went and opened his mind upon some questions of the scripture—for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. The doctor said, "Do you not know that the Pope is very antichrist, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say, for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life;" and said, moreover, "I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

It was not long after that Master Tindal happened to be in the company of a certain divine, and in disputing with him, the doctor burst out into these blasphemous words:—"We were better to be without God's laws than the Pope's." Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the Pope and all his laws," and added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the scripture than he did.

After this, the dislike of the priests increasing still more and more against Tindal, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying, that he was an heretic in sophistry, an heretic in logic, and an heretic in divinity.

To be short, Tindal being so molested and vexed by the priests, was constrained to seek another place; and so coming to Master Welch, he requested that of his good-will he would permit him to depart from him, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and, also, what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for which I should be right sorry." So that in fine, Tindal, with the good-will of his master, departed, and soon after came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about the city of Bristol. At length, he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal, then Bishop of London, especially for the great commendations of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extols him for his learning, that Tindal thought that if he could attain to his service he would be a happy man. And so, coming to Sir Henry Guilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English; he desired him to speak to the Bishop of London for him, which he did, and desired him to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with it. But God, who secretly disposes the course of things, saw that this was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight. And so he remained in London almost a year, marking the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers; how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things which greatly displeased him. Insomuch that he understood not only that there would not be room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all

England; and therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision, by God's providence, given to him by Humphrey Mummuth, a godly alderman, and other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany; where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal for his country, refused no travail nor diligence, so that by any possible means he could convey to his brethren and countrymen of England the same understanding of God's holy word as the Lord had endued him with.

Whereupon, considering in his mind, and partly also by conferring with John Frith, he thought no way more likely to conduce to this than by translating the scriptures into the vernacular tongue, that the poor people might also read, and see the plain, simple word of God. He perceived, by experience, how it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth except the scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the meaning of the text; for otherwise, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without scripture, or else juggling with the text, and expounding it in such a sense as would never be received, if the right order and meaning were seen.

Again, he perceived and considered that this only, or chiefly, was the cause of all the mischief in the church—that the scriptures of God were hid from the people's eyes, for then the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be seen, and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep the scriptures down, so that it should not be read at all, or if it were, that they should darken the sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle them who rebuked or despised their abominations with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up by God) to translate the scriptures into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple common people of the country, first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he translated A.D. 1526. After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, to which he added most learned and godly prologues, prefixed before each book, worthy to be read again and again by all good Christians, as he did also with the New Testament.

He wrote also other works under various titles, among which is that most worthy monument of his, intitled, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, by which, with singular dexterity, he instructs all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; also other treaties, as *The Wicked Mammon*, *The Practice of Prelates*, with expositions upon certain parts of the scriptures, and other books, answering Sir Thomas More and other adversaries.

The books of William Tindal having been published, and sent over

into England, it cannot be described what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation.

At his first departing out of the realm, he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as also into Saxony, where he had a conference with Luther and other learned men, where, after he had continued a certain season, he came into the Netherlands, and mostly lived in Antwerp till the time of his apprehension.

When these godly books of Tindal, especially his translation of the New Testament, began to come into men's hands, they wrought great profit to the godly; so the ungodly, envying and disdaining that the poor people should be anything wiser than they, and again, fearing lest by the shining beams of truth their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned, began to bestir themselves, but especially Satan, the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set his might also to impeach and hinder the blessed labours of that man. When Tindal had translated the fifth book of Moses, intending to print it at Hamburg, he sailed for that place, but by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and was compelled to begin all again. Thus, having lost by that ship his money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg. There Master Coverdale waited for him, and helped him in the translation of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter to December, A.D. 1529.

When God's will was that the New Testament, in the common tongue, should come abroad, Tindal, the translator, added to the end a certain epistle, wherein he desired the learned to amend it if aught were found amiss. Therefore, if any such default had been in it deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness for men of knowledge and judgment to have showed their learning therein, and to have corrected it. But the spiritual fathers then, being not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out upon it, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the scriptures into English; some that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother tongue; some that it would make them all heretics. And to induce the temporal rulers also to their purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel, and rise against the king. All this Tindal himself, in his own prologue before the first book of Moses, declares, showing what great pains were taken by them in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible, showing that they examined every tittle and point in the said translation so narrowly that there was not one (*i*) in it, but if it lacked a point over its head they noted it, and numbered it to the ignorant people for an heresy! So great were the devices of the clergy (who should have been the guides of light to the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the scripture, which they would neither translate themselves, nor yet suffer it to be translated by others, to the intent (as Tindal saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might

live in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their wishes, their ambition, and their unsatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds against the Old and New Testament of the Lord, as translated by Tindal, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels how to suppress it, never rested till they had brought the king to consent. A proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth, that the Testament of Tindal's translation, with other works of his and of other writers, were prohibited. This was about the year 1527.

Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More, being aggrieved, devised how they could destroy that false erroneous translation as they called it. It happened that there was one Augustine Packington, an English merchant, at Antwerp at that time, when the bishop was there in 1529. This man favoured Tindal, but pretended otherwise to the bishop. The bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, said that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said—"My lord, I can do more in this matter than most merchants can do, if it be your pleasure, for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindal, and have them here to sell; so, if it be your lordship's pleasure to obtain them, I must spend money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them; but if it is your pleasure to do so, I will secure to you every book that is printed and unsold." The bishop said—"Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington; get them for me, and I will pay whatever is their cost, for I intend to burn and destroy them all at St. Paul's cross." This Augustine Packington went to William Tindal, and declared the whole matter; and so, upon compact made between them, the Bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tindal had the money. After this Tindal corrected the New Testament, and caused it again to be newly reprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, who by that time had returned to England, and said to him, "How comes this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely I bought all that were to be had; but I perceive that they have reprinted more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps; wherefore you had better buy the stamps too, and so then you shall be sure." At which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

It happened, in the following year, that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More on suspicion of heresy; and after several examinations, among other things More asked him, saying, "Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee I will show thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There are beyond the sea Tindal, Joy, and a great many others; I know they cannot live without help. There are

some that help and succour them with money, and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore thou knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me who are they that help them thus?" "My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly; it is the Bishop of London that hath helped us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money to buy up the New Testaments to burn them; and that has been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my troth," quoth More, "I think even the same, for so much I told the bishop before he went about it."

On the return of Tonstal from Antwerp he caused all the New Testaments which he had bought to be publicly burned in St. Paul's churchyard, which gave great offence to many of the people; and to remove this feeling, the bishops gave out that they intended to set out a true translation of it. The bishops, by many complaints, and under the pretence that the translations of Tindal and Joy were not truly translated—and besides, that in them were prologues and prefaces that smelled of heresy and railed against the bishops; they obtained a proclamation from the king prohibiting the teaching or preaching of anything against the dignity and ordinances of the church of Rome, and prohibiting the reading of any books contrary to the church of Rome. But the king commanded the bishops to call to them the best learned men of the universities, and that they should make a new translation, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this command, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation; but, on the contrary, on the 24th May 1530, there was a paper drawn up, and agreed to by Archbishop Warham, Chancellor More, Bishop Tonstal, and others, which every incumbent was called upon to read to his parish as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. In this paper it was declared that it was not necessary to set forth the scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Many of the people were so disappointed at this that they only became the more eager to read Tindal's translation, by reason of which many things came to light.

Tindal's enemies, not content with their opposition to his translation, proceeded to entangle him in their nets, and to deprive him of his life. When at Antwerp, he lodged in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman. And there came out of England one whose name was Henry Phillips, having the appearance of a gentleman, and accompanied by a servant.

Tindal was often invited to dinner and supper amongst the merchants, by means of which this Henry Phillips became acquainted with him; and in a short time Tindal had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper. Through the means of this Henry Phillips was William Tindall betrayed. After dining together at the house of Thomas Pointz, as they were leaving it, Tindal was seized by two officers whom Phillips had brought there for that purpose; and then this traitor delivered him up to the emperor's partisans; his books were all seized, and himself cast into

prison. Tindal being brought to his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor, but he refused, saying that he would answer for himself; and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh, and brought forth to the place of execution; he was there tied to the stake, and then strangled by the hangman, and afterwards consumed with fire in the town of Vilvorden, A.D. 1536, crying thus at the stake, with a fervent zeal and a loud voice, "Lord! open the King of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a-half), it is said he converted his keeper, his keeper's daughter, and others of his household. Also the rest that were conversant with him in the castle reported of him that if he were not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator-general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left his testimony of him that he was "a learned, a good, and a godly man."

And thus being about to conclude the life and history of William Tindal, it remaineth for us to present to the reader certain extracts of his private letters which he wrote to John Frith; one under his own name, and the other under the name of Jacob, written and delivered to John Frith, being then a prisoner in the Tower.

"Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord; fear not men that threaten, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust Him that is true of promise and able to make His word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow His steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that He laid down His life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with Him that we may also be glorified with Him; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able even to subject all things unto him.

"Fear not the threatening, therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words, with which the hypocrites shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart—no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you.' And pray to your Father in that name, and He shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you. Amen. WILLIAM TINDAL."

"Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be bold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you bow yourself to the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners; and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable; and then, as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of Him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them; I mean the law of God and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

"Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth none in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth and my soul comforteth herself, as in you; not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep slow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or not, in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say (till others agree with you) methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding. Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you will be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world no more than that without which I cannot keep His laws.

"Finally, if there were in me any gift at hand that could help and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted; your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me: remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

"My Lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red

beard, and a black reddish head, and was once my scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen; whither he is gone as a secret ambassador I do not know.

"The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in Him; and His is the glory. Amen.

WILLIAM TINDAL.

"I hope our redemption is nigh."

JOHN LAMBERT.

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries followed the condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the University of Cambridge. Where, after that he had sufficiently profited by the study of Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into English: being forced at length by violence of time, he departed beyond the seas to Tindal and Frith, and there remained for the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English house at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More and by the accusation of one Barlow. He was carried from Antwerp to London, and brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Oxford, before Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries, and had five-and-forty articles exhibited against him, to which he gave answers in writing.

The answers of John Lambert to the forty-five articles had been directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeared, about A.D. 1532, when Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Oxford. But so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that, within a short space after (August 1532), the Archbishop Warham died; whereby, it seems, that Lambert for that time was delivered. In the meantime, Cranmer was sent over on an embassy with the Earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Karne, Dr. Benett, and other learned men, to the Bishop of Rome, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly; first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor. After sundry promises and appointments made, yet when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them on these two propositions: first, that no man could or ought to marry his brother's wife; secondly, that the Bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary.

After the death of William Warham, Cranmer succeeded to that see. Lambert, in the meantime, being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming in of Queen Anne, returned to London, and there exercised himself in teaching children both in the Greek and Latin tongues.

Thus, then, after that John Lambert had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, it happened (A.D. 1538) that he was present at a sermon which was preached in St. Peter's church in London, by Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far from the gospel; and afterwards, in the time of King Edward, made Bishop of Lincoln, and at last, in the time of Queen Mary, deprived, and so ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert having got an opportunity, went gently to the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor excusing himself at that time for other business, desired him to write his mind, and to come again when he had more leisure.

Lambert was contented, and so departed. Within a short time after, when he had written his mind, he came again to him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing; partly by the scriptures, and partly by good reason, and by the doctors. The arguments men reported to be of great force and authority.

If, saith he, these words, "This cup is the New Testament," do not change either the cup or the wine corporally into the New Testament, it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ.

Another reason was this—that it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time; wherefore, it must follow of necessity, that either Christ had not a natural body, or else truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once; and much less in many, that is to say in heaven and in earth, on the right hand of His Father, and in the sacrament.

The preacher, willing and desiring, as is supposed, to satisfy Lambert in this matter, conferred with Dr. Barnes. Barnes, although he did otherwise favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause, fearing it would breed some hinderance among the people to the preaching of the gospel, which was now in a state of good forwardness. He persuaded Taylor to put up the matter to Archbishop Cranmer.

In this manner Lambert's affair first began, and was brought to this point: that it began of a private talk to be a public and common matter. For he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly; for the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, of which afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert appealed from the bishops to the king; but however the matter was, the rumour of that disputation was spread throughout the whole court.

At that time, Stephen Gardiner, then Bishop of Winchester, was in authority among the king's counsellors, who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to hinder the gospel. He went to the king

privately, admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him in all places—

First, for abolishing the Bishop of Rome's authority, then for subversion of the monasteries, and also for the divorce of Queen Catherine; and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them which were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest to the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and by this new rumour, he would extinguish all other former rumours, and also discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

The king, giving ear, more willingly than prudently or godly, to this, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of his realm to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, upon which the king himself would sit in judgment.

These preparations being made, a day was set for Lambert to appear, and a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

By-and-by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men, even as a lamb to fight with many lions, and placed right over against where the king's royal seat was; so that now they tarried but for the king's coming.

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, and covering by that colour all bloody judgment.

When the king was seated on his throne, he looked at Lambert with a stern countenance; and then turning himself to his counsellors, he called Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this assembly and judgment.

The whole effect of his oration tended to this purpose—that the king would have all estates, degrees, bishops, and all others, to be admonished of his will and pleasure; that no man should conceive such an opinion of him as that, the authority and name of the Bishop of Rome being now utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty to heretics to trouble the churches of England without punishment; and that they should not think that they were assembled to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine, but only for this purpose—that the heresies of Lambert, and the heresies of all such, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the king standing up, and leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, and turning himself towards Lambert, with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words—"Ho, good fellow, what is thy name?" Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling

down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although by many I am called Lambert." "What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother."

"Oh, most noble prince!" replied Lambert, "your bishops forced me to change my name." And after much talk in this manner, the king commanded him to go to the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks who had so inclined the heart of the king that he would not disdain to hear the controversies of religion, because it happened often through the cruelty of the bishops that many good and innocent men were privily murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge.

But now, forsomuch as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, especially whom God of His divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of His name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration—"I came not hither," said he, "to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence, but briefly to go to the matter without any more circumstance." This he spake in Latin.

But Lambert being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, paused awhile considering.

But the king being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, "Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar; whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert.—"I answer with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ after a certain manner."

The king.—"Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no?" These words the king spake again in Latin.

Lambert.—"Then I do deny it to be the body of Christ."

The king.—"Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, 'This is my body.'"

Then he commanded Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface to the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us impartially, that if I show your argument to be false by the scriptures, you will willingly refuse it; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the scripture, I promise that I will willingly embrace it."

After Cranmer and the Bishop of Winchester disputed for some time with Lambert, Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, said, that if Christ could perform what He spake, touching the converting of the body into

bread, without doubt He would speak nothing but that He would perform.

Lambert answered, that there was no evident place of scripture wherein Christ at any time says that He would change the bread into His body; but this is a figurative speech, everywhere used in the scripture, when the name of the thing signified is attributed to the sign. By which figure of speech circumcision is called the covenant, the lamb, the passover, besides six hundred such other. Now it remains to be settled, whether we shall judge all these after the words pronounced, "to be straightway changed into another nature."

Then they began to rage against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. Vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place and the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with standing no less than five hours, from twelve of the clock until five at night, chose rather to hold his peace.

Whereby it came to pass that these bishops, who last disputed with him, spoke what they chose without interruption, save only that Lambert would now and then allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part, being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he remained silent.

At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the king said to Lambert, "What sayest thou now after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men. Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty." "Then," said the king, "commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

Lambert.—"I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." Then said the king, "If you do commit yourself to my judgment, you must die; for I will not be a patron to heretics;" and by-and-by turning himself to Cromwell, he said, "Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him." Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one Bishop of Winchester, Satan did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell, who afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the same for the gospel's sake.

Thus was John Lambert in this bloody session, by the king judged and condemned to death, whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when as before the tribunal seat of that Great Judge both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight of the clock in the morning, to the house of Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his chamber; and it is reported by many that Cromwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done. There Lambert being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered; and being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where he should offer himself a sacrifice of sweet savour to the Lord, who is blessed in His saints, for ever and ever. Amen.

Of all who have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he; yet in the midst of his torments, lifting up his mangled and burning hands, he cried to the people, "None but Christ, none but Christ."

BARNES, GERRARD, AND JEROME.

As in battles the chief point of victory consists in the safety of the general or captain, even so when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell, was taken out of the way, miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued. For Winchester, having now got his full purpose, and free course to exercise his cruelty, it was wonderful to see what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest by delay he might lose the occasion offered, he straightway made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard, and William Jerome, whom, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be executed. First of all, we will speak of Dr. Barnes, whose particular history here follows:—

This Barnes, after he came from the university of Louvain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior, and master of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the university. Barnes having a taste for good learning and authors, began to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, he caused the university shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the students learned. After those foundations had been laid, then he read openly St. Paul's epistles, because he would have Christ and His holy word taught there; and thereby in a short time he made some good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house he observed likewise in the university abroad, where he disputed with any man in the common schools. The first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the scriptures was Master Stafford, on being examined for his form to be a bachelor of divinity, which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the doctors, and joyful to the godly in spirit.

Thus Barnes, with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the scriptures, always preaching against bishops

and hypocrites, and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Master Bilney, with others (as is related in the life of Master Bilney) converted him wholly to Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth was on the Sunday before Christmas day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge. For that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly and learned in Christ, both of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter's House, Queen's College, the King's College, Gunwell Hall, and Benet College, showed themselves, and flocked together openly, both in the schools and at sermons, in St. Mary's, and at the Austins, and at other disputations, and then they conferred continually together.

At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Barnes accused him in the regent-house before the vice-chancellor, and presented articles against him; to these he promised to make answer at the next convocation. Then Nottoris, a violent enemy to Christ, moved Barnes to recant; but he refused to do so, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then suddenly there was sent down to Cambridge a sergeant-at-arms, who arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house to make all others afraid.

But good Dr. Farman, of Queen's College, sent word to the chambers of those that were suspected of possessing Luther's books, who were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by the time that the sergeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at every man's chamber. In the morning he was carried by the sergeant-at-arms to Cardinal Wolsey, at Westminster; and thereafter waiting all day, he could not speak with him till night. Then by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, and Master Fox, master of the Wards, he spake the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of state, kneeling on his knees. Then said the cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes, your man that is accused of heresy?" "Yea, and please your grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What, master doctor," said the cardinal, "had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so offend you that you must make us ridiculous amongst the people? We were that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit." And he answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors;" and then he delivered him six sheets of paper written to confirm and corroborate his statements.

He received them smiling, saying, "We perceive, then, that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." He answered, "I will ask you a question—Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty's person in all the

high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us; to sell all these things, and to give it to the poor; and to throw away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked?" He answered, "I think it necessary that it be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling; nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp, but by God."

Then answered he, "Lo, master doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of." Then they kneeling down, said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

Then said he, "Stand you up; for your sakes and the university we will be good to him. How say you, master doctor; do you not know that I am a legate, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the Pope may?" He said, "I know it to be so." "Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your welfare, and for the welfare of the university?" He answered, "I thank your grace for your good-will. I will abide by the holy scriptures, according to the simple talent that God has lent me." "Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the utmost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then he required him that he might have justice with equity; and forthwith he would have been sent to the Tower, but Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night; and so he returned to Master Parnel's house, where he commenced writing again, and slept not—Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field being his writers; and in the morning he came to Gardiner and Fox, and was committed to the sergeant-at-arms to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster before the bishops and the Abbot of Westminster.

At the same time, when Dr. Barnes was to appear before the cardinal, there were five men to be examined for Luther's book and Lollardy; but after they saw Barnes, they set the other aside, and asked the sergeant-at-arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy, and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately after a little talk they sware him, and laid his articles to him. Then they called the master of the Fleet, and he and five others were committed to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or not; and he subscribed willingly, when they committed him and young Master Parnel to the Fleet also with the others. There they remained till Saturday morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with Barnes.

On the Saturday he came again into the chapter-house, and there remained till five o'clock at night. And after long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him to know whether he would abjure or be burned. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure; but afterwards he was persuaded rather to abjure than to burn. Upon that, falling

upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration being put into his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed it with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to his oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil all that they commanded him; and he promised so to do.

They then commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, to be kept close in prison, and in the morning to provide five fagots for Dr. Barnes and the other men. The fifth man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds' weight provided for him to offer to the rood of Northen, in St. Paul's; and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he, with all that he could muster with bills and glaves, and the knight-marshal, with all his tipstaffs that he could gather, should bring them to St. Paul's, and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready by the hour appointed in St. Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with thirty-six abbots, and mitred priors, and bishops; and he in his pomp sat there enthroned, with his chaplains and spiritual doctors, in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple. And there was a new pulpit erected, on the top of the stairs also, for the Bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books were standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, to be burned there, and these heretics, after the sermon, to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in their fagots.

Now, during the sermon, Dr. Barnes and the others were commanded to kneel down and ask forgiveness of God, the catholic church, and the cardinal; and after that he was commanded at the end of the sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies were so horrible and detestable; and he once again kneeled down, desiring the people to pray for him; and so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of St. Paul's, and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back. Then these poor men being ordered to come down, the bishops commanded the knight-marshal and the warden of the Fleet to carry them about the fire; and after this they were brought to the bishops, and there kneeled down for absolution. The Bishop of Rochester stood up and declared unto the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and there absolved Dr. Barnes with the others. This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight-marshal were commanded to convey them to the Fleet again.

Barnes continued in the Fleet the space of half-a-year; and at length he was committed as a free prisoner to the Austin friars, in London, who complained of him to the lord cardinal, upon which he was removed to the Austin friars of Northampton, and there to be burned. At last one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and

who was his especial friend, having intelligence that a writ would shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be insane, and that he should write a letter to the cardinal and leave it on his table, to declare that he was gone to drown himself in a certain place, and then to leave his clothes in the place; and another letter to the mayor to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax, for the cardinal. Upon this they were seven days in searching for him; but he in the meantime was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel, and took shipping and went to Antwerp, and so to Luther, and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had written a book intituled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another book with a supplication to King Henry.

Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both with the learned in Christ and with the foreign princes in Germany, and was intimate with Luther, Melancthon, and others, and with the Duke of Saxony, and with the King of Denmark, who, in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him with the Lubecks as an ambassador to Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would gladly have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth, and so he departed again with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittemberg to the Duke of Saxony and to Luther, he remained there to forward his works in print which he had begun, from whence he returned in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne Boleyn, and continued a faithful preacher in the city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent ambassador by King Henry VIII. to the Duke of Cleves, to negotiate a marriage between himself and the Lady Anne of Cleves. He was well accepted in the embassy, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France; but after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; for, after the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, he never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock.

Not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended, and carried before the king at Hampton Court, and there examined. Gardiner sought by all subtle means how to entangle and to entrap him into further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. They were enjoined to preach three sermons, at which Stephen Gardiner was present, with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to entrap them in their words. When these three had thus preached their sermons, Barnes, preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand; and Gardiner held up his finger. Yet, shortly after, they were sent for to Hampton Court, and from thence were carried to the Tower, whence they never came out till they came to their death.

And thus hitherto concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the history and doings of Thomas Gerrard, as related by Anthony Dalabar.

"About A.D. 1526, Master Gerrard, curate in Honey Lane, in London, came to Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the scriptures, with the first part of *Unio Dissidentium*, and Tindal's first translation of the New Testament in English, which books he sold to the scholars in Oxford.

"After he had been there awhile, it was not unknown to Cardinal Wolsey, and to the Bishop of London, and to others, that Master Gerrard had a great number of those books, and that he was gone to Oxford to make sale of them there, to such as he knew to be lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his books, and himself too if they could. But that time one of the proctors, Master Cole, of Magdalen College, was well acquainted with him, and therefore he gave secret warning to a friend of Master Gerrard, and advised that he should, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford; for if he were taken, he would be forthwith sent up to the cardinal, and be committed to the Tower.

"I, Anthony Dalaber, having books of Master Gerrard, had been in my county, in Dorsetshire, where I had a brother, parson of the parish, who was very desirous to have a curate from Oxford; it seemed good that Master Gerrard, changing his name, should be sent, with my letters, into Dorsetshire to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly from thence convey himself somewhere over the sea. Accordingly, I wrote letters to my brother, for Master Gerrard to be his curate, but not declaring what he was, for my brother was a rank Papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had for the gospel's sake.

"Accordingly, on the Wednesday, Master Gerrard departed out of Oxford toward Dorsetshire, with his letters. How far he went, and by what occasion he returned, I know not. But on the next Friday, in the night-time, he came back; and so, after midnight, in the search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken in his bed by the two proctors, and in the morning was delivered to one Dr. Cottisford, Master of Lincoln College, then being a commissary of the university, who kept him as a prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the Papists at his apprehension. I was utterly ignorant of Master Gerrard's sudden return, and that he was taken, until he came into my chamber and said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said he knew him not; but he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber, and desired his servant to bring him to me: and so he declared how he was returned and taken that night, and that now, when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone

in his chamber, he hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came away.

"Then said I to him, 'Alas, Master Gerrard, by this your uncircumspect coming to me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.' I asked him why he went not to my brother with my letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a-half, he was so fearful that he returned again to Oxford. But now, with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came to me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine.

"Then we both kneeled down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God, our heavenly Father, we entreated Him with plenty of tears so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of His holy name, if it was His good pleasure and will so to do; and then we embraced and kissed each other, and the tears so abundantly flowed from both our eyes, that our faces were all wet with them, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another; and so he departed from me apparelled in my coat, being committed unto the guidance of our Almighty and merciful Father.

"When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel; and when I had so done, with prayer did commit unto God our dearly beloved brother Gerrard, earnestly beseeching Him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, His only begotten Son, our Lord, that He would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also that He would endue His tender and lately born flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by His Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand to His glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so great a burthen, without the help of His Holy Spirit.

"This done, I laid aside my book, folded up Master Gerrard's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel, and so having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber doors, and went toward Frideswides, to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare to them what had happened. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's Church, to go first to Corpus Christi College, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there.

"Then I went straight to Frideswides; and even-song was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there. As I stood there, in

comes Doctor Cottisford, the commissary, as fast as he could, bareheaded, and as pale as ashes, and he goes to the dean, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully. I went aside from the choir door, to hear and see more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir wonderfully troubled. About the middle of the church Dr. London met them, puffing, blustering, and blowing like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed for keeping his prisoner so negligently, so that he wept for sorrow: and it was known abroad that Master Gerrard had escaped; but whither no man could tell. The doctors departed, and sent their servants and spies everywhere. Master Clark, about the middle of *Compline*, came out of the choir: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened. He was glad, and sent for one Master Sumner, and Master Betts, fellows and canons there. In the meanwhile he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me and all the rest of our brethren 'the prudence of the serpent, and harmlessness of the dove,' for we should shortly have much need of it, as he thought."

Gerrard, however, was apprehended and taken by Master Cole, the proctor, as his men were going westward, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford, and so being brought back again, was committed to ward; he was brought before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, Dean of Frideswides (now called Christ's College), in St. Mary's Church, where they, sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their law as a heretic, and afterwards compelled him to carry a fagot in open procession from St. Mary's Church to Frideswides, and Dalaber likewise with him, Gerrard having his red hood on his shoulders, like a master of arts. After that they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further orders were taken.

Besides these, there were a great number also suspected to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Master Gerrard sold to them; and many were forced to forsake their colleges and return to their friends. Against the procession time they made a great fire, into which all such as were in the procession, who had been convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded every man to cast a book as they passed, in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors.

After this, Master Gerrard, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, till this present time, when he was again apprehended and burned in Smithfield, with Doctor Barnes and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney.

The third who suffered with Barnes and Gerrard was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. This Jerome had preached many sermons, in which he laboured to weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing he could not otherwise but provoke much hatred against him amongst the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened that, on preaching one Sunday at St. Paul's, he made there a sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned Hagar and

Sarah, declaring what these two signified. He was accused of preaching erroneously, teaching the people that all that were born of Sarah (the children of the promise) were freely justified; speaking there absolutely without any condition, either of baptism or of penance, etc. Who doubts here, but if St. Paul himself had been at St. Paul's cross, and had preached the same words to Englishmen which he wrote to the Galatians, he had been apprehended for an heretic for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance?

And thus much concerning the several histories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, being committed to the Tower after Easter, remained there till the 30th day of July, which was two days after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then process was issued against them by the king's council in parliament, to which process Gardiner confessed himself that he was privy. Whereupon these three good saints of God, on the 30th day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where, while preparing themselves for the fire, they gave at the stake many and sundry exhortations; among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following:—

"I am come hither to be burned as an heretic, and you shall hear my belief; whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. I take God to record I never, to my knowledge, taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which scripture led me to; and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection." After enumerating and remarking on the articles of his belief, he said to the sheriff, "Have you any articles against me for which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered, "No." "Then," said he, "is there any man else that knows why I must die, or that by my preaching has been led into error? Let them now speak, and I will give them an answer." And no man answered. Then said he, "Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand by an act of parliament: but wherefore I cannot tell, but probably for heresy, for we are likely to burn. But they who have been the occasion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Stephen, Bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God to forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put Him to death. And if any of the council, or any other, have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God to forgive their ignorance and illuminate their eyes, that they may see and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him, that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father had begun. I

have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience to the king's majesty; but here I say to you that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility and with all your heart; yea, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient to him, and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience' sake before God."

Then spake he to the sheriff, and said—"Mr. Sheriff, I require you on God's behalf to have me commended unto the king, and to show him that I require of his grace these five requests: first, that where his grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substances of the abbeys"—Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, "Mr. Sheriff, I warrant you I will speak no harm; for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away; and the king hath well done in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king and obeyed in his whole realm as a king (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his ancestors that reigned before him, ever had), and that through the preaching of us and such other wretches as we are, who always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward. Well, it makes no matter. Now he reigns among you; I pray God that he may long live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them. The second that I desire his grace is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every light cause invented cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication. The third, that abominable swearers may be punished; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths. The fourth, that his grace would set forth Christ's true religion; and seeing he has begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his grace to look on God's word himself, for that it had been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now," said he, "how many petitions have I spoken off?" And the people said, "Four." "Well," said he, "even these four are sufficient, which I desire you that the king's grace may be certified of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers and evil counsel, for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in sheep's clothing."

Then he desired all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man; or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God: and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with these words he desired them all to pray for him; and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making ready for the fire, there patiently to take his death.

The like confession made also Jerome and Gerrard, professing in

like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith; protesting that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue among them, with his most dear son, Prince Edward. Which done, Jerome added this exhortation in the few words which follow:—

"I say unto you, good brethren, that God has bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with His most precious blood. Be not unthankful therefore to Him; but do as much as to Christian men belongs to fulfil His commandments, that is, 'Love your brethren.' Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if you were in necessity, thou wouldst gladly be refreshed. And, again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach He suffered of His enemies, and how patiently He suffered all these things. Consider that all that Christ did was of His own goodness, and not of our deserving; for if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam's breaking of God's precepts, we had been all lost if Christ had not redeemed us again; and as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so we, if we break God's commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust or confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ: to whom I commit my soul, beseeching you all to pray to God for me and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may depart in the true faith of Christ."

In a similar manner Gerrard protested, and exhorted the people; and ended his protestation as follows:—

"I also detest, abhor, and refuse all heresies and errors; and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask mercy of God; or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person has taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire him, and all other persons whom I have in any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance, I never preached wittingly, or willingly, anything against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith; to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living; but have always, for my little learning, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to His laws, and also the king's. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the king's grace good and godly counsel, to His glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield my soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and believing that He, of His infinite mercy, for His promise made in the blood of His Son, our most merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, will take it, and

pardon me of all my sins; whereby I have most grievously from my youth offended his majesty; wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die steadfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity."

And so, after they had engaged in prayer, wherein they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience through the Holy Ghost, they took each other by the hands and kissed one another; then quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors, and so died both Christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause and quiet of their conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord works with His grace and fortitude in the hearts of His servants, especially in such as suffer with a guiltless conscience for religion's sake, above others who suffer for their deserts; for whereas they who suffer as malefactors are commonly heavy and pensive in their death, so the others, with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, abide whatever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them.

At the same time, and in the same place, three others also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary—namely, for denying the king's supremacy, whose names were Powel, Featherstone, and Abel. This spectacle happening on the same day, brought the people into a marvellous doubt of their religion, which part to follow, as might well happen among ignorant people, seeing two contrary parties suffering; the one for popery, the other against popery, both at one time. This circumstance happened by reason of a certain division among the king's council, who were so equally divided among themselves, that the one-half seemed to hold with the one religion, and the other half with the contrary.

The names of those who, although it is not necessary to express them, yet, for the setting forth of the truth, we have thought good here to annex:—*Protestants*—Canterbury, Suffolk, Beauchamp, Lisle, Russel, treasurer, Paget, Sadler, Audley. *Papists*—Winchester, Durham, Norfolk, Southampton, Anthony Brown, William Paulet, John Baker, Richard, chancellor of the augmentation, Wingfield, vice-chancellor.

This division and separation of the council among themselves, caused both these parties above mentioned to suffer, the one for religion, and the other for another; for as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, so the other part likewise called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Featherstone, and Abel.

THE LAW OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

In the dreadful law of the Six Articles, a penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, as treason and felony, so that no recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another parlia-

ment, A.D. 1544, by which it was decreed that such offenders as were convicted for the first time should recant, and renounce their opinions; and if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid by his ordinary, or after his recantation, if he soon offended again, then, for the second time, he should abjure and bear a fagot, which, if he refused to do, or else, being abjured, if he a third time offended, then he was to sustain punishment according to the law, etc. Although the straitness and rigour of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, yet the venom and poison of the errors of those Articles remained still. By the last mentioned parliament, moreover, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the colour of religion, so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tindal, or any other having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words, or sentences, contrary to the Six Articles, were prohibited. In like manner, all songs, plays, and interludes, with all other books in English, containing matter of religion, tending any way against the Six Articles, were prohibited.

It was, moreover, provided that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, be prohibited to all women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers, yet permitted to noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse to their edifying, provided they did it quietly, without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the scripture.

Besides this, where before the offender or defendant might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to clear himself, in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many, or more in number, as the others who deposed against him, etc.

KERBY AND ROGER CLARKE.

Coming now to the year 1546, first noticing the priest, whose name was Saxy, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed not without the consent of the bishop, and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; also one Henry, with his servant, burned at Colchester, we will proceed to the history of Kerby and Roger Clarke of Mendelsham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A.D. 1546, and brought before the Lord Wentworth, with other commissioners, appointed there to sit upon their examinations.

In the meantime, Kerby and Rogers being in the gaoler's house, there came in Master Robert Wingfield, with Master Bruess of Winneham, who, having conference with Kerby, Master Wingfield said to Kerby, "Remember the fire is hot; take heed of thine enterprise that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were to stick to mercy while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin,

and then to shrink," with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again, "Ah, Master Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, there standeth a Christian soldier in the fire; for I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and He will suffer no more to be laid upon us than He will give strength to bear." "Ah, Kerby," said Master Wingfield, "if thou be at that point I will bid thee farewell, for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both the gentlemen, saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and departed.

When Kerby and Clarke came to the judgment-seat, the Lord Wentworth, with all the rest of the justices, were there already. Their articles were declared to them with all circumstances of the law; and then it was demanded and required of them whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest (as Christ spoke them to His apostles), there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after.

To which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at His last supper was to put all men in remembrance of His precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins, and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine, and yet more than bread and wine, for it is consecrated to a holy use. Then with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats besides, were these two poor men hardly treated; but they continued both faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live, and so continued to the end.

The sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the town on the next Saturday, and Clarke to be burned at Bury the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the Lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence, holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, "Praised be Almighty God!" and so stood still without any more words.

The next day, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, and wood, broom, and straw, and put off his clothes to his shirt, having a nightcap upon his head, and so was fastened to the stake with irons; there being in the gallery the Lord Wentworth with the most of the justices of those parts, where they might see his execution, how everything should be done, and might hear what Kerby would say; and also a great number of the people, about two thousand. There was also standing in the gallery, by the Lord Wentworth, Dr. Rugham, who was once a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice and a stole about his neck.

All this while Kerby was being compassed with irons and fagots, broom and straw, nothing changing in countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorifying God. Then Dr. Rugham preached upon the sixth chapter of St. John; and in handling his text, as often as he

alleged the scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade the people believe him; but when he did otherwise, he said, "You say not true; believe him not, good people." Upon which the voice of the people judged Dr. Rugham to be a false prophet. So when he had ended, he said to Kerby, "Thou good man, dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as He was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby answering boldly, said, "I do not so believe." "How dost thou believe?" said the doctor. Kerby said, "I do believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at His last supper, is His death, and passion, and blood-shedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered, and (as I said before) yet bread, and more than bread, for it is consecrated to a holy use."

Then said the under-sheriff to Kerby, "Hast thou anything more to say?" "Yea, sir," said he, "if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night-cap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again; but remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn, "We praise thee, O God," etc., and the creed, with our prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, while Kerby was doing thus, concealed himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done; you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve; and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God, with great admiration of his constancy.

On Monday, about ten o'clock, Roger Clarke was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate called Southgate, in Bury, and by the way the procession of the host met them; but he went on and would not bow cap nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. Without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled down, and said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord," etc., in English, making, as it were, a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness as any other, yet humbled herself to our Saviour. "And what sayest thou, John Baptist," said he, "the greatest of all men's children? 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.'" And thus with a loud voice he cried to the people, while he was being fastened to the stake, and then the fire was set to him.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English profession should be used throughout all England, according as it was set forth by his council; and none other to be used throughout the whole realm.

In the latter end of the preceding year, the king, in his oration to

parliament, first eloquently and lovingly declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and supplies offered to him. In the second part, with no less vehemency, he exhorted them to concord, peace, and unity; whereunto if he had also joined the third part, that is, as in words he exhorted to unity, so he had himself first begun to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects, that is, had removed the stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbour against neighbour, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ; then he had not only spoken, but also done, like a worthy prince.

DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

After long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, Henry lay from St. Stephen's day to the latter end of January (1547). His physicians at length perceiving that he was failing, and yet not daring to discourage him with thoughts of death, for fear of the act passed before in parliament, that none should speak anything of the king's death (the act being made only for soothsayers and talkers of prophecies), moved those that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity; which when the rest were in dread to do, Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him the state he was in, and that to man's judgment he was not likely to live; and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself for death, calling to remembrance his former life; and entreating him to call upon God in Christ for grace and mercy, as becomes every good Christian man.

Although the king was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving that it was the judgment of his physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself to hearken to the words of Denny's exhortation, and to consider his past life; which, although he much accused, yet, said he, "is the mercy of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, even though they were greater than they are." Master Denny being glad to hear him speak thus, asked to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer with, and to open his mind to. The king answered again, that if he had any, he would have Dr. Cranmer, who was then at Croydon. And therefore, Master Denny asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleep, and then, according as I feel myself, I will advise upon the matter."

After an hour or two, the king awaking, and feeling feebleness increasing upon him, commanded Dr. Cranmer to be sent for: but before he could come, the king was speechless and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Dr. Cranmer, he reached his hand to him, held him fast; but could utter no words to him, and scarce was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon His mercy, desired him, though he could not

speak, yet to give some token with his eyes, or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, wrung his hand in his as hard as he could, and shortly after departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

PATRICK HAMILTON.

Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, vol. v., chap. 3, gives the following sketch of this the first Scottish martyr:—"The reconciliation of the Archbishop Beaton to his powerful rivals (the house of Douglas), and his readmission to a share in the government, were signalised by a lamentable event—the arraignment and death of Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, the earliest, and, in some respects, the most eminent of the Scottish martyrs. This youthful sufferer was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, and Catherine Stewart, a daughter of the Duke of Albany. Educated at St. Andrews in what was then esteemed the too liberal philosophy of John Mair, the master of Knox and Buchanan, he early distinguished himself by a freedom of mind, which detected and despised the tenets of the schoolmen. He afterwards imbibed, probably from the treatises of Luther, a predilection for the new doctrines; and, being summoned before an ecclesiastical council, he preferred, at that time, when his faith was still unsettled, an escape to the continent, to the dangerous glory of defending his opinions. At Wittemberg he sought and obtained the friendship of Luther and Melancthon; they recommended him to the care of Lambert, the head of the University of Marpurg, and by this eminently learned and pious scholar Hamilton became fully instructed in the truth. No sooner did a full conviction of the errors of the Romish church take possession of his mind than a change seemed to be wrought in his character; he that before had been sceptical and timid, became courageous, almost to rashness; and, resisting the tears and entreaties of his affectionate master, declared his resolution of returning to Scotland, and preaching the faith in his native country. He embarked, arrived in 1527 at St. Andrews, publicly addressed the people, and after a brief career of usefulness and zeal, was arrested by the ecclesiastical arm and thrown into prison. His youth (he was then only twenty-eight) his talents, his amiable and gentle manners, interested all in his favour; and many attempts were made to induce him to retract his opinions, or, at least, to cease to disturb the tranquillity of the church, by their promulgation to the people. But all was in vain; he justly considered this tranquillity not the stillness of true peace, but the sleep of ignorance and death; he defended his doctrines with such pious earnestness and deep acquaintance with scripture, that Aless, a catholic priest, who had visited him in his cell, with a desire to shake his resolution, became himself a convert to the captive, and he was at last condemned as an obstinate heretic, and led to the stake. On the scaffold he turned affectionately to his servant, who had long attended him, and, taking

off his gown, coat, and cap, bade him receive all the worldly goods now left him to bestow, and with them the example of his death. 'What I am about to suffer, my dear friend,' said he, 'appears fearful and bitter to the flesh; but, remember, it is the entrance to everlasting life, which none shall possess who deny their Lord.' In the midst of his torments, which, from the awkwardness of the executioner, were protracted and excruciating, he ceased not to exhort those who stood near, exhibiting a meekness and unaffected courage, which made a deep impression. Lifting up his eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, 'How long, O God! shall darkness cover this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men!' and when death at last came to his relief, he expired with these blessed words upon his lips, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' The leading doctrines of Patrick Hamilton were explained by himself in a small Latin treatise. It contains a clear and scriptural exposition of the manner in which a sinner is justified before God, through faith in Jesus Christ, and a beautiful commentary on some of the principal Christian graces. Although occasionally quaint and obscure, it proves that the mind of this good man was far in advance of his age, at least in Scotland."

HENRY FORREST.

Within a few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forrest, a young man, affirmed that Master Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that his articles were true. For this he was apprehended, and put in prison by James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews who, shortly after, caused a friar named Walter Land to hear his confession. To whom, when Henry Forrest in secret confession had declared his conscience, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard.

It followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was summoned before the council of the clergy and doctors, and there concluded to be an heretic equally with Master Patrick Hamilton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges to suffer death.

When the day of his death came, and that he should first be degraded, and was brought before the clergy, he cried with a loud voice, saying, "Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars! Revealers of confession! After this day let no man ever trust any friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men!" When they proceeded to degrade him, he said, with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism;" meaning, whatever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereto there are great additions in baptism. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as an heretic. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of His gospel, at the north church stile of the abbey church of St. Andrew.

JAMES HAMILTON, STRAITON, & GOURLAY.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forrest (1534), all these were called to the abbey church of Holyrood House, in Edinburgh, in presence of King James V., who, upon the day of their accusation, was clad in red apparel. James Hamilton was accused as one that maintained the opinions of Master Patrick, his brother; to whom the king gave council to depart, and not to appear, for in case he appeared he could not help him, because the bishops had persuaded him that the cause of heresy did in nowise appertain to him. And so James fled, and was condemned as an heretic, and all his goods and lands were confiscated, and given unto others.

Catherine Hamilton, his sister, appeared upon the scaffold, and being accused of a horrible heresy—to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same; and after long reasoning between her and Master John Spens, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner—"Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of work can save me but only the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." The king, hearing these words, turned himself about and laughed, and called her to him, and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt, and she escaped.

Tytler gives the following account of David Straiton and Norman Gourlay:—"Straiton was a gentleman of good family, brother to the Baron of Lauriston, who had engaged in a quarrel with the Bishop of Moray on the subject of his tithes; and in a fit of indignation had commanded his servants, when challenged by the collectors, to throw every tenth fish they caught into the sea, bidding them seek their tax where he found the stock. From these violent courses he had softened down into a more quiet inquiry into the grounds of right claimed by churchmen, and frequenting much the company of Erskine of Dun, one of the earliest and most eminent of the Reformers, became at length a sincere convert to the truth. It is related of him that, when a young man, reading one day the scriptures to his instructor, he came upon that passage where our Saviour declares He will deny before His Father and the holy angels any one who hath denied Him before men: upon which he was deeply moved, and falling down on his knees, implored God, that although he had been a great sinner, he would never permit him, from the fear of any bodily torment, to deny Him or His truth. Nor was his prayer unanswered. Death, in one of its most terrific forms, was now before him, and he was earnestly exhorted to escape by abjuring his belief; but he steadily refused to purchase his pardon by retracting a single tenet, and encouraged his fellow-sufferer, Gourlay, in the same resolution. Both were burned on the 27th August 1534."

THOMAS FORREST AND OTHERS.

Not long after the burning of David Straiton and Master Gourlay, in the days of David Beaton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews,

and George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, a canon of St. Colme's Inche, and vicar of Dollar, called Dean Thomas Forrest, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel, as it fell for the time, which then was a great novelty in Scotland to see any man preach except a black friar or a grey friar; and, therefore, the friars envied him, and accused him to the Bishop of Dunkeld (in whose diocese he remained) as an heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The Bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the instigation of the friars, called Dean Thomas, and said to him, "Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself." To whom Thomas said, "I thank your lordship heartily." Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner—

"Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cowl nor the uppermost cloth from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and, therefore, Dean Thomas, I would you took your cowl and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that sets forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that and let the rest alone."

Thomas answered, "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cowl, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them anything that I have, and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us.

"And where your lordship saith, it is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like." "Nay, nay, Dean Thomas," said the bishop, "let that be; for we are not ordained to preach." Then said Thomas, "Where your lordship bids me preach when I find any good epistle or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil." Then spake my lord stoutly, "I thank God that I never knew what the New and Old Testament was" (and of these words rose a proverb, which is common in Scotland, 'Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither new nor old law;') "therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my mass book and my pontifical. Go your way, and leave off all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions you will repent it when you may not mend it." Thomas said, "I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I care not much what follows." And so my lord and he separated at that time. And

soon after a summons was directed from the Cardinal of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Dunkeld, upon the Dean Thomas Forrest, upon two black friars, called Friar John Keillor, and another called Beveridge, and upon a priest of Stirling called Duncan Simpson, and one gentleman called Robert Forrester, in Stirling, with other three or four with them of the town of Stirling, who, at the day of their appearance, were condemned to death without any opportunity for recantation, because (as was alleged) they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresy; and especially because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Twybody, beside Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the bridal; and so they were all together burned on the Castlehill, Edinburgh (in February 1538 or 1539), where they that were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously comforted them who came behind.

GEORGE WISHART.

I will solicit the attention of the reader to the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wishart by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles of which he was accused, and his meek answers. Finally, ponder on the furious rage and tragical cruelty of the malignant church of Rome in persecuting this blessed man of God; and his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them at the moment, without regarding their menacings and threats, but not moving his countenance nor changing his visage.

But before I advert to his articles, I thought it not impertinent to touch somewhat concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as it came to my hands, certified in writing by a scholar of Wishart, named Emery Tylney, whose words, as he wrote them to me, here follow:—

"About the year 1543, there was in the University of Cambridge one Master George Wishart, commonly called Master George of Benet's College, a man of tall stature, judged by his physiognomy to be of a melancholy disposition, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of person, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and well travelled; never having on him for his habit and clothing but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvas for his shirts, and white falling bands, and cuffs at his hands. All which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

"He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness—for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvas sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tub of water, in which (his people being in

bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation, amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished what he had begun! For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with some of the nobility that came for a treaty to King Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able both in the house privately and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testify, with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed. EMERY TYLNEY."

Master George Wishart was in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, where the dean of the town was sent by command of the cardinal to summon him, that he should upon the morning following appear before the judge to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

To whom Master George answered, "What need my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine before him under whose power and dominion I am thus bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer by his power? or believes he that I am unprepared to render account of my doctrine?"

On the next morning the cardinal caused his servants to dress themselves in their most warlike array, with all their arms, more prepared for war than for the preaching of the word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, they sent for Master George, who was conveyed into the church by the captain of the castle, accompanied by a hundred men-at-arms. Like a lamb they led him to the sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying there afflicted with great infirmities, who asked of him alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, the sub-prior of the abbey, called Dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit and made a sermon to all the congregation, taking his matter out of Matthew xiii., whose sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist.

The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil

seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it may be known, which he defined in this manner—"Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacity, clearly contrary to the word of God."

The third part of the sermon was the cause of heresy within that and other realms. The cause of heresy is the ignorance of those who have the cure of souls; to whom it necessarily belongs to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win the false teachers of heresies with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as says St. Paul—"For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." Titus i. 7-9.

The fourth part of his sermon was how heresies should be known. Heresies (said he) are known after this manner—as the goldsmith knows the fine gold from the imperfect by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone—that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At last, he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life—which proposition the gospel appeared to contradict. "Let them grow together till the harvest;" the harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and the law. And when he ended his sermon, they caused Master George to ascend the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. And right against them stood John Lauder, laden full of curses written on paper, who took out a roll, both long and full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and he hit him so spitefully with the Pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth would have speedily swallowed him up. Notwithstanding, he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, nor once moving or changing his countenance.

When this well-fed priest had read through all his menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?" Master George, hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly, he answered to them all as follows:—

"Many horrible sayings and many abominable words ye have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I thought a great abomination. Wherefore I pray you quietly to hear me, that you may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lord, I desire to be heard for three causes.

"The first is, because through preaching of the word of God His

glory is made manifest. It is reasonable, therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God that you hear me teaching truly the pure word of God without any dissimulation.

"The second reason is, because that your salvation springs from the word of God, for He works all things by His word. It were, therefore, an unrighteous thing if you should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

"The third reason is, because your doctrine utters many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming from the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than that of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable that you should know what my words and doctrine are, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own salvation, and safety of my life, I beseech you to hear me, and I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

"First, and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the commandments of God, the twelve articles of the creed, and the Lord's Prayer in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall show you faithfully what manner I used when I taught."

Then suddenly, with a loud voice, the accuser cried, "Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power into thine own hand without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher so long." Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, exclaimed, "If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and in the holy scripture so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Master George, seeing their malicious and wicked intention, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder, answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Bishop of Merepois, Commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus a latere?*" And so reciting a long list of titles, he asked, "Is not my lord cardinal an equal judge? Whom other desirest thou to be thy judge?"

To whom this humble man answered, "I refuse not my lord cardinal; but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships, mine auditors; because I am here my lord governor's prisoner." Whereupon the proud and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge! speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor, and others the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics." And without delay they would have given sentence upon Master George without further process, had not certain men counselled the cardinal to read the articles, and to hear his answers, that the people might not complain of his condemnation.

These were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak; for when he intended to answer their

charges, and show his doctrine, they stopped his mouth with another article :—

1. "Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, thou despisest the holy church, and in it contemnest my lord governor's authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but didst persevere in the same ; and, therefore, the Bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. That, notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately."

"My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' Acts v. 29. I have also read in the prophet Malachi, 'I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings.' Mal. ii. 2. Believing firmly that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings."

2. "Thou, false heretic, didst say, that the priest standing at the altar saying mass was like a fox wagging his tail."

"My lords, I said not so ; these were my sayings :—The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is naught else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God ; for God is a searcher of men's hearts ; therefore, who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and truth honour Him."

3. "Thou, false heretic, didst preach against the sacraments, saying that there were not seven sacraments."

"My lords, if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ are showed to us by the gospel. I profess them openly ; and except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing."

4. "Thou, false heretic, hast openly taught that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament ; and thou sayest that we should only confess to God, and to no priest."

"My lords, I say that auricular confession, seeing that it has no promise of the gospel, cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God there are many testimonies in scripture, as when David saith, 'I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord ; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' Ps. xxxii. 5. Here confession signifies the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of confession. And, further, St. James saith, 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.' James iii. 16."

When he had said these words, the bishops and their accomplices cried, and gnashed their teeth, saying, "See you not what colours he has in his speaking, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion?"

5. "Thou, heretic, didst openly say, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was, contrary to general councils, and the estate of the holy church."

"My lords, I believe there are none so unwise here that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger; so, likewise, I would that we understood what we promise to God, in the name of the infant in baptism. For this cause I believe you have confirmation."

Then said Master Bleiter, chaplain, that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then a child answered him, saying, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man speaks."

6. "Thou heretic, traitor, thief, thou saidst that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and nothing else; and all that is there done is but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God."

"Oh, Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the scripture does not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught anything against the scriptures, which I shall by God's grace make manifest this day, being ready to suffer death for it.

"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable to God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable to Him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me I shall show your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew when I was sailing on the Rhine. I inquired of him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him fulfilled? Moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah—by many other testimonies of the scripture I proved to him that Messias was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again, 'When Messias comes he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you, yet you are not moved with pity toward them; but amongst us Jews (though we are poor) there are no beggars found. Secondly, it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only is to be honoured; but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes you adore and worship, and say that it is your God.' I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true."

Then the bishops shook their heads, and spit on the earth.

7. "Thou, false heretic, didst say, that extreme unction was not a sacrament."

"My lords, I never taught anything of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or not."

8. "Thou, false heretic, saidst, that holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou didst condemn conjuring, and said that holy church's cursings avail not."

"My lords, as for holy water, I taught nothing about it in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God I would commend them; but as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

9. "Thou, false heretic and runagate, hast said, that every layman is a priest, and such like. Thou saidst, that the Pope hath no more power than any other man."

"My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of whom one says, 'And hath made us kings and priests.' Rev. i. 6. The other says, 'But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.' 1 Pet. ii. 9. Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man being skilful in the word of God and the true faith of Jesus Christ, has this power from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, which word is called 'The power of God' (Rom. i 16), as witnesses St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatever estate or order he be of, I say, he has no power to bind or loose, seeing he wants the instrument by which he binds or looses, that is to say, the word of God."

After that he had said these words, all the bishops laughed and mocked at him. When he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye," said he, "my lords? Though these sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of great value, because they concern not only myself, but also the honour and glory of God." In the meantime, many godly men beholding the great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, greatly mourned and lamented.

10. "Thou, false heretic, saidst that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoics, who say that it is not in man's will to do anything; but that all concupiscence comes by God, whatever kind it be of."

"My lords, I said not so, truly; I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, to them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, 'If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.' John viii. 36. On the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin. 'Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.'" John viii. 34.

11. "Thou, false heretic, saidst it is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday as on Sundays."

"I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean; on the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifies by the word the creature of God; but the creature makes no man acceptable to God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man; but to the faithful man all things are 'sanctified by the word of God and prayer.' 1 Tim. iii. 5."

After these sayings of Master George, then said all the bishops with their accomplices, "What need we any witness against him? Has he not openly here spoken blasphemy?"

12. "Thou, false heretic, didst say, that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this or not; speak shortly."

For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers he said, without doubt plainly, that saints should not be honoured. "My lord," said he, "there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain; the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.' Matt. iv. 10. But as for praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many whether they hear, or not, invocation made to them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our master, Christ. He is our only Mediator, and makes intercession for us to God His Father. He is the door by which we must enter in—he that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth up another way, is a thief and a murderer. He is the truth and the life—he that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea, verily, is fallen into it already. This is my doctrine, which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold as to affirm anything."

13. "Thou, false heretic, hast preached plainly, saying, that there is no purgatory; and that it is a feigned thing, that any man after this life can be punished in purgatory."

"My lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without witness and testimony of the scriptures I dare affirm nothing. I have oftentimes read over the Bible, and yet such a term I never found, nor yet any place of scripture applicable to it. Therefore I was ashamed to teach that which I could not find in the scriptures."

Then said he to Master John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the scriptures, by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." But this accuser had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

14. "Thou, false heretic, hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying, that whoever was bound to such vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry, and not to live single."

"My lords, I have read in the gospel, that as many as have not the gift of chastity nor yet have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, nor have vowed chastity, should marry. You have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines than one married wife.

15. "Thou, false heretic and runagate, saidst thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils."

"My lords, what your general councils are I know not, I was never exercised in them; but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree."

Then the ravening wolves said, "Wherefore let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them."

Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Graifind Scot, standing behind John Lauder, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his godly answers. "For we may not listen to them," said he, "any more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross."

16. "Thou, heretic, saidst that it is in vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remains not in the churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as between the priest's hands."

"My lords, Solomon says, 'Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded!" 1 Kings viii. 27. And Job consents to the same sentence, 'Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.' Job xi. 7–9. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because He is infinite. Notwithstanding these sayings, I never said that churches should be destroyed; but of the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be comprehended in any place, and wheresoever two or three are gathered together in His name, there is He present in the midst of them."

Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, show forth your reasons before this auditory." Then he without all reason being dumb, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles.

17. "Thou, false heretic, contemnest fasting, and said thou shouldst not fast."

"My lord, I find that fasting is commended in the scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel if I contemned fasting. And not only so, but I have learned by experience that fasting is good for the health of the body; but God knows who fasts the true fast."

18. "Thou, false heretic, hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day."

"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me; I know surely by the word of God, that he who has begun to

have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believes firmly in Him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but shall live an immortal life. Which life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented; nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but shall ever live immortal with Christ. To which life all that believe in Him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen."

When the bishops with their accomplices had accused this innocent man in this manner, they condemned him to be burned as an heretic, having no respect to his godly answers and true reasons, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the saying in St. John, "They shall put thee out of the synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." John xvi. 2.

Then they caused the common people to depart, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the castle, then there came two Gray fiends, Friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, you must make your confession to us." He answered and said, "I will make no confession to you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession to him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence; but what he said in this confession I cannot show.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows erected, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal, dreading lest Master George should be taken away by his friends, commanded that all the ordnance of the castle should be turned against that part, and that all his gunners should be ready and stand by their guns, until such time as he was burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle to the place of execution. As he came forth from the castle gate, there met him certain beggars asking him alms for God's sake; to whom he answered, "I want my hands wherewith I should give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of His benignity and abundance of grace, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both to your bodies and souls." Then afterward met him two false fiends, I should say friars, saying, "Master George, pray to our Lady that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son;" to whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren." After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he went down upon his knees and rose again, and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When he made this prayer, he turned him to the people and said these words—

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that you be not offended in the word of God for the affliction and torments which ye

see already prepared for me. But I exhort you that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray you show my brethren and sisters, who have heard me often before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught to them after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and show to them that my doctrine was no old wife's fables after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men. But for the world's sake and true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage; you shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if any persecution come to you for the word's sake, and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I taught that the soul of man did sleep until the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours." Then he prayed for them who accused him, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, to forgive them that have, of any ignorance, or of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he spoke to the people in this manner—"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not escape." Many faithful words said he in the meantime, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him.

And at last the hangman, that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death;" to whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee. Do thine office;" and by-and-by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great torment, they could not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

ADAM WALLACE.

At the trial of Adam Wallace in the Blackfriars' church in Edinburgh, there was the lord governor; behind him sat Master Gawin Hamilton, Dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the Archbishop of St. Andrews (John Hamilton, natural brother of the regent, Earl of Arran). At his

back stood the official of Lothian. Next to the Archbishop of St. Andrews sat the Bishop of Dunblane, the Bishop of Moray, the Abbot of Dunfermline, the Abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of that city. At the other end of the seat sat Master Ochiltrie; on whose left hand sat the Earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy, Sir John Campbell of Lundie. Next Sir John, the Earl of Huntly; then the Earl of Angus, the Bishop of Galloway, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lord Forbes, Dean John Winryme, Sub-Prior of St. Andrews. Behind stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, etc.

At the further end of the chancel wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbottle, the accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the people in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After that Adam Wallace was brought in, a simple, poor man in appearance. He was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what his name was. He answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Feane. Then he asked where he was born. "Within two miles of Fayle," said he, "in Kyle." Then said the accuser, "I am sorry that such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great inconvenience this day by your vain speaking." "But I must speak," said he, "as God gives me grace; and I believe I have said no evil to hurt anybody." "Would God," said the accuser, "you had never spoken; but you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresies as were never imagined nor heard of in this country before, and shall be sufficiently proved that you cannot deny it.

"Adam Wallace, *alias* Feane, thou art openly accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies underwritten. First, thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

He turned to the lord governor and lords aforesaid, saying, "I never said nor taught anything but what I found in this book (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English), which is the word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and His word be my judge, where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put upon me, for I never said anything concerning this that I am accused of but that which I found in this book."

"What didst thou say?" said the accuser. "I said," answered he, "that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in His last supper with His apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, He instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of His death then to come. 'And, as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And then He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' Matt. xxvi. 26–28. And in St. Luke it is added, 'This do in remembrance of Me.' Luke xxii. 19."

Then said the Bishop of St. Andrews and the official of Lothian, with the Dean of Glasgow and many other prelates, "We know this well enough." The Earl of Huntly said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea to it." He answered, "If you will admit God and His word spoken by the mouth of His blessed Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, you will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, says; which ought to be judge to me and to all the world."

"Why," said the Earl of Huntly, "hast thou not a judge good enough? and think you that we know not God and His word? Answer to that which is spoken to thee." And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again. "Thou sayest," said the accuser, "and hast taught, that the bread and wine, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ."

He answered, "I never said more than the written words says; for I know well by St. Paul when he saith, 'Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.' And therefore when I taught, which was but seldom, and to them only who required and desired me, I said that 'If the sacrament of the altar were truly administered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God Himself by His divine power.'"

The Bishop of Orkney asked him, "Believest thou not that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, are the very body of God, flesh, blood, and bone?"

He answered, "I know not what that word consecration means. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and has a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members; and in the same body He walked up and down in the world, preached, and taught—He suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; and that by His godly power He raised that same body again the third day; and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And that this body is a natural body, with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, He showeth well Himself; for which everlasting thanks be to Him who makes this matter clear. When the woman brake that ointment on Him, answering some of His disciples who grudged it, he said, 'The poor you have always with you, but me ye have not always;' meaning His natural body. And likewise at his ascension he said to the same disciples who were fleshly, and would ever have had Him remaining with them corporally, 'It is needful for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter (the Holy Ghost) will not come unto you;' meaning that His natural body must be taken away from them. 'But be of good cheer; for I am with you always, until the end of the world.'

"And that the eating of His very flesh profits not may be well known by His words, which He spake in St. John, where, after He had said, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you;' they murmured thereat, and He reproved them for their gross and fleshly taking of His words, and said, 'What, and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing;' to be eaten as they took it, and even so take you it." John vi. 53–63.

"It is a horrible heresy," said the Bishop of Orkney.

Then he was bid to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, "Thou saidst likewise, and didst openly teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God."

He answered, and said, "I have read the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet I never read that word mass in it at all, but I found that the thing that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say that the mass is holden greatly in estimation amongst men, and is not founded on the word; there I said it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the scripture, and prove it in God's word, I will acknowledge my error, and will submit to all lawful correction and punishment."

"Go to the third article," said the archbishop.

Then said the accuser, "Thou hast openly taught that the God whom we worship is but bread, sown of corn, grown of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else."

He answered, "I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, who made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein; but I know not what God you worship, and if ye will show me whom you worship I will show you what he is, as I can by my judgment."

"Believest thou not," said the accuser, "that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God Himself?" "What the body of God is," said he, "and what kind of body He has, I have showed you, so far as I have found it declared in the scriptures."

Then said the accuser, "Thou hast preached and openly taught other great errors and abominable heresy against all the seven sacraments, which for shortness of time I omit and pass over. Dost thou admit the articles that thou art accused of or not?" And then the accuser repeated the above three articles, and asked him whether he granted or denied them.

He answered as he had before said, and that he had said nothing but what agreed with the holy word as he understood it, so God judge him and his own conscience accuse him; and by that would he abide until the time he were better instructed by the scriptures, even to the death; and he said to the lord governor and other lords, "If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of

Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom you shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist His wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.'"

Then they passed sentence, and condemned him, and so left him to the secular power in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice-deputy, who delivered him to the Provost of Edinburgh, to be burned on the Castlehill. He was put in prison with irons about his legs and neck, and given in charge of Sir Hugh Terry (to keep the key), an ignorant minister, and a ready servant of Satan and of the bishops, who, by direction, sent to the poor man two grey friars to instruct him, with whom he would not enter into any communication. Soon after there was sent to him two black friars, an English friar and another subtle sophist. Wallace would have reasoned and declared his faith by the scriptures to the English friar; but he answered that he had no commission to enter into disputation with him, and so departed.

Then there was sent to him a worldly-wise man, though ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the Dean of Roscalrige, who gave him Christian consolation; he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after consecration; but he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy scriptures, and so passed over that night in singing and praising God to the tears of many hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without book. For they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which, till after he was condemned, was always with him wherever he went. After Sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took the same from him, leaving him destitute of consolation, and gave ungodly and injurious provocations, in order to pervert the poor man from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour; but God suffered him not to be moved.

Thus this godly man abode in irons all night and all the next morning; when provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day. Which day the lord governor, and all the principal, both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed came the Dean of Roscalrige to him again, and reasoned with him; but Wallace answered as before, that he would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the scripture testifies, yea, though an angel came down from heaven to persuade him to the same; saving that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of this dean in other respects as becomes a Christian.

Then came in Sir Hugh Terry again, and examined him, and said he would make devils come out of him before evening. He answered, "You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank Him, He has made me able to do; therefore, I pray you let me alone in peace." Then he asked of one of the officers who stood by, "Is your fire making ready?" who told him it was. He answered, "As it pleaseth God. I am ready sooner or later,

as it shall please Him;" and then he spake to a faithful one in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time to his coming to the fire, no man spake with him.

When he was brought out of prison, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any man to him. Coming from the town to the Castlehill, the common people said, "God have mercy upon him!" "And on you too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his master." The provost was angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, "They will not let me speak." The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so he departed to God with great constancy.

WALTER MILNE.

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the constancy of Walter Milne is not to be passed over with silence; for out of his ashes sprang thousands of the same opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die than to be any longer trodden upon by the tyranny of the cruel and ignorant bishops, abbots, monks, and friars; and so the church of Scotland began to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists; for the controversy ensued soon after the martyrdom of Walter Milne.

"Walter Milne," says Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. 6, chap. 2, "a parish priest of Lunan, in Angus, had early embraced the doctrines of the Reformation; and having been seized and condemned as a heretic in the time of Beaton, was so fortunate as to escape from prison and remain concealed in his native country. Encouraged by the subsequent leniency of the queen-dowager, this aged and venerable minister of the truth, who was past eighty, had openly preached to the people; but the severity of the clergy again compelled him to seek his lurking places; and being discovered at this time, he was tried for heresy at St. Andrews, and condemned to be burned. From his feeble frame and great age it was expected that he would say little in his defence, but the old man exhibited uncommon spirit, and so deeply moved were all who heard him by his pathetic appeal and ardent exposition of the truth, that after the clergy had pronounced him guilty, no secular judge could be found to pass sentence. The odious office was, however, at last performed by a dissolute retainer of the archbishop, and he was led to the stake amid the tears and sympathy of an immense multitude, who execrated the cruelty of which he was a victim. Surrounded by the flames, he was yet able to testify that the cause for which he suffered was the defence of the truth of Jesus Christ. 'As for myself,' said he, 'I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones; and I trust in God I am the

last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause.' And his prophetic wishes were fulfilled; he *was* the last in that country of the army of martyrs."

The following colloquy took place at Milne's trial (April 1551) between him and Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishop's priests:—

Oliphant.—"What think you of priests' marriage?"

Milne.—"I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ Himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you; you abhor it, and in the meantime take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the bond that God has made. You vow chastity and break it. St. Paul had rather marry than burn, which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were."

Oliphant.—"Thou sayest there are not seven sacraments."

Milne.—"Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them—to wit, marriage, and given yourselves to ungodly immoralities?"

Oliphant.—"Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry."

Milne.—"A lord or a king sends and calls many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readiness, he causes a bell to be rung, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the lord, turning his back to them, eats all himself, and mocks them; so do ye."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood."

Milne.—"The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and stands in faith only—and as for the mass, it is wrong; for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then He ended all sacrifice."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the office of a bishop."

Milne.—"I affirm that they whom ye call bishops do no bishop's works, nor use the office of bishops (as St. Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy), but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured and called 'my lord.'"

Oliphant.—"Thou speakest against pilgrimage."

Milne.—"I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture, and that there is no greater immorality committed in any place than at your pilgrimages."

Oliphant.—"Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields."

Milne.—"Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship."

Oliphant.—"Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee."

Milne.—"I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, what thou doest, do quickly. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no

chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both."

Then Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as an heretic, which was to be burned. His boldness and constancy so moved the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, named Patrick Learmont, refused to be his temporal judge, to whom it properly appertained. Also the bishop's chamberlain, being charged therewith, would in nowise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was so offended at his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get even for money so much as a cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar barrel to burn him; but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's pavilion to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Summerwail, acted the office of a temporal judge, conveyed him to the fire, where his boldness and hardiness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people that his cause and articles were most just, and he innocently martyred.

When all things were ready for his death, and he brought with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake; and he said, "Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death? thou shalt see me pass up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself." Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, and desired that he might have opportunity to speak to the people; but this Oliphant and other of the burners refused, saying that he had spoken too much, for the bishops were offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners and the bishops, their masters, to the devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day, and desired Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said, "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (although I be a miserable sinner before God), but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments; for which, as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured after the death of their bodies of eternal felicity; so this day I praise God, that He has called me of His mercy among the rest of His servants to seal up His truth with my life; which, as I have received it of Him, so I willingly offer it to His glory. Therefore, as you would escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and His mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." All the while there was great mourning and lamentation among the multitude; for they perceiving his patience, constancy, and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts were also so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religion.

CHAPTER IV.

MARTYRS OF THE REIGN OF MARY.

JOHN ROGERS.

JOHN ROGERS was brought up in the University of Cambridge, where he was profitably exercised in learning, and at length was chosen by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp, in Brabant. He happened there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God, William Tindal, and with Miles Coverdale, who both, for the hatred they bore to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them on the scriptures, he came to a great knowledge in the gospel of God, so that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue. He, knowing by the scripture, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, as that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittemberg, in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, not only greatly increased in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was committed to his cure.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until it pleased God, by the faithful labours of His chosen and dear servant, King Edward VI., utterly to banish all popery out of England, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then, having a conscience and a ready will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, came to England to preach the gospel. After he had for a time diligently and faithfully laboured, Ridley, then Bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the dean and chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lesson there. He diligently exercised himself there until such time as Queen Mary,

obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with its idolatry and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he being called there, made a godly and vehement sermon at St. Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in it, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon; to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer, and yet in such sort demeaned himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion, commanded him as a prisoner to keep his own house, and he did so, although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands. He saw the recovery of religion in England for the present desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children. But all these things were set aside; after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stood in defence of the same, and for that truth was content to hazard his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as a prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, Bishop of London, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers; during which time what communication he had with the adversaries of Christ is not known, nor yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he has himself left in writing.

After John Rogers had been long imprisoned, lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by wicked Winchester, on the 4th of February, in the year 1555, being Monday, in the morning, he was warned suddenly by the keeper's wife of Newgate to prepare himself for the fire. Being then sound asleep, he could scarcely be awaked. At length being awaked, and bid to make haste, "Then," said he, "if it be so, I need not tie my points;" and so was taken first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner one petition. And Bonner asked what that should be. "Nothing," said he, "but that I might talk a few words with my wife before burning." But that could not be obtained of him. Now, when the time came that he, having been delivered to the sheriffs, was brought from Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, Master Woodroofe, one of the sheriffs, calling Master Rogers to him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered, and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," said Master Woodroofe, "thou art an heretic." "That shall be known," replied Rogers, "at the day of judgment." "Well," said Master Woodroofe, "I will never

pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," rejoined Rogers; and so was brought on Monday, the 4th of February, by the sheriffs towards Smithfield, repeating the fifty-first psalm by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for it; and there, in the presence of Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burned to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time at the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to walk and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could not move him, but he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience in the defence of Christ's gospel.

LAWRENCE SANDERS.

After Queen Mary, by public proclamation, in the first year of her reign, had prohibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, several godly ministers of the word, who had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did, notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorised by public authority, as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward, but as the private pastors of particular flocks, among whom Lawrence Sanders was one, a man of honourable parentage. His bringing up was in the school of Eton, from whence he was chosen to go to King's College, in Cambridge, where he continued a scholar of the college three whole years. Shortly after he forsook the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he intended to become a merchant; for his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brothers, she thought to set him up wealthily; and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice to a merchant named Sir William Chester. But Almighty God, who has His secret workings in all things, saw better for His servant; for the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him to him, to know what was the cause of his solitariness and lamentation; and perceiving his mind not to fancy that kind of life (for so Sanders declared to him), and his whole purpose was bent to the study of his book and spiritual contemplation, like a good man, he directed his letters to his friends, and set him free; and thus Lawrence Sanders, being delighted with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures, to qualify himself for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, he began to preach, and was so well liked by them who had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay; where he edified the godly, drew many to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and led a life unblameable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield, where he so behaved himself in teaching and living that the very adversaries gave him a full report as well of learning as of much godliness. After a time he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Churchlangton, where he taught diligently; then he was called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows, in Bread Street. Then he resolved to give over his cure in the country; and, therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, to discharge himself from it. And about that time began the broil about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown, by reason of which he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this disturbance he preached at Northampton, not meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish doctrine and antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation bore to the blessed word of God. The queen's men who were there and heard him were highly displeased with him for his sermon; and for it kept him among them as a prisoner. But partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both these benefices, as time could serve him, seeing he could resign neither of them now but into the hand of a papist.

Thus he passed to and fro, preaching, until that proclamation was put forth of which mention is made in the beginning. At which time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithstanding this proclamation) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people in it, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also resisted with force, so that he could not proceed in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was by violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday, the 14th of October, as he was coming to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a councillor to Queen Mary, overtook him, and asked him whither he went. "I have," said Sanders, "a cure in London, and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," said Master Mordant, "let them alone, and go not to them." To this Sanders answered, "How shall I

then be discharged before God, if any be sick and desire consolation, if any want good counsel and need instruction, or if any should slip into error and receive false doctrines?" "Did you not," said Mordant, "preach on such a day (naming the day) in Bread Street in London?" "Yes, verily," said Sanders, "that same is my cure." "I heard you myself," said Master Mordant; "and will you preach now there again?" "If it please you," said Sanders, "to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatever before that time I taught them."

"I would counsel you," said Master Mordant, "not to preach." "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Sanders. "Nay," replied he, "I will not forbid you, but I do give you counsel." And thus they both entered the city, and departed each from the other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner, Bishop of London, that Sanders would preach in his cure the next day. Sanders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty; where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one who was about him asked him how he did. "In very deed," said he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison;" meaning that his mind was unquiet until he had preached, and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday, in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, treating on that place which St. Paul writes to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xi. 2, 3): "I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." He recited that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving; and lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to a more particular declaration of it, as it were, to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God (1 Cor. xiv.), and the order of the primitive church. The other he said was evil; and though in that evil are intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink it all. This was the sum of his sermon.

In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the Bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop, his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests, so was Lawrence

Sanders brought before this bishop, who had in his company the aforenamed Sir John Mordant and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no more to Lawrence Sanders' charge than treason for breaking the queen's proclamation, and heresy and sedition for his sermon.

After much talk, the bishop desired him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Lawrence Sanders did so, saying, "My lord, you seek my blood, and you shall have it; I pray God that you may be so baptised in it that you may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." This writing the bishop kept for his purpose, even to cut the writer's throat, as shall appear hereafter. The bishop sent Lawrence Sanders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas; and like favour found Sanders, as Christ his Master did before him. But the chancellor not being at home, Sanders was constrained to tarry for him for the space of four hours in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed, with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise.

All this time Sanders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bareheaded, Sir John Mordant, his guide or leader, walking up and down by him, who was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, he met and received a great many suitors, so that before he could get out of one house into another, half-an-hour was passed. At the last he came into the chamber where Sanders was, and went through into another chamber, where, as he passed, Sanders' leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation of the said Sanders, which, when he had perused, "Where is the man?" said the bishop. Then Sanders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop did sit; unto whom the bishop spake in this wise—

"How happeneth it," said he, "that notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have continued to preach?"

Sanders denied not that he had preached, saying that forsomuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admonished and warned by Ezekiel the prophet) exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned, saying also that he was moved and pricked forward to it by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereto than his own conscience.

"A goodly conscience, surely!" said the bishop. "This your conscience could make our queen a bastard or misbegotten; would it not, I pray you?"

Then said Sanders, "We do not declare or say that the queen is base or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But let those take care whose writings are yet in the hands of men witnessing to the same," taunting the bishop himself, who had, to get the favour of Henry VIII., written a book on true obedience, in which he had openly

declared Queen Mary to be illegitimate. Then Master Sanders going forwards in his purpose, said, "We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word, which, although it is now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt but that our blood hereafter shall manifest." The bishop being touched, said, "Carry away this frenzied fool to prison." Sanders answered that he did give God thanks who had given him at last a place of rest and quietness where he might pray for the bishop's conversion.

Sanders continued in prison a whole year and three months, during which time he sent letters to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; to his wife, and also to others, certifying to them both of the public calamity of the times, and also of his private afflictions, and of his conflicts with his adversaries. In writing to his friends, he speaks of Weston conferring with him in prison. The chancellor sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea.

Thus his constancy is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant confronting two mighty enemies, antichrist and death—to neither of these did he give place; but by suffering their malice, got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with antichrist and his members I have gathered out of a letter of his own handwriting. It was with Dr. Weston. Of this, Sanders thus writes in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. Weston did at the Marshalsea:—

"Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he has concluded with him I know not. I wish it may be to God's glory. Amen, amen. Master Weston of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly and wily way, etc. I had not so much good manners as to take it at his hands; for I said that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a conscience. 'Ye are asleep in sin,' said he. 'I would awake,' replied I, 'and not forget to watch and pray.' 'What church was there thirty years past?' 'What church was there,' rejoined I, 'in Helias' time?' 'Joan of Kent,' said he, 'was of your church.' 'No,' said I, 'we did condemn her as an heretic.'

"'Who was of your church,' said he, 'thirty years past?' 'Such,' replied I, 'as the Romish antichrist and his rabble have reputed and condemned as heretics.' 'Wycliffe,' said he, 'Thorpe, Oldcastle,' etc. 'Yea,' said I, 'with many more, as histories do tell.'

"'The Bishop of Rome hath,' said he, 'for a long time played a part in your railing sermons; but now, you may be sure he will play another part.' 'The more pity,' replied I; 'and yet some comfort it is to see how that the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings, though now, to please the world, you do turn with the weathercock.' 'Did you ever,' said he, 'hear me preach against the Bishop of Rome?' 'No,' replied I, 'for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have been no wiser than others,' etc., with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it."

And now, to come to the examination of this good man. After the

bishops had kept him one whole year and a-quarter in prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined; of which examination the effect and purport, as written by himself, was as follows :—

Lord Chancellor.—"It is not unknown that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be showed to such as seek for it. Wherefore, if now you will show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we all have fallen, but now have risen again, and returned to the catholic church; you must rise with us, and come home to it. Give us forthwith a direct answer."

Sanders.—"My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

Lord Chancellor.—"Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea or nay."

Sanders.—"My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; my learning I confess to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, I am ready to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils are likely to fall upon me: the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you in truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

Lord Chancellor.—"Conscience! You have none at all, but pride and arrogancy."

Sanders.—"The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And where your lordship lays to my charge this dividing myself from the church, I do assure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old; being taught that the power of the Bishop of Rome is but usurped. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

Lord Chancellor.—"Yea, but I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Sanders.—"My lord, it is a less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live, though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint, and he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; whom now you will have to be the head of the church again."

Bishop of Londonderry.—"I have his handwriting against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?"

Sanders.—"What I have written, that I have written; and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me with, for breaking of your laws since they were in force."

Lord Chancellor.—"Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty."

Sanders.—"My lord, I cannot buy liberty at such a price; but I beseech your honours to be a means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that, by God's grace, I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience."

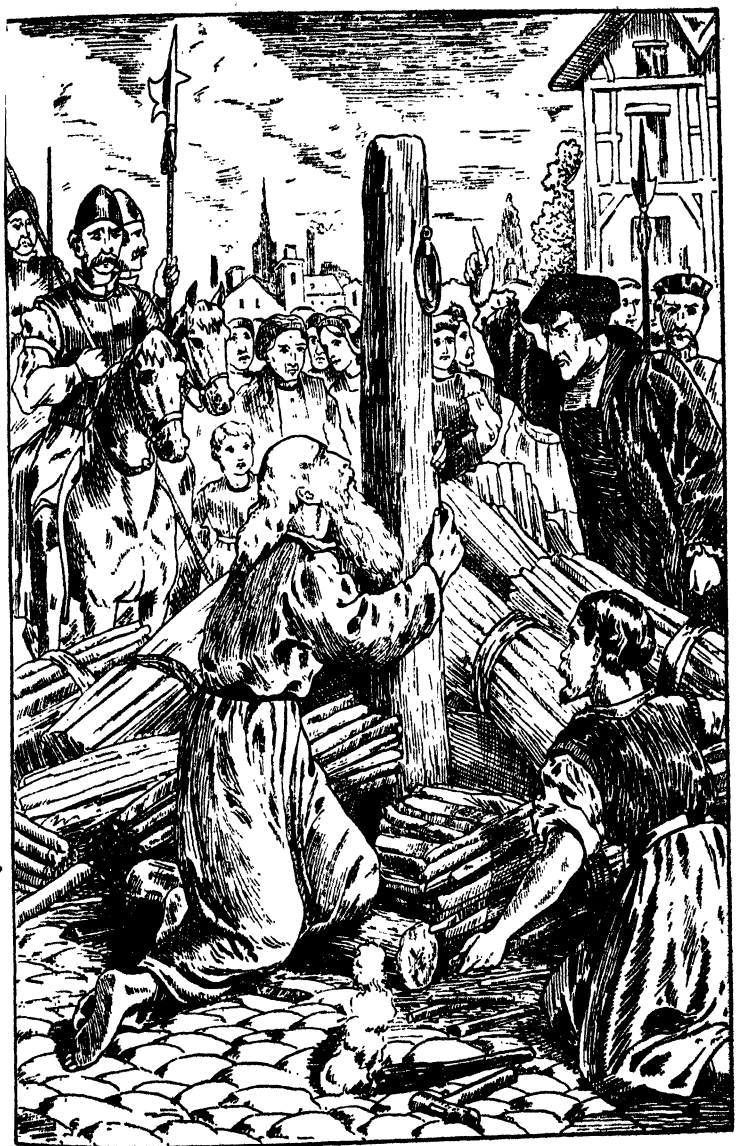
Lord Chancellor.—"Ah, sir, you will live as you list. The Donatists desired to live in singularity; but they were not meet to live on earth. No more are you, and that you shall understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him."

Sanders.—"Welcome be it, whatever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learnt to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honours. Amen."

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, until the rest of his fellows were likewise disposed of, that they might convey them altogether to prison. Sanders standing among the officers, and seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Christ to antichrist they deserved, and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess Him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil; so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

After he was excommunicated and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the Sheriff of London to prison. On the 4th of February, the Bishop of London came to the prison where he was, to degrade him; which, when he had done, Sanders said to him, "I thank God I am not of your church." On the following morning the Sheriff of London delivered him to the queen's guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, to be burned. After they were come to Coventry, a poor shoemaker came to him, and said, "Oh, my good master, God strengthen and comfort you." "Good shoemaker," cried Master Sanders, "pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office that ever was appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing others.

On the next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city. He went in an old gown and shirt, and barefooted, and he often fell flat on the ground and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer who was appointed to see the execution done, said that he was one of those who marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "Wherefore thou hast deserved death," said he; "but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee; if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee." To whom Sanders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, who have always resisted God's



Saunders kissing the Stake.—P. 165.

holy word; it is you who have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ; that I hold, that I believe, that I have taught, and that I will never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him!" And away from him went Master Sanders, with courage toward the fire. He fell to the ground and prayed; and when he rose up again, he took the stake to which he was to be chained in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life;" and being fastened to the stake, and the fire put to him, he sweetly slept in the Lord.

JOHN HOOPER.

John Hooper, a student and graduate in the University of Oxford, through God's secret calling, was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the scriptures. In the reading and searching of which, as there was wanting in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer, so neither did the grace of the Holy Ghost fail to satisfy his desire, and to open to him the light of true divinity.

Thus Master Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and showing some signs of his fervent spirit about the time of the beginning of the Six Articles, in the reign of King Henry VIII., fell soon under the displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins in Oxford, who began to stir up strife against him, by which, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to leave the university; and so, removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions, which he did not favour, sent him on a message to the Bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop.

Winchester, after long conference with Master Hooper, for four or five days together, when he perceived that he could not do what he thought to him, sent him home, commending his learning and knowledge, but yet bearing in his breast a bad feeling against him. It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for that danger was working against him. Upon which, Hooper, leaving Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows), took his journey to the sea-coast to go to France: he sent back the horse by one who did not deliver it to the owner. Hooper being at Paris tarried there not long, but in a short time returned to England again, and was retained by Master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested; by which he was compelled (under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland) to take to sea, and so he escaped through France to the higher parts of Germany. When there, he made acquaintance with the learned, and was by them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basle, and especially at Zurich, by this particular friend, Master

Bullinger; where also he married, and applied himself very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the Six Articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto the gospel, Hooper, along with many other English exiles, prepared to return homeward, so that they might help forward the Lord's work to the uttermost of their ability. And so, coming to Master Bullinger and others of his acquaintance in Zurich, to give them thanks for their kindness and humanity toward him, he took his leave of them.

When Master Hooper had taken his farewell of Master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he repaired to England, where, coming to London, he used continually to preach, generally twice, but at least once every day.

In his sermons, according to his manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people, in great flocks and companies, daily came to hear his voice, insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full that none could enter further than the doors. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides his other gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began so he continued still, unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and painstaking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of a strong body, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In housekeeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required in a good bishop by St. Paul, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one wanting in this good bishop. He bore in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might, perhaps, be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular in him; but he knew best what he had to do himself.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching, at length, and not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty, and soon after made Bishop of Gloucester, by the king's command. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him, and afterwards he was made Bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good beginning of the godly

bishop. Notwithstanding the godly reformation of religion that began in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do—first, a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in nowise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; which petition the king granted immediately, permitting him to dispense with such ceremony.

But notwithstanding this grant of the king, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of these ceremonies, saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves; adding, moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so slight a matter; and that his wilfulness was not to be endured.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than they ought, occasion was given to true Christians to lament, and to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end, that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, being appointed to preach before the king, he came apparelled as desired.

Hooper, after all these vexations about his vestures, at length entering into his diocese, there employed his time under King Edward's reign with such diligence as may be an example to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in every diocese through the whole realm of England. So careful was he in his cure that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them.

From this sort of men Hopper was very different. He abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. Being bishop of two dioceses, he so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people.

Everywhere he kept one religion and one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some savour of virtue, good example,

honest conversation, and reading of the holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of his bishoprics, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. I was twice, as I remember, in his house at Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk; and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was to have to dinner a certain number of poor folks of the city in turns, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome meats; and when they were served (being previously examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's Prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before.

After this manner Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, for the space of two years and more, so long as religion in King Edward's time safely flourished; and I would to God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their function. After this, King Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned Queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for to come to London.

Hooper wrote the following report of his treatment in the Fleet, with his own hand, the 7th of January 1554:—"On the 1st of September 1553, I was committed to the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden of fees, who, immediately upon the payment, complained to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a-year in the tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then, by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, though not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner or supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the Bishop of Winchester.

"After one quarter of a year, and somewhat more, Babington the warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked mass; and thereupon the warden resorted to the Bishop of Winchester, and obtained leave to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking; until, by God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. On the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house has infected me with sundry diseases.

"During all the time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me

many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come to me, saying, 'Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.' And, amongst many other times, he did thus on the 18th of October 1553, as many can witness.

"I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees as for my board, which was twenty shillings a-week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric, and since that time I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house, yet hath he used me worse and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

"The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none but only a little remembrance of good people's names that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months; my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to support me, neither is there suffered any one to come to me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

On the 19th of March 1554, he was called before the Bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, Chichester, and other the queen's commissioners, when, not being permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics.

On the 22d of January 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Hooper before the Bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at Winchester's house, at St. Mary's Overbury (St. Saviour's), where in effect thus much was done—

The Bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward VI., and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the Pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament, promising that as he himself, with others his brethren, had received the Pope's blessing and the queen's mercy, even so mercy was ready to be showed to him and others if he would arise with them, and condescend to the Pope's holiness.

Hooper answered that, forasmuch as the Pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head of it; wherefore he would in nowise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ; for the church alone hears the voice

of Christ; for the church alone hears the voice of her spouse Christ, and flies the strangers. "However," said he, "if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

Answer was made that the queen would show no mercy to the Pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to take him to the Fleet again.

On the 28th of January, Winchester and others of the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary's Overbury, where Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon again, and there, after much reasoning and disputation, he was commanded aside till John Rogers had been likewise examined. The examination being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the compter, in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the church door, Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Rogers drew near, to whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these fagots?" "Yea, sir," said Master Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forward, there was a great press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy.

On the next day, the 29th of January, they were again brought by the sheriffs before the bishop and commissioners. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Hooper would by no means yield to them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to prison.

When it was dark, Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many weapons, first through the Bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London Bridge, through the city, to Newgate. And some of the sergeants were ordered to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets, either fearing that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be more fit for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth at their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days,

nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time Bonner, Bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fackenham, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, etc., resorted to him to try if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their anti-Christian church. When they perceived that they could not reclaim him with such offers as they used for his conversion, then they went about by false rumours of recantation to bring him and the doctrine of Christ, which he professed, out of credit with the people. The report being spread abroad, and believed by some of the weaker sort, it at last came to Hooper's ears. He was not a little grieved that the people should give credit to such rumours, as appears by the following letter, which he wrote upon that occasion—

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

"Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in the faith and constancy in affliction of such as are in prison, even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth as we have and do feel, and are daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire. Yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed), that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, now after sentence of death (being in Newgate a prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recanted and abjured that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk arises from the fact that the Bishop of London and his chaplains resort to me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think that in case I refused to talk with them they might have just occasion to say that I was unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men, or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible to me, praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve, and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore by their coming.

"Therefore, ye that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto felt all the things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man can be. It were better for them to pray for us than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly. But yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that He who hath begun in us may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood. Newgate, 2d of February, A.D. 1554. Your brother in Christ, JOHN HOOPER."

On Monday morning, 4th February, the Bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Hooper, and he was ordered to be taken to Gloucester, to be there burned; to which place he accordingly was removed under a guard.

On the same day, in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained leave to be brought into Hooper's presence. The same boy not long before had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing the truth. Hooper, after he had examined him concerning his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason He best knoweth; but He hath given thee another sight much more precious, for He hath endued thy soul with the eyes of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto Him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldst thou be blind both in body and soul."

On the same night he was committed to the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, and of the other Bond, who with the mayor and aldermen repaired to Hooper's lodging, and saluted him, and took him by the hand. Hooper spake in this manner—"Master Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all those things are not utterly forgotten, which, as your bishop and pastor appointed by the late godly king, I taught you in times past. For which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither by the queen's commandment, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, master sheriffs, my request to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, and in the meantime I will be as obedient to you as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in anything, hold up your finger, and I will have done. For I am not come here as one enforced or compelled to die—for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain—but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates of England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These and such words Master Hooper used to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, at which many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for

him; declaring how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself in the way; adding, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined that he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the serjeants, and other officers appointed, watched with them that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember; and so he did, at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

At nine o'clock Hooper was to prepare himself, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from the chamber by the sheriffs. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spoke to the sheriffs to this effect—"Master sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor, neither need you to have made such preparation to bring me to the place where I must suffer; for if ye had desired me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." Afterwards, looking upon the multitude that were assembled, to the number of seven thousand, he spake to those that were about him, saying, "Alas! why are these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past, but alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known to them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached to them true and sincere doctrine out of the word of God; because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to support himself with; for the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being straightly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew; and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did then. When he came to the place appointed where he was to die, he smiling beheld the stake and the preparation made for him, which was near the great elm tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the trees were filled with people; and in the chamber over the college gate stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down (as he could not be suffered to speak to the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times to one whom he knew well, to hear the prayer, so as to make report of it in time to come, the tears falling upon his shoulders and on his bosom; this prayer he made upon the whole creed, and he continued it in the space of half-an-hour. After he was

sometime in prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least it was said to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would recant. He cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the Lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Hooper said, "Good, my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then said the Lord Chandos to Sir Edmund Bridges' son, who was listening to Hooper's prayer at his request—"Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray; if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him." While this was going on, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words:—

"Lord, I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy, therefore, upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven; receive me, a hell as I am, to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well thou knowest, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contamination of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me—which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, I have set forth to thy glory. And well thou seest, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for thy creature—such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore, strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who were listening to the prayer, they were commanded away, and were not suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself for the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored to the owner; and then he put off the rest of his gear, to his doublet and hose, in which he wished to be burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat, were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered to him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him, who performed it with tears during the time of his pains, he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons were brought to bind him to the stake; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them, said, "You have no need thus to trouble yourselves. For I doubt not, but God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands—notwithstanding,

suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content that you do as you shall think good."

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short, he shrank and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened—and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other hoops of iron, he refused them, and would have none, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you."

Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall, and stood also on a high stool, and beheld all round about him; and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed to himself. By-and-by, he that was appointed to make the fire came to him, and asked him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew not any offence that he had committed against him. "Oh, sir," said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." Hooper said, "Thou dost not offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee."

Then commandment was given that the fire should be kindled. But there were put to it no fewer green fagots than two horses could carry upon their backs, so it was a good while before it burned. At length it burned about him, but the wind blew the flame from him, so that he was only touched by the fire.

A few dry fagots were then brought, and a new fire kindled, and that burned at the lower parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, except that it burned his hair, and scorched his skin a little. While he was thus suffering, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, "Oh, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul." He wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, said with a loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire;" and all this while his lower parts burned; for the fagots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

A third fire was shortly after kindled, which was more extreme than the others; and then the bladders of gunpowder broke, but this did him little good, as they were so misplaced, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But even when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, so that he could not speak, yet his lips moved till they were shrunk to the gums; and he knocked his breast with his hands until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, when the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers' ends, until, by renewing the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

He was three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a

lamb he patiently bore the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any side; but having his lower parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed; and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundation of the world; for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

ROWLAND TAYLOR.

The town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, by the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney; by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root, that a great number in that parish became well learned in the holy scriptures, as well women as men, so that there were among them many that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great part of St. Paul's epistles by heart; and very well and readily have given a godly judgment in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned than a town of cloth-making or labouring people; and, what is more to be commended, they were for the most part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon law, and a right perfect divine, was parson of this town of Hadleigh; and at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, to gather up the profits, and put in an ignorant, unlearned priest to serve the cure, and so that they have the fleece, caring little or nothing for the flock; but he made his abode and dwelling in Hadleigh, among the people committed to his charge; where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep." This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holiday passed, nor other time when he could get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, and taught them the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his preaching blessed to them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble, and meek as any child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as to their father, resort to him; but none were so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was very mild, void of all rancour, grudge, or ill-will; ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never seeking to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, or that had many children,

he was a very father, a careful patron and diligent provider; so that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them; and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave a portion yearly to the common alms-box.

Thus dwelt this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of Edward VI. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery to his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever dissembled both with King Henry VIII. and King Edward, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refused all reformation made by these two kings, violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as if now they were good doctrine and true religion.

In the beginning of this reign of antichrist, a certain gentleman, a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor, with one John Clerk, conspired to bring in the Pope and his mummery again into Hadleigh Church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions which had infested the whole country round about.

Therefore, Foster and Clerk hired John Averth, a very mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an openly immoral man, to come to Hadleigh, and there to begin again the popish mass.

To this purpose they built, with all possible haste, the altar, about Palm Monday. But their device took no effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down. So they built it up again a second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrifices, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant; they and their men guarded him with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Dr. Taylor, who (according to his custom) sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went to the church, supposing that there was something to be done in his pastoral office; and coming to the church, he found the church doors fast barred, except the chancel door, which was only latched. On entering, he saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad, new-shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "Thou devil! who made thee so bold as to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry!" With that, up started Foster, and with an angry and furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, "Thou traitor! what dost thou here to disturb the queen's proceedings?" Dr. Taylor

answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this His flock, wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to go hence, and not to presume here, with such popish idolatry, to poison Christ's flock."

Then said Foster, "Wilt thou traitorously, heretic, make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?"

Dr. Taylor answered, "I make no commotion, but it is you papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And, further, thou doest against the law, which commandeth that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his mass; then up started John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, be not afraid, you have a super-altar; go on with your business."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Taylor and led him by force out of the church, and then the popish priest proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous judge, to avenge this injury that this popish idolater doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors, for they feared that the people would have torn the sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windows.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny; which practice the papists have ever used. As for reason, law, or scripture, they have none.

Within a day or two after, Foster and Clerk made a complaint against Taylor, by a letter written to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter to Taylor, commanding him to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry; and foreseeing to what end the matter would come, and seeing also that all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set up, his friends, I say, came to him, and earnestly counselled him to fly, declaring that he neither would be heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet could look for justice or favour at the chancellor's hands, who was most fierce and cruel; and that he must expect only imprisonment and a cruel death at his hands.

Dr. Taylor, accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the bishop, and offered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him.

But in nowise would Dr. Taylor consent, but said, "O, John! shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good shepherd, Christ, who not alone fed His flock, but also died for His flock. Him I must follow, and with God's grace will."

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Taylor presented himself to the Bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England.

Now when Gardiner saw Taylor, he, according to his common custom, reviled him, calling him "knave, traitor, heretic," with many other villainous reproaches, all of which Taylor heard patiently, and at last said to him—

"My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject and a faithful Christian man, and am come, according to your command, to know what is the reason that your lordship hath sent for me."

Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes," quoth Taylor, "I know who you are. You are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye, for shame, look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and His word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first to that blessed King Henry VIII., of famous memory, and afterwards to blessed King Edward VI."

The bishop answered, "Tush! tush! that was Herod's oath, unlawful, and therefore worthy to be broken. I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God I have come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and I wish thou shouldest do so also." Then the bishop called his men and said, "Take this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper that he be strictly kept."

Then Taylor kneeled down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us. And God be praised for good King Edward." So they carried him to prison, where he lay a prisoner almost two years.

While in prison Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy scriptures, and writing, preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, many other learned and godly men, in sundry counties of England, were committed to prison for religion's sake, so that almost all the prisons in England were become schools and churches; and there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

At this time there were placed in churches blind and ignorant

mass-mongers, with their Latin babblings and foolish ceremonies, who, like cruel wolves, spared not to put to death all such as once whispered against popery. As for the godly preachers who were in King Edward's time, they had either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in King Ahab's days, they were privily concealed. As many as the papists could lay hold on were sent to prison, and there remained as lambs, waiting for the butchers to call them to the slaughter.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison, he found there Master Bradford, the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, which man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout preaching, was worthily accounted a miracle of our time, as even his adversaries must confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to remain constant to the end. Bradford, hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable fellow-prisoner, and so together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading and exhorting one another, insomuch that Taylor told his friends that came to visit him that God had most graciously provided for him, sending him to that prison, where he found such an angel of God to comfort him.

After Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the arches at Bow Church, to answer to such matters as should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led there. When he came he stoutly defended his marriage, affirming, by the scripture of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by laws both civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry. This he so plainly proved that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence that he should be deprived of his benefice because he was married.

About the end of January 1555, Taylor, Bradford, and Sanders, were again called before the Bishops of Winchester, of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Durham, and there charged with heresy and schism, and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors, or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

When Taylor and Bradford and Sanders heard this, they answered, stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that He would call them to be worthy to suffer for His word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and immovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which, when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said to the bishops, "We doubt not but God, the righteous judge, will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist, and the tyranny that you now show against the flock of Christ."

When the keeper brought Taylor towards the prison, the people

flocked about to gaze upon him; to whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood."

When Taylor had lain in the compter in the Poultry for some days a prisoner, on the 4th day of February, A.D. 1555, Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as appertain to their mass-mummery. He called for Taylor to be brought to him. At his coming, the bishop said to him, "Master doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your holy mother church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." "Well," said the bishop, "I am come to degrade you; therefore put on those vestures." "No," replied Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop; "I shall make thee ere I go." To which Taylor retorted, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him. So he desired them to be forced upon him, and then he degraded him in the usual way.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son came to him, and were by the gentleness of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons and the keepers of the king's prisons—that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical like their masters; but that the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly could.

At their coming in to sup with him, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany.

On the morrow the Sheriff of London, with his officers, came by two o'clock in the morning, and brought forth Taylor, whose wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church porch, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age (who, being left without father or mother, Taylor had brought up through charity from three years old), the other named Mary, his own daughter.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came to St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away!" Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here," and stopped. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife," and so they stayed.

Then she came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father

for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee His servant;" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast to Christ and His word, and beware of idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadleigh."

And so he was led forth to the inn, called the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came there, he was put into a chamber, where he was kept with four yeomen of the guard and the sheriff's men. As soon as he was come into the chamber, he fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Taylor's wife there, would not grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her there. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mother's, where the officers led her, and they charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock. At which time the Sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him, and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

On coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Taylor's son. When Taylor saw them he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father; and Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son, laid his hand upon the child's head, and blessed him, and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the Sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

All the way Taylor was joyful and happy, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Often also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die.

Taylor was delivered to the Sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadleigh, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff stayed there two days; and there came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon horses, appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentleman laboured to reduce Taylor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric if he would take it; but all their labour and flattering words were in

vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon Christ, the sure and immovable rock.

When they reached Hadleigh, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who, when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "Oh, dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children!" Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime. For God would now that the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and to the confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death were wonderfully astonished at this; and the sheriff rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadleigh were beset on both sides of the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him; whom when they beheld led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, "Ah, good Lord! there goes our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us; O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him!" with such other most lamentable and piteous exclamations. Wherefore the people were sorely rebuked by the sheriff and his men that led him. And Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

Coming opposite the almshouses, he cast to the poor people the money which remained of what good people had given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him.

Therefore, the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the purpose, and gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that dwelt there, ready at their doors, as the others were, he asked, "Is the blind man and blind woman that dwelt here alive?" It was answered, "Yea, they are within." Then threw he the glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

At last, coming to Aldham common, the place where he was to suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered there, he asked, "What place is this, and what means it that so many people are gathered here?" It was answered, "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer, and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so he alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long, white beard, they burst out a-weeping, and cried, saying, "God

save thee, good Dr. Taylor. Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee! The Holy Ghost comfort thee!" with such other like godly wishes. Then he would have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in nowise permit him to speak.

Then desired he license of the sheriff to speak, but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

"Well," quoth Dr. Taylor, "a promise must be kept." What this promise was is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads except they would promise that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore they, desirous to have the use of their tongues to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much lest this change of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers; but they, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else, what they most feared, the people should have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, who gave to His witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments, neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving an example unto all men of true and perfect obedience, which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to shed their own blood rather than to depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor perceiving that he would not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for your labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then he rose up and put off his clothes to his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but they thrust her away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding, she would not remove, but remained and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had prepared for him to stand

in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and so he continually prayed.

The fagots were brought, and the fire kindled; and one man cruelly cast a fagot at him, which lighted upon his head, and break his face, so that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Taylor, "Oh, friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?"

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking and saying the fifty-first psalm, "Have mercy upon us," struck him on the lips; "Ye knave," said he, "speak in Latin, or I will make thee." Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce, with a halbert, struck him on the head so that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of His merciful Father, and His most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

WILLIAM HUNTER.

On the 26th day of March 1555, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of nineteen years, and born of godly parents, by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be had in admiration of all parents. In this may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvellous fortitude in one so young, but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome by it, by which Christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time requires, or godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man against natural affection. This account was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother, who was present with his brother William till his death, and who sent the account to us as we have here recorded it.

William Hunter, an apprentice in London, in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at Easter to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman Street; which, because he refused to do, he was threatened that he should be brought before the Bishop of London. William Hunter's master, Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver, required William Hunter to depart from him, lest he should come in danger on account of him, if he continued in his house. So he took leave of his master, and came to Brentwood, where his father dwelt, with whom he remained a few weeks.

It happened within five or six weeks, that going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, he did read

it. In the meantime, there came in one Father Atwell, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, "What meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest? and canst thou expound the scriptures?"

William answered, "I take not upon me to expound the scriptures; but finding the Bible here when I came, I read in it to my comfort." Father Atwell said, "It has not been a merry world since the Bible came abroad in English."

William answered, "Say not so, for God's sake, for it is God's book, out of which every one that has grace may learn to know both what pleases God, and also what displeases Him." Then said Father Atwell, "Could we not tell before this time as well as now how God was served?" William answered, "No, not so well as we can now do, if we have His blessed word amongst us still as we had."

William Hunter added, "I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually." Father Atwell said, "I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of them that dislike the queen's laws; and therefore you came from London. You learned these ways at London; but you must turn over another leaf, or else you, and a great number more heretics, will broil for this."

William said, "God give me grace, that I may believe His word, and confess His name, whatsoever come."

"Confess His name," said old Atwell; "no, no, ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess *his* name."

With these words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, "I am not able to reason with thee; but I will fetch one who shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic." And leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, he brought the Vicar of Southwell, who, finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying, "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?"

To whom Hunter answered, "I expound not the scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort." "Why meddlest thou with them at all?" said the vicar; "it becomes not such as you to meddle with the scriptures."

Hunter answered, "I will read the scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought not, master vicar, to discourage any man in that manner, but rather exhort men diligently to read the scriptures for your discharge and their own."

The vicar answered, "It becomes thee well to tell me what I have to do! I see thou art an heretic by thy words." William said, "I am no heretic for speaking the truth." But the vicar said, "It is a queer world when such as thou art shall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, Father Atwell tells me, with the sixth of John, in which thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.'"

Then Father Atwell said, "When you read it, I said that you might there understand how in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood"

"Ah," said the vicar, "what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is substantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?" William answered, "I learn no such thing in the sixth of John." And added, "You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaites, who thought that Christ would have given them His flesh to feed upon; which opinion our Saviour corrected, when he said, 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.'"

"Now," said the vicar, "I have found you out; now I see that thou art an heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar."

Hunter answered, "I would that you and I were now tied fast to the stake, to prove whether I or you would stand strongest to our faith." But the vicar answered, "It shall not be so tried." "No," replied Hunter, "for I think I know who would soonest recant; for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death." "That we shall see," quoth the vicar, and so they departed; the vicar threatening Hunter that he would complain of him.

Immediately after, the vicar told Master Brown of the communication which Hunter and he had together. Brown immediately sent for Hunter's father and the constable. For immediately after Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled, because the vicar threatened him. Now, when the constable and Hunter's father had come before Master Brown, he asked where his son was. His father answered, "If it please you, sir, I know not." Master Brown said, "I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also, ere I have done with thee."

Justice Brown then threatened to send the old man to prison, unless he promised to seek his son and bring him. After the old man had ridden two or three days' journey, to satisfy Brown's expectations, it happened that William met his father, and told him that he thought that he was seeking for him; and then his father confessing it, wept sore, and said, that Master Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him; "But," said he, "I will return home again, and say I cannot find you." But William said, "Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatever comes of it."

And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the constable, and laid in the stocks, and afterwards brought to Brown.

When Hunter was come, Brown commanded the Bible to be brought, and opened it; and then he began to reason with Hunter, saying, "I hear say you are a scripture-man, and can reason on the sixth of John, and expound it as pleases you;" and he turned to the sixth of John, and then laid to his charge the exposition he made when the vicar and he had talked together. Hunter said, "He urged me to say so much as I did."

"Well," said Master Brown, "as you can expound so well, how say you to the twenty-second of St. Luke? Look here, for Christ saith that the bread is His body."

Hunter answered, "The text saith, that Christ took bread, but not that He changed it into another substance, but gave that which He took, and brake that which He gave, which was bread, as is evident by the text; for otherwise He should have had two bodies, to affirm which I see no reason."

At this answer Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in a fury.

Then Brown said, "Thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Does not Christ call the bread His body plainly, and thou wilt not believe that the bread is His body after the consecration? Thou goest about to make Christ a liar."

But Hunter answered, "I mean not so, sir; but I mean rather more earnestly to search what is the mind of Christ in that holy institution, in which He commends to us the remembrance of His death, passion, resurrection, and coming again, saying, 'This do in remembrance of Me.' And also, though Christ call the bread His body, as He also says that He is a vine, a door, etc., yet is His body not turned into bread, any more than He is turned into a door or a vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread His body by a figure."

Then Brown said, "Thou art a villain, indeed! Wilt thou make Christ a liar still?" and was in such a fury with Hunter, and so raged, that Hunter could not speak a word, but he crossed him and scoffed at every word. Wherefore, seeing him in such fury, Hunter desired that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself, or else send him away. Brown answered, "Indeed, I will send thee to-morrow to my lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination;" and wrote a letter immediately, and sent Hunter with a constable to Bonner.

The bishop commanded his men to put Hunter in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, with only a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

At the end of two days the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, he said to his men, "Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you." Then they let him out of the stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him a heretic.

After breakfast the bishop demanded whether he would recant, but Hunter made answer, that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men concerning his faith in Christ.

The bishop said that he was no Christian, but that he denied the faith in which he was baptised. But Hunter answered, "I was baptised in the faith of the Holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God assisting me with His grace."

The bishop then sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him, as many as he could bear; and asked him how old he was; and Hunter said that he was nineteen years old.

said the bishop, "you will be burned ere you be twenty

years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet." Hunter answered, "God strengthen me in His truth."

He continued in prison three-quarters of a year, and was before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned, which was on the 9th day of February; when his brother Robert Hunter was then present.

The bishop, sending for William, asked him if he would recant, and then remarking how William confessed that he believed that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he received the communion, "Dost thou mean," said the bishop, "that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?"

William answered, "I mean not so; but when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I feed upon Christ spiritually through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought to all faithful believers through His precious death, passion, and resurrection."

Then said the bishop, "Dost thou not think that for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance which thou judgest by the accidents?"

William answered, "If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe." Then said the bishop, "Thou wilt not believe that God can do anything above man's capacity?" "Yes," said William, "I must needs believe that, for daily experience teaches all men that thing plainly; but our question is not what God can do, but what He will have us to learn in His holy supper."

Then the bishop said, "I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee to the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue corrupt;" and then he pronounced sentence upon him, that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and from thence to Brentwood, "where," said he, "thou shalt be burned."

Then the bishop called for another prisoner, and so, when he had condemned them all, being five in number, he called for William Hunter, and argued with him, saying, "If thou wilt yet recant I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pounds in good money, to set up thy trade with. Or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office, for I like thee well; though hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant."

But William answered, "I thank you for your great offers; notwithstanding, my lord, if you cannot persuade my conscience by scripture, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all worldly things but loss and dung in respect of the love of Christ."

Then said the bishop, "If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever." William answered, "God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly."

Thus Hunter and the bishop parted, Hunter and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month; afterwards they were sent down, Hunter to Brentwood, and the others into other places of the

country. Now, when Hunter was come down to Brentwood, the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, he remained till the day after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

In the meantime, Hunter's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun; and his mother said to him that she was glad that she was so happy as to bear such a child, who could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

Then William said to his mother, "For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but short, Christ has promised me, mother, a crown of joy; may you not be glad of that, mother?" With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, "I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bare."

At these words, one Master Higbed took her in his arms, saying, "I rejoice," and so said the others, "to see you in this mind, and you also have good cause to rejoice." And his father and mother both said that they were never of any other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he might so continue to the end. William's father said, "I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold, the bishop was so hard to him."

Now when it was day, the sheriff set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to him, and took him by his right hand, saying, "William, be not afraid of these men who are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned." William answered, "I thank God I am not afraid; for I have laid my account what it will cost me already." At this the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked up his gown and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by another. While on his way he met his father, who spoke to his son, weeping and saying, "God be with thee, son William;" and William said, "God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again, when we shall be happy." His father said, "I hope so, William." So William went to the place where the stake stood, but the things were not ready. Then William took a wet broom fagot, and kneeled down, and read the fifty-first psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

Then said Master Tyrill, "Thou liest: thou readest false; for the words are 'an humble spirit.'" But William said, "The translation saith, a contrite heart." Master Tyrill replied, "The translation is false. You translate books as you like yourselves, like heretics." "Well," said William, "there is no great difference in these words." Then said the sheriff, "Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant, thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned." "No," answered

William; "I will not recant, God willing." He then rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about him.

Then said Master Brown, "Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him." Then said William, "Good people, pray for me; and make speed and despatch me quickly; and pray for me while you see me alive, good people, and I will pray for you likewise."

"Now," said Master Brown, "pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee than I would pray for a dog." William answered, "Now you have that which you sought for; and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day. I forgive you." Then said Master Brown, "I ask no forgiveness of thee." "Well," said William, "if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands."

Then William seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have showed him the book, said, "Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest you be partakers of their plagues." Then said the priest, "As thou burnest here so shalt thou burn in hell." William answered, "Thou liest, thou false prophet! away, thou false prophet, away!"

Then said a gentleman present, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, "Amen, amen." Immediately a fire was made.

Then William flung his psalter into his brother's hand, who said, "William, think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death." And William answered, "I am not afraid." Then he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" and casting down his head again into the smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

RAWLINS WHITE.

Rawlins White was a fisherman for many years in the town of Cardiff, being a man of a very good name, and well accounted amongst his neighbours. As to his religion, he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry of the times—I mean in the reign of King Henry VIII. But after God of His mercy had raised up the light of His gospel, through the blessed government of King Edward VI., this Rawlins began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher out of the truth. But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity. He had a little boy, his own son, whom he sent to school to learn to read English. After the little boy could read well, his father, every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy read a piece of the holy scripture, and now and then some other good book. In which virtuous exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that he rather practised himself in the study of the scriptures than in the trade which he had followed, so that

Rawlins within a few years, through the help of his little son, a special minister appointed by God for that purpose, and through much conference besides, profited so, that he was able not only to resolve himself, touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish and instruct others; and therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another visiting others. By which he became in that country both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times and in all such places not without the company of his little boy, whom he used as an assistance to this good purpose. To his great industry in the holy scriptures God also added a singular gift of memory, so that he could do that in vouching and rehearsing the text which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could not easily accomplish. So that he, upon the alleging of scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea, and the very sentence, such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

When he had thus continued in his profession five years, King Edward died, upon whose decease Queen Mary succeeded, and with her all kind of superstition and papistry returned. Which being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition as before; and therefore oftentimes in some private place he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions he converted a great number, which number, no doubt, would have greatly increased had not the cruel storm of persecution come on.

The force of this at last so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he expected every hour to go to prison; many of those who had received comfort by his instructions resorted to him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose of his goods to the use of his wife and children, and by that means escape the danger.

But Rawlins, not abashed through the iniquity of the time, and not at all moved by these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good-will, and told them plainly that he had learned one good lesson as to the confession and denial of Christ, telling them that if he, by their persuasions, should deny his master Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and utterly condemn him; and therefore that he would by grace confess and bear witness of Him before men, that he might find in Him everlasting life.

At last he was taken by the officers of the town as a man suspected of heresy, upon which he was brought before the Bishop of Llandaff, by whom, after many conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow, from which he was removed to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued one whole year. During which time, although he was thus troubled, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children, yet his heart was so set on the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never quiet but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his familiar friends as commonly came

to him. So that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets which come in sheep's clothing.

When he had continued in Cardiff Castle one year, the time of his trial was at hand. The Bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought from the castle to his own house near Chepstow; the bishop tried various ways to reduce him to conformity. But when threatening words and flattering promises were to no effect, the bishop advised him to recant his opinions, and gave him a day for determination. Which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, with a great number of others. When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop used a long kind of talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending for him, which was that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instructions many were led into blind error. When the bishop had made an end, Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, "My lord, I thank God I am a Christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be." After much contention of a like nature, when Rawlins would in no-wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as an heretic.

"Proceed in your law, in God's name," said Rawlins; "but as an heretic you shall never condemn me while the world stands." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray to God that He would send some spark of grace upon him; and it may so chance that God, through our prayer, will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, "Ah, my lord," cried he, "now you deal well, and like a goodly bishop; and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ saith, 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them;' and there are more than two or three of you. Now, if your request be godly and lawful, and you pray as you should pray, without doubt God will hear you; and therefore, my lord, go on; pray to your God, and I will pray to my God; I know that my God will both hear my prayer and perform my desire."

By-and-by the bishop, with his company, fell to prayer. And Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands; and when they had prayed awhile, the bishop, with his company, arose from prayer. And then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop. Then said the bishop, "Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions or not?" "Surely, my lord," said Rawlins, "Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and by God's grace Rawlins I will continue. Certainly, if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them, but you honour a false God, and pray not as you should pray; and therefore God has not granted your desire. But I am one

poor, simple man, as you see, and God has heard my complaint, and I trust He will strengthen me in His own cause."

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs had no effect, reproved him with angry words, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. However, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were present, he thought first to have a mass, thinking that by so doing some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins; and thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the meantime poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place, until such time as the priest came to the elevation, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the elevation bell ring, he rose out of his place and came to the choir-door, and there standing awhile, turned himself to the people, speaking these words, "Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, let the same one bear witness at the day of judgment that I bow not to this idol;" meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

The mass being ended, Rawlins was called for again. The bishop used many persuasions; and the blessed man continued so steadfast, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain. Upon which, the bishop caused the definite sentence to be read. Which being done, Rawlins was dismissed, and was, by the bishop's command, carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison.

Rawlins, in the meantime, passed the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of psalms; which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff Castle and in all other places. When he perceived that his time was near, he sent to his wife, that she should make ready and send to him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which he was afterwards burned in; which request, or rather commandment of his, his wife, with great sorrow and grief of heart, performed; and early in the morning sent it to him—he received it most gladly and joyfully.

When the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat which he was wont to wear; besides this he had upon his legs an old pair of leather buskins, which he had used long before. And thus being brought out of prison, he was guarded with a great company of bills and glaves; which, when he beheld, "Alas," said he, "what meaneth all this? All this was needed not. By God's grace I will not start away; but with all my heart and mind I give to God most hearty thanks, that He hath made me worthy to abide all this for His holy name's sake."

Coming to a place on his way where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation, the sudden sight of them so pierced his heart, that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as if he had disliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be angry with himself, and striking his breast with his hand, he used these words, "Ah, flesh, checkest thou me so! wouldst thou fain

prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice, and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire. Which when he beheld, he went forward very boldly; but in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees and kissed the ground, and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust; thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then he went cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close to the stake; and when he had stood there awhile, he cast his eye upon the person who gave this account of his martyrdom, and calling to him, said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swing; and therefore I pray you, when you see me anything tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close to the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom, when he saw, he lifted up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God thanks. Then the smith put a chain about him, and as he was making it fast, Rawlins said to him, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily, but God of His great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity."

Now, when the smith had made him fast to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds, in which the good old man was no less occupied than the rest; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds, and lay them about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch; which he did with such a cheerful countenance, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the fire, there was a standing erected directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, on which stepped up a priest, who addressed himself to the people, who were assembled in great numbers, as it was the market-day. Then the priest went on in his sermon, and spake of many things about the authority of the church of Rome. Rawlins gave such good attention, that he seemed not at all moved or disquieted. At last the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins' opinions, and cited the usual places of scripture in support of his dogmas.

Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by scripture; so he suddenly started up, and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching;" and then said to the preacher, "Ah, thou naughty hypocrite! dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by scripture? Look in the text that followeth. Did not Christ say, 'Do this in remembrance of me?'" After which words the priest, being amazed, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire!" which

being done, the straw and reeds cast up both a great and sudden flame, in which this good and blessed man kept his hands till the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away, saving that once he, as it were, wiped his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul; O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At last the fire burned so vehemently against his legs that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. Thus died this godly old man Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of eternal life.

GEORGE MARSH.

George Marsh was burned in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster. He was well brought up in learning and trade by his parents, and afterwards, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, married a young woman belonging to the county, with whom he lived for many years upon a farm, and had several children. But on the death of his wife he went into the University of Cambridge, where he studied and increased greatly in learning and godly virtues, and became a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Lawrence Sanders. In which condition of life he continued for a time, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the overthrowing of antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, both there and in the parish of Deane, and elsewhere in Lancashire.

At length he was apprehended by his adversaries, and kept in prison by the Bishop of Chester four months, not being permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names to the bishop.

After this Marsh was several times brought before Dr. Cotes, the bishop, and examined; he answered to every article very modestly, according to the doctrine received by public authority, and taught in this realm at the death of King Edward. After this he was returned to his prison again. After some weeks, the bishop and others being assembled in the chapel, Marsh was brought by the keeper, and others, with bills and weapons, before them; when the chancellor, by way of an oration, declared to the people present the bishop's concern and charity, who as a good shepherd watches over his flock, to see that none of his sheep have any disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the diseased sheep; so his lordship had sent for Marsh as a diseased sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition towards him, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do would not avail; so that he was now determined, if Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade George Marsh to be now

well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life; and if he would not at that present time forsake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the sentence given) too late.

Then the chancellor read all his former answers that he made at his former examination, and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same or not? To which he answered again, "Yea, yea."

"How say ye then to this?" said the chancellor. "In your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies you said, that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church?"

"I said so, indeed," replied Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here also others took occasion to ask him, as he denied the Bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were Bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered, "Yes, and some others; but they claimed no more authority in England than the Bishop of Canterbury does at Rome; and I strive not with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"Thou art an arrogant fellow, indeed," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?"

George Marsh answered and said, "Oh, my lord, I pray you judge not so of me; I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case has no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things the church of Rome errs in the sacrament. For Christ in the institution delivered the cup as well as the bread, saying, 'Drink ye all of this,' and Mark reports that they drank of it; in like manner St. Paul delivered it to the Corinthians. And in the same way also it was used in the primitive church for the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome takes away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point."

Then said the Bishop, "There is no disputing with an heretic." And therefore, when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to them, or forsake them.

He said, "That he had no heretical opinions, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they so untruly slandered him." And he desired all the people present to bear witness that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was by law established, and publicly taught in England at the death of King Edward VI., and that in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, live and die.

The bishop then took a writing out of his bosom, and began to read

the sentence of condemnation; but when he had read almost half of it, the chancellor said, "Good, my lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any further, it will be too late to recall it;" so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and others of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh to recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him. So they knelt down, and he desired them to pray for him, and said that he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again whether he would not accept the queen's mercy in time; he answered, he loved her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, so as to lose His everlasting mercy, and so win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles upon his nose, and read his sentence about five or six times, and then again the chancellor, with a smiling countenance, called to the bishop, and said, "Yet good, my lord, once again stop, for if that word is spoken all is past; no relenting will then serve;" and the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay if it might be."

"How sayest thou," said he, "wilt thou recant?" Many of the priests and poor people urged him to do so, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. He answered again, "I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my master Christ, and He deny me before His Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence to the end, and said, "Now would I no more pray for thee than I would for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding, he would pray for his lordship. And after this the bishop delivered him to the sheriffs.

Being in a dungeon or dark prison, no friend was allowed to speak with him; and some of the citizens who loved him for the gospel's sake would, in the evening, through a hole in the wall of the city belonging to the prison, call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully that he did well, and thanked God for vouchsafing His mercy to appoint him to be a witness of His truth, and to suffer for the same, whereat he rejoiced; beseeching Him that He would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear it to His glory and the comfort of His church: with many other godly sayings, as one that desired to be with Christ.

When the time appointed came that he was to suffer, the sheriffs of the city brought out Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and expected that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand, as the custom of felons was in that city in times past, at their going to execution, to give to a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, by which they might, as they thought, be saved; but Marsh said he would not then be troubled with money, but desired some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it to the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way to his death with his book in his hand, looking upon it, and many of the

people said, "This man goes not to his death as a thief or one who deserves to die."

When he came to the place of execution without the city, near to Spittle-boughton, one Cawdrey, the deputy-chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Marsh answered that he would gladly accept it, and said further, that he loved the queen, but as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to hold fast to Christ. One of the sheriffs said, "We must have no sermoning now." To whom he said, "Master, I cry you mercy;" and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes to his shirt, and being chained to the post, having a number of fagots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar, over his head. The fire was unskilfully made, so that he suffered great extremity in his death, but he endured it very patiently.

When he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, his flesh broiled and puffed up, so that they who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened, and therefore supposed that he had been dead; however, he suddenly spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me;" and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this, many of the people said that he was a martyr, and died marvellously patient and godly; which caused the bishop shortly after to preach a sermon in the cathedral church; and he affirmed in it, that Marsh was an heretic, burned like an heretic, and was a fire-brand in hell.

WILLIAM FLOWER.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch, was born at Snow Hill, in the county of Cambridge, and then came to the Abbey of Ely, where he was a professed monk, bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the house, until he came to one-and-twenty years of age. Before he came to that age, he was made a priest also in the house, and there celebrated mass. After that, he forsook the house, and casting from him the monk's habit and religion, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snow Hill, where he was born, and there he celebrated mass, and taught children, for about half-a-year.

After some time, he moved to other places, and at last to Gloucestershire, where after he had made his abode in the country awhile, he at length, in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued. After this he settled in London, and on Easter he came over the water from Lambeth to St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, where, seeing a priest ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for his

doing so, struck and wounded him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand, with his wood-knife, the priest having at the same time in his hand a chalice, with some consecrated hosts, which were sprinkled with the blood of the priest.

In so doing he acted neither well nor Christianlike, and therefore afterward, being examined before Bishop Bonner, he confessed the same, submitting himself willingly to punishment. However, touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself; but being examined before Bishop Bonner, the following articles were objected against him :—

"First, that thou, being of a lawful age and discretion, at the least, of seventeen years old, wast professed a monk in the late Abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profession thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using all the meantime the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

"Also, that afterwards thou wast ordained and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; and afterwards thou didst minister as a priest, and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

"Also, that afterwards thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take, as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Fulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury, in the diocese of Gloucester.

"Also, that thou, being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and surgery, when thou wast not admitted expert nor learned.

"Also, that upon Easter day last past—that is to say, the 14th day of this present month of April—within the parish church of St. Margaret's, at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pull out thy weapon—that is, to wit, thy wood-knife or hanger; and whereas the priest and minister there, called John Chelton, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first upon the head very sorely, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly upon him, the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldst so hurt him; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

"Also, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicated and accursed, *ipso facto* and not to be associated with, neither in the church, or otherwise, but in special cases.

"Also, that thou, concerning the verity of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of these twenty years, and yet art at this present time of this opinion, that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Also, that thou, for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and the virtue thereof, and against the said priest ministering the same (as before), didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

"Also, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of that cruel act, art also, by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of the said heresy and damnable opinion.

"Also, that all the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and famous, and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is within the said parish of St. Margaret's, and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame."

After his examination, the bishop began with his fine divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother, the catholic church, with such reasons as he commonly used to others, promising many fair things if he would do so, besides the remitting of what was past.

William Flower thanked him for his offer; and where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he was contented to let him do what he chose, yet over his soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or destroy.

In the afternoon William Flower appeared again before the bishop. The bishop, sitting in his consistory, spake these words—"You were this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles, and I respited you till now, that you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and remember, while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which ye have conceived touching the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar."

He answered, "That which I have said I will stand to; and therefore I require that the law may proceed against me." Upon this, the bishop commanded his notary again to read his articles, which, being read, William Flower answered to all parts of the articles, confessing that whereas he struck the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he has since that time, and yet does dislike himself in that act, and does now judge and believe that the act was evil and naughty.

On the 20th of April 1555, William Flower was brought by the keeper of the Fleet before Bonner, who, after his wonted manner of persuasion, went about to reduce him to his catholic church—that is,

from Christ to antichrist; sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometimes with menaces and terrors frightening him. To this Flower answering, said, "Do what you will, I am determined; for the heavens shall as soon fall as I will forsake mine opinion," etc. The bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, and thus speaking to Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he pronounced a heretic? The martyr of God answered, "I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said all that I have to say, and what I have said I will not go from; and therefore do what you will."

When he had thus spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for an heretic, and afterwards pronounced him also to be degraded, and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the 24th day of April he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster, where the act was committed; and there, coming to the stake, he made his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his Christian faith as follows:—

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who has sent down thy Son upon the earth, to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left His blood upon the earth behind Him for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification; and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world. This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

Then he said the Lord's Prayer, and so made an end.

His hand being held up against the stake, was stricken off, his left hand being stayed behind him. At the striking off of his hand, some that were present observed that he in no part of his body shrunk at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

Then fire was set to him. As he burned, he cried with a loud voice, "O Son of God, have mercy upon me, O Son of God, receive my soul," three times; and so he spake no more, lifting up his stump with his other arm as long as he could.

JOHN CARDMAKER AND JOHN WARNE.

Upon the 30th day of May suffered together in Smithfield, John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells, and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Wallbrook. Of whom it remains now to give an account, beginning with Master Cardmaker, who was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys; afterwards was a married minister, and in King Edward's time appointed to be a reader in St. Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his

reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with Barlow, Bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, King Edward's laws yet being in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the Pope was again admitted as the supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, *ex officio*, to exercise their tyranny, these two were brought before Winchester and others, appointed by commission, to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners.

To this they both made such answer, that the chancellor with his fellow commissioners reported them as catholics. Whether they in weakness so answered, or he in subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to mention to those who were to be examined, may be perceived by this, that to all who followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatever their answer was, yet Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence being delivered, he, by exile, constantly bore witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the compter in Bread Street, the Bishop of London procuring it to be published that he should shortly be delivered, after he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Lawrence Sanders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him), where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ.

The following articles were objected by Bonner against Cardmaker:—

"First, I, Edmund, Bishop of London, object against thee, John Taylor, *alias* Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, Bishop of London.

"Also, that thou in times past didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

"Also, that thou in times past didst receive all the orders of the church then used.

"Also, that thou, after thy entry into religion, and profession, and orders, didst take to wife a widow, breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church."

The remaining articles relate to his denial of transubstantiation.

Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully and according to his true meaning answered the latter part of the eighth article, the next day answered these articles severally, and afterwards exhibited to the bishop in a schedule this which follows:—

"Where in my answer to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not His sacramental presence, for that I

confess; but my denial is of His carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution; so I say that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament; so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporeal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence.

"This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it. JOHN CARDMAKER."

The following articles were ministered against John Warne, upholsterer:—

"1. That thou, John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine years, and of the parish of St. John, of Wallbrook, in London, hast believed, and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that in the sacrament commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

"2. That thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration, and that the bread is in nowise altered or changed.

"3. That thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach that there is in the mass, now used in England and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly, then that belief and faith of the church is naught against God's truth and the scriptures.

"4. That thou hast said, that where, about a twelvemonth ago and more, a great, rough water-spaniel of thine was shorn on the head, and had a crown like a priest made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

"5. That thou, neither at Lent past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst have done."

John Warne being examined upon these articles by the bishop, answered them, confessing and granting the articles to be true. Such strength and fortitude had God's Holy Spirit worked in him, to stand valiantly to the defence of the sincere doctrine of His Son.

After the bishop had exhorted him with many words to leave his heresies (as he called them) and to return to the bosom of his mother, the holy church, he commanded him to appear again the next day.

On that day the bishop, seeing that, notwithstanding all his fair promises and terrible threatenings, he could not prevail, finished this

examination with pronouncing the definitive sentence of condemation against John Warne.

On the 30th of May, the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker and John Warne were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they were to suffer. Being come to the stake, the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly so long, that in the meantime Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set about him, so that nothing was wanted but the torch; but still Cardmaker continued talking with the sheriffs.

The people who had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this conversation, were in great sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker would now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs and came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in secret; the people, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no appearance of any burning, were confirmed in their opinion that he would recant.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes to his shirt, went with courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly. He then took Warne by the hand and comforted him, and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this done so suddenly, contrary to their expectations, cried out for joy, saying, "God be praised, the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit." And this continued while the executioner put fire to them; and thus these godly men passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and holy martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in His blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

The following is the confession of the faith of John Warne, which he wrote the day before he was burned, on the 30th of May, A.D. 1555 :—

"*I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of heaven and earth:*

"A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds He had begotten of himself, which word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be His Son, in whom he hath adopted us to be His children, the inheritors of His kingdom, and therefore He is our Father: an Almighty God, because He hath of nothing created all things, visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

"*And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord:*

"The eternal Word, perfect God with His Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth. He was made also perfect man, and so being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them who were lost in Adam, our forefather. He is the only means of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

"*Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary:*

"According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

"*Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell:*

"He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate, the ruler of Judea, and unjustly accused of many crimes, of which the ruler judged Him innocent, and sought means to deliver Him; but, contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, who had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death; who doth declare unto us manifestly that He suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witness, thereby to have it manifested to all men, that He is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the state of abjection, the very terror of hell, yielding His spirit to His Father, His body to be buried in earth.

"*The third day He rose again from death to life:*

"To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of His Father, and glory of His Godhead. He became the first fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by Him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

"*He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty:*

"After that in His death and resurrection He had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles, and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which He wrought the work of our salvation, He ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell, leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into His kingdom, where He now sitteth at His Father's right hand, that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal.

"*From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead:*

"He shall appear again in great glory to receive His elect unto Himself, and to put His enemies under His feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that are dead, that all may be brought to His judgment. Then shall He give to each man according to His deeds. They who have followed Him in regeneration, who have their sins washed away in His blood, and are clothed with His

righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with Him for ever; and they, who after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

"*I believe in the Holy Ghost:*

"I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in the Trinity; in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving-kindness of Christ our Lord. For He illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by Him we are sealed up until the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by Him and through Him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

"*The holy catholic church:*

"This is a holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and antichrist, otherwise named the Bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

"*The communion of saints:*

"Which most holy congregation (being, as St. Paul teacheth, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone), though it is by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship; which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them who are departed from this mortal life, as of them who are now living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head, Jesus Christ, with all His holy members, of which number, through Christ, I assuredly believe I am one, shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

"*The forgiveness of sins:*

"I do believe that my sins, and all their sins who do rightly believe the holy scriptures, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption, which St. Paul saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any man should boast. Through the blood of the cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without Him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven.

"*The resurrection of the body:*

"I do believe that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from the dead; for 'He,' as St. Paul saith, 'is risen from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.' This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I

believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies—the elect clothed with immortality to live with Christ for ever—the reprobate also shall rise immortal to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

"*And the life everlasting:*

"Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. 'For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' Which life I am sure to possess as soon as I am dissolved and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the last day both my body and soul shall possess the same for ever, to which God grant that all men may come.

"I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water, I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am by Christ's blood washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's Supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine, the nature of which is to strengthen the body, so do I by faith receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by His death, resurrection by His resurrection, and, in fine, all that ever Christ in His body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in His holy supper, according to His word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

"This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.—

"JOHN WARNE."

THOMAS HAWKES.

It happened that not long after the martyrdom of Dr. Taylor, six men were brought before Bishop Bonner upon the 8th of February. The names of which martyrs were Stephen Knight, William Pigot, Thomas Tomkins, John Lawrence, and William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Hawkes, who was condemned with them on the 9th day of February.

As to his education and order of life, he was born of honest parents in Essex, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. He was comely of person, and tall of stature, and endued with excellent qualities. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love to true religion and godliness, surmounted all the rest. In these, as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to ennoble the whole company of other holy martyrs.



Thomas Hawkes before Bishop Bonner.—P. 209.

This Hawkes, following the fashion of the court as he grew in years, entered into the service of the lord of Oxford, where he remained for some time, being there well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward VI. lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger everywhere, and chiefly in the houses of good men. Hawkes disliking this state of things, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness which he had made, thought to change the place; and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed to his own home, where he might more freely give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

Shortly after this, Hawkes had a son born to him, whose baptism he deferred to the third week, because he would not suffer him to be baptised after the papistical manner. So his adversaries, laying hands upon him, brought him to the Earl of Oxford, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to contemn the sacraments of the church. The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to argue with him in matters of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger and letters, and so put him in the hands of Bonner, Bishop of London. Then the bishop began to enter into communication with Thomas Hawkes, first asking what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long?

Hawkes.—"Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

Bonner.—"Why, baptism is commanded by the word of God!"

Hawkes.—"His institution therein I do not deny."

Bonner.—"What deny you then?"

Hawkes.—"I deny all things invented and devised by man."

Bonner.—"What things be those that are devised by man, that you are so offended withal?"

Hawkes.—"Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water, etc."

Bonner.—"Will you deny that which all the whole world and your father has been contented with?"

Hawkes.—"What my father and the whole world have done, I have nothing to do with; but what God hath commanded me to do, to that I shall stand."

Bonner.—"Would not you be contented that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by King Edward?"

Hawkes.—"Yes, with a good will; it is a thing that I desire."

Bonner.—"I thought so; you would have the same thing. The principle is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and in the necessity it may serve."

Hawkes.—"Christ did use it without any such necessity; and yet we lack the chiefest point."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

Hawkes.—"Go teach all nations, baptising them, etc."

Bonner.—"Thou speakest that because I am no preacher."

Hawkes.—"I quote the text; I do not mean you."

Bonner.—"Will you be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptised?"

Hawkes.—"If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you."

Bonner.—"You seem to be a stout young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do you think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?"

Hawkes.—"What the queen and you can do I will not say, but you shall get my consent never the sooner."

Bonner.—"Well, you are a stubborn young man; I perceive I must work another way with you."

Hawkes.—"You are in the hands of God, and so am I."

Bonner.—"Whatever you think, I will not have you speak such words to me."

Then the bishop brought Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London, to talk with him.

Harpsfield.—"Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle and made the blind man to see?"

Hawkes.—"I know that well; but Christ did never use it in baptism. If you will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it to."

Harpsfield.—"Suppose your child die unchristened, what a heavy case stand you in."

Hawkes.—"I admit that if it do, what then?"

Harpsfield.—"Why, then you are damned, and your child too."

Hawkes.—"Judge you no further than you may by the scriptures."

Harpsfield.—"Do you not know that your child is born in original sin?"

Hawkes.—"Yes, that I do."

Harpsfield.—"How is original sin washed away?"

Hawkes.—"By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus."

Harpsfield.—"How can your child, being an infant, believe?"

Hawkes.—"The deliverance of it from sin standeth in the faith of his parents."

Harpsfield.—"How prove you that?"

Hawkes.—"By St. Paul, in 1 Cor. vii. 14, where he says, 'For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean; but now are they holy.'"

Harpsfield.—"I will prove that they whom thou puttest thy trust in are against thee in this opinion."

Hawkes.—"Who are those?"

Harpsfield.—"Your great learned men in Oxford."

Hawkes.—"If they do it by the scriptures, I will believe them."

Bonner.—"Recant, recant; do you not know that Christ said, 'Except ye be baptised, ye cannot be saved?'"

Hawkes.—"Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonies or not?"

Bonner.—"Partly it doth; what say you to that?"

Hawkes.—"I say as St. Peter saith, 'Not the putting away of the

filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God.'"

Harpsfield.—"Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride."

Hawkes.—"It is written, 'Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men.'"

Bonner.—"Let us make an end here. How say you to the mass, sirrah?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing."

Bonner.—"What, nothing profitable in it! What say you to the epistle and gospel?"

Hawkes.—"It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used."

Bonner.—"Well, I am glad that you somewhat recant; recant all, recant all."

Hawkes.—"I have recanted nothing, nor will I."

Bonner.—"How say you to the confessional?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and His Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus."

Bonner.—"To trust to any we bid you not; but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do you not know when you come into the court you cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy chamber that are next to the king and queen?"

Hawkes.—"They that choose may receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them; and St. Paul saith, 'How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed?"

Bonner.—"Will you have nobody to pray for you when you be dead?"

Hawkes.—"No, surely, except you can prove it by the scriptures; a man's prayers, you being dead, profit nothing at all."

Bonner.—"Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous to prevail?"

Hawkes.—"I grant it does for the living, but not for the dead."

Bonner.—"Not for the dead?"

Hawkes.—"No; for David saith, 'None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him; for the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever.' Also Exekiel saith, 'Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God.'"

Harpsfield.—"What books have you?"

Hawkes.—"The New Testament, Solomon's books, and the Psalter."

Harpsfield.—"Will you read any other books?"

Hawkes.—"Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require."

Harpsfield.—"What books do you require?"

Hawkes.—"Latimer's books, my lord of Canterbury's books, Bradford's sermons, and Ridley's books."

Bonner.—"Away, away! he will have no books but such as maintain his heresies."

The next day Fecknam came to converse with him, and asked, "Are you he that will have no ceremonies?"

Hawkes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"You will not have your child christened, unless in English, and you will have no ceremonies."

Hawkes.—"Whatsoever the scripture commands to be done, I refuse not."

Fecknam.—"Ceremonies are to be used by the scriptures."

Hawkes.—"Which are those?"

Fecknam.—"How say you by St. Paul's breeches?"

Hawkes.—"I have read no such thing."

Fecknam.—"Have you not read in the Acts of the Apostles, how things went from St. Paul's body, and they received health thereby?"

Hawkes.—"I have read in the nineteenth of the Acts, how there went handkerchiefs or aprons from St. Paul's body. Is it that you mean?"

Fecknam.—"Yea, the same is it. What say you to those ceremonies?"

Hawkes.—"I say nothing to the ceremonies; for the text saith 'that God did so work by the hands of St. Paul that there went handkerchiefs or aprons from him,' etc., so that it seems by the text that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies."

Fecknam.—"How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ and touched the hem of His vesture? Did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?"

Hawkes.—"No, forsooth; for Christ turned back and said to St. Peter, 'Who touched me?' And St. Peter said, 'Master, the multitude throng thee, and press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?' And Jesus said, 'Somebody hath touched me; for I perceive that virtue hath gone out of me.' I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman or His vesture?"

Fecknam.—"Both."

Hawkes.—"Then is not Christ true? for He said, 'Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole.'"

Bonner.—"Away, away to the sacrament, for these are but mere trifles to that."

Fecknam.—"How say ye, sirrah? Christ took bread and brake it, and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body.'"

Hawkes.—"I grant Christ said so."

Fecknam.—"And is it not so?"

Hawkes.—"No, forsooth, I do not understand it so."

Fecknam.—"Why, then, is Christ a liar?"

Hawkes.—"I think ye will so prove Him."

Fecknam.—"Will I? I have spoken the words that Christ spake."

Hawkes.—"Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, 'I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way,' etc.

Fecknam.—"Christ spake these words in parables."

Hawkes.—"And why speaketh He this in parables when He said, 'I am a door, a vine, a king, a way,' etc., more than this when He said, 'This is my body?' For after the same phrase of speech as He saith, 'This is my body,' so saith He, 'I am a door, a vine, a king, a way;' He saith not 'I am like a door, like a vine,' etc."

The next day came Doctor Chedsey to him, and he, as well as Bonner, entered into the following argument with him :—

Bonner.—"He thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany."

Hawkes.—"And ye think that there is no church but the church of Rome."

Chedsey.—"What say ye to the church of Rome?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is a church of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey.—"What say ye to the Bishop of Rome?"

Hawkes.—"From him, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Chedsey.—"Marry, so may we say, from King Henry VIII., and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Hawkes.—"Where were ye, while he lived, that ye would not say so?"

Chedsey.—"I was not far."

Hawkes.—"Where were ye in his son's days?"

Chedsey.—"In prison."

Bonner.—"He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass; for neither the mass, nor the sacrament of the altar can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English."

Chedsey.—"Christ never spake in English."

Hawkes.—"Neither spake he ever in Latin, but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And St. Paul says, that 'tongues profit us nothing.' He makes a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet means, who can prepare himself to the battle? So if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I by that? No more than he has by the trumpet, that knows not what it means."

Bonner.—"The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world; that they should pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world."

Hawkes.—"This your councils of Rome settled."

Bonner.—"Understand you what the general councils of Rome meant?"

Hawkes.—"Indeed all your general councils of Rome are in Latin; I am an Englishman, therefore I have nothing to do with them."

Chedsey.—"You are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils through the world."

Hawkes.—"I reprove them not, but St. Paul rebukes them, saying,

'If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.'"

Chedsey.—"Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?"

Hawkes.—"Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."

Chedsey.—"What gospel have ye been taught?"

Hawkes.—"Praying to saints, and to our Lady, and to trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."

Chedsey.—"He that teaches you so, teaches you not amiss."

Hawkes.—"Cursed be he that teaches me so, for I will not trust him nor believe him."

Bonner.—"You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean."

Hawkes.—"God hath taught us what they are; for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?"

Chedsey.—"What are those that ye are so offended with?"

Hawkes.—"The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, etc."

Bonner.—"What say ye to that?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is an idol. What say you to it?"

Bonner.—"I say every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol."

Hawkes.—"I say, what difference is there between an idol and image?"

Bonner.—"If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol; but if an image be made of God Himself, it is no idol, but an image, because He is a true God."

Hawkes.—"Lay your image of your true God and your false god together, and you shall perceive the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not? and even so have your idols."

Chedsey.—"God forbid, says St. Paul, that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Hawkes.—"Do you understand St. Paul so?"

Bonner.—"Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"

Hawkes.—"If the cross were such a profit to us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with a salutation?"

Chedsey.—"It was taken up."

Hawkes.—"Who took it up? Helen, as you say, for she sent a piece of it to a monastery, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the monks had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proved it was but a piece of a lath covered over with copper, double gilded as if it had been clean gold."

Chedsey.—"It is a pity that thou shouldst live, or any such as thou art."

Hawkes.—"In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die."

Chedsey.—"You die boldly, because you would glory in your death."

After all these and other private conferences, persuasions, and long debatings, with Hawkes in the bishop's house, the bishop seeing no hope to win him over, was fully set to proceed against him after the ordinary course of his popish law.

After the bill of confession was read, and he adhered to it, the bishop assigned him, with five others, the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a final answer; which day being come, and the prisoners severally called before the bishop, at the appearing of Thomas Hawkes, the bishop desired him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now while he had time to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well," said Hawkes again, "I will willingly receive whatever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other interrogatories or articles objected to him. Then being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church, "No, my lord," said he, "that I will not; for if I had an hundred bodies I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces rather than I will abjure or recant." Whereupon Bonner, at the last, read the sentence of death upon him, and he was condemned on the 9th of February. His execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the 10th day of June.

A little before his death, there were some of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy and by his talk; yet being frightened with the sharpness of the punishment, they desired that, in the midst of the flame, he would show them some token, if he could, by which they might be more certain whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do; and so it was agreed secretly between them that, if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hand above his head toward heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Not long after, when the hour was come, Hawkes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the Lord Rich and his assistants; at the stake, he mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a chain cast about his middle, amid a great multitude of people assembled; to whom, after he had spoken many things, especially to the Lord Rich, reasoning with him about the innocent blood of saints; at length, after he had made fervent prayers and poured his soul unto God, the fire was set to him.

When he had continued a long while in the fire, and when his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed, so that all thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, this blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise before made, reached up his burning hands over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together; at the sight of which, there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of those who understood the matter, that the

like hath not commonly been heard; and so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, 10th June, A.D. 1555.

THOMAS WATTS.

Thomas Watts, of Billericay, in Essex, was a linen-draper. Being in continual fear of seizure, he had sold his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things to his wife and children, and gave away much to the poor.

On the 26th day of April he was apprehended and brought before the Lord Rich and other commissioners; and there being accused for not coming to church, was examined before the Lord Rich and others.

At the sessions at Chelmsford, the Lord Rich said to him, "You are brought hither because of disobedience to the laws of the queen. You will not come to the church, you will not hear mass, etc., contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings."

Watts answered, "My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said to him, "I pray thee tell me who has been thy schoolmaster to teach thee thus; or where didst thou first learn this religion?" Watts answered, "Even of you, sir; you taught it me, and none more than you; for in King Edward's days, in open session, you spake against this religion now in fashion, no preacher could say more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, earnestly exhorting that none should believe in them, and that our belief should be only in Christ; and you said then that whoever should bring in any foreign power to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered." Then said Brown to my Lord Rich, "He belies me, my lord. What a knave is this? he will soon belie me behind my back, when he does it before my face;" and my Lord Rich said, "I dare say he does."

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, sent him to the Bishop of London, who objected against him the following articles:—

1. "That the said Thomas Watts was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

2. "Also, that he believed not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome and all other churches members of the same ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people, nor has allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but has despised the same.

3. "Also, that he believeth, and also taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration, and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of His blood there shed, and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

4. "Also, that he believeth, and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and nowhere else.

5. "Also, that he believeth, affirmeth, and sayeth that the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow that it is a good and laudable thing to be used in His church.

6. "Also, that he believeth and affirmeth that auricular confession unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous; and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

7. "Also, that he believeth that Luther, Wycliffe, Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire or otherwise, for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men, and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ, in so believing and dying.

8. "Also, that he hath and doth believe that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

9. "Also, that the said Watts of late coming into open court, at the sessions, before the Lord Rich, Sir Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church; because that, like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late King Edward VI. was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naughty; so he, the said Thomas Watts, then and there said openly, before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naughty; and that he did also then utter before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil examples of the people there present.

10. "Also, that he, the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifest and open heretic; and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and, being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic.

11. "Also, that he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass—that is, that he had believed and deliberately spoken, that the church of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooly, of late hanged at Charing Cross, who, at the time of his execution, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. "Also, that the premises, and every part thereof are true,

notoriously, manifestly, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that within Billericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof."

To the first of these articles Thomas Watts confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution and the catholic church; but not according to the Bishop of Rome's church; and further said, that he does not believe now as he had done in time past; for in time past he believed as the church then believed, but now he does not so believe, for the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore, he said, he did not believe as the church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him; and further said, that he was so taught to believe by the preaching of one Master Alvey, and others whom he remembered not; which Alvey, he said, did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the third he answered, that he hath and doth believe that Christ's body is in heaven, and nowhere else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he believed that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe that the priest can absolve him of his sins; howbeit, he denieth not it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the seventh, he said that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe that the body and blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men; but in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article, but said that he hath and doth believe that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth, he confessed that he did utter and speak as in this article is contained, and further, he desired God that he might die in that faith and belief wherein he now is.

To the tenth, he answered and said that he would submit himself herein to the order of the law; and further said, that he trusted that with God he should be blessed, although with men he should be accursed.

To the eleventh, he said that he believed that the Bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and His church. And as for Tooly, he said he never saw or knew him; but in case the said Tooly did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

To the twelfth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true is also true; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop at another appearance of Watts in the consistory began with him in this wise, "You know what I said to you to-day. The time is now come; weigh and consider with yourself that you are but a man, and although you wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not away your soul, but while ye have time return and confess the truth."

Watts answered, "I am weary of living in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in."

The bishop, after many persuasions to recant, desired him to depart, and to come again on Saturday. When the bishop was absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, his deputy, earnestly exhorted Watts to renounce his opinions. To whom in the end he answered:—

"Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it."

On the 10th of May, the bishop privately sent for Watts into his chamber, and there, with many fair promises, tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he termed them. But Watts answered, "I will not believe your church, neither the Romish church, and therefore you do but labour in vain with me." He was hereupon again dismissed until Friday, the 17th, and then commanded to appear in the consistory.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and from hour to hour, he was at last, on the 18th of May, brought into the consistory, and there being desired to renounce his profession, made this final answer, "God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come to, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that which I have done, for I will stand to mine answers."

The bishop perceiving his fair flattering promises to be useless, proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation; which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them he was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th of June, or, as some record, until the 22d of May; at which time he was carried to Chelmsford, and there was brought to an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Hawkes and the rest that came down to be burned, they prayed together before and after their meat.

Then Watts went and prayed privately, and afterwards came to his wife and six children, and said, "Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you. Therefore, henceforth, I know you no more; but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you to obey, and fear Him; and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, against which I shall soon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lord's cause, and I doubt not but He will be a merciful Father unto you."

In this manner he spoke to them, and they to him; two of them offered to be burned with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spoke thus to Lord Rich, "My lord, beware! beware! for you act against your own conscience in this, and unless you repent, the Lord will revenge it; for you are the cause of my death."

PROCLAMATION AGAINST BOOKS.

About this time there was brought over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for the recovery of abbey lands, which book was called, *A Warning for England.* So that by the occasion of this book, upon the 13th day of June a certain proclamation was set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, tending to the disparagement of the Pope's dignity. The proclamation here followeth:—

"Whereas, by the statute made in the second year of King Henry IV. concerning the repressing of heresy, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their favourers and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm, upon such proclamation, should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet, nevertheless, in most parts of the realm the same is neglected and little regarded, the king and queen, our sovereign lord and lady, therefore straitly charge and command that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed, into this realm any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned—that is to say, any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth by, or in the name of, Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works, made and set forth by, or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zwingle, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Barnardinus, Ochinus, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called friar Bale, Justus, Jonas John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tindal, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basil, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called *Hall's Chronicle*, or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other

like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or set forth by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church. And, also, that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books, written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm, in the time of King Edward VI., commonly called the communion book, or book of common service, and ordering of ministers, otherwise called, 'The Book set forth by Authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England,' but shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them, remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese, where such books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour, or deceit, at the said ordinaries' will and disposition, to be burned, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender, contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

"And their majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly command and will the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall, in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works; and for this purpose enter the house or houses, closets and secret places of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation; and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every of them within their said limits and jurisdictions finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf.

"Given under our signs manual, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns.

"Imprinted by John Cawood, A.D. 1555."

The following articles were to be inquired into by the wardens of every company, touching seditious books, especially touching the book called, *A Warning for England*:—

1. "Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books.
2. "Whether they have heard of any of the said books.
3. "Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.
4. "Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wessel, Emden, and Disburgh.
5. "Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common carriers of letters or money thither from hence.
6. "That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter."

In this proclamation thou hast heard, Christian reader, the profound and learned censure of the popish church of England, what books they dislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious; against which censure I do not now argue; only it may please the reader to allow me to set before him a balance, wherein to weigh the books condemned on one side with the books allowed on the other side, that we, weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weighs best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. Now, therefore, as they have in this proclamation given their condemnation of these books above recited, so I desire thee to give thy censure of the books allowed by them, and of the matter contained in them.

And first to begin with the Primer in English, for children, after the use of Salisbury, printed with a privilege according to the king and queen's majesties' letters patent in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us survey some part of the Primer, beginning with the first lesson of our Lady in these words:—

"Holy Mary; mother most pure of virgins all;
Mother and daughter of the king celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation,
That by thy prayer and special meditation,
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," etc.

Compare this with the scriptures, good reader, and judge rightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not.

It follows further in the second lesson:—

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;
That He our prayers accept may in good wise,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," etc.

In the third lesson:—

"Thy son beseech with humble intercession,
To purge us clean of our transgression;
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with Him, world without end."

The versicle—

"Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout womankind; let all feel thy help that worthily solemnise thy memorial," etc.

Another versicle—

"Holy mother of God, make thy petition, that we may deserve Christ's remission," etc.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth—

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the collect after, it follows—

"And grant that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin, thy mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

It follows, moreover, in the said primer thus—concerning the material cross—

"O God, who hast ascended thy most holy cross, and has given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies."

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prays—

"O Lord, defend us always through the continual succours of St. John Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," etc.

In which words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the folly of the reason. For where their doctrine pretends that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist that He will hear His prayer praying for us. It follows further in the name of Peter and Paul—

"Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both we may obtain the glory everlasting," etc.

Of St. Andrew—

"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee," etc.

Of St. Lawrence thus—

"St. Lawrence, the deacon, did work a great work. For by virtue of the holy cross he gave sight to the blind," etc.

And how can this be true when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen, who first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years!

To Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury—

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,
Make us, Christ, to climb whither Thomas did ascend."

Of St. Nicholas—

"O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

Of Mary Magdalen—

"Grant, we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting," etc.

Another prayer to our Lady—

"The dolorous compassion of God's sweet mother,
Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," etc.

Another prayer in the said primer to our Lady—

"Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
And change the name of sinful Eva;
Loose thy prisoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give sight again.
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may some grace attain
Show thyself to be a mother,
So that He accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin," etc.

Also—

"Holy mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout womankind," etc.

Another blasphemous prayer—

"O thou meek mother, have mercy therefore
On wretches for whom thou hadst these pains all,
Seeing thy Son that vine cluster pressed sore:
And from the pestilence of death eternal,
Keep us by voiding the fiend infernal,
And join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

Another blasphemy in the said primer:—

"Hail queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope.

Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off, therefore, our patroness, cast upon us thy pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconcilation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean," etc.

Also to our lady—

"The fruit of thy womb everlasting,
May we behold through thy deserving," etc.

Also—

"Grant, we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy, whereas she being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much for this popish primer, called *Our Lady's Matins*. To this, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also add *Our Lady's Psalter*, that all impartial readers, as they have seen what books these popish fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so they may also see and judge what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And as, perhaps, it is not known to every one what *Our Lady's Psalter* is, and some, perhaps, will deny that *Our Lady's Psalter* was approved, therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonised by Pope Sixtus IV., A.D., 1482, for a saint in the calendar, who in his book has taken every psalm of David's psalter, which was peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God, and has in several psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and has inserted in its stead the name of "Our Lady." This being done through the whole psalms, it is called *Our Lady's Psalter*, and was used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A little of which, for example's sake, we thought here to exhibit to the reader:—

"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, the Bishop of Alban, and cardinal of the holy Church of Rome."

Psalm 1.—Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary, thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered, as it were, with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified everywhere, etc. Glory be to the Father, etc.

Psalm 2.—Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall estab-

lish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, etc.

Psalm 3.—Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me into the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father, etc.

Psalm 4.—When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me. Because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her, all nations of the earth, etc.

Psalm 5.—Hear my words, O Lady, etc.; turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces.

Psalm 6.—O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure, etc. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers, deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall not praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting.

Psalm 7.—O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy name's sake, to show thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not.

Psalm 9.—I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will show forth among the nations thy praise and glory, etc. They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and salvation, the humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their hearts, etc.

Psalm 11.—In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, etc. Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, etc. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits, etc.

Psalm 12.—Save me, O mother of love, and fountain of mercy, etc. Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee.

Is not here good popish stuff, Christian reader? Compare, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ; and I will refer you to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now, if any man has been in doubt

in times past of the doctrine of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with intolerable blasphemy and abominable idolatry or not, he may now be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found if it be not here in this *Matins* and *Psalter of our Lady?* If idolatry be the making an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an idol of *our Lady*, to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than the Lord God himself. And as He is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, she is the Queen of Heaven. And though He have the name of God, yet she bears the title of the Mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is to show herself to be His mother, to cause Him to grant our petitions. Finally, if He be our patron, yet she is our patroness. The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God more than all this ascribes to her? And what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, etc. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we sigh, we groan, we knock and kneel; to her we trust, and if we believe not also in our Lady, we are forthwith denounced as heretics.

Further, as Christ, our only Lord and Saviour, has His church and congregation which profess His name, of whom we are called Christians, so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities, and brotherhoods, which, professing her name in like manner, are called our Lady's brethren, or White Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one has his peculiar church and religion by himself, yet all these together are included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service has the Lord in all the church of Rome that our Lady has not jointly with him? Her mass, her matins, her evensong, her hours and complin, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter, her holidays likewise, yea, five to one. Finally, as the Lord has His prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her "Hail, Mary," yea, ten Hail, Marys to one Our Father; and read further in Bonaventure, and you shall see her "We praise thee," her "Blessed," her "My soul doth magnify," and also her "Whosoever will be saved," etc.

If the Lord our God had not expressed to us His will by plain words, limiting unto us, by express injunction, what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve Him, and how to receive from Him our salvation, but had left us to the imagination of our own minds, every man to shift for himself, then, perhaps, this way taken by the Pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some reason; but now

God's word binds us, prescribes and limits us, precisely in every point touching salvation what to believe, and what to do, showing us plainly that we cannot be saved but by the blood of His Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ, His Son: wherefore, not to believe that which He has promised is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than He hath sent us is plain idolatry; which two special errors most commonly follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this primer and psalter of our Lady, but also in all their proceedings, teaching and preaching besides, may well appear. For where the scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and allows us to seek our salvation nowhere else, but only in the merits of Jesus—the institution of the church of Rome neither will receive that which God has freely given (wherein standeth infidelity), neither yet will seek the same where they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthiness of the material cross, and such other unlawful means; wherein standeth plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the papists to be current, as good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas the others, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true Christianity, in nowise can be suffered. But of this it is vain to complain. We will now proceed in our history.

JOHN BRADFORD.

John Bradford was born at Manchester. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living. He continued some years in an honest and good life, after the course of this world, when the Lord, who had elected him to a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace, which in His secret council He had appointed, called His chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the gospel of life. In which he was so truly taught, that his effectual call was perceived by the fruits; for Bradford forsook his worldly affairs and worldly wealth, and gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures. To accomplish his purpose the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one year after that he had been there the university gave him the degree of a Master of Arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship in their college; that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him that he held him not only most dear to him, but also often exhorted him to direct his talent to preaching. He answered always

that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was used to reply, saying, "If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy Bishop of London and glorious martyr of Christ, called him to take the degree of a deacon. He obtained for him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this office, by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. He sharply opened and reproved sin; he sweetly preached Christ crucified, pithily impunged heresies and errors, and earnestly persuaded the people to live godly lives. After the death of our blessed young King Edward VI., when Queen Mary had got the crown, Bradford still continued diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council.

The fact was this:—On the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourne, then Bishop of Bath, made a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in London, to set popery abroad, so that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, nor yet the commandment of the Mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage; but the more they spoke, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourne, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, ended his sermon, fearing lest he should there end his wretched life, and desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford, at his request, spoke to the people, and exhorted them to godly and quiet obedience. As soon as the people saw him begin to speak to them, they were so glad to hear him that they cried with a great shout, "Bradford! Bradford! God save thy life, Bradford!" —showing not only what affection they bear unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words; for after that he had preached to them, and exhorted them to be quiet and patient, soon all the raging ceased, and in the end each man departed quietly to his house. Yet Bourne thought himself not yet full sure of his life till he was safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he was in safety; which Bradford, according to his promise, performed; for while the mayor and sheriffs led Bourne to the schoolmaster's house, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so set him safe.

Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of saving of Bourne, which act they called seditious; and also objected against him for preaching. He was then committed first to the Tower, then to other prisons, out of which neither his innocence, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase

to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause), he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he was sent to the King's Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation he was sent to the Compter, in the Poultry, in London; in which two places he preached twice a-day continually, unless sickness hindered him; where also the sacrament was often administered; and through the kindness of the keeper to him, there was such a resort of good people daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well-nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying occupied his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a-day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came usually plenty of tears. He was very gentle to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening, being prisoner in the King's Bench, in Southwark, he had license, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit one that was sick. Neither did he fail in his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather anticipating his hour than breaking his fidelity; so constant was he in word and in deed.

In person he was somewhat tall and slender, spare body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept commonly not above four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book was not out of his hand. His chief recreation was not in gaming, or other pastime, but only in honest company and profitable talk, in which he would spend a little time after dinner, and then went to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent in which he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting others, etc. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally share what he had with his fellow-prisoners; and commonly once a-week he visited the thieves, pickpockets, and such others that were with him in prison where he lay, to whom he would give godly exhortation to amend their lives by repentance, and afterwards distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

While he was in the King's Bench, and Master Sanders in the Marshalsea prison, at the rear of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together, so mercifully did the Lord work for them even in the midst of their troubles; and Bradford was so trusted by his keeper, and had such liberty, that there was no day but he might have easily escaped if he would, but the Lord had other work for him. In the summer, while he was in the King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things were prepared for his journey, and the party in readiness who should ride with him; but God prevented him by sickness, so that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came to him whilst he was a prisoner, and asked him if he sued to get him out what he would do, or whither he would go? He made answer, as not caring whether he

went or not; but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the people, and occupying himself in that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, who never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death; yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily that his life should be spared.

One afternoon, as he was walking in the keeper's chamber, the keeper's wife suddenly came to him, as one seeming in much trouble, and said, "Oh, Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she, "to-morrow you are to be burned; and your chain is now buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that Master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy;" so thanking her for her gentleness, departed to his chamber, and called his friend with him. When he came thither he went secretly himself alone a long time and prayed; which done, he came again to his friend, and gave him several writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things which he wished to have done. They then continued together all the evening, when there came to him half-a-dozen of his friends more, with whom he spent the time in prayer, and other good exercise, they wondering to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer at his farewell, with such humility and holy unction that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also, when he put on the shirt that was made for his burning, he made such a prayer concerning the wedding-garment, that some of those present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned himself to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for Christ's sake. When he was in the court all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad, and yet, contrary to their expectation, there was in Cheapside and other places between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people that came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears, and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying heartily for them. Now, whether it were a command from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London or not, I cannot tell, but there was a great noise overnight about the city that Bradford was to be burned the next day in Smith-

field, by four o'clock in the morning, before it should be much known. Some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause of this; others thought that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth. So some thought one thing, and some another; but this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected; for the next day, at the hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield a great multitude of men and women.

However, it was nine o'clock of the day before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield. He was led forth with a great company of armed men, as the like was not seen at any man's burning. Bradford, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes to his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, whose name was John Leaf, joyfully and constantly.

The following communication between John Bradford and the lord chancellor, and others in commission with him, took place in January, A.D. 1555:—

After the lord chancellor and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him had ended their talk with Farrar, late Bishop of St. David's, the under marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford. Being come into the presence of the council, he kneeled down on his knees, but immediately was bidden by the lord chancellor to stand up.

When he was risen the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him; but he gave no place, that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor, save that once he cast up his eyes to heavenward, and sighed for God's grace.

Then the lord chancellor, somewhat troubled, spake to him to this effect—"That for a long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at St. Paul's Cross, on the 13th August 1553, for his false preaching and arrogance, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now," he added, "the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highness, willing to offer mercy, hath sent to declare and give the same if you will return, and if you will do as we have done you shall find as we have found, I warrant you."

He was again brought before them on the 29th of July, when he was again offered mercy and pardon if he would recant. After the lord chancellor's long talk about the queen's pardon, Bradford began to speak "My lord, and my lords all, as now I stand before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David witnesses) is in the congregation of judges, and sittest in the midst of them; and as you would your place to be now regarded as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting—that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt not by questions to bring into the snare them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless, then proceed and give sentence accordingly; if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject which hitherto I could not have."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado to purge himself, as that he sought not guiltless blood; and so began a long process how that Bradford's act at St. Paul's Cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and showed a taking upon him to lead the people, and charged Bradford with writing seditious letters.

On the next day, a gentleman, called Master Thomas Hussey, came into the chamber in which John Bradford lay, and he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came to him. "You," said he, "so wonderfully behaved yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops, yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have did see that they have no matter against you; and I, therefore, advise you to desire a time, and men to confer with; and so all men shall think there is a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you, and by this means you shall escape present danger." To this John Bradford answered, "I neither can, nor will make such request; for then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess, which I do not."

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, with the very same insidious design to deceive and entrap this godly man.

This Dr. Seton, after some talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a long sermon of my lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, and Master Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer anything at all; and that, therefore, my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the Bishop of Durham and others; all which talk tended to this end, that Bradford should make the like request for a conference; but to this he briefly answered as he before had done to Hussey. With this answer neither Seton nor Hussey were content; and after many persuasions, Seton said, "I have heard much talk of you, and yesternight a gentleman made a report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that you were able to persuade as much as any one that he knew; and I thought that your modesty was such before the bishops, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself; and I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor has a regard for you; wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer with," etc.

But Bradford kept still one answer, "I cannot, nor will I so offend the people. I do not doubt; I am most certain of the truth of the doctrine I have taught."

Here Dr. Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, and vain-glorious.

Then Bradford besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of Him; "for," said he, "otherwise I am helpless;" and so they with much ado parted. Then Bradford prayed to God, which the Lord of His goodness did graciously accept in his need, praised be His holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the church, and there tarried till eleven o'clock.

After the excommunication of Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought before the lord chancellor and the bishops, the lord chancellor said, that if Bradford would answer with modesty and humility, and confirm himself to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loth to use extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, urging to recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended, Bradford began to speak thus —"As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God, that you might follow Him, who seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtile questions; so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for you know well enough that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray your lordships to do, not as one that takes upon himself to condemn you, but that you might be the more admonished to do that which none does so much as he should; for our nature is so corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I alleged mine oath and oaths against the Bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England, so do I again at this day. And last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your honours should know that mine answers shall be this day; and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

On the twenty-third of the same month, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chichester came to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the Archbishop of York, used him very gently; they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they insisted he should put on not only his night-cap, but his upper cap also, saying to him that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now, thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Bradford that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him; and after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, "How he was certain of his salvation and of his religion?"

After thanks for their good-will, Bradford answered, "By the word of God, even by the scriptures, I am certain of my salvation and religion."

Thus continued Bradford in prison until the month of July, in labours and sufferings; but when the time appointed for his death was come, he was suddenly conveyed in the night to Newgate, and from thence he was carried, on the following morning, to Smithfield, where, as was before narrated, he firmly adhered to the truth of God, which he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to turn to Christ; and sweetly comforting the godly young man of the age of nineteen or twenty years, who was burned with him, he cheerfully ended his painful life to live with Christ.

JOHN LEAF.

John Leaf, who was burned with Bradford, was an apprentice to Humphrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ's Church, in London. He was born at Kirby Moreside, in the county of York. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, he was committed to the Compter in Bread Street, by an alderman of London, who had the rule and charge of that ward or part of the city where John Leaf dwelt; and when brought before Bonner, he gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the bishop.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the sacrament of the altar, he answered that, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance—that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England is idolatrous and abominable—also that he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the self-same substance of Christ's body and blood therein contained, but bread and wine as it was before—and further, that he believed that when the priest delivers the material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivers but only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually in faith they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine; and also affirmed that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made to a priest; for it is no point of the soul's health, nor that the priest has any authority given him by the scriptures to absolve and remit any sin.

On making these answers he was dismissed at that time, and ordered to appear on the Monday following, being the 10th of June, then and there to hear the sentence of his condemnation. Accordingly, the bishop, then propounding the articles again to him, endeavoured, by all manner of ways, to turn him from truth to error; but notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so firmly planted was he upon the sure rock of truth that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him if he had been Master Rogers's scholar? John Leaf answered that it was so, and that he did believe in the doctrine of Rogers, and in the doctrine of Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine which they died for. And after other replications again of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he with great courage of spirit answered again in these words, "My lord, you call my opinion heresy; it is the true light of the word of God." And again repeating the same, he professed that he would

never forsake his well-grounded opinion while breath was in his body. The bishop being too weak either to refute his sentence or to remove his constancy, proceeded to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation, by which this godly and constant young man, being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered on the same day with John Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of John Leaf that, after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills were sent to him, one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, he refused it; and when the other was read to him, instead of a pen he took a pin, and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the bill, desiring the reader to show the bishop that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

When these holy martyrs came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves for the space of an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood upon their feet, and then Bradford took a fagot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had done so, he desired the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment. "For," said he, "I have nothing else to give him; and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith Bradford put off his raiment and went to the stake; and holding up his hands, and casting his countenance to heaven, he said thus, "Oh, England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry; beware of false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you!" And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bid them tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "Oh, master sheriff," said Bradford, "I am quiet. God forgive you this." And one of the officers who made the fire, hearing Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and had better hold your peace." To which words Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and requested the people to pray for him. Then turning his head to the young man that suffered with him, he said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a happy supper with the Lord this night." And embracing the reeds, he said thus, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to life, and few there be that find it."

And thus, like two lambs, they both ended their mortal lives, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize for which they had long run; to which may Almighty God happily conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

JAMES TREVISAM.

On Sunday, the 3d of July, A.D. 1555, died one James Trevisam, in the parish of St. Margaret, in Lothbury. Being impotent and lame, he kept his bed, for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Small, who read in the Bible; and as he was reading, Berd, the promoter, came to the house, and insisted to go upstairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife—to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman. All which folks Berd apprehended and carried to the compter, where they remained about a fortnight. Moreover, Berd would have had also James, the lame man himself, to Newgate in a cart (and brought the cart to the door) but for the neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor man was made to put in two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick. So within a few days, James, lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named Master Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street there met him one Toller. "Yea," said he, "are you agreed? I will accuse you, for he denies the sacrament of the altar." Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. And so the parson went to the Bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burned, and if he were dead he should be buried in a ditch; and so when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would he let her have the coffin to put him in, nor anything else, but she was fain to bear him upon a table to Moorfields, and there he was buried. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this, the owner of the field seeing him, buried him again; and a fortnight after, the summoner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at St. Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him. But what more befel him, I have not certainly to say.

JOHN BLAND.

On the 12th of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton, were all four burned together at Canterbury for one cause. Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvendon.

Master Bland was at first employed in bringing up children in learning and virtue. After this, coming to the ministry in the church of God, he was filled with earnest desire to profit the congregation, which may appear by this, that when he was cast into Canterbury prison for preaching the gospel, and was delivered once or twice at the suit of his

friends, yet he would preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Upon this being apprehended the third time, when his friends would again have found means to have delivered him if he would promise to abstain from preaching, he would admit no such condition, showing well to us the example which we read in the Apostle Paul, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" etc. But as to the life and doings of this godly martyr, it will be best to refer the reader to his own account, which he sent to his father about his troubles:—

"Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters; and to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have befallen me since you were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.—Your son,

"JOHN BLAND."

"First, on Sunday, the 3d of September, after service ended, before I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table (commonly called the Lord's table) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, 'Who set this here again?' Now, they say that they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered that he knew not. Then Austen said, 'He is a knave that set it here.' I was then going down the church marvelling what he meant, and said, 'Goodman Austen, the queen's highness has set forth a proclamation that you may move no sedition.' And before I could speak any more, he said, 'Thou art a knave.' And I said, 'Well, goodman Austen, what I have said I have said.'—'By God's soul,' said he, 'thou art a very knave.' Then my clerk spake to him, but what I am not sure. But he said, 'Both of you are heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if you say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face;' and in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the tressels by it. Wherefore I rode by-and-by to Master Isaac, and showed him how seditiously he had spoken and acted. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable, which was immediately observed, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognisance, with sureties, to appear if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

"On the 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the table after the communion was done, and as I was going past them Richard said to me, 'Master parson, we have to speak to you.' And I said, 'What is your will?' And he said, 'You know that you took down the tabernacle wherein the rood did hang, and such other things; we would know what recompense you will make us; for the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must be put up again.'

"I answered, 'I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.'

"'No,' said Thomas Austen, 'you will not know the queen's proceedings.'

"'Yes,' said I, 'I refuse not to know them.'

"Then said Richard, 'You are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.'

"'Goodman Austen,' said I, 'if I so said, I will say it again, and God willing, stand to the proof of it.'

"'Masters all,' exclaimed Richard Austen, 'bear record of these words,' and went his way.

"Thomas Austen said, 'Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them.'—'No,' said I, 'not so soon.'—'Tell us,' said he, 'what that devilishness is that is in the mass.'

"'I often preached it to you,' said I, 'and you have not believed it, nor borne it away; nor will now neither, though I should tell you.'

"He replied, 'Thou art an heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy; for thou canst say nothing that is true.'

"'Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven, and you will say that is true, and so have I taught you truly.'

"'Thou hast taught us like an heretic,' he answered, 'and hast said that there is no devil in hell.'

"He gave many other taunts, too long to write, And at the last he said, 'You pulled down the altar, will you build it again?'—'No," said I, 'except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do what I did.'

"'Well, if you will not,' said he, 'then I will; for I am churchwarden.'

"'I charge you,' said I, 'that you do not, except you have authority.'—'I will not,' said he, 'refrain for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher, that shall prove thee an heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.'

"'Yes,' said I, 'God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.'

"When the Sunday came I looked for the preacher, but he never came, so I preached in his absence.

"Upon Innocents' day, being the 28th of December, they procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say mass. He had nigh made an end of matins before I came; and when he had made an end of matins he said to me, 'Master parson, your neighbour has desired me to say matins and mass; I trust you will not be against the queen's proceedings.'—'No,' said I, 'I will offend none of the queen's majesty's laws, God willing.'—'What say you?" said he, and made as though he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time (so that all the church heard), that I would not offend the queen's laws, and then he went to mass.

"And the priest came down into the stall where he sat, and I stood up in the chancel door and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always shown to His people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in Him and His coming what benefit they past, we present, and

our successors have; and among other benefits I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of His body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration. So that as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it, in that form, to be no sacrament; and showed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; whereas one only in the mass eats and drinks, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship; and after these things, as briefly as I could, I spake of the originators of the mass, and began to declare who made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the addition that he made to the mass; and before I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the constable, his son-in-law, violently came and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, 'Thou heretic!' some, 'Thou traitor!' some, 'Thou rebel!' and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was something past, 'Be quiet, good neighbours,' said I, 'and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me.' But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, 'Peace, masters; no more till mass be done,' and they ceased. Then said I to the churchwarden and the constable holding me by the arm, 'Masters, let me go into the churchyard till your mass be done.'—'No,' said the churchwarden, 'thou shalt tarry here till mass be done.'—'I will not,' said I, 'but against my will.'—And they said, 'Thou shalt tarry, for if thou go out thou wilt run away.' Then said I to the constable, 'Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me;' and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door, and there they made me tarry till the mass was ended. When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me. Then Thomas Austen said, 'Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's.'—'Goodman Austen,' said I, 'it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's.'

"Now, the 23d or 24th of February, Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties, to Master Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by commandment of Sir Thomas Moyles, where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions, to be held at Canterbury; but after that they changed it to be at Ashford, on the Thursday in Whitsun week, on the 19th of May; in the meantime the matter was exhibited to the spiritual court.

"On the 18th day of May, Master Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, had me brought before him and the commissary into Christ's church. Then the archdeacon said, 'Art thou a priest?' And I

said, 'I was.' And he said, 'Art thou any graduate of any university?' And I said, 'Yea.' 'What degree,' said he, 'hast thou taken?' 'The degree,' said I, 'of a Master of Arts.' 'Thou hast been a licensed preacher?' And I said, 'I have.'

"'What hast thou preached?'

"And I said, 'God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.'

"'No, no,' he replied, 'to the destroying of their souls and thine too, except the mercy of God is all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached, tell me?'

"'I told you what I have preached,' I answered.

"'Nay, but tell me,' said he, 'what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest?'

"I replied, "I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.'

"'For thou hast preached,' said he, 'that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ, after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached, and is not this thine opinion?'

"I answered, 'Sir, I perceive that you seek matter against me; and, therefore, I think I am not bound to make you an answer.'

Collins.—"Do you not remember that St. Peter bids you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?"

Bland.—"I know that, and am content to answer as that text directs; but I know that master archdeacon does not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble." They said, "No, you shall not be troubled for anything that you say here."

Bland.—"I am content, for knowledge sake, to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise." And so they commenced reasoning for more than the space of an hour about the sacrament.

"On the 21st of May, I again appeared in the chapter-house, where a great multitude of people had assembled; and the archdeacon said to me, 'You are come here according as you were appointed; and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness to place me here to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and grievous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is poisoned with error, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others more would be very glad; and I for my part shall be right glad to show you the favour that lies in me.'

Bland.—"I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, nor did I ever teach any error or heresy willingly."

Harpsfield.—"Hear you what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? let me hear what thy faith is?"

Bland.—"I know not why you should ask me a reason of my faith more than any other man in this open audience."

Harpsfield.—"Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a Christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it."

Bland.—"I am not ashamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, etc., with all the other articles of the creed; and I do believe all the holy scriptures of God to be most certain and true."

Harpsfield.—"Wilt thou declare no more than this?"

Bland.—"No."

Harpsfield.—"Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith; I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were since the apostles' time. Lo, upon this I ground my faith."

"When he could get no other answer from me than I had given before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And I said, 'By what law and authority will you proceed against me?' When Collins said, 'By the canon law.'

Bland.—"I doubt whether it be valid or not. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law."

Harpsfield.—"Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me—I, who have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught that, after the consecration, it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?"

Bland.—"Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Master Collins, you said then it was for other matters that I should come hither; and further, that you would be content at my desire to confer out of the scriptures with me, to see if you could win me; and you said you would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I might have what book I wished; and now you require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble than to win me."

Then they entered upon some arguments on transubstantiation, and Bland was bound in sureties to appear again.

"About the 28th day of June I came to master commissary, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me; but master commissary said gently he had done nothing against me. And so appointed me to appear before him on Friday, seven nights after. In the meantime the sessions were held at Cranbroke, where I was bound to appear.

"Sir Thomas Moyle said, 'Ah, Bland, thou art a stiff-necked fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called.'

"So the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word; and so we remained in the jail of Maidstone till a fortnight before Michaelmas or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rochester to the assizes, where we were among the prisoners two days; and when we were called, and the judges of assizes asked

our causes, the clerk of the peace said that I was an excommunicated person.

"Then the judges of assize said, 'Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be held next at the town of Maldon.'

"We tarried at Maidstone till the sessions were held at Greenwich, on the 18th and 19th of February. I and others, being within the bar, amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out by the jailer and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town, to Sir John Baker, Master Petit, Master Webb, and two others whom I know not."

The following is an account of another examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker, written by himself:—

Baker.—"Bland, wherefore were you cast into prison?"

Bland.—"I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in."

Baker.—"Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?"

Bland.—"For an unjust complaint laid against me."

Baker.—"What was the complaint?"

"I then told him as truly and briefly as I could.

Baker.—"Let me see thy book;" and I showed him a Latin Testament.

Baker.—"Will you go to church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?"

Bland.—"I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do."

Baker.—"Will you do as I said?"

Bland.—"Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?"

Baker.—"Yea."

Bland.—"Sir, may a man do anything that his conscience is not satisfied is good?"

Baker.—"Away, away!" and throwing down the book, he said, "It is no Testament." And I said, "Yes." And Master Webb took it up, and said unto me, marvellous gently, "I knew you when you were out of this opinion. I would to God you would reform yourself;" with better words than I will write. And I said, "If you have known me of another opinion than I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge."

Baker.—"Yea, sayest thou so? By St. Mary I will give six fagots to burn thee with, ere thou shouldest be unburned. Hence, knave, hence!"

"At night, when judgment was passed on the felons, and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailer, 'Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution.' And one of our company said, 'My lord, if we were killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with Him for ever.'

"Then we came to the Castle of Canterbury and there we remained, till the 2d day of March, when we were brought into the chapter-house of Cree church, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury,

Master Collins, Master Mills, with others, and then went to them Master Oxenden, Master Petit, Master Webb, and Master Hardes, justices. And when I was called, Master Webb said, 'Here we present this man to you, as one strongly suspected of heresy.'

Bland.—"You have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and nothing proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?"

Webb.—"Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to what is laid to your charge."

Bland.—"I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy."

Webb.—"Yes; you refused to Sir John Baker to be conformable to the queen's proceedings."

Bland.—"Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy for asking a question with leave?" So we had more words than I well remember.

"Then stood up Master Petit and said, 'You were cast into prison because you fled away from your ordinary.'

Bland.—"Then I have suffered wrongfully; for I never fled, nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did anything contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did;" but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, "Master commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?" "No," said he; "you know that when you went from me you were appointed to appear on the Friday after the sessions." Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented, and then we were sent to Westgate to prison, and were put in several close holds, so that not one of us could speak to another, nor was anyone permitted to come to us."

And thus passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tossed to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the Bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, on the 13th day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton. The commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal by his letters patent had appointed before his coming over to England. The archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great number of innocent servants of Christ were cruelly treated and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom John Bland was one of the first; who, being brought before the said bishop, with his colleagues, who were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphry Middleton, and William Cocker, was examined of the following articles:—

1. "That thou art of the diocese of Canterbury, and so subject to jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

2. "That thou art a Christian man, and dost profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of same.

3. "That all persons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate persons and heretics, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

4. "That thou, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doth hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance; but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof; and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and nowhere else.

5. "That thou, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, hast within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man safely and with good conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he understandeth not.

6. "That thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, hast, and yet dost hold opinions, and say that is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may with a safe conscience so receive it.

7. "That the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury."

To all these articles he gave his consent and admission. So on the 25th day of the month of June he appeared again in the chapter-house, and there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the Pope, whereupon his sentence was read, and he was forthwith condemned, and committed to the secular power. He offered up the following prayer before his death:—

"O Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments; thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I choose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung that I might win thee; which death is more dear unto me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do anything that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect, give me strength against this

element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and through the strength of thy Holy Spirit I may pass through the flame of this fire into thy bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake, my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this freewill offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; Lord Jesus, receive my soul. So be it."

CHRISTOPHER WAID.

Christopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen weaver, was condemned by Maurice, Bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was early in the morning carried out of the town, in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimth, into a gravel pit, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither, also, was brought a load of broom-fagots, with other fagots and tall wood, to which place the people of the country resorted in great numbers, and there awaited his coming. About ten o'clock, the sheriff, with a number of other gentlemen, who were appointed to assist him, came riding to the place; and with them Waid, at whose side was riding, pinioned, Margery Polley, of Tunbridge, who were both singing a psalm. Margery, as soon as she saw afar off the multitude gathered about the place where Waid was to suffer, said to him very loud and cheerfully, "You may rejoice, Waid, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day." And so passing by the place, they were carried to the town, where Margery was kept until the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. Waid being made ready, and stripped of his clothes in an inn, he had brought to him a long white shirt from his wife, which he put on; he was then pinioned and led to the Brimth; and coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embraced it, and set his back to it, and stept into a pitch-barrel; then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus fixed, he repeated, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of the eighty-sixth Psalm, "Show me a token for good; that they which hate me may see it and be ashamed; because thou, Lord, has helped me and comforted me." Near to the stake was a little hill, and upon the top of it were erected four posts, with a covering round about like a pulpit; into this place, as Waid was thus praying at the stake, a friar

entered with a book in his hand. When Waid saw him he cried earnestly to the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days; but the sheriff interrupted him, saying, "Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently." "I am," said he, "I thank God, quiet, master sheriff, and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered something; but Waid very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which, when the friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, withdrew out of the place immediately, without speaking a word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being placed about him, he pulled them and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making an opening about his face, that his voice might be heard. Then the fire being put to him, he cried to God often, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul!" without any token or sign of impatience in the fire; till at length, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was not heard to speak, but continued to hold up his hands over his head towards heaven.

CARVER AND LAUNDER.

On the 22d of July there was burned at Lewes, in the county of Sussex, one Dirick Carver; and on the next day, was also burned at Stening, another man named John Launder. These two men, with others, had been apprehended about the end of October 1554, while they were at prayer in the dwelling-house of Dirick; and were sent up to the queen's council. After examination they were sent as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, Bishop of London. They were brought by the keeper of the prison, on the 8th of June, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there being examined upon many points of religion, they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected to them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory of St. Paul's, on the tenth day of the month.

The following is the confession of Dirick Carver before Bonner:—

"Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmston, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelt by the space of eight or nine years; born in the village of Dilson, by Stockom, in the land of Luke, forty years of age, or thereabout, and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment since All-

hallows day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith, that he hath and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"Also, being examined concerning the mass in Latin now used in the popish church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a Christian man, except it should be said in the mother tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth that they are not profitable to a Christian man.

"Also, being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, that he hath and doth believe that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a Christian man's salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar since the coronation of the queen that now is.

"Also, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the said church of England, he answereth and believeth that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And, furthermore, he saith, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, who were of late burned, were good Christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as he believeth; and saith that they did shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he saith and believeth.

"And further being examined, he saith, that since the queen's coronation he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English read in his house at Brighthelmston divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate; but the keeper hearing thereof, did take them away; and saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers. And further saith, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his house at Brighthelmston, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallows day last past, and brought into the court; and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate."

The following is the confession of John Launder before Bonner:—

"John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone, being examined, doth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallows eve last past, this examinate and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with other persons to the number of twelve (being altogether in their prayers, saying the service in English, set forth in the time of King Edward VI., in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brighthelmston, in Sussex), were apprehended by

one Master Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he, with his said other companions, hath ever since remained in prison.

"And further being examined, he doth confess and say that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmston was upon certain business there to be done for his father; and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examinate did resort to his house and company, whom before that time he did never see or know, and by reason of that his resort, he was apprehended as before; and further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members are dispersed throughout the world, and doth believe also that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, the sacrament of baptism and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord. And whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they are of the catholic church, but abhors them from the bottom of his heart; and doth further say and believe, that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies now used in this realm of England (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which hath been used after the same manner) are erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

"Also, he doth confess and believe that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance; but his belief and faith therein is, that when he receives the material bread and wine, he receives the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and so receiving it, he eats and drinks Christ's body and blood by faith, and no other way, as he believeth.

"And, moreover, he does confess, say, and believe that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word and His catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith that although the Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass are of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other things that are naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught also, as he believeth.

"Also, he doth believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins; and also believeth that the right and true way (according to the scriptures) after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest,

neither to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith," etc.

On the 10th of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper to the bishop's consistory, where the bishop, beginning with Dirick Carver, caused his confession, with the articles and answers, to be read to him, asking him whether he would stand to them. Dirick answered that he would, "For your doctrine," said he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here you would put Him to a worse death than He was put to before. You say that you can make a god; you can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church are beggary and poison. And further, I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison," with divers other such words.

The bishop, seeing his constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing (*i.e.*, sentence of condemnation to be burned), both on Dirick Carver and John Launder, who remained in the same constancy, and therefore they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who has assured them of a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches as with His spiritual treasures. At His coming into the town of Lewis to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed to God, that of His mercy He would strengthen them in the faith. As he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the pitch-barrel, and when he had stripped himself as a joyful member of God, he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as he came in, he took up the book, and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again; and immediately Dirick spake with a joyful voice, saying—

"Dear brethren and sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true; it is not unknown to all of you, that it has been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and that now it is not. And because I will not deny God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to such belief. And as many of you as believe in the Pope of Rome, or any of his laws, which he sets forth in these days, you believe to your utter condemnation; and except the great mercy of God prevents you, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Immediately, the sheriff spake to him, and said, "If thou dost not believe on the Pope, thou are damned body and soul." And further, the sheriff said to him, "Speak to thy God, that He may deliver thee now, or else to strike me down for an example to this people." But this faithful martyr said, "The Lord forgive you your saying."

And then he spake again to all the people with a loud voice, saying, "Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lord's sake to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you who have offended me in thought, word, or deed." And he said further in his prayer, "O Lord, my God, thou hast written, 'He that loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me (Matt. x. 37, 38). But thou, Lord, knowest that I have forsaken all to come unto thee. Lord have mercy upon me, for unto thee do I commend my spirit, and my soul doth rejoice in thee." These were the last words of this faithful martyr of Christ before the fire was put to him. And after the fire came to him he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me!" and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and died.

THOMAS IVESON.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, carpenter, whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, as it was at one time, and in one form, with Dirick Carver and John Launder, I here omit, referring the reader to their history.

Iveson being earnestly pressed to recant, said, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to it; and what I have said I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in I would not believe him." Which answer being thus made, he was condemned as an heretic, and was committed to the secular power, as they term it; and at the place above mentioned was burned, persevering still in his constant faith unto the end.

JAMES ABBEYS.

Among many that laboured in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbeys, a young man, who, through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was forced to take part with his brethren in wandering and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of arrest. But when the time came that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hopton, who, examining him of his religion, and charging him both with threats and

fair speech, at the last poor James yielded to their persuasions, although his conscience consented not.

When he was dismissed, and was about to go from the bishop, the bishop called him again, and gave him a piece of money, which, when James had received, and was departed from the bishop, his conscience began inwardly to accuse his act, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their persuasions. In which combat with himself, he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his money, which he had received at his hand, and said he repented that ever he gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and also that he gave his consent in taking his money.

Now, this being done, the bishop with his chaplains laboured afresh to win him again, but in vain; for James Abbeys would not yield, although he had played Peter before through infirmity, yet he stood manfully in his Master's cause to the end, and abode the trial of the fire in the consuming of his body into ashes; which burning took place at Bury on the 2d of August 1555.

DENLEY, NEWMAN, AND PACKINGHAM.

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, there were many who, though they were not clergymen, yet thought to help this furious flame of persecution. Amongst whom was one Edmund Tyrel, Esquire, and at that time a justice of peace in the county of Essex. As Tyrel came from the burning of certain godly martyrs, he met with John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman, both of Maidstone, in Kent, travelling upon the way, and going to visit some of their godly friends. Upon suspicion he apprehended and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up to the queen's commissioners.

The following is from the confession of faith found on the person of John Denley:—

"The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say that Christ is corporeally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say that Christ is not there, neither corporeally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, He is spiritually, but not corporeally.

"For figuratively He is in the bread and wine, and spiritually He is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporeally, He is only in heaven, from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this—that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament; and that after thanks given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; not that the bread is the body, or the wine the

blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and His precious blood plenteously shed for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear Him call us unto Him, saying, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly life in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

"I do understand spiritually, that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting, and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should His body and fruit of His passion be distributed unto as many as believed His words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper admonishes and puts us in remembrance of His death, and so excites us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

"And thus we there have Christ present; in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eat His body and drink His blood—that is, we believe surely that His body was crucified for our sins and His blood shed for our salvation. JOHN DENLEY."

The commissioners receiving these prisoners, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them to Bishop Bonner, to be handled after his discretion. On the 28th of June he caused Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber within his palace, and there examined them upon their confessions, objecting also to them certain other articles of his own. To which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others.

The following are the articles objected:—

1. "That he is of the diocese of London.

2. "That he does not believe that there is any catholic church of Christ in earth.

3. "That he does not believe that this church of England is any part of the catholic church.

4. "That he believes that the mass is full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word.

5. "That he believes that auricular confession is not good, but contrary to God's word.

6. "That he believes that absolution given by the priest, hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word.

7. "That he believes that christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it; likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and evensong, anointing or absolving of sick persons, making holy bread and holy water.

8. "That he believes that there are but two sacraments in Christ's

catholic church—that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

9. "That he believes that, as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

10. (Objected only to one.) "That thou, Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at the least, being within the house of the Bishop of London, at St. Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, on the said 23d of June, in the year 1555, didst unreverently stand in the said chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the time of mass; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass and the said holy water and holy bread."

Their answer is as follows:—

"To the first article, I answer, it is very true.

"To the second article I answer, that it is not true; for I believe in the holy catholic church which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth preach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments—that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to His blessed word.

"To the third article I answer, that I do believe that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the Bishop of Rome being the head hereof; for it is plain that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies; for Christ's testament is, that He would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as appears when He taught them to pray, Matt. vi.; and also it appears by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 4, 'But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort. He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church.'

"Also he saith, 1 Cor. xiv. 9, 'So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air;' that is as much as to say, in vain. Also he saith, verses 17–19, 'For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all; yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.'

"Also it is written in Psalm xlvii. 7, 'For God is the king of all the earth; sing ye praises with understanding,' etc. So it appears that this church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words are true, and also the Psalms; therefore this church is not builded upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

"To the fourth article I answer, and I do believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and abominable idolatry

and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ in His holy supper instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of His death till He come, and not to have them worshipped and made an idol of them; for God will not be worshipped in His creatures, but we ought to give Him praise for His creatures which He hath created for us. For He saith in the Second Commandment, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them' (Exod. xx. 4, 5). So it appears by this commandment that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he saith, 'No similitude,' therefore, 'Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.' I pray you, what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making courtesy, with other such like superstition? You would make men to be so blind as to believe that this is no worshipping.

"Peradventure you will object and say, you do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words are true, as undoubtedly they are; for he saith, in Hebrews x. 12, 13, 'But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.' Also in Hebrews ix. 24, 'For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.' Also, Phil. iii. 20, 'For our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ.' 1 Thess. i. 9, 10 'For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you; and how ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven, whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.' Also, John xvi. 28, 'I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.' John xvii. 11, 'And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to thee.' All these places of the scriptures, with others, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, etc.

"To this fifth article I answer, that I do believe that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. As to my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to Him for remission to them; for our Saviour Christ saith, Matt. xi. 28, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' The prodigal son, Luke xv. 18, 19, saith, 'I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired

servants.' Psalm xxxii. 5, 'I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' Job xiii. 15, 16, 'But I will maintain mine own ways before Him. He also shall be my salvation; for an hypocrite shall not come before Him.' Wisdom xxxiv. saith, 'Who can be cleansed of the unclean?' And there was but one of the ten lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give Him thanks. He asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour; and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but to such time as I do openly in the congregation acknowledge my fault; then the minister has power by the word to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the thirteenth of the Acts of the Apostles, and in the eighteenth of Matthew. Other confession I know none.

"To the sixth article I have answered in the fifth.

"To the seventh article I answer, that, as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed; for John the Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it appears when Christ required to be baptised by him, and others also who came to John to be baptised, as it appeareth, Matt. iii. 5, 13; Mark i. 5, 9; Luke iii. 7, 21; and in Acts viii. 36, the eunuch said, 'See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptised?' It appears here that Philip had preached to him; for he said, 'Here is water.' We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor chrism, nor salt; for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water, and the water was not conjured, but even as it was before. Also, Acts x. 46, 47, 'Then, answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptised, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?' Acts xvi. 32, 33, and Paul and Silas 'Spake unto him (the Philippian jailer) the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes and was baptised, he and all his, straightway'—where you see nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like also is said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

"To the eighth article I answer, shortly, that there are no more than two sacraments—baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, except that ye will make the rainbow a sacrament; for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

"To the ninth article I do answer you, that you have my mind written already; for it was found about me when I was taken; and also ye know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence; for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ

spake are true indeed, so must they be also understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after Him. And thus I make an end, etc. "By me, JOHN DENLEY."

On the 1st of July the above three prisoners were brought into the consistory in St. Paul's church, where the bishop proceeded against them after the usual form, and then tempting them, sometimes with fair promises, othertimes with threatenings, which were always his chief arguments and reasons to persuade with. In the end, seeing their immovable constancy, on the 5th of July he condemned them as heretic, and gave them to the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering—namely, John Denley to Uxbridge, where, on the 8th of August, he was burned; when set in fire, and the flames about him, he sung a psalm with a joyful heart.

Then Dr. Story, who was present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a fagot at him, whereupon, being hurt upon the face so that he bled, he ceased his singing, and clapped both his hands on his face. "Truly," said Dr. Story, to him that hurled the fagot, "thou hast spoiled a good old song."

Shortly, however, Denley put his hands abroad and sung again, yielding at last his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the martyrdom of John Denley at Uxbridge, suffered also Patrick Packingham at Uxbridge, about the 28th of August. This Packingham was charged by Bonner (as you heard in the tenth article before) for the behaviour he showed in the bishop's chapel, who would not put off his cap at the time of mass, which was taken for a heinous offence. Packingham being much entreated by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that the popish church he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, etc.

John Newman was burned on the 31st of August, at Saffron Walden, in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly persecuted and burned, here follows, written by himself:—

First, we shall give his answer, in writing, to the suffragan, after his apprehension, as follows:—

"It may please you to understand that, for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word that there was no transubstantiation, nor corporeal presence, in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived; but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed what they preached

with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends; neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered, also, as we did learn, that the king's grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm to preach unto us such doctrine as was agreeable to the authority of God's word, and no other; and by their diligent setting forth of it by the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God, that the queen's merciful highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will, in a matter of faith, use compulsion or violence; because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

The following is an account of John Newman's examination and answers before Dr. Thornton and others:—

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench, either the archdeacon or Fawcett, or some other, whose name John Newman does not express, began asking in this wise:—

Doctor.—"How say you to this, 'This is my body which is given for you?'"

Newman.—"It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith, 'I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone,' etc. Is He, therefore, a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

Doctor.—"This is no figurative speech; for He saith, 'This is my body, which is given for you;' and he saith not so of the stone, vine, or door; that is a figurative speech."

Newman.—"Christ saith, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood.' If you will have it meant literally, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor.—"Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman.—"If you will have the one understood literally, you must understand the other literally."

Doctor.—"Nay, it is a common use of speech to say, drink a cup of ale or beer; and therefore it is no figurative speech."

Newman.—"The often using of a thing does not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wherever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor.—"Well, we will not stand about this. How say you of the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman.—"No; I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man does not feed upon natural things as the body does."

Denley.—"Why, how then does it feed?"

Newman.—"I think the soul of man feeds as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delight that they have in God; and so the soul of man feeds and eats, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins.—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body; therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

Newman.—"I grant it to be true; but yet the soul lives otherwise than the body, which perishes; therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins.—"Judas received the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation."

Newman.—"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had not the devil and Christ in him at one time?"

Collins.—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman.—"Yea, and before too; what do you think? Had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins.—"Well, suppose it be so; what say you to that?"

Newman.—"If Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins.—"We grant that they were both in Judas at that time; for Christ may be where the devil is, if He will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman.—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton.—"Why, will you not believe that Christ was in hell? and you will grant that the devil is there; and so he might be in Judas, if it pleased Him."

Newman.—"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalen to touch Him, who sought Him at his grave, and did love Him entirely; much less will He suffer an ungodly man to receive Him into his unclean body."

Thornton.—"Yes, seeing God my do all things, He may do what He pleases, and be where He will. And does not the Psalm say, He is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of His being there?"

Newman.—"Though His *godhead* be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that His *humanity* is in all places."

Thornton.—"No! do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Newman.—"I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that He chooses to do."

Thornton.—"Nay, but if He be omnipotent, He may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for Him to do."

Newman.—"I know God is Almighty, and can do all that He chooses; but He cannot make his Son a liar, He cannot deny himself."

Thornton.—"What is that to your purpose?"

Newman.—"Will you have the *humanity* of Christ in all places, as the *deity* is?"

Thornton.—"Yea, He is in all places, as the deity is, if it please Him."

Newman.—"That seems to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet you say, that wherever the deity is, there is also the humanity, and so you will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a real body."

Thornton.—"Nay, we do not say He is in all places as the deity is, but if it please Him he may be in all places with the deity."

Newman.—"That seems to me as great an heresy as ever I heard, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man, and that were against all the scriptures."

Thornton.—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him. I dare say that he does not believe that Christ was born of His mother. Do you believe that Christ rose from the dead, and came through the stone?"

Newman.—"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that He came through the stone, neither does the scripture so say."

Thornton.—"Lo! how say you? He does not believe that Christ came through the stone; and, if he does not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other."

Newman.—"The scripture does not say that He went through the stone; but it saith the angel of God came down and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men."

Thornton.—"Ah, fool, fool, that was because the woman should see that He was risen again from death."

Newman.—"Well, the scripture makes as much for me as it does for you, and more too."

Thornton.—"Well, let us not stand any longer about this. Back again to the real presence. How say you, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament or no?"

Newman.—"I have answered you already."

Thornton.—"Well, do you not believe that it is there really?"

Newman.—"No, I believe it not."

Thornton.—"Well, will you stand to it?"

Newman.—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth."

Thornton.—"Nay, you will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

Newman.—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, I take God to witness, but only to the scriptures of God, and that all those that stand here can witness with me, and nothing but the scriptures; and I take God to witness that I do nothing of presumption, but that what I do is only my conscience; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, for it is not you that

can give me faith, therefore, I trust you will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

Richard Hook, about the same season, and for the same matter, gave up his life at Chichester.

WARNE, TANKERVIL, AND OTHERS.

After this follows the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord—not such saints as the Pope makes, or which are mentioned in *The Legend of the Saints*, or in *The Lives of the Fathers*, or in such fabulous books; but such as are spoken of in the book of Revelations, of whom it is written, "These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," etc. Thus these saints are not of the Pope's making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the Pope's making—of the Pope's making, I say, in this respect, not that the saints of God are made by the Pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the Pope; for as by the inflictions of Satan, Job's patience was proved, and by Pharaoh God's power declared, so, in like manner, unless by antichrist good men had been destroyed, they had not been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these were—

Elizabeth Warne, George Tankervil, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hall, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be full with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make despatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten to be sent to Bonner, Bishop of London, to be examined and at once rid out of the way.

We will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, the wife of John Warne who was burned, as before recorded. Elizabeth had been apprehended, amongst others, on the 1st of January, in a house in Bow Churchyard, in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and was carried to the compter, where she lay as a prisoner till the 11th of June. She was then brought to Newgate, and remained there till the 2d of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners to Bonner, Bishop of London, who, on the 6th of the same month, caused her, with others, as Robert Smith, George Tankervil, etc., to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined her upon articles, such as were administered to the poor saints and martyrs of God.

The chief objection that he used towards her, and most of the others, was touching the real and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and foundation for their dignity. Many other matters he objected against

them—as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, for despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with other fond and trifling toys not worth mentioning.

In the end, when she had been several times brought before him and his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, "Do what ye will, for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer she was, on the 12th of July, adjudged and condemned as an heretic, and so delivered to the secular power, as they term it, to be by them put to death, which thing was accomplished in August, at Stratford-le-Bow, near London.

George Tankervil, of London, was born in the city of York, and was in King Edward's days a papist, till the time Queen Mary came to the throne, and then, perceiving the great cruelty of the Pope's side, was brought to doubt of their doings, and began in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, of which he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself, at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God or not. If not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it; which, according to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor it; and so he was moved to read the Testament, by which, as is said, the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry, and so he came no more to their practices; and not only that, but also this lively faith enkindled such a flame in him as would not be kept in, but uttered itself, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to be converted and turn to the truth with him; and thus he began to be suspected among them, till at last he was sent for.

Tankervil, being brought to prison, underwent the usual examination before Bonner. To the articles he answered unhesitatingly, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, etc.; that he had not confessed to any priest for five years past, nor to any other, but only to God; for that he found it not in Christ's book. And concerning the sacrament, commonly called here in England of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ, because that the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father. And moreover, he said that the mass now used in the church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming, also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ—baptism and the supper of the Lord, etc. And to these assertions he said he would stand; and so he did to the end.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, first exhorting him with many words to revoke his professed opinion, which he called damnable and heretical, he resisted all persuasions, answer-

ing the bishop again in this form, "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my lord, can refute them by the scriptures; and I care not for your divinity, for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner used to convert, or rather pervert, him, he answered boldly again, "That the church, whereof the Pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church;" and, pointing to the bishop, he spake to the people, saying, "Good people, beware of him and such as he is, for these are the people that deceive you," etc.

The bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power. And so this blessed servant of God was sent to St. Alban's; and there, with much patience and constancy, ended his life on the 26th of August, for the defence of the truth.

On his way to St. Alban's there was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner; some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned, others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. There were, however, some who said it was a pity he did stand in such opinions; and others, both old women and men, cried against him; one called him "heretic," and said it was a pity that he lived. But George Tankervil did speak to them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and protesting to them his unspotted conscience, that God softened their hardened hearts, so that some of them departed with weeping eyes.

There also came to him a certain schoolmaster who had a communication with him, touching the sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion; but as he urged Tankervil with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will, so, on the other side, Tankervil answered him mightily by the scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, etc. And as he would not allow such allegations as Tankervil brought out of the scriptures without the opinions of the doctors; so again Tankervil would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the scriptures.

When the hour drew near when he was to suffer, he desired the wine-drawer to give him a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it adminstered to him by others in such manner as Christ commanded, and then he kneeled down, making his confession to the Lord with all those who were in the chamber with him; and after he had prayed earnestly to God, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus, out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, "O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those who are thy ministers; but only because I cannot have it administered according to thy word," etc., and when he had spoken these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had so; and then he, sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame, and when it had

touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another way. The flesh said, O thou fool! wilt thou burn and needst not? The Spirit said, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintances, who love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The Spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and His glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly friends. The flesh said, Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer. The Spirit said, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which lasteth for ever, etc. And all this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town; whither, also, resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day; and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked to. And George Tankervil all that time was kindly and lovingly treated by his host; and considering that his time was short, his saying was, That although the day was never so long, yet at the last it rings to evening-song.

About two o'clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankervil out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place nigh to the west end of the abbey church. When he was come, he kneeled down by the stake, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

While the fagots were arranged about him, there came a priest to him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankervil cried out vehemently, and said, "I defy the whore of Babylon! I defy the whore of Babylon! fie of that abominable idol! good people, do not believe him! good people, do not believe him!" And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, "If he had but one load of fagots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him." There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankervil, and took him by the hand, and said, "Good brother, be strong in Christ;" this he spake softly; and Tankervil said, "Oh sir, I thank you, I am so, I thank God." Then fire was set to him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him; the most part of whom did so. And so embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain, etc.

Robert Smith was brought to Newgate on the 5th of November. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which many times, rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre, he practised. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; he was much confirmed by the preaching and reading of one Master Turner o Windsor, and others. Whereupon, at the coming of Queen Mary, he was



Tankerville burning his foot.—P. 268.

deprived of his clerkship in Windsor college by her visitors, and not long after, he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here follows, written and testified with his own hand :—

"About nine o'clock in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house ; and I first of all was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as follows, after he had asked my name :—

Bonner.—"How long is it since you were confessed to any priest?"

Smith.—"Never since I came to years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God to come to show my faults to any of that sinful number whom you call priests."

Bonner.—"Thou showest thyself even at the first chop to be a rank heretic, who, being weary of painting, hast entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy."

Smith.—"Although I have understanding in the occupation, yet I praise God I have had little need all my life to live by the same ; but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit."

Bonner.—"How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion of the same?"

Smith.—"I never received the same since I arrived at years of discretion, nor never will, by God's grace ; neither do I esteem the same in any point, because it has not God's ordinance, either in name, or in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God."

Bonner.—"Do you not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?"

Smith.—"I showed you before it was none of God's ordinances, *as you use it ;* then much less can it be God or any part of His substance, but only bread and wine appointed to that use ; yet, nevertheless, if you can prove it to be the body that you spake of by the word, I will believe it ; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol ; not God, but contrary to God and his truth."

Bonner (after many raging words and vain objections said)—"There is no remedy but you must be burned."

Smith.—"You shall do no more to me than you have done to better men than either of us both. But think not to quench the Spirit of God, nor to make your matter good. For your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision ; so that although you patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame."

Bonner (after many railing sentences, throwing away the paper of my examination).—"Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shriven, I will tear this paper in pieces."

Smith.—"It would be too much to your shame to show it to men of discretion."

"After which answer I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined ; and

then being again brought up before Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession upon these articles following :—

Bonner.—"What say you to the catholic church? Do you not confess there is one in earth?"

Smith.—"Yes, verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apostle saith, "is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone;" which church, in all her words and works, maintains the word, and brings the same for her authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am by grace made a member."

Bonner.—"You shall understand that I am bound, when my brother offends, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the church: now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before it?"

Smith.—"It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of men was so great against the church, they were obliged to congregate in houses and private places, as they now do; and yet they were nevertheless the church of God; and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?"

Bonner.—"Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, directing the man to be punished and excommunicated that had committed evil; by which we may well perceive it was a known church; but yours is not known."

Smith.—"Then you could not persecute it as you do; but as you say, the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul; even so is this church of God in England, whom you persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their truth nor conversation; you, and your own sinful number have professed their truth, and maintained the same a long time."

Bonner.—"Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth when St. Paul wrote to them, and I will put it so in writing. Shall I?"

Smith.—"I marvel greatly, my lord, that you are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren in this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not known. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. This is not the office of a bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him."

Harpsfield.—"Well, you are no innocent, as it appears."

Smith.—"By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain."

Bonner.—"Well (laughing), tell me what sayest thou of the church?"

Smith.—"I told you upon what the true church is built, and I affirm

that in England there is the congregation of God, and also in all the earth, as it is written, 'Their sound is gone forth into all the earth;' and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which you cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. In Corinth there was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither St. Paul nor St. Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet they were of the church of God, as many thousands more who also communicate in that Holy Spirit."

Bonner.—"What do you call catholic, and what do you call church?"

Smith.—"Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity."

"Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spoke false things. For this I praised God, and was sent away.

"On Saturday I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined as follows:—

Bonner.—"Thou, Robert Smith, etc., sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth."

Smith.—"You have both heard me speak and seen me write the contrary."

Bonner.—"Yea, but I must ask thee this question. How sayest thou?"

Smith.—"If you will be answered, ask my articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus."

Bonner.—"Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be absolved by the priest?"

Smith.—"It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for anything for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters are all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain."

Bonner.—"Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed to say so?"

Smith.—"I speak from experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of it. For first it has been, we see, a betrayer of kings' secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their soul's health."

"I began to say how when I was a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave to Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him, which when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after

declaration made to the council, how by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds; but what he gave to the house could not be recovered. This tale I began to tell, but when my lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me.

Bonner.—"By the mass, if the queen's majesty were of my mind, you should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied to it, and so should be thrown into the water."

Smith.—"I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation; for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly."

Bonner.—"How sayest thou to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of, etc."

Smith.—"I believe that in God's church there are but two sacraments—that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and as for the sacraments of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I anything to do to answer them, nor you to examine me about them."

Bonner.—"Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?"

Smith.—"In hallowing your water; in conjuring it; in baptising children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other foolish ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order."

Bonner.—"By the mass, this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard."

Smith.—"Well sworn, my lord."

Bonner.—"Well, you catch me at my words, but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee."

Mordant.—"By my troth, my lord, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disallows holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no Christian man will deny."

Smith.—"It is a shameful blasphemy against Christ to use any mingle-mangle in baptising young infants."

Bonner.—"I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they are baptised, they are damned."

Smith.—"You shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, show me, are we saved by water or by Christ?"

Bonner.—"By both."

Smith.—"Then the water died for our sins! and so must you say, that the water hath life, and it being our servant, and created for us, is our saviour! This my lord, is a strange doctrine, is it not?"

Mordant.—"By our lady, sir, I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned."

Bonner.—"Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Master Mordant."

Smith.—"Such catholic! such salvation!"

Bonner.—"Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?"

Smith.—"You may call it the sacrament of misorders; for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's word, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders.—And as for you, my lord, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not disfigure yourself as you do."

Bonner.—"Sayest thou so? now, by my faith, I will go shave myself to vex thee."

"And so Bonner sent for his barber, who immediately came; and before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me, before he went, to answer to these articles."

Bonner.—"What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?"

Smith.—"I say, they be baubles for fools to play with, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore, they may go among the refuse.

"Then went away Master Mordant, and my lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to try what they could do; by whom I was baited for half-an-hour; of whom I also asked this question, 'Where were all you in the days of King Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?'"

Doctor.—"We were in England."

Smith.—"Yea, but then you had the faces of men; but now ye have put on lions' faces. You have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another King Edward should arise, you would then say, Down with the Pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels."

"Then I was reviled, and sent away, and brought in again before these men; and one of them that baited me before asked me if I disallowed confession?"

Smith.—"Look in my articles, and they shall show you what I allow."

Doctor.—"Your articles confess that you allow not auricular confession."

Smith.—"I allow it not, because the word allows it not, nor commands it."

Doctor.—"Why, it is written, thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences."

Smith.—"No more do I when I confess them to Almighty God."

Doctor.—"Why, you cannot say that you can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them."

Smith.—"You have made a good answer, then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him. For I know his faults and secrets no more than he knows mine. But if you confess to the priest, and not to God, you shall have the reward that Judas had; for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by-and-by; and so as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them."

Bonner (returning).—"How stands it, master doctors; have ye done any good?"

Doctor.—"No, by my faith, my lord, we can do no good."

Smith.—"Then it is fulfilled which is written, 'How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?'"

Bonner.—"Nay, naughty fellow, I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ."

Smith.—"Such gentlemen! such Christs! As truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ."

Bonner.—"Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?"

Smith.—"Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you."

Bonner.—"Well, thou shalt be burned at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn."

Smith.—"And you shall burn in hell, if you repent not; but my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you. I perceive you will not with your doctors come to me, and I am determined not to come to you, by God's grace. For I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass."

"Then, after many railing sentences I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it; that thou may see how the Lord hath, according to His promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in His cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard.

"On the 12th of July I was, with my brethren, brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants.

Bonner.—"By my faith, my lord mayor, I have shown him as much favour as any man living could do; but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company."

Smith.—"My lord, it is written, 'Swear not at all.'"

Bonner.—"Ah, are ye come? By my troth, master speaker, ye shall preach at a stake."

Smith.—"Well sworn, my lord."

Bonner.—"Well, I am no saint."

Smith.—"No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, says St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated unto God; and are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?"

Bonner.—"Well, you are faultless."

Smith.—"My lord mayor, I require you in God's name that I may have justice. We are here to-day, and a great number of innocent men, who are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, who, being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right which the heathen have allowed; if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. For a city,

saith our Saviour, that is built on a hill cannot be hid; if they, therefore, have the truth let it come to light. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.

"Then my lord mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried, with the bishop, 'Away with him!'

"Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none; and at length my friends requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had the sentence read, and then being carried out, were brought in again, and had it read every man severally. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my brother Tankervil, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, 'My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.'"

Bonner.—"Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he has disdained it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way? You cannot say but I have offered you fair to have instruction. And now, I pray thee, call me bloody bishop, and say I seek thy blood, if you will."

Smith.—"Well, my lord, although neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your act, yet shall these stones cry out rather than that it shall be hidden."

Bonner.—"Away with him! away with him!"

Woodrofe.—"Away with him! take him away!"

Smith.—"Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as here you have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be His will.

"Then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried away to Newgate.

"Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the truth of my unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England. Requiring your hearty prayers to God for His grace and spirit of boldness; with hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the 8th of August, by God's grace: pray that it may be His honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you. ROBERT SMITH."

This valiant and constant martyr of Christ, Robert Smith, was condemned at London by Bishop Bonner on the 12th of July, and

suffered at Uxbridge on the 8th of August. As he had been an instrument of God before to comfort all those who were in prison with him, so now at the stake he did no less comfort the people standing about him, desiring them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel should rise again to life. And, said he, I doubt not but that God will show you some token thereof. At length being nearly half burned, and black with the fire, all men thinking him dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart to them; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended his mortal life.

About this time also were burned Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust. Their death took place about the same time as Robert Smith and George Tankervil; they were also examined and openly condemned together with them. The process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and the others, I thought it superfluous to repeat. They were for their faithful perseverance in the truth condemned together by Bishop Bonner as heretics, and sentenced to be burned, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, which occurred in the month of August 1555.

Of the same company as the ten above recorded, who were sent up to Bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, was also William Hale, of Thorpe, in the county of Essex, who being examined with the rest on the 12th of July received sentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation to the lookers-on, "Ah! good people," said he, "beware of this idolater and this antichrist," pointing to the Bishop of London. He was delivered to the sheriffs as an heretic to be burned, and sent to Barnet, where he most constantly sealed his faith in the midst of the fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

Of the ten persons sent to Bonner, six were executed in several places, as has been showed. Three others, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into houses within the city of London, and there died. Their bodies were cast out into the fields, and buried by night, by the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it. The last that remained of this company was Joan Laysh or Layshford; but as she was reprieved to another time, her history and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January, in the year following.

ROBERT AND JOHN GLOVER.

To this month of September pertains the memorable martyrdom of Robert Glover, gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. I must intermix with his history some mention of his brother, John Glover, for this commission was chiefly sent down for John, and not for Robert Glover, although it pleased Almighty God that John escaped, and Robert was apprehended instead. I thought, therefore,

in one history to comprehend them both together, in describing some part of their virtuous lives.

And first to begin with John, the eldest brother, who, being a gentleman, and heir to his father, in the town of Manchester, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods, but yet was much more enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues. Which grace of God so working in him, he, with his other brothers, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed the same.

It pleased God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did; yet if we consider what this man felt and suffered inwardly in spirit and mind, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom.

For as Robert was speedily despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time, so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, in his spirit, he inwardly felt and sustained, no language is able to express. I remember that, when I was young, I was once or twice with him, and I perceived, and by my own eyes saw him so worn and consumed for the space of five years, that he had no enjoyment of meat, quiet or sleep, or pleasure of life. And yet the occasion was not of great moment. But we see often among holy and blessed men, how, the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves.

The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that falling a little to some of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to doubt himself, on account of the words written in the seventh chapter of Hebrews, "For it is impossible that they which were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift," etc. Upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had verily sinned against the Holy Ghost; even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could not almost have despaired more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself what terrors and convulsions filled his breast.

And this I rehearse for him, that by his example we all may with him glorify the Son of God, who suffers none to be tempted above their strength, but so tempers the asperity of evils that what seems to us intolerable, He not only removes or lightens, that we may bear it, but also turns it to our further advantage than we can think; which well appeared in this good servant of God, who, though he suffered many years so sharp temptations and buffetings of Satan, yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, in that his conversation was in heaven; and being dead to this

world, he in word and meditation led a life altogether heavenly, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk different from his life, never using any idle or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the management of his servants and officers, by which he might the more quietly give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of King Henry VIII.'s reign, and continued a great part of the time of King Edward VI.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the Bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John, he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things after His own secret pleasure, who, seeing His old and trusty servant so many years broken with many torments, would in nowise heap too many sorrows upon one poor sheep; neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan; God, therefore, of His divine providence, graciously provided that Robert his brother, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries (being a master of arts in Cambridge), should sustain that conflict.

As soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letter for the apprehending of John Glover, he sent forthwith private word to John to convey himself away: who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's command.

But when John could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found Robert the other brother lying on his bed, and sick of a severe disease; who was immediately brought before the sheriff. The sheriff would fain have dismissed him, and did what he could, saying, that he was not the man for whom they were sent. Yet, nevertheless, the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will.

We shall now give an account of the history of Robert Glover. As the whole narration, in his own writing, was sent to his wife, we shall therefore give his own letter as follows:—

"To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

"The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in our heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

"I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears, more than once or twice; with tears, I say, for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble

and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things: which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these His great mercies poured upon you.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, musing much of the great mercies of God, and, as it were, saying to myself after this sort: O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel sake? And so, beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart; O, Lord, thou showest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so I ever thought myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

"Not long after came unto me W. Brasbridge, C. Phineas, and N. Hopkins, endeavouring to prevail with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me with, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds as with bonds.

"Secondly, if I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise. I said unto them I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

"And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Hopkins that liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for His aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please Him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart, methought, was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

"Afterwards, debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head: I have from time to time, with good conscience (I take God to record) moved all such as I had conference with to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to show themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now, thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's

word. It will be said he hath been a great emboldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

"Wherefore, I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being, as it were, by the great goodness of God, marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted, and persuaded all that professed God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist; so the hour being come, with my act and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers; and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatever the Romish antichrist should do against me, and the rather, because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So I remained a prisoner in Coventry for the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realms, they having neither statute law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the summoner, who being examined, denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, saying that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother.

"The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Master Warren came to the Guildhall, and commanded the chief gaoler to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Master Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; as he was guilty of my blood before God as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

"And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it be His will, and give him grace to believe this, which he, and all of his inclination shall find, I fear, too true for their parts; that is, that all they who cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered, without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion, the rich man, did), to be refreshed of them whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

"When I came before the bishop, in one Denton's house, he began by protesting that he was my bishop, and willed me to submit myself.

"I said to him, 'I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?'

"He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, 'Smally learned.'

"Master chancellor, standing by, said I was a master of arts.

"Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church.

"Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding, I answered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save, if I had them, five hundred lives. I desired him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass.

"He answered, he came to teach and not to be taught.

"I was content, I told him, to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God."

Bishop.—"Who shall judge the word?"

Glover.—"Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was St. Paul; methinks you should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had."

[Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content that the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him; but he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.]

Glover.—"If you say black is white, my lord, must I also say as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so?"

"The chancellor here said I was arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop."

Glover.—"If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?"

Bishop.—"Because they were heretics."

Glover.—"And may not you err as well as they?"

"I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward VI.'s time.

"I desired him to show me where their church was in Elijah's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time."

Bishop.—"Elijah's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics."

Glover.—"You are not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that time."

"My lord making no answer to that, Master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, comes in, taking upon him as though he would answer the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying he would at the end of his visitation of his diocese weed out such wolves. Master Rogers desired himself to content himself for that night till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleases

you, I said to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common goal from whence I came.

"On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow-prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure. Which tidings at the first rather discouraged me, fearing lest I should, by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling (which I looked for) have died in the prison before I should come to my answer; but I rebuked immediately, with God's word, this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasy after this manner—'What make I of God? Is not His power as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Does not His promise extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was He not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Micah, and Jeremiah, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground without our heavenly Father's will; much more will He care for us, if we be not faithless, whom He hath made worthy to be witnesses of His truth. So long as we put our trust in Him we shall never be destitute of His help, neither in prison, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in life nor in death, neither before kings nor before bishops, nor the devil himself, much less one of his ministers, shall be able to prevail against us.' With such like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort, so that hearing one say that they could not provide horses enough for us, I said, 'Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they please; I am well content, for my part.'

"Certain serjeants and constables of Coventry being appointed to convey us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man, we were commanded to mount on horseback about eleven or twelve o'clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at; and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they proclaimed a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in and disannulling of all such books as truly expound and interpret the scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves till our supper-time. We stopped at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained in a friendly manner.

"Jephcot put me into a prison that night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, in a narrow, strong building, very cold, with little light, and being allowed only a bundle of straw instead of a bed; without chair, form, or convenience. God of His mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that, if it had been His pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life. But Jephcot, and one Percy, the bishop's man, who afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, 'This is a great extremity; God send us patience;' and no more.

"Then they were content that I should have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness: nor yet paper,

pen, nor ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a prayer-book, which I privately procured.

"Within two days after master chancellor and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me in my prison. Master chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own, perhaps because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

"A second time I answered master chancellor to his exhortation, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

"He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church."

Glover.—"The church shows which is the word of God; therefore the church is above the word of God. This is no good reason in learning," said I to master chancellor. "For it is like unto thus; John showed the people who was Christ—therefore John was above Christ; or else I have a man that knows not the king, and I tell him who was king—am I therefore above the king?"

"Master chancellor said he came not to reason with me, and so departed. Thus I remained without any further conference of any man for the space of eight days until the bishop's coming. All which time I gave myself continually to prayer and meditation of the merciful promises of God made to all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of His dear Son, Jesus Christ. I found daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of His Holy Spirit, and sometimes, as it were, a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for His only Son, Jesus Christ's sake: to Him be all praise for ever and ever.

"The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, for His gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning to be His witnesses, and to carry His name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections as other men? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest. As St. Paul saith, 'Who gave first unto him?' And also speaking to every man, 'What hast thou that you receivedst not?' Likewise John, 'All have received of His fulness,' they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but He chose them. They loved not God first, but He loved them first. Yea, He both loved and chose them when they were His enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon Him. God is near, He is at hand, He is with all—with all, I say, and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon Him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man to burthen God, as it

were, with His promise, and of duty to claim and challenge His aid, help, and assistance in our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon Him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of His promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approaches to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample and large manner than he can well wish or dare desire. His word cannot lie: 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me.'

"I answered the enemy also in this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth. What then? Must I deny His word because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, 'He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I will be also ashamed before my Father and all His angels.' I might also by like reason forbear to do any of God's commandments.

"When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray; and so in like manner of all the commandments, shall I not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

"At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a chamber next to my prison to my lord. Before whom, when I came and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

"My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment. I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued for so many years. 'As for our church,' as he called it, 'it was not known, but lately in King Edward's time.'

"'I profess myself to be a member of that church,' said I, 'that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone;' and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. 'And this church hath been from the beginning,' said I, 'though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted.' My lord, however, contended that they were the church.

Glover.—"So cried all the clergy against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying—The temple of the Lord!—the temple of the Lord!"

"And always when I was about to speak anything, my lord cried, 'Hold thy peace; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace,' calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

"I desired my lord to charge me with some specialties, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

"Then my lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should be sent to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I answered him.

"Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of His most holy word.

"The first question was this, 'How many sacraments hath Christ instituted to be used in the church?'

Glover.—"The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament that He instituted at His last supper."

Bishop.—"No more?"

Glover.—"To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ, to such, I grant, ministers have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins."

"Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

"He asked me further, whether I allowed their confession? I answered, 'No.'

"Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

"I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament; 'because,' said I, 'you have taken away the true institution, which, when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.'"

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning his treatment in prison, and also his contentions with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if the hurry of his execution had permitted him to finish what he intended; but by reason of the writ for his burning arriving from London, I could not obtain even the records of his last examinations, wherever they are.

JOHN AND WILLIAM GLOVER.

Now that we have given the history of Master Robert Glover, something also may be said of his other two brothers, John and William Glover, who, although they were not called to finish their course by martyrdom in the fire, as the other did, yet for their constant profession of God's gospel to the end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same church as the other was; I therefore thought them not unworthy to be associated in history, who in one cause and the same profession were not divided.

And first, concerning John Glover, the eldest brother, what agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy has been before described; what his bodily enemies wrought against him remains to be declared.

After the martyrdom of Robert Glover, John Glover, seeing his brother apprehended for him, had little joy of his life for the sorrow of heart wherewith he was oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, showing, in so doing he might entangle himself, but would do his brother no good. He endured great care and vexation, yet, notwithstanding, persevered; till at length, about the latter end of the reign of Queen Mary, there was a new search made for him.

The sheriffs, with their under-officers and servants, being sent to seek John Glover, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced, as he was in the chamber by himself, the officers bursting into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the chamber door, where he, holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door, amongst whom one of the officers, having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the door.

In the meantime another coming by (whose voice he heard and knew), bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Upon which they went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover, his wife, who being taken to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny; John Glover, in the meantime, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he lay hid, had an ague, and not long after gave up his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for.

Thus, by the protection of Almighty God, John Glover was delivered and defended from the hand of his persecuting enemies during all the time of his life. Now what befel after his death, both to him and William, his brother, is not unworthy to be remembered. After he was dead, and buried in the churchyard without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway. The parson again answered, that he had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled that none was able to abide the stench of him. "Well," said Dr. Dracot, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after, take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed) and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried."

Similar usage was practised also by these children of the mother church upon the body of William, the third brother; whom, after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Wem, in

Shropshire, where he died, brought the body into the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the church, to stop the burial, rode to the bishop, named Ralph Baine, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice. The body in the meantime lay there a whole day, and in the night time, one Richard Maurice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Wem, with others, and would not suffer the body to be buried; showing to us the contrary examples of good Tobias, for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man puts religion in not burying the dead; so that after he had lain there two days and one night, Bernard, the curate, comes with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter, being copied out word for word, here follow—

"Understanding that one Glover, an heretic, is dead, in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all those rites belonging to a Christian man—I thought it good, not only to command the curate of Wem that he should not be buried with a Christian man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, nor speak to have him buried in holy ground; but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending, and rendering, and procuring, that he be not buried either in the church, or within the limits of the churchyard; and likewise, I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril. At Ecclesch, this 6th of September, A.D. 1555.

"By your ordinary,

"RADULPH COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD."

It so fell out, that they who brought the corpse thither were at their own charges to carry it back again. But as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that no man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there he was buried.

The like example of charitable affection in these popish churchmen is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Edward Burton, Esq., who, in the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church (which was St. Chad's, in Shrewsbury), so that no mass-monger should be present thereat; which being declared to the curate of that parish, named John Marshall, and the body being brought to the burial upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate being offended, said plainly that he should not be buried in the church there. One of his friends, named George Torpelley, answering, said, "That God would judge him in the last day," etc.

Then said the priest, "Judge God or devil, the body shall not come there." And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Haverford-west, Sir John Ygone being sheriff at the time, which seems to be about the latter year of King Henry VIII.; whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to notice him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

WILLIAM WOLSEY AND ROBERT PYGOT.

After the suffering of Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, next follows the condemnation of two other blessed martyrs, who were judged and condemned at Ely by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor, of Ely; Dr. Shaxton, his suffragan; Robert Steward, Dean of Ely; John Christopherson, Dean of Norwich, October 9, A.D. 1555. The names of these martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach. William Wolsey was a constable in the town of Wells, and was there brought to death by Richard Everard, a justice, who caused him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions to be held within the Isle of Ely: afterwards he was commanded to the gaol.

In the Easter week following, there repaired to confer with him Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Young, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, desiring him to meddle no further with the scriptures than it became such a layman as he was. William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say what they pleased, at last answered in this wise, "Good doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, written in Matthew's gospel, chapter xxiii. 13, 'Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in'?"

"Yea," saith Dr. Fuller, "you must understand that Christ spake to the Scribes and Pharisees."

"Nay, master doctor," said Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you and your fellows here present, and to all others such as you."

"Away, master doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man."

"Yet," saith Dr. Fuller, "I will leave thee a book to read; I promise thee of a learned man's doing, that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing;" who was then Bishop of Lincoln.

Wolsey, receiving the same book, diligently read it over, which in many places manifestly appears contrary to the known truth of God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks after, Dr. Fuller, resorting again to the prison to confer with Wolsey, asked him how he liked the

book, who answered him and said, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book departed home.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look at it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book marked with a pen by Wolsey, which he seeing, and being vexed, said, "Oh, this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes, holden at Wisbeach, drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller. comes again to Wolsey, and speaking to him in this manner, "Thou dost much trouble my conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou art complained of, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

"Master doctor," said Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered."

Then being brought to the sessions, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, where he and his friends thought he would have suffered, but it proved not so.

Then Robert Pygot, the painter, being at liberty, was presented by some evil-disposed persons for not coming to the church.

Pygot, being called before the sessions, would not absent himself, but appeared before Sir Clement Hygham, judge, who said to him, "Ah! are you the holy father, the painter? How came ye not to the church?" "Sir," said the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

"No, sir," said the judge; "this is no church, this is a hall." "Yea, sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall; but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ is never absent, but present in the church of God."

"Ah! sirrah," said the judge, "you are too high learned for me to talk with; wherefore I will send you to them that are better learned than I;" straightways commanding him to the gaol where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being ended, Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they remained till the day of their death.

In the meantime, some of their neighbours came to see how they did.

There came thither also a chaplain of Bishop Goodrikes, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said to Wolsey and Pygot, "My brethren, according to mine office I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you; I promise you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word, and I beseech the Almighty God, for His Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus, with many other like words, he made an end, causing all that were there present to shed

tears, contrary to the hope they all had in him, God be praised therefore.

Then, within a short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the ninth day of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ was not really present in the said sacrament, and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy, but the very truth.

After sentence of condemnation was read, and a sermon preached, Pygot and Wolsey were brought to the place of execution, and bound to the stake with a chain. Then Richard Collinson, a priest, said to Wolsey, "Brother Wolsey, the preacher has openly reported in his sermon this day that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you err in the holy scripture; wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the scripture you do err or find fault."

Wolsey.—"I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the Holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report by me, God forgive them therefor."

With that comes one to the fire with a great sheet full of books to burn, that looked as if they had been New Testaments.

"Oh," said Wolsey, "give me one of them," and Pygot desired another, both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying the hundred-and-sixth Psalm, desiring all the people to say Amen; and so received the fire most thankfully.

CHAPTER V.

MARTYRS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY—CONTINUED.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

IN the same year, month, and day which the two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely, which was 16th October A.D. 1555, followed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, Master Ridley, Bishop of London, and Master Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, of whose famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can sufficiently witness, so it needs not greatly that we should stand at this time setting forth a full description, but only to comprehend briefly in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serves to the due instruction of the reader, and makes to the use of this present history, in declaring, first, their beginning and bringing up, then their studies and acts in the university, their preferments also by their studies to higher dignity; at last, their trouble and labour in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of Dr. Ridley, whose history here ensueth.

Among many other worthy histories and notable acts of such as have been murdered and martyred for the true gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, the tragical history and life of Dr. Ridley I thought good to leave to perpetual memory, beseeching thee, gentle reader, with care and study, well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man endowed with such excellent qualities, so spiritually inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberland, and while a child learned his grammar with great

dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in a short time became so famous that for his singular aptness he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, and at length to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to King Henry VIII., and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and so from thence translated to the bishopric of London in King Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he so laboured and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never child was more singularly loved of his dear parents than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise hindered. To his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he not only preached, but exemplified by his life, as a lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and holiness of life that even his very enemies could not reprove him.

Besides this, he was well learned, his memory was great, and of such reading that he deserved to be compared to the best of this our age, as his learned works, pithy sermons, and disputations in both the universities, and also his very adversaries can testify, all of whom will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, he was wise of counsel, deep of knowledge, and very judicious in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late Archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declares. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and spiritual a man, that England may justly lament the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Now I will speak something further of his person and condition. He was a man right comely and well-proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and affectionate to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them anything otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him; and that they were his brother and sister who lived honestly and a godly life.

Using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, he was given to much prayer and contemplation; for every morning, as soon as his apparel was put on, he went to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed for the space of half-an-hour; which being done, he went to his study, where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to "the

common prayer," which was daily used in his house. The prayers being over, he went to dinner; where he used little talk, and then it was sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes cheerful, as cause required.

That done, he returned to his study, and there generally continued until five o'clock, and then came to "common prayer," as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, conducting himself there as at his dinner before. He would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed. At his manor of Fulham he read daily a lecture to his family, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, being scrupulously careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

It now remains that a word or two should be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mistress Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime Bishop of London, which I thought proper to allude to, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition of Dr. Bonner. When Bishop Ridley was at his manor of Fulham, he always sent for Mistress Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mistress Mungey, Bonner's sister. She was ever placed in the chair at the end of the table, being so gently treated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, saying, when any of them were there, "By your lordships' favour this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." How he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and kindness afterwards at the hands of her son, Dr. Bonner, our readers are well acquainted.

Dr. Ridley was first called to the favouring of Christ and His gospel, by reading Bertram's *Book of the Sacrament;* and the conference with Bishop Cranmer and with Peter Martyr not a little confirmed him. After the coming in of Queen Mary, he was soon laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as has sufficiently been expressed before: first in the Tower, then sent with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer to Oxford, where he was with them confined in the common gaol, and afterwards was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his martyrdom, which was from the year 1554 till the 16th day of October 1555.

As to his disputations at Oxford, and also of his determination at Cambridge, also his labour in persuading and instructing the Lady Mary before she was queen, his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board, enough has been said in a former part of this book. Besides this he had other conferences in prison both with Dr. Cranmer and Master Latimer, as here follows—

objections being supposed to be made by Antonian, meaning by that name some popish persecutor, as Winchester.

Ridley.—"In writing again you have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words; but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of the cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable instruction with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my heart For surely except the Lord assist me with His gracious aid in the time of His service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in Him, that in my infirmity He will prove Himself strong, and make the coward in His cause to fight like a man.

"Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me; wherefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think that these darts are cast at my head by some one of Diotrephes' or Antonius' soldiers."

Antonian.—"All men marvel greatly why you, after the liberty granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing, as you know, now much esteemed of all men, yea of the queen herself."

Ridley.—"Because no man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the self-same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is that the truth of the gospel might remain with us uncorrupt, Gal. ii. And again, 'If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.' This is also another cause—lest I should seem by outward act to allow the thing which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so prove a stumbling-block to the weak. But woe be to him by whom offence cometh; it were better for him that a milstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."

Latimer.—"Except the Lord help me, you say. Truth it is. 'For without me,' saith He, 'ye can do nothing,' much less suffer death by our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it follows, 'If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ye shall ask what you will, and it shall be done unto you.' What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by labouring thus with me; you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me; pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you, therefore, most heartily. For, indeed, you minister armour to me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge."

Antonian.—"What is it, then, that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? And

from whence cometh this new religion upon you? have not you used in times past to say mass yourself?"

Ridley.—"I confess to you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at St. Paul's cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge [*i.e.*, he had openly confessed his former error, and renounced popery in the pulpit at Cambridge], and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence; for I did it from ignorance. But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which are most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word, and they are these—the strange tongue; the want of the showing of the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins; to be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same."

Latimer.—"Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying than with studying, though mixture is best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given; for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: we have a law, and by our law you ought to die. 'Be ye steadfast and unmovable,' saith St. Paul; and again, 'Stand fast;' and how oft is this repeated, 'If ye abide,' 'if ye abide,' etc. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not; so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men."

Antonian.—"But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called Cathari, that they would not communicate with the holy catholic church."

Ridley.—"I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of His death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as, without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith, according to St. Paul's rule, they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers or communicants

with them, they always reproved something for which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing."

Latimer.—"I remember that Calvin begins to confute the interim after this sort with this saying of Hilary, 'The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ?' I would you had that little book, there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requires unity, withal adds, 'according to Jesus Christ,' no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. 'Yea, sir,' said I, 'but in truth, not in popery. Better is diversity than unity in popery.' I had nothing again but scornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower."

Antonian.—"But admit there is in the mass that which peradventure might be amended, or at least made better; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there is a fault; if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?"

Ridley.—"If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church which doth not edify the same), yet for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it But, forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent to it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them who suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them that abhor superstition and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church, instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel."

Latimer.—"The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne with; so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the greatest papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that follows; for if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them as the mass has been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass; from thence grows the grief."

Antonian.—"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity; without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough; he shall not have God to be his father who acknowledges not the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church, saith St. Augustine, be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."

Ridley.—"The holy catholic or universal church, which is the com-

munion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the creed. This church I do reverence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, 'Peace be upon them, and upon the whole Israel of God.' The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and forward generation, are these—The sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that are born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Out of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. In times past, saith Chrysostom, there were many ways to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from the time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the scriptures which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours. Wherefore only by the scriptures do we know which is the true church. To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devours all, etc. So that, as it is used, it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented."

Latimer.—"Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore, it is not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed; another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days (that is dead) who was the church of England? The king and his favourers, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the favourers of his proceedings, why are not we now the church abiding in the same proceedings? If mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, though contrary to the queen's proceedings? Not all that are covered with the title of the church are the church indeed. Separate thyself from them that are such, saith St. Paul; from whom? The context answers the question—'If any

man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc., he is proud, knowing nothing,' etc. Weigh the whole text, that you may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations; but wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses—

'Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cætera nescis.'

That is, 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, etc. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ."

Antonian.—"That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why should Christ have said, 'Tell it unto the church.' For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which it is."

Ridley.—"The church which I have described is visible; it has members who may be seen; and also I have before declared by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled that we cannot see, or that Satan has brought such darkness into the world that it is hard to discern the true church, that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness or of Satan's darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."

Antonian.—"The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world; this church is the great house of God; in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathers all kind of fishes: this church cannot err, because Christ has promised it His Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that He will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth shall be ratified in heaven, etc. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which St. Augustine saith he believeth the gospel: but this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, etc."

Ridley.—"I grant the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of which they are also named Christians. But as St. Paul saith of the Jews, not every one is a Jew that is a Jew outwardly, etc.; neither yet all that are of Israel are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of His. Therefore, that church which is His body,

and of which Christ is the head, standeth only in living stones and true Christians—not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forsomuch as this church (which is the second meaning of the church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and with the same outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church (which St. Augustine calls the mingled church) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church may here well take place, where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed, or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church, of which, although there be seldomer mention in the scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest sway. This distinction pre-supposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by the figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm that universal doth so pertain to the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses, at such time as the people would have stoned him ; of Elijah, of Jeremiah, in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix, bishop of Rome, succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted that Lyra writes upon St. Matthew, 'The church,' saith he, 'doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consisteth in those persons in whom is true knowledge, and confession of the faith and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloss of the decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deed.' And St. Augustine saith, 'Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it': which church the scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness. All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter and such like are come into the hands of such as will not let me have the least of all my written books, wherein I am forced to complain of them unto God, for they spoil me of all my labours which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knows whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I now,

destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know with St. Paul, Christ, and Him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, weal nor woe, etc., will make me ever to forget that. Amen."

Latimer.—"I have no more to say in this matter, for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine, 'I would not believe the gospel,' etc., was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified by Philip Melancthon, but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect—the church is not a judge, but a witness. There were in his time those who lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency. In which, after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same, but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, who think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they anything esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first Christ ruleth, in the latter the devil beareth the swing; and how, then, can anything be good that they go about? From this latter shall our Six Articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men or not? St. Paul saith, 'The Lord knoweth them that are His.' What manner of speaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as He who are His? Well, this is the text, 'The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are His; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.' Now, how many are there of the whole popish church of England who depart from iniquity? How many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy, how many of the rich men or merchants, how many of the queen's councillors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small room, then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded, as they say, when I began, but now it is fallen by the way."

Antonian.—"General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ—'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, etc. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used: Therefore, etc.

Ridley.—"Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think—Whenever they who are chief in it, who rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of His word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock do indeed represent the universal church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guidance of His Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and Belial, so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worship of God, such as God requireth of His, that is, in spirit and in truth, can never agree together. But ye will say, where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there will be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer—If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forasmuch as the degrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better."

Latimer.—"As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the six articles: for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterward, the more part did repeal the same, our good Josiah willing to have it so. The same articles now again, alas! another great but worse part hath restored. Oh, what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings. God be merciful unto us! Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted."

Antonian.—"If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude (I mean of them who ought to give voices) then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed that Christ would leave His church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard."

Ridley.—"Christ, who is the most loving spouse of His church, who also gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify it unto Himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary unto salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto Him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of His commandments, and further, not to seek anything which He teacheth not as necessary unto salvation.

Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ Himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom He directs His church in all doubts to go unto and ask counsel at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in which, whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in His written word; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's spirit, which He hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? saith Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, etc. Christ sends them who are desirous to know the truth unto the scriptures, saying, 'Search the scriptures.' I remember a like thing well spoken by Jerome, 'Ignorance of the scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors.' And in another place, as I remember, in the same author, 'The knowledge of the scriptures is the food of everlasting life.' But now, methinks, I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to show, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this it is that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, His spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of His Father, written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of His spouse, that He hath commanded them to go to the universal church. 'Whatsoever things are written,' saith St. Paul, 'are written for our learning.' And it is true that Christ gave unto His church some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we all come to the unity of the faith, etc. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world to define the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God."

Latimer.—"There is diversity between things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they are well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them who have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men less apt to understand them than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil for avoiding of a greater, as they who have this saying oft in their mouths, 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And it is the property of a wise man, saith one, 'to dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble cannot rule.' In which sayings they betray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh

what is just and what is not. Wherefore, forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they are devised by men, are not able to bring anything to perfection, but are forced of necessity to suffer many things out of order, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things; seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kinds of speeches mean, 'I speak after the manner of men;' 'You walk after the manner of men;' 'All men are liars;' and that of St. Augustine, 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.'"

Antonian.—"If you say that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? for that councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church."

Ridley.—"From may be to be, indeed, is no good argument; but from being to may be, no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometimes erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the eastern parts of the world who condemned the Nicene council? and all those who would not forsake the same they called by a slanderous name (as they thought) Homoousians. Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils which the papists themselves do much dislike? But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now, seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many. 'Who knoweth not,' saith he, 'that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils, and that the councils themselves, who are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when, as by some experience of things, either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known?' Thus much out of St. Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us when as papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that book which was called the Bishop's Book, made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, whereof the Bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father or chief gatherer—how doth it, I say, sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the Emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick

to affirm that a general council might err. But methinks I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, These which you have called councils are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics. I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? Because, saith he, they decree things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion. The cause is weighty for which they ought of right so to be called. But if it be so that all councils ought to be despised which decree anything contrary to sound doctrine and the true word, which is according to godliness; forasmuch as the mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God, therefore it must follow of necessity that all such councils as have approved such masses, ought of right to be avoided and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth. Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the Bishop of Rome, without which, neither can the councils, saith he, be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered, determine anything concerning religion. But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth *de utraque potestate* (that is, of both the powers) doth clearly show. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year 417, did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevia, in which St. Augustine was present, did prohibit any appellations [appeals] to be made to bishops beyond the sea."

Antonian.—"St. Augustine saith, the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good. Ye will not say, I trow, that in our congregations all be evil."

Ridley.—"I speak nothing of the goodness or wickedness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife shall be broken down. Now as to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressed in other places; that is, if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."

Antonian.—"It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act unto which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, are contrary? But unto this your act in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, are clean contrary: Therefore, etc., the first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus—In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and His apostles, all things were most corrupt; the people were miserably given to superstition, the

priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions, and Christ Himself frequented the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. St. Peter and St. John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; St. Paul after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea, further, no man can show that either the prophets, or Christ, or His apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' laws."

Ridley.—"I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say that, although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being frequented by Christ and His apostles; yet, notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved; for you ought to have proved that either the prophets, either Christ or His apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can nowhere be showed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people to hear the word of God, and to do all other things, whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*), although he grants they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumption of men, which, notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might, after a sort, be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are written in the word of God, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or not, let him judge who is spiritual, who feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my act lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobias; of whom it is said, that, when all others went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam, the King of Israel, had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem, unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy? which plagues King Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill altars? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false prophets ceased not to malign the true prophets of God; therefore they beat them, they banished them, etc. How else, I pray you, can you understand what St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, 'What

concord hath Christ with Belial?' Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For you are the temple of the living God, as God Himself hath said, 'I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people.' Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, who truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do anything which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore, the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea, and at length died manfully in defence of the same. If we do praise, saith Augustine, the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand, even unto death, for the law of their country, how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, etc.? But the supper of the Lord, such a one, I mean, as Christ commands us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully."

Latimer.—"Who am I, that I should add anything to this which you have so spoken? Nay, I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help who rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that He will be an helper unto me in time of need."

Antonian.—"Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what, therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ? I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptism of Christ or not? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me how were you baptised? Or whether will you, as the Anabaptists do, that all who were baptised in Latin should be baptised again in the English tongue?"

Ridley.—"Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's sake who are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism as in the Lord's Supper. Baptism is given to children who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's Supper is, and ought to be, given to them that are of age. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points, as a man would say, which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that

baptism to be a perfect and true baptism ; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened to be christened again. But yet, notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith when they shall come to years of discretion—which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain substantials—that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, of which there is sufficient declaration made before."

Latimer.—"Where you say, 'I would wish,' surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, it is of necessity that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptised in the Latin tongue."

Antonian.—"Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately, bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remains that which in like cases was wont to be the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons—that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey, whether you will or not, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he betrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? it is better that you should bear your own sin than that, through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say you will be the queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

Ridley.—"O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable that he who by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to what is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws—that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word must be punished by the laws. It is true what is commonly said, he that will not obey the gospel must be tamed, and taught by the rigour of the law. But these things ought to take place against him who refuseth to do what is

right and just, according to true godliness, not against him who cannot quietly bear superstitions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which you say, a transgressor of the common laws betrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they are which are broken. For a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as are not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever love their country in truth, that is to say, in God, they will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man be contrary the one to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to that country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight, as it were, against God, in whom consisteth the only stay of their country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, who is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, etc.

"But this is the readiest way, you say, to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore, are these things to be repressed in time, by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For so hath he, by his minister, always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elijah, 'Art thou he that troubleth Israel?' The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremiah, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the Scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? Did they not at the last cry, 'If you let this man go ye are not Cæsar's friend?' The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse St. Paul before Felix, the high deputy? 'We have found this man,' saith he, 'a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer up of sedition unto all the Jews in the whole world,' etc. But I pray you, were these men as they were called, seditious persons, Christ, St. Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused; and wherefore, I pray you, but because they reproved before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition their whole doctrine, life, and conversation, doth well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince who professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made—here I would wish that I might have an impartial judge, and

one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer, therefore, a man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord; for he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and an helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust who giveth not to the prince what is the prince's, and to God what is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance that notable saying of Valentinian the emperor, for choosing the Bishop of Milan, 'Set him,' saith he, 'in the bishop's seat, to whom if we, as man, do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.' Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, etc., answered with a mild spirit, 'We are taught,' saith he, 'to give honour unto princes and those powers which are of God, but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion.'

"Hitherto you see, good father, how I have, in words only, made, as it were, a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the spirit. I learn also hereby to be used to the armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tindal, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hand (you call them northern gads), especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like brave men, they defended their country. And those that so died I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny were beloved by all the country the better for their father's sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of His own divine ordinances, by which He giveth unto us life and immortality, yea, in a quarrel of faith and Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed, ever looking when our adversary, who, like a roaring lion, seeketh whom he may devour, shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? yea, and woe be unto us if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do if he find us sleeping. Let us awake, therefore; for if the goodman of the house knew at what hour the thief should come, he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake, therefore, I say. Let us not suffer our house to be broken up. 'Resist the devil,' saith St. James, 'and he will flee from you.' Let us, therefore, resist him manfully, and taking the cross upon our shoulders; let us follow our captain, Christ, who, by His own blood, hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither He calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby He trieth our faith, as gold in

the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with Him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen, amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, methinks, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetical countenance, and speaking unto me with these, or like words, 'Trust not, my son' (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name, for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and beloved of you), 'trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons, for the kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not consider aforehand what and how you will speak, for it shall be given you even in that same hour what you shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon Him, and trust upon Him in all perils; for I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine and think aforehand, it is nothing, except He assist me with His spirit when the time is. I beseech you, therefore, father, pray for me that such a complete harness of the spirit, such boldness of mind may be given unto me, that I may, out of a true faith, say with David, 'I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me' (Psalm xliv. 6). 'He delighteth not in the strength of the horse; He taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him, in those that hope in His mercy' (Psalm cxlvii. 10, 11). I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God; and that when all is past, I, being not overcome, through His gracious faith, may remain and stand fast in Him, till that day of the Lord, in which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

"Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now; blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper; I give you good leave."

Latimer.—"Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out; for it is not only no bare armour, but also well-buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer you shall not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, etc. Many things make confusion in my memory. And if I were learned at well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when and whereas occasion were given, and matter came to mind; for the law shall be

their sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore, there is no remedy now, when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roast, but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put upon us than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, etc. Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that you give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you, else you know in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies; you know that false things may have more appearance of truth than things that are most true. Therefore St. Paul giveth us a watch-word, 'Let no man deceive you with beguiling words.' Neither is it requisite that, with the contentions, you should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death most persuades a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton, as many men thought, after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled; if we be congregated thereunto, happy are we. That is the greatest promotion that God gives in this world, to be like the Philippians, 'To whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer,' etc. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to His will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I trust shall be shortly, then have at the papists; when they shall say peace, all things are safe, then Christ shall come to keep His great parliament to the redress of all things that be amiss. But He shall not come, as the papists imagine Him, to hide Himself, and to play bo-peep, as it were, under a piece of bread; but He shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists, but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for Him. Comfort yourselves one another with these words.

"Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with His comfort. So He

cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to Him that is worthy, lest I should rob Him of His due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

"What credence is to be given to papists it may appear by their wracking, writing, wrenching, and monstrously injuring of God's holy scripture, as appears in the Pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare ye well once again, and be you steadfast and immovable in the Lord. St. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, 'Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel;' and again, 'Harden thyself to suffer afflictions.' 'Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life,' saith the Lord."

The last examinations and the martyrdom of Bishop Ridley will be related along with the martyrdom of Bishop Latimer, with whose history we now proceed.

BISHOP LATIMER.

After the life of Bishop Ridley, we must now relate the life and doings of the worthy champion and old practised soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer; of whose acts, even from his first years and tender age, we are here to treat. He was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years or thereabouts. At which time his parents, seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years he was sent to the University of Cambridge; where he gave himself to the study of such school divinity as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

He was then zealous in the popish religion, and so scrupulous, as he himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar; with such superstitious fancies. And in this blind zeal he was a bitter enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as his oration, delivered when he obtained his degree of bachelor of divinity, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other works, plainly declared. His popish zeal could in no case abide good Master Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge, most spitefully railing against him, and desiring the youth of Cambridge not to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that though by the way he thought to have ruined the professors of the gospel, and true church of Christ, he was himself caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Thomas Bilney (whose history has been before described), being at that time a searcher out of Satan's

subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Latimer to be full of zeal, although without knowledge, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and thought by what means he might best win this zealous though ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. After a short time, he came to Latimer, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which he willingly granted. He was, through the good spirit of God, so touched by what he then heard, that he forsook his former studying of the school doctors, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself confesses. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after Him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Bilney and others, and came also to Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, for the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in the English language. However, as Satan never sleeps when he sees his kingdom beginning to decay, so now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker of it, he raised up his impious agents to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustinian friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that Latimer made about Christmas 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, in the University of Cambridge, to object against him, for Latimer in the sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else, occupy their time.

The handling of this matter was so proper for the time, and so pleasantly applied, that it wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of pure religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas-day; on which day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled for a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel read in the church that day, "Who art thou?" etc. In delivering the cards, he made the heart to be trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies; adding, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best court card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, etc., meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and truth, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glittering show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, found-

ations, oblations, the Pope's supremacy, etc., so that all these either were needless, where the other is present; or else were of small estimation in comparison of the other.

It would require a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men-of-arms.

First came out the prior of the Blackfriars, called Buckenham, and afterwards a Dr. Venetus.

But why should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching against him? Amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's College, whose scholar Latimer had been; Dr. Notories, master of Clare Hall; Dr. Philo, master of Michael House; Dr. Metcalf, master of St. John's; Dr. Blythe, of the King's Hall; Dr. Bullock, master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe, of Clement House; Dr. Donnes, of Jesus' College; Dr. Psalms, of St. Nicholas Hostel; Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelors of divinity, all three of St. John's College; also Brikenden, bachelor of divinity, of the same house, and scholar sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, they were almost as many as there were heads of houses, so many impugners did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West, Bishop of Ely, who preaching against Latimer, at Barvel Abbey, forbade him to preach any more within the churches of that university. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, licensed Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the church by, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being upon Christmas-eve, on a Sunday.

Latimer being thus baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year 1529, notwithstanding these malignant adversaries, he continued in Cambridge preaching for the space of three years, with applause of the godly; also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself coming in and hearing him, wished himself to be equal to him.

After this Latimer and Bilney continued in Cambridge some time, where he, with Bilney, used much to confer together, so that the place where they most used to walk in the fields was called long after the Heretic's Hill.

The society of these two, as it was much remarked by many in that university, so it was full of many good examples to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, and in feeding the hungry.

After Latimer had thus laboured in preaching and teaching in the University of Cambridge about the space of three years, he was at length called up before the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of

some of the university, where he was content to subscribe and agree to such articles as then they propounded unto him, etc.

After that he returned to the university again, where, shortly after, by means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician, a singular poor man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of those who laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then he went to the court, where he remained a certain time in Dr. But's chambers, preaching in London very often. At last being weary of the court, having a benefice offered him by the king, at the suit of Lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, he was glad of it, seeking by that means to be rid of the court, and so, having a grant of the benefice, he departed, and resided on it.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum ; the name of the town was called West Kingston, where this good preacher exercised himself with much diligence to instruct his flock, and not only them, but also all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that he could not escape without enemies. So true it is what St. Paul foretells us, "Whosoever will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." It so happened that as he, preaching upon the blessed Virgin, had declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests, being offended, sought trouble against him, drawing out articles which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed to him, that he preached against our Lady, for that he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain priests, who held opinions respecting that blessed Virgin, as if she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ, the only Saviour of the whole world. Also, that he said that saints were not to be worshipped ; that Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer ; that there was no material fire in hell ; that there was no purgatory, in saying that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard's Tower.

The chief molesters of him, besides the country priests, were Dr. Powel of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson of Cambridge, Master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom some preached against him, some also wrote against him, so that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, Bishop of London, 29th January, A.D. 1531.

Against this citation, although Master Latimer appealed to his own ordinary, he was taken to London before Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure. There he being called thrice every week before the bishops, to make answer for his preaching, and certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, to which they required him to subscribe, at length he writes to the Archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, by which he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for troubling and detaining him from his duty for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion.

In this epistle he also alludes to certain articles ; whether he sub-

scribed to them or not is uncertain. It appears by the epistle that he durst not consent to them. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to assent, through the cruel handling of the bishops, is doubtful; whether he so did or not is no great marvel, the iniquity of the time being such that either he must needs do so, or else abide the bishop's cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed) was loth to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for necessary articles of belief. I conjecture that he did subscribe, although it was long before he could be brought to do so. Yet this by the way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he shows himself in a sermon preached at Stamford, 9th October, A.D. 1550.—"I was once," said he, "in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much vexation; every week I came thrice to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to entangle me. Now, God knoweth I was ignorant of the laws, but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak; it was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hung with arras, where I was wont to be examined; but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was amongst the bishops that examined me one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the end of the table. Then, amongst all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, such, indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should have made answer, 'I pray you, Master Latimer,' said one, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to suspect, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen writing in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers; for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it."

In these hard and dangerous straits and snares of the bishops, it had been impossible to have escaped, had not the Almighty, as He stirred him up, so preserved him through the favour and power of His prince; who with much favour embraced him, and rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. At length, through the procurement, partly of Dr. Buts, partly of good Cromwell, he advanced him to the dignity of a bishop, making him Bishop of Worcester, and so continued a few years, instructing his diocese according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation. It were long to dwell particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming,

either as his ability could serve, or the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do what he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As (for example) in this and in other things, it appeared, that when it could not be avoided, but that holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet he so prepared and instructed those of his diocese, that superstition should be excluded, as far as possible, in them.

He was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man acted in his diocese. But both in the university and at his benefice he was harassed by wicked and evil-disposed persons; and so in his bishopric also he was not clear of some that sought his trouble. He continued in this laborious function of a bishop for several years, till the coming in of the Six Articles.

Seeing that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he of his own free accord resigned his see. At which time Shaxton, the Bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise. And so these two remained a long time unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of King Edward, of blessed memory.

Then coming up to London, he was molested and troubled by the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the time of King Edward, by means of whom the golden mouth of this preacher, so long shut up before, was now opened again. And so beginning afresh to speed his plough, he continued all the time of that king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully.

In this labour of love he occupied himself all King Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to the no small shame of other loitering and unpreaching prelates, and so much the more to their shame, because, having been hurt by the fall of a tree, and about sixty-seven years of age, he yet took so little ease and care of himself, to do the people good, preaching every morning, usually, winter and summer.

Not long after the death of King Edward, Latimer was arrested and brought to London, by command of Queen Mary, and cast into the Tower, where he suffered much. Thence he was transported to Oxford, with Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, Bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, as before mentioned, as also, how and by whom Latimer, with his other fellow-prisoners, were condemned after the disputations, and committed again to the prison, there continuing from April to October, where they were occupied either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Although Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least

of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied; and amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for—First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of His word, so also He would give him grace to stand to His doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. Secondly, that God of His mercy would restore His gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to Him face to face. The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty that now is (Elizabeth), whom in his prayer he was wont customarily to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things desired in vain, for the Lord most graciously granted all his requests.

Concerning his constancy, even in the utmost extremity, the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake, at Oxford, and the tormentors were about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly Bishop Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, who doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength;" and so by-and-by shed his blood in the cause of Christ.

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

Concerning his third request, it seems likewise most effectually granted, to the great praise of God, and furtherance of His gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of His whole church, the truth is, that when all was in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance His mercy, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment; through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-visored kingdom of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for by so many good men, especially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Bishop Latimer.

During the time that Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he wrote, besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, we find very few letters that he wrote to his friends.

Concerning the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sending to King Henry a present, in the following manner:—There was then, and remains still, an old custom, received from the Romans, that upon New-year's day, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another; but Latimer, being Bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented A NEW TESTAMENT for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this sentence on it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit*

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of Bishops Ridley and Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, with their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful labours, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment and constancy in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, to this present time and month of the reign of Queen Mary, being the month of October, A.D. 1555. In which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore, as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other, so now we shall couple them both together, as they were joined in one society of cause and martyrdom, and we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remains concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering.

The Examination of Ridley and Latimer on the 30th day of September 1555.

First, after the appearing of Cranmer before the Pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners in St. Mary's church, at Oxford, about the 12th day of September, whereof more shall be said when we come to the death of the archbishop; on the 28th of the same month there was sent down to Oxford another commission from Cardinal Pole, to John White, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester; and Dr. Holyman, Bishop of Bristol, that they, or two of them, should have full power and authority to cite, examine, and judge Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for sundry erroneous opinions which they held and maintained in open disputations, in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year 1554. Which opinions, if these persons would now recant, yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by St. Peter in the blessed See of Rome, that then the judges should have power to receive the penitent persons, and minister to them the reconciliation of the holy father the Pope; but if Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions, that then the lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their dignity of bishops, priests, and all other

ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive the punishments due to all such heresy and schism.

Wherefore, on the last of September, Ridley and Latimer were cited to appear before the lords, in the Divinity School, at Oxford. The lords placed themselves in the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set and trimmed with cloth of tissue and cushions of velvet; and after the lords were seated, Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Ridley, and then Latimer. But because it seemed good to examine them separately, Latimer was kept back until Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Ridley into the school, the commission was openly read. But Ridley standing bareheaded, as soon as he heard the cardinal named, and the Pope's holiness, put on his cap. After the commission was read, the Bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following—

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in respect of our own persons, do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate *a latere* to the Pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a notable parentage [and therewith Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance], descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially as he is here in England deputy to the Pope's holiness, it should have become you, at his name, to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your own self put your hand to your head, and at the name, as well of the cardinal as of the Pope's holiness, uncover your head, lest your contumacy should be prejudicial to these most reverend persons, we shall cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

Ridley.—"As touching what you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require them in consideration that you represent the cardinal's grace's person, I beg you to understand that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, nor for any derogation of honour toward the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, as he came of the most regal blood, and as he is a man endued with many graces of learning and virtue; and as touching these virtues and points I with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] will reverence and honour his grace; but as he is legate to the Bishop of Rome [and therewith he put on his cap] whose usurped supremacy I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in nowise give any obeisance or honour to him, lest my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and in derogation of the truth of God's word."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, neither for any contempt of this audience;

neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace for his regal descent and excellent qualities; for although in all these honour is due, yet we require no honour from you on this account, but only because my lord cardinal's grace is here in England deputy of the Pope's holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Ridley put on his], and therefore, we say to you the second time, that except you put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain of causing some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause."

Ridley.—"I spoke only that it might appear to your lordships, and to this audience, why I used such behaviour in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee; and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God that I am as well at ease as I have been this long season, and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but that it might appear by this my behaviour that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome; and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the Bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles to pluck his cap from his head; Master Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this, the Bishop of Lincoln, in a long oration, exhorted Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in this manner—

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission, considering how authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church, which first was founded by St. Peter at Rome, immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession has been brought to this our time; if you will renounce your errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, consent to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught by the catholic and apostolic church, which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all Christian people have and do confess—you only standing alone by yourself. You understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given to us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics' and Christ's church, from which you have so long strayed, without which no man can be saved; which think I and my lords here, yea, and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do. Remember, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school; you were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now; you were made a bishop, according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long ago since you separated your-

self from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For when the council, to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him, and after you had talked with my lord, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion, and amongst others this was one, that you should say, 'Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend in it to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the truth of the sacrament.' Also, in a sermon of yours at St. Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as catholicly spoke of that blessed sacrament as any man might have done, whereby it appears that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God, the Pope's holiness, who lineally takes his descent from St. Peter, upon whom Christ promised before His death to build His church; the which supremacy or prerogative the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge, according to St. Augustine, who writes in this manner, 'All the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome.' Here you see that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should prevent you, therefore, to confess the same with St. Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Ridley requested permission to speak somewhat, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory, and having obtained permission, he said—"My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked especially three points which you used to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know, and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded, not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially, which moveth me most, contrary to the expressed word of God.

"The first point is this, that the see of Rome taking his beginning from St. Peter, upon which you say Christ hath built His church, hath in all ages lineally from bishop to bishop been brought to this time.

"Secondly, that even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, that in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the same.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathers the foundation of the church upon St. Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after Christ hath asked His disciples whom men judged Him to be, and they had answered, that some had said He was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then He said, 'Whom say ye that I am?' Then Peter answered, 'Thou art

Christ, the Son of God.' To whom Christ answered, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;' that is to say, upon this rock, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man so frail and brittle a foundation of His stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ imprinted on his forehead, who confesses not that Christ is the Son of God.

"Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that He was Christ the Son of God, He would build His church; to declare that without this faith no man can come to Christ; so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

"Now, as to the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters forth of Christ's glory, in which, above all other countries and regions, there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered; and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so after the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most reverenced and spoken of for its great power and strength. As now here in England, the Bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings, hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of the bishopric [and therewith the people smiled]; wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

"I cannot and dare not but command, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after, the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome, confess that the bishop of that place is the very antichrist whereof St. John speaks by the name of the whore of

Babylon, and say with St. Gregory, 'He that makes himself a bishop over all the world is worse than antichrist.'

"Now, where you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith all the Christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection; I am sure that your lordship knows that in St. Augustine's time there were four patriarchs: of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries, as in England the Archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knows right well that when St. Augustine wrote this book he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant that between Europe and Africa lies the sea called the Mediterranean, so that all the countries in Europe to him who is in Africa may be called transmarine countries, or beyond the sea. Of this it is St. Augustine saith, 'All the Christian countries beyond the seas and far regions are subject to the see of Rome.' If I should say all countries beyond the sea I do except England, which to me, now being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Augustine saith, all the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome, declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe, by what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York.

"For this pre-eminence also, the other doctors (as you recited) say that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one, and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the northern bishoprics; and yet no man will say that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, are supreme heads to other bishoprics; neither, then, ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now where you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But when you say that I was one of you not long ago, in that I, doing my message to my lord of Winchester, desired him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent from the council to my lord of Winchester to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractory I said to him, 'Why, my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding them;' for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of

Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"As to the sermon which I made at St. Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at St. Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such like unseemly terms; for which causes, in order to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certain evil-disposed persons, I preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling of it, affirming that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit; which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the Bishop of Lincoln somewhat interrupting him, said:—"Well, if I should stay upon this place of St. Augustine, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles, and used this in the way of disputation, in which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return again.

"You must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourselves, that the church of Christ is catholic; so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in a prescribed locality, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

"Wherefore, for God's love be not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth; it shall not be, as you allege, prejudical to the crown; for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken by their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword and the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to St. Peter, and by him left to all his successors. As to our goods, possessions and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and His word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their highnesses do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why, therefore, should you stick at that matter, which their majesties have forsaken and yielded.

"Wherefore, you shall not only not do injury to the crown, or be prejudicial to their majesty's honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the Pope's holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church, here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their

sight. Thus, if you will revoke all your errors, acknowledging with the rest of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do what all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience and health to your soul; then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten but a lively member; but if you shall still be singular, if you shall still obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body; then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and the queen's highness, you must receive the punishment by the laws of this realm due for heretics. Wherefore, consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with His precious blood; do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, but to cut you off from the church: we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us), for that is the temporal judge's office; we only declare you to be none of the church, and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you."

Then Master Ridley, with frequent interruptions, at length spake—

Ridley.—"My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in which no man can err, without which no man can be saved, which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I confine or bind it to any one place, as you said, but confess it to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, His gospel duly preached and followed, there does Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick; but rather it is such as you that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, who appoint it to Rome, that there and nowhere else is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is everywhere founded, in every place where His gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And where the church of God is in doubt, I use the wise council of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholic church may be known amid all schisms and heresies, writes in this manner, 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greater part be infected, then prefer antiquity.'

"So now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the Pope's decrees; as that the priest receives alone what it is made unlawful to the laity to

receive in both kinds, and such like; wherefore it requires that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome with are, indeed, no faults. For, first, it was never forbid the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know, also, that Christ after His resurrection, when He went with His apostles to Galilee, opened Himself by breaking bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declares that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only; and yet the church had just occasion to decree that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no new thing for the church, upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles that St. Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles who had received the gospel, bidding them to abstain from things strangled, and from blood—so that this seems to be an express commandment; yet, who will say but that it is lawful to eat blood? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"

Ridley.—"My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and a little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, 'Do this,' that is, that which He did, 'in remembrance,' which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

But the Bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay proceeded in this oration—

"So that the church seems to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said He would send after His ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the scripture, ever reserving the foundation; but we came not, as I said before, to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered to us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, to which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, to every of them, either denying them or granting them without further disputation or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter as we have done: the articles you shall hear now, and to-morrow we will require your answers, and then proceed; and if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they are to be got in the university." The following are the said articles:—

1. "We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh

Latimer, jointly and severally—First, that thou, Nicholas Ridley, in this high University of Oxford, in the year 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. "That in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. "That in the said year and months, thou hast openly affirmed and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. "That in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these aforesaid assertions solemnly had been condemned by the scholastic censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Dr. Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

5. "That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near at hand, as also to them in distant places far off."

All these articles are here placed together, that as often as reference shall be necessary to any of them, the reader may have recourse here, and peruse them, and not to distract the history with several repetitions of them.

After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last, the Bishop of Lincoln said, "These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you to the first? I pray you, answer affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley.—"Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advice, I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time; and yet, notwithstanding, it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change any part of these answers to-morrow, as you will."

Ridley.—"Indeed, in like manner, at our last disputations, I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said that, after disputations, I should have a copy of them, and license to change mine answers as I should think good. It was meet also that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time, but this gentleness is the same that Christ had from the high priests. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death; so in like sort the high priests said that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all means that he might."

Dr. Weston.—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley.—"No, master doctor; I do but compare your deeds with those of Caiaphas and the high priests, who would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln.—"We intend that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the meantime, we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley.—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand; first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that you are authorised from the Pope. Therefore, whatever I shall say or do, I protest I neither say it nor do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the Pope; and if your lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me to this."

Lincoln.—"No; we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley.—"I will be short; I pray your lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears."

Ridley.—"Why, my lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln.—"Well, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

Ridley.—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not yield to your authority as legate of the Pope, I answer thus—In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false; for if you take 'really' for '*vere*,' for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament, '*vere et realiter*, indeed and really;' but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism."

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries did not know how to note it; wherefore the Bishop of Lincoln desired him to answer either affirmatively or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley.—"My lord, you know that where any equivocation (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which

was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, we differ only in the way and manner of being ; we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I being fully by God's word persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whoever receives worthily that bread and wine receives effectually Christ's body and drinks His blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of His passion. You make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ, *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually by grace and efficacy, for so every worthy receiver receives the very true body of Christ ; but if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, Christ's body is not in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer being taken and penned by the notaries, the Bishop of Lincoln proposed the second article. To whom he answered—

Ridley.—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus—That in the sacrament is a certain change, in that the bread which was before common bread is now made a lively representation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectually representeth His body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the Bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affimatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered—

Ridley.—"Notwithstanding the sacramental mutation of the which I speak, and all the doctors confess, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remains, with which the body is nourished, as the soul is by grace and spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceases not to be water, but keeps the nature of water still. In like sort, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread ceases not to be bread."

Then the notaries penned that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The Bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because Christ said not by the water, "This is the Holy Ghost," as He did by the bread, "This is my body."

Then Ridley cited St. Austin, who compared both sacraments the one with the other ; but the Bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said—

Ridley.—"Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of His, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving; but to say that by it sins are taken away, which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of which the communion is only a memorial, that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion; for the sacrament was instituted that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering His passion, should be partakers of the merits of it. For otherwise, this sacrament takes upon it the office of Christ's passion, by which it might follow that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the Bishop of Lincoln—

"As you allege, out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross; yet, nevertheless, He hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by which sins are forgiven; which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Then the Bishop of Lincoln recited the fourth article, to which Ridley answered, "That in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned by the university, for the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act."

This answer being penned by the notaries, the Bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To which he answered, that the premises were in such sort true as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer was also written by the notaries; the Bishop of Lincoln then said—

"To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church, and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books such as you shall require; but if you write anything except your answers to these articles we will not receive it." So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Ridley, and sent for Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

Now, after Ridley was committed to the mayor, the Bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, as soon as he was placed, said to the lords—

Latimer.—"My lords, if I appear again I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls."

Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, I am sorry you were brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine; but it shall be amended."

Then Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat

in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a nightcap or two (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin), wearing an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hung, by a long string of leather, his Testament, and his spectacles without a case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this, the Bishop of Lincoln began in this manner—

Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, you shall understand that I and my lords here have a commission from my Lord Cardinal Pole's grace, legate *a latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the Pope's holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year 1554, as at other times, did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In which commission are especially two points; the one which we most desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and together with all this realm, yea, and all the world, confess the truth, we, upon your due repentance, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but join you again to the unity of Christ's church, from which you in the time of schism fell. So that it is no new matter to which I exhort you. I desire you to return thither from whence you went. Consider, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore, what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesses, to forsake that which the king and queen their majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted? it was a common error, but it is now by all confessed, it shall be no more shame to you than it was to us all. Consider that, within these twenty years, this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head, and by that means, and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might now be declared, upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious. It is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers as by the express word of God, may be proved."

Here Latimer, who before had leaned his head on his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears.

The bishop proceeded, saying, "For Christ spake expressly to Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep, and rule my lambs,' which not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includes also a certain pre-eminence and government; so that in saying 'rule,' Christ declared a power given to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter delivered to Clement, and so in all ages has it remained in the see of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and, according to the

authority given to us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to which the king and queen their majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation, yet, lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they, as I said, most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal's grace, by him, as a legate to the Pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that, the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do), but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are a son of perdition, a lost child, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you according to the tenor of their laws."

After the bishop had paused, then Latimer lifted up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow), and asked whether his lordship had concluded, and the bishop answered, "Yea."

Latimer.—"Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?"

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts."

Latimer.—"I beseech your lordship give me leave to sit down."

Lincoln.—"At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Latimer.—"Your lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in which no man may err, without which unity of the church no man can be saved; but I know perfectly, by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your lordship brought a place out of the scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him 'rule' or govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid to rule; but since the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of ruling. Indeed, they ought to rule; but how, my lord? not as they will themselves, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule, 'according to the word of God,' into the rule, 'according to their own pleasures;' as there is a book set forth which has several points in it, and amongst others, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove by this word 'rule,' and the argument which he brings for the proof of that matter is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, if there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests of the order of Levi shall

decide the matter according to the law of God. This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, takes occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and the other clergy of the new law; but in proving this matter, 'according to God's law,' is left out: my lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now, I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing; but as I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know of any such, I can say nothing therein."

Latimer.—"Yes, my lord, the book is open to be read, and is written by one who is Bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge."

With that the people laughed, because the Bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission. Then the Bishop of Gloucester stood up, and said it was his book.

Latimer.—"Was it yours, my lord? indeed, I knew not your lordship, neither did I ever see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me."

Then the audience laughed again, and Latimer spake to them, saying, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death, 'Woe unto ye that laugh now, for ye shall weep.'"

The Bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said—

"Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done."

After this the Bishop of Gloucester spoke in excuse of his book.

Gloucester.—"Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have."

Latimer.—"Lo, you look for learning at my hands, who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and overnight the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy, or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty; the other is stiff in his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you that to run this man through with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

But the Bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying—"I went not about to recite any places of scripture in that place of my book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension; but I only in that place formed an argument that if, in the old law, the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more, then, ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law; and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal of, 'according to the law of God?'"

Latimer.—"Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority

to be given to the spirituality to decide matters of religion, and as my lord said even now, to rule, but they must do it according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fantasies."

But the Bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing the articles in form, as was declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to Ridley, and required Latimer's answer to the first. Then Latimer, making his protestation that, notwithstanding these his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the Bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queen's subject, and not the Pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should now renounce one of them; he required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he thereby agreed to any authority that came from the Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Lincoln said that his protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same again; and Latimer answered as follows—

"I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament, by spirit and grace, is the very body and blood of Christ, because every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receives the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion; but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is so in the sacrament as you would have it."

Lincoln.—"Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively?"

Latimer.—"Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being which you take."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the second article?"

Latimer.—"There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body, and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine is still wine; for the change is not in the nature but in the dignity, because that now which was common bread has the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word."

Lincoln.—"Lo, Master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine. That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish; for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread."

Latimer.—"A rush for holy bread! I say the bread in the communion is holy bread indeed!"

But the Bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said—"Oh! ye make a difference between holy bread and holy bread. Well, Master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remains after the words of consecration?"

Latimer.—"Yes, verily, it must needs be so. For Christ Himself calls it bread, St. Paul calls it bread, the doctors confess the same, the nature of a sacrament confirms the same, and I call it holy bread, not because I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it bears, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body—and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you to the third question?"

Latimer.—"No, no, my lord; Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all, as St. Paul saith, upon the cross, neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving His cross only."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you to the fourth, Master Latimer?" After the recital, which Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or not?

Latimer.—"Yes, but I do not understand what you mean by it."

Lincoln.—"Only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Dr. Weston as heresies; is it not so, Master Latimer?"

Latimer.—"Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, He that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the fifth article?"

Latimer.—"I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer; I would you would propose the matter plainly."

Lincoln.—"As we proceed according to the laws, we must use their terms also. The meaning is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people."

Latimer.—"I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, for I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them, I know not nor care not."

This answer taken, the Bishop of Lincoln said—

"Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you a respite till to-morrow, trusting, after you have pondered well all things, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth."

Latimer.—"Now, my lord, I pray you give me license to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the Pope."

Lincoln.—"Nay, Master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have license to speak."

Latimer.—"Nay, my lord, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your lordships; I pray you let not me be troubled to-morrow again."

Lincoln.—"Yes, Master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow."

Latimer.—"Truly, my lord, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow."

Lincoln.—"Yes, for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy; you must needs appear again to-morrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church."

The next day, which was the 1st of October, the lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set on a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it; the place was compassed about with framed seats, partly for gentlemen who repaired thither, and the heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came to see the end of these two persons. After Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the Bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following—

"Master Ridley, yesterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that of which no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, who desired no such obedience of you, but only in the respect of those whose persons we bear; neither, you said, for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although it justly may, yet in this case requires no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning; for as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his grace; but in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God, the Pope's holiness [with that the bishop with all then present put off their caps, but Ridley moved not his], you said you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honour; but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley.—"I pretend now none other cause than I did yesterday, that is, only that it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the Pope, and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), neither for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, as concerning those points which your lordship spake of, that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordship may do as it shall please you: it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln.—"Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday,

we must do also as we did then;" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched Ridley's cap from his head.

After this the Bishop of Lincoln began the examination in the following manner—

"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles which we then proposed unto you; but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you license to bring your answer in writing, and commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books also that you would require, if they were to be got; we licensed you then also to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure: therefore, we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish), or on the other hand, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church, and I, for my part, most earnestly exhort you, not because my conscience pricks me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

"Yesterday I brought forth, amongst others, St. Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to his meaning, in that you would have 'the whole world' to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world."

But Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying, "I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in geography, in which you shall understand that there is a sea called the Mediterranean between Europe and Africa. He was then in Africa, and he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, I would thereby be excepting England in which I stand;" and here many words were spent upon the interpretation of St. Augustine.

Then he came to St. Cyril, who, as he said, made against Ridley in the sacrament, even by Melancthon's own alleging, and he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before, wherefore he passed it over. The Bishop of Lincoln continued—

"St. Cyril also in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, uses this reason—Altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries; therefore Christ is come. But we may use the contrary of that reason—altars are plucked down in Britain; therefore Christ is not come. A good argument *a contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools by-and-by with any man. You see what a good argument this your doctrine makes for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

Ridley (smiling).—"Your lordship is not ignorant that this word 'altar' in the scriptures signifies, as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's Supper. St. Cyril means there by this word 'altar,' not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying (altars are

erected in Christ's name, therefore Christ is come), he means that the communion is ministered in His remembrance, therefore Christ is come; for the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itself be past; then all countries could not celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage. Neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, or more duly received than in those latter days, when all things were brought to the rites and usages of the primitive church."

Lincoln.—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive! and yet when your table was constituted you could never be content in placing the same, now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of His goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley.—"Your lordship's irreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men come more devoutly from puddings than other men now do from other things."

Lincoln.—"As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man; but by this your reasoning, you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles. Now, what say you to the first article? if you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it; but if you have written any other matter we will not receive it."

Then Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written; but the Bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in nowise suffer him.

Ridley.—"Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure, therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln.—"Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

With that Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the Bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience with it, although Ridley desired very urgently to have it published, saying that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the sayings of the ancient doctors for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the Bishop of Lincoln said—"In the first part, Master Ridley, there is nothing con-

tained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the Pope's holiness."

Ridley.—"No, my lord, I pray you read it out, that the audience may hear it." But the Bishop of Lincoln would in nowise, "Because," he said, "there were contained in it words of blasphemy."

Then the Bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Ridley's answer to it. Then Ridley said that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published; but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer that he referred him to his answer in writing, and also before at the time of disputation, Dr. Weston being prolocutor.

In like manner the Bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Ridley referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation; and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers being rehearsed, taken, and penned by the notaries, the Bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Ridley to recant.

Gloucester.—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit; so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, Woe be to them which are wise in their own conceits. But you will say here, It is true what the prophet saith; but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit? Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring scripture for the proof of your assertions, and we also bring scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit; but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers in like manner, you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another; how will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit, then you cannot avoid the woe which the prophet speaks of. Wherefore, if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain; if the prophet most truly saith, Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit; then, for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in

the church, how, I pray you, were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No, truly; the Arians had no more places of scripture for the confirmation of their heresy than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How, then, were they convinced? only by the determination of the church. And, indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring scriptures and doctors for the proof of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of. It remains, therefore, that we submit ourselves to the determination of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom He promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of, be not you wise in your judgment; if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the Bishop of Gloucester, by which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move the affections, to persuade Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit, but that he acknowledged no such singularity in him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself.

Likewise the Bishop of Lincoln with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended was grounded upon God's word, and, therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to show his cause why he could not, with a safe conscience, admit the authority of the Pope. But the Bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Dr. Weston, who sat by, and said, "Why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already."

Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither on that matter. The Bishop of Lincoln bade him take his leave; but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers, and Ridley began to speak; but before he had ended half a sentenee, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out, and with that he was put to silence.

After this the Bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the midst, began to speak as follows:—

"Now, I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired. For

indeed I, for my part, I take God to witness, am sorry for you." Whereupon Ridley answered—

"I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burthensome to your soul."

Lincoln.—"Nay, not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors and receive the truth; but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore, I pray you, hearken to what I shall say;" and forthwith he read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before, we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course than things devised upon deliberation. The effect was, that as Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ and His natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of consecration; thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies; they, therefore, the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as an heretic, and so adjudged him presently, both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical orders; declaring, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and, therefore, committed him to the secular power, to receive due punishment according to the temporal laws; and, further, excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

This sentence being published by the Bishop of Lincoln, Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Latimer was sent for; but in the meantime the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table where Ridley stood was removed, because Latimer had never received the degree of a doctor, as Ridley had. But as soon as Latimer appeared, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying—

"My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better arrangement here at the entrance; for I am an old man, and have a very weak back, so that the press of the multitude does me much harm."

Lincoln.—"I am sorry, Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the Bishop of Lincoln began in this manner—

"Master Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially as you required it, yet we, having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the

catholic church, deferred further process till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and I, for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly exhort you."

It seemed that the bishop would have further proceeded, but that Latimer interrupted him, saying—

"Your lordship often repeats the 'catholic church,' as if I denied it. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church you call 'catholic,' which ought sooner to be termed 'diabolic.' And where you join together the *Roman* and the *catholic* church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say 'Roman church,' and another thing to say 'catholic church.' I must see here the advice of St. Cyprian, who, when he was cited before some bishops, that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus—'In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel or deliberation be taken.' And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most likely to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted or they who did persecute? 'Christ,' said he, 'hath foreshowed, that he who follows Him must take up His cross and follow Him.' Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How think you then, my lords, is it likely that the see of Rome, which has been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock, which has continually been persecuted by it, even to death?"

Lincoln.—"Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary, for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel's, but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God and the received truth of the church."

Latimer (interrupting him).—"Yes, verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's, for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."

Lincoln.—"Also at the beginning and foundation of the church it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming, continually there were very few who truly served God; but after His coming began the time of grace, then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came to this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny resisted: there is a different consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we, hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday, in the Divinity School. And whereas then, notwithstanding you had license to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors: we, thinking that from that time you would, with good advice, consider your state, gave you

respite from that time yesterday, when we dismissed you, until this time, and now have called you again here in this place, to learn whether you are the same man you were then or not? Therefore, we will propose to you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer without further reasoning."

Latimer.—"Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I condescended and agreed to your lordship's authority, in that you are delegated by the authority of the Pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction. To the first article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy partaker receives the very body of Christ, and drinks His blood, by the spirit and grace. But after a corporeal substance, which the Romish church prescribes, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before.

After this the Bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer.—"Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needs there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative.

In like manner he answered to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

After his answers were penned by the notaries, and the Bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him to recant, as he did Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, Latimer answered that he neither could nor would deny his master, Christ, and His truth. The bishop desired Latimer to hearken to him; and then Latimer hearkening for some new matter, the Bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation; after the publication of which the three bishops broke up their sessions, and dismissed the audience.

But Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise, in saying the day before that he should have license briefly to declare the cause why he refused the Pope's authority; but the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him. Then Latimer asked him whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," said Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name." With that appeal the bishop was content, but he said it would be a long time before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, master mayor." And so Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer continued in prison till the 16th of October.

In the meantime, on the 15th of October, in the morning, the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Brooks) and the vice-chancellor of Oxford (Dr. Marshall), with several others of the chief and heads of the university, and many others accompanying them, came to the house of Master

Irish, then Mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late Bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the Bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Ridley lay, he told him the purpose of their coming, saying, that yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if he would receive the same, and come back again to the faith which he was baptised in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad, to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they were very loth to do. "But," says he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion; therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered to you at this time."

"My lord," answered Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assures me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to His glory be it spoken), which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall move, and breath is within my body; and in confirmation of which seal the same with my blood."

Brooks.—"Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoever is out of the catholic church cannot be saved; therefore, I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the Pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

Ridley.—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Roman antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all to the Bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

And here Ridley would have reasoned with the Bishop of Gloucester about the Bishop of Rome's authority, but was not suffered; and yet he spake so earnestly against the Pope, that the bishop told him if he would not hold his peace he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," said he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered to you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed, according to our commission, to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you; so, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley.—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide it with all my heart."

Brooks.—"Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

Ridley.—"Truly, I will not."

Brooks.—"But you must.'

Ridley.—I will not."

Brooks.—"You must; therefore, make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

Ridley.—"Truly if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Brooks.—"Will you not put it upon you?"

Ridley.—"No, that I will not."

Brooks.—"It shall be put upon you by one or the other."

Ridley.—"Do therein as it shall please you, I am well content with that; and more than that, the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the scripture makes mention, and He suffered the same patiently, how much more does it become us, His servants!"

On saying these words, they put upon him the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting it on, Ridley vehemently inveighed against the Roman bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, so that Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bid him hold his peace. Ridley answered him again, saying, "So long as my tongue and breath will suffer me, I will speak against these abominable doings, whatever happens unto me for so doing." "Well," said Brooks, "you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped." At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks, "Sir, the law is he should be gagged." At which words Ridley looked earnestly upon him, shook his head at him, and made no answer, but with a sigh said, "Oh, well, well, well." So they proceeded in their doings, yet, nevertheless, Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or the other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be made so to do against his will.

When they came to that place where Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake (called the singing-bread), they bade him hold it in his hands: but Ridley said, "They shall not come into my hands; for if they do, they shall fall to the ground." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain paper in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the Pope's law.

Afterwards they put a book into his hand, and read as follows, which was "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," etc. At which words Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness."

And as they put upon him the mass-robes, they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a paper in Latin, according to the order contained in the book of the Pope's law. Now, when all was taken from him, save only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Ridley said to them, "What power have you, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had!"

So when all this their ridiculous degradation was ended, Ridley said

very solemnly to Dr. Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered, "We may not talk with you, you are out of the church; and our law is, that we may not talk with any that are out of the church." Then Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, I have no remedy but patience, I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that are amiss, when it shall please Him."

At which words they would have departed, but Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's writing concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning in it, if you will read it with an unprejudiced judgment." Dr. Brooks made no answer to this, but would have gone away. Then Ridley said, "Oh, I perceive that you cannot bear with this manner of talk. Well, it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you, therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's majesty, in the behalf of a great many poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband who stands there. They had a poor living granted to them by me while I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them by him who now occupies the same place, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. You shall hear the same read, so you shall perceive the matter the better." Then he read it, and when he came to the place in the supplication that touched his sister by name, he wept, so that for a little time he could not speak for weeping. After he had left off weeping, he said, "This is nature that moves me. But I have now done;" and with that read out the rest, and delivered it to his brother, commanding him to send it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for such as had leases or grants by him, and were put from them by Dr. Bonner. Brooks said, "Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest; therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them."

Ridley.—"I pray you for God's sake do so."

Brooks.—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing prevents it, and that is, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand them, that it will hardly be granted."

Ridley.—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience; and God's will be done."

Brooks.—"I will do what lies in me."

The degradation being over, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Ridley with this charge; to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Ridley praised God, and burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime; for if you could, it would surely be laid against me, I see very well." Brooks said he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken, I confess myself to be a miserable, wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same; therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed; and in going away, a warden of a college bade Ridley repent, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for your are out of the truth; and I pray God, if it be His blessed will, to have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of His word." Then the warden, being in a rage, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, nor yet to be in that place whither you shall go. You are the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

The night before Ridley suffered, his beard and his legs were wash and as he sat at supper, in the house of Master Irish (who was keeper), he invited his hostess, and the rest of his board, to his marriage; for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and showed himself to be as cheerful as ever he was before; and wishing his sister to be at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or not; and he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart;" at which he said, he was glad to hear so much of her. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Ridley comforted her, and said, "Oh, Mistress Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for as you weep, it appears you will not be at my marriage, neither are content with it. Indeed, you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great.

The place appointed for the execution was on the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Baliol College; and for fear of any tumult that might arise to prevent their burning, the Lord Williams, and the householders of the city, were commanded by the queen's letters to be assistant, sufficiently armed; and when everything was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

Ridley had a furred black gown, faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear as a bishop, and a tippet of velvet, furred likewise about his neck, a velvet nightcap upon his head, and a corner-cap over it. He went in a pair of slippers to the stake, between the mayor and an alderman, etc.

After him came Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock, all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a handkerchief on his head, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to his feet; which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to mourn; beholding on one hand the honour they once had, and on the other, the calamity to which they were fallen.

Ridley, as he passed by the prison, looked up where Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the window, and to have spoken to him. But then Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him. Then Ridley, looking back, saw Latimer coming after. To whom he said, "Oh, are ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "as fast as I can follow." At length they came to the stake, the one after the other. Ridley first entered the place, and earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven; then shortly after, seeing Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look, he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that he went to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and prayed; and behind him Latimer kneeled, earnestly calling upon God. After they arose one talked with the other a little while, till they who were appointed to see the executions removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I cannot learn of any man.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in King Edward's time you heard before, began his sermon to them upon the text of St. Paul, in Corinthians, "Though I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, I am nothing." He alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the manner of the death, makes the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that had lately hanged herself, for that they and such like might then be adjudged righteous, who desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And, on the other side, he declared their varieties in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zwinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst; but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith, believed far otherwise. At this statement the two martyrs lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven, as if calling God to witness of their truth; which they did in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls.

Ridley said to Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Ridley.

Then Ridley and Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form near them. Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words;" and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know, as it appeared, whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily to him, and with their hands

stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty to do so, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Ridley. "No," replied Dr. Marshall; "therefore, if you will not do so, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," said Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body I will never deny my Lord Christ and His known truth; God's will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall impartially judge all."

Latimer added his own verse, "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be made manifest;" and, he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. Immediately, they were commanded to make ready, which they obeyed with all meekness. Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law, Master Shipside, who, all his time of imprisonment, although he was not suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges, to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the sergeant who kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth he gave away; the bailiffs took other parts; besides, he gave away some other small things to gentlemen standing by, several of whom pitifully wept; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat, and to some of my Lord Williams' gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs and ginger, his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some even plucked the points off his hose, and happy was he that could get any rag of him.

Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose and his other apparel, which was very simple; and now being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them who were present as one could desire to see; and though in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked old man, he now stood quite upright.

Then Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," said his brother; "it will put you to more pain; and the truss will do a poor man good." Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God," and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the stone, and held up his hand, and said, "Oh, heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron and fastened it about both Ridley's and Latimer's middles; and as he was knocking in a staple, Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook it, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother brought him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck, but Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." Then said he, "I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent of Him. And have you any,"

said he, "for my brother?" meaning Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have,' said his brother. "Then give it to him," said he, "lest you come too late." So his brother went and carried the gunpowder to Latimer.

In the meantime Ridley spake to my Lord Williams and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor to your lordship in the behalf of several poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister. I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mediator to her grace for them. My brother here has the supplication; and will resort to your lordship to certify you of it. There is nothing in all the world that troubles my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. While I was in the see of London, some poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for them. Now, I hear that the bishop who now occupies the same place, will not allow my grants to them, but, contrary to all law and conscience, has taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy them. I beseech you, my lord, be a mediator for them; you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a fagot, kindled with fire, and laid it down at Ridley's feet. To whom Latimer spake in this manner—"Be of good comfort, brother Ridley, and play the man; *we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.*"

As to the fire being kindled, when Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a loud voice, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit;" and repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul;" he received the flame as if embracing it. After he had stroked his face with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appears, with very little pain. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Bishop Latimer, for whose laborious services, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm has cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Ridley lingered longer by reason of the badness of the fire, which only burned beneath, being kept down by the wood, which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him, which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him of his pain, but not well advised what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath; so that it burned all his lower parts before it once touched the upper, and that it made him leap up and down under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which was apparent; for after his legs were consumed, he showed his other side toward us, shirt and all untouched with flame! Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come to me; I cannot burn." In which pain he suffered, till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the fagots above, and where Ridley saw the fire flame up, he leaned himself to that side.

And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Latimer's feet.

Some said that before he fell from the stake he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears in beholding the horrible sight. For I think there was none that had not clean banished all humanity and mercy, who did not lament to behold the fury of the fire rage upon their bodies. There were signs of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to witness their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need of pity. His brother moved the compassion of many men, seeing his miserable case. But who that considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the learning they had, could refrain from sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and such excellent learning, put into the fire, and consumed in one moment! Well, they are gone, and the reward of this world they have had already. What reward remains for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when He comes with His saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

The following letter was written by Dr. Ridley, instead of his last farewell, to all his true and faithful friends in God :—

"At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father. Amen.

"As a man intending to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure; so likewise now I, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you (O all ye, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world), having a like mind towards you all (and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank His heavenly goodness), to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say in Christ), that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

"Farewell, my dear brother, George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my cross, over all others, to me most friendly and steadfast, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God's cause ever hearty.

"Farewell, my dear sister Alice (Shipside's wife). I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank God that has given thee a godly and loving husband; see thou honour and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law, his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that He who hath given him a heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him

friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

"Farewell, my dearly beloved brother, John Ridley, of the Woltoun; and you, my gentle and loving sister, Elizabeth; whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have requited with deeds and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

"Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, nephews, and nieces. Since the departing of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them instead of their father; but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear Him, and live in the way of His law.

"Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley, of Willimountswicke, and your wife: and I thank you for all your kindness showed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in our stock and kindred (not for any respect of your person, but of His abundant grace and goodness), to be, as it were, the bell-wether to order and conduct the rest, and hath also endued you with His manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others; so I pray you, good cousin (as my trust and hope is in you), continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

"Farewell, my young cousin, Ralph Whitfield. Oh, your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss, but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

"Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ all together. The Lord, who is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that, according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry whereunto I was chosen among you, named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, King Edward, and so also denounced openly in his court by his privy council.

"I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed or astonished at the manner of my departure and dissolution; for I assure you I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life; and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased Him to call me of His great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for His sake and His cause; unto the which honour He hath called the holy prophets and dearly beloved apostles, and His blessed chosen martyrs. For know you that I doubt no more but that the cause wherefore I am put to death is

God's cause, and the cause of the truth, than I doubt that the gospel which St. John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that St. Paul's epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide and stand in God's cause, and in Christ's quarrel, even unto death, I assure thee, oh, man, it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; for the holy apostle, and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter, saith, 'If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ's cause, and for His truth's sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the spirit of God resteth upon you.' If for rebuke's sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy apostle blessed and happy, how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also? Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God, our heavenly Father, that, for His Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, He hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without His gracious goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me, I say, unto this high dignity of His true prophets, of His faithful apostles, and of His holy elect and chosen martyrs, that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of His eternal and everlasting truth.

"You who are my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, where, alas, the true man suffers oftentimes much wrong at the thieves' hands, you know if it chance a man to be slain by a thief, as it often doth there, that he who went out with his neighbour to help him to reserve his goods again, and the more steadfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the faith of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that are true, as long as the memory of this fact and his posterity doth endure; even so, ye that are my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did of the death of Christ our Saviour, of His holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs), both know ye, I say, that before God and all them that are godly, and that truly know and follow the laws of God, ye have, and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoice of me your flesh and blood, whom God of His goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of His holy martyrs in heaven; and I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of His elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause ye shall rather find the more favour and grace; for the Lord saith that He will be both to them and theirs that love Him, the more loving again in a thousand generations; the Lord is so full of mercy to them, I say, and theirs who do love Him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can show more love than to give his life for his friends.

"Now, also, know you, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and

countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one; for both are God's cause, both are in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For ye all know that, as there, when the poor man is robbed by the thief of his truly begotten goods (whereupon he and his household should live), he is greatly wronged, and the thief, in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth transgress His law, and is injurious both to the poor man and to the commonwealth; so I say, ye know that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This church of England hath of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant graces of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion, truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

"The church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done: for upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table thanks were given, and the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup, in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated to all that were present and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

"All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that everything might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true meaning of holy scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

"It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in scripture; and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that used, alas, to reign in this realm of England. This church had, in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in a short time, if they had been universally received, they would have been

able to have set in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas, was almost overgrown.

"But, alas! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, thieves are entered in, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain of these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, 'O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage. They have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones;' that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves are of Samaria, these Sabans and Chaldeans, these robbers, have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God; they have carried it away and overthrown it: and, instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, as of baptism and others, they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

"Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass, but indeed and in truth it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of God unto pernicious idolatry, and make to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood: and for His holy use, for which the Lord hath ordained them in His table to represent unto us His blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and His blood there shed, it pleased Him to call them His body and blood; which understanding Christ declares to be His true meaning, when He says, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament after the words of consecration, saying, 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show [he meaneth with the same] the Lord's death till He come.' And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in His gospel.

"Now, for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word. Wherein what do they else but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister. And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it but, as St. Paul calleth it, barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness.

"For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the Pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles, to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people. Thus this robbery

and theft is not only committed, nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things, but also in the stead of the same is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonish beast. To this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, because I cannot consent, nor, God willing, ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God, high treason unto Christ, our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer; it is plainly contrary to God's word and to Christ's gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of His most precious blood; therefore, all you, my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause, I say, know you that I am put to death, which, by God's grace, I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of His free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

"Although the cause of the true man slain by the thief helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one, as I said before, yet know you that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far different. These thieves are worse, I say; for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty; for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, are called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called sacrilegious; as you would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked; for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of His gospel, of His heavenly spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These are the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian must live before God, and without which he cannot live. These goods, I say, these thieves, these church-robbers go about to spoil us of, which goods, as to the man of God, they excel and far surpass all worldly treasure; so to withstand even unto the death such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

"These church-robbers are also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft that they dare avow it, and therefore as

acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly in the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they are ofttimes hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people believe falsehood to be truth, and truth to be falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understandfng of the simple, that they dare avow it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor beheading, as the poor thieves of the borders do, but stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to betray their falsehood.

"The kind of fight against these church-robbers is also of another sort and kind than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have; but here, as the enemies are of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed, and fight with another kind of weapon and armour; for here, the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil, yet as their grandmaster is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, which are called of St. Paul principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickednesses in high places, therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such; not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly; we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft, and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save, as much as lieth in us, both their bodies and their souls.

"And, therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, 'we fight not against flesh and blood,' that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons, therefore, are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our Grand Master, Duke, and Captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle, without any shrinking or yielding to the

enemies, after the example of our Grand Captain, Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies by our enemies, and are most cruelly and without all mercy murdered like so many sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of death whereunto we be put—the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

"And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked, peradventure, sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities) you might be abashed or think any evil; whereas you had rather cause to rejoice, if you love me indeed, for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named; yea, I count it greater honour before God, indeed, to die in His cause, whereof I nothing doubt, than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of His gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he, I say, that knoweth this assuredly, by God's word and the testimony of his own conscience, as I, through the infinitive goodness of God, not of myself, but by His grace acknowledge myself to do; who is he, I say, that knoweth this and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Master Christ and His blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also desireth and longeth for everlasting life; who is he, I say again, that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be that would forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies, and the Father of all comfort through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he who hath put his mind, will, and affection by His holy spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in His cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny His known truth; that He will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into His holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech His most holy sacred majesty of His infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Now that I have taken leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places farewell. And whom first or before others than the University of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted), than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born.

"Farewell, therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender

nurse. If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrateful and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all the school degrees, the common offices, the chaplainship of the university, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader; and of thy private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholar, then to be fellow, and, after my departure from thee, thou callest me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that His laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

"Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge; what case thou art in now, God knoweth, I know not well. Thou wast ever noted, since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christ's gospel and of God's true word; so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee, indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, buts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned, without book, almost all St. Paul's epistles, yea, and I ween all the canonical epistles, save only the book of Revelation. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into heaven; for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my lifetime ever after, and I ween of late (whether they abide now or not I cannot tell) there were them that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love towards that part of God's word which is a key and true commentary to all the holy scriptures may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

"From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by-and-by sent to be vicar of Herne, in East Kent. Wherefore, farewell Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard from my mouth oftimes the word of God preached, not after the popish manner, but after Christ's gospel; oh, that the fruit had answered to the seed! And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me; but I bless God for all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word which the Lord, by preaching of His word, did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Phines. The Lord grant that His word took like effect there in many others more.

"Farewell, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitan see, whereof I once was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of my conscience and displeasure of my Lord

God; and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name, Christ's church, in deed and in truth.

"Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom, to say the truth, I did find much gentleness and obedience; and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory and unto thine own profit in God. Oh, that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

"To Westminster, other advertisement in God I have not now to say than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury, and so God give thee of His grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please Him after His own laws; and thus fare you well.

"O, London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were the true setters forth thereof, are now, as I hear say, some burned and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel's sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

"Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed, almost for the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being, as I hear say I am, deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. Oh, judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed, either of God or man? Well, as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God who is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be His pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong be not laid to thy charge in the latter day; this only I can pray for.

"Oh, thou wicked and bloody see, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which, by the word of God, were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses instead of the Lord's Holy Supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostom, yea, the Lord Himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to His express commandment in the gospel, His holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth,

in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation except it should be by-and-by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whore of Babylon, thou wicked limb of antichrist, thou bloody wolf, why slayest thou down, and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, who will not hear thy voice because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor, Christ, His voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of His saints at thy hands? Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb God, I say, will not, indeed, nor can (although thou art not ashamed to call Him thy Maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured that the living Lord, our Saviour and Redeemer, who sitteth on the right hand of His Father in glory, He seeth all thy wicked ways, and cruelty done to His dear members, and He will not forget His holy ones, and His hands shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee now, I say, fie upon thee, fie upon thee, and all thy false prophets.

"Yet thou, Oh, London, I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt but in that great city there are many privy mourners, who do daily mourn for that mischief, who never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and especially which were in office of mayoralty, yea, and in other cities also (whom to name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hill's year unto Sir George Barnes' year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness, as I thought; but, to say the truth, that I do esteem above all others, for true Christian kindness, which is showed in God's cause, and done for His sake. Wherefore, Oh Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals and truly religious houses, which by thee, and through thee, were begun. For though, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor, weak members, to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity; and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou callest together thy brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom thou breakest the matter for the poor; thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate, by office and duty in the poor man's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the

consent of thy brethren, whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city, by whom, with a uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most wise and politic citizens, endued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city; and they, like true and faithful ministers, both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of poor members of Christ, who else, for extreme hunger and misery, would have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but especially thee, Oh, Dobs, and those chosen men by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long throughout all ages as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

And thou, Oh, Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun, but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing, and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a house of occupations, both that all kind of poverty being able to work, should not have lacked whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city, and also to have retired thither the poor children brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those who, in the hospitals aforesaid, had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass thou obtainest, not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and of thy brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely palace of Bridewell, and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of His infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend when it shall be His gracious will and pleasure.

"Farewell, now, all you citizens that are of God, of what state and condition soever you be. Undoubtedly in London you have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist; whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

"Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of

the upper house of parliament; therefore, seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof, I will bid my lords of the temporalty farewell. They shall have no just cause, by God's grace, to take what I intend to say in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except that I should repeat again a great part of what I have said before now already to the see of London. To you, therefore, my lords of the temporalty, will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing would not come to your knowledge before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired; and therefore, know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me; nor if I displease you, can you hurt me or harm me, for I shall be out of your reach. Now, therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of Him that seeketh nothing at your hands but to serve God and to do you good, hearken to what I say. I say unto you, as St. Paul said unto the Galatians; I wonder, my lords, what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist—from Christ's gospel unto man's traditions—from the Lord that bought you unto the Bishop of Rome. I warn you of your peril; be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters to your own death. For if you think thus: we are laymen, this is a matter of religion, we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame. My lords, this is true, I grant you, that both the false teachers and the corrupt governor shall be punished for the death of their subjects, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led; yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands; but yet, nevertheless, shall the subject die the death himself also; that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but both shall fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the council of the Jews, think you, which forsook Christ, and consented to His death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the Scribes and Pharisees, and their clergy, did teach them amiss? yea, and also Pilate their governor, and the emperor's lieutenant, by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death. Forsooth, no, my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither or both shall excuse either that synagogue, or council, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly draught. You are wise, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how you are fallen from Christ to His adversary, the Bishop of Rome.

"And lest, my lords, you may peradventure think thus barely to call the Bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or to speak in plain terms, to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage,

and as a desperate man, do not care what I say or upon whom I do rail; therefore, that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as St. Paul said unto Festus), be it known unto your lordships all, that as concerning the Bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I assure your lordships, the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak, I do think many a good and holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly, which, therefore, justly may be called apostolical; that is, they were true disciples of the apostles, and also that church and congregation of Christians was a right apostolic church: yea, and that certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that gospel, that religion exercised that power, and ordered everything by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long, I say, that see might well have been called St. Peter and St. Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof apostolic, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, a minister of Christ.

"But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the rule of truth and true religion, which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel; hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing, alas! alas! for too long a time; since the time, I say, that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed, both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person, that that see and the bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true rule of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of these godly men. And, therefore, as truly and justly as that see then—for that true rule of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles—was called apostolic, so as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine from Christ and His apostles, that see and bishop thereof, at this day, both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

"The see is the see of Satan; and the bishop of the same that maintaineth the abominations thereof is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes, this see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in his Revelations Babylon, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritual Sodom and Egypt, the mother of fornication, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore doth spiritually commit most

abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them, to rehearse some for example's sake) her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defied; as her massing and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the apostles' doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large; wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shall appear, I trust by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to Him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this whore of Babylon, and the beast whereupon she doth sit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment (according to Daniel's prophecy), and finally, with all falsehood, deceit, and hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word as darkness is unto light, or light unto darkness; white to black, or black to white; or as Belial unto Christ, or Christ unto antichrist himself.

"I know, my lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirit of grace, and the light of God's word, so many, I say, would at these my words lordlike stamp, and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know ye, that in my writing of this, my mind was none other but in God, as the living God doth bear me witness, both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust, by God's grace, to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father, and the living Lord, which is, as St. John saith, the greatest of all, and then I shall not need, I trow, to fear what any lord, no, nor what king or prince can do unto me.

"My lords, if in times past you have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion, before the prince in the pulpit and in the parliament house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said (when as else if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either from desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure), how hath then your lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me, being in this case appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge, otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am persuaded assuredly by God's word shall and doth please Him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say, even that I have said heretofore, both of the see of Rome, and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of His word, verily I

denounce unto you in the word of the Lord, except ye do repent by time, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your grief on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my lords, for God's sake, forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you, moreover, as I know I must be accountable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge, who will judge nothing amiss, so shall you be accountable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will not hearken to God's word, for not obeying the truth. Alas, my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late that your lordships had been persuaded, indeed sufficiently, or that you could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent to the overthrow of the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherein the prince must be obeyed; how is it now a matter wherein, as your clergy saith now, and so say the Pope's laws indeed, standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity of our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the last two kings, Henry VIII. and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then as it is now and be now, as it is said by the Pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation—how then chanced it that ye were all, O my lords! so light and so little fixed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof, without which no man can be saved, as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith; that is, to forsake Christ and His gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is so necessary to salvation, how chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the Bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spirituality and temporalty, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the supremacy of the see and Bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ be a thing of necessity required unto salvation by an antichristian law, as it is indeed, and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting forth of the power of the beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as by truth compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they are), then, my lords, never think otherwise, but the day shall come when you shall be charged with this your undoing of that which once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her dispensations and promises of pardon, that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be you assured, when the living Lord shall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to His word, then all her

abominations shall appear what they are; then, my lords (I give your lordships warning in time), repent ye if ye will be happy, and love your own souls' health; repent, I say, or else without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury and breach of your oath. As ye have banqueted with the harlot in the fornication of her dispensations, pardons, idoltary, and such like abominations, so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betimes) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their abominations must also be partner with them in their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of His blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth. Amen."

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

As concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the original cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopal dignity, it is first to be observed that Thomas Cranmer came of an ancient parentage, from the conquest. He was born in a village called Arselacton, in Nottinghamshire; and being from his infancy kept at school, and brought up not without much civility, he came in process of time to the University of Cambridge, and there prospering in knowledge amongst the better sort of students, he became master of arts, and was chosen fellow of Jesus College, in Cambridge. Having married a gentleman's daughter, he lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham College.

Whilst Cranmer continued as reader in Buckingham College, his wife died in child-bed. After whose death the masters and fellows of Jesus College, desirous of again having their old companion, for his learning, chose him again fellow of the college. Where he, remaining at his study, became in a few years after the reader of the divinity lecture in the same college, and was held in such estimation and reputation with the whole university, that being doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads to examine such as yearly proceed in commencement, either as bachelors or doctors of divinity, by whose approbation the whole university licenses them to proceed to their degree.

Now, Cranmer much favoured the knowledge of the scripture, and would never admit any to proceed in divinity unless they were substantially versed in the history of the Bible; by which certain friars, and other monkish persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors, without regard to the authority of the scriptures, were rejected by him; so that for his severe examination he was much hated, and had in great indignation among the monks; and yet it

came to pass in the end that some of them, being thus compelled to study the scriptures, afterwards became well learned and well affected.

As he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obscure, so he was greatly solicited by Dr. Capon to become one of the fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's College, in Oxford, which he utterly refused.

At this time Cardinal Campegio and Cardinal Wolsey being in commission from the Pope to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between King Henry VIII. and the queen, delayed hearing the cause all the summer till August. When August was come, the cardinals little desiring to proceed to the sentence, took occasion to finish their commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time; which sudden stoppage of the commission so much moved the king that he, taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, commanded the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to despatch forthwith Cardinal Campegio home again to Rome; and so in haste he removed himself from London to Waltham for a night or two, while his household removed to Greenwich; by means of which it chanced that the harbingers, Dr. Stephens, secretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner, lodged in the house of Master Cressey, where Cranmer also lodged. When supper-time came, the three doctors met together: Dr. Stephens and Dr. Foxe much marvelling at Dr. Cranmer's being there; who declared to them the cause of his lodging there—namely, that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old acquaintance, so the secretary and the almoner right well entertained Cranmer, minding to understand his opinion touching the great business they had in hand. So while they were at supper, they conferred with Cranmer concerning the king's cause, requesting his judgment and opinion what he thought therein.

Cranmer answered that he could say but little to the matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding, he said to them that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the ecclesiastical law than needed. "It were better, as I suppose," said Cranmer, "that the question, whether a man may marry his brother's wife or not, were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, by which the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by delays, leaving the truth of the matter untouched by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the scripture will soon declare, being well handled by learned men, and that may be as well done in England, in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation; and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of the matter long since." When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended, the other two liked his advice, and wished that they had so proceeded before, and they resolved so to advise the king, who was then minded to send to Rome for a new commission.

On the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, he called to

him his principal advisers in his cause—namely, Dr. Stephens and Dr. Foxe, saying to them, "What now, my masters, shall we do in this endless cause of mine? I see there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we shall have an end God knoweth, and not I."

When the king had thus spoken, Dr. Foxe said, "We trust that there shall be a better way devised for your majesty than to travel so far as Rome any more in your highness's cause, which by chance was put into our heads at Waltham." The king being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?" Then said Dr. Foxe, "It chanced us to lodge at Waltham, in Master Crésséy's house, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Dr. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your highness's cause, he thought that the best way to instruct and quiet your majesty's conscience was by trying your highness's question out by the authority of the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence."

The king then said, "Where is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" They answered that they left him there. "Marry," said the king, "I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for. I perceive," continued the king, "that that man hath the sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much disquietness."

Cranmer was accordingly sent for, he being removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so towards his friends in Nottinghamshire, an express went for him. But when he came to London he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, that he by their means was thus troubled and brought thither, to be cumbered in a matter in which he had not studied; and therefore entreated them that they would make his excuse, so that he might not be required to come into the king's presence. They promised, and took the matter upon them, if by any means they might compass it; but all was in vain; for the more they began to excuse Cranmer's absence, the more the king chid with them, so that no excuse serving, he was obliged to come to court to the king. When Cranmer was introduced, the prince demanded his name, and said to him, "Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretary and my almoner?" Cranmer assenting, the king said, "Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce after this sort?" repeating the manner and order of it. "That is true, if it please your highness," said Cranmer. "Well," said the king, "I will perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand that I have been long troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other, if we had so proceeded. And therefore, master doctor, I pray you, and because you are a subject, I charge and command you to take pains to see this my cause furthered as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand what I may trust. For this I protest, before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from

the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not against the laws of God ; for otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity. Neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the queen is, nor did I ever fancy woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not arisen ; assuring you, that for the singular virtues wherewith she is endued, besides the consideration of her noble family, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God." And thus greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, "I therefore pray you, with an impartial eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences."

Cranmer excused himself to meddle in so weighty a matter, and besought the king's highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God to the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. "You say well," said the king, "and I am content. But yet I will have you especially to write your mind therein." And so calling the Earl of Wiltshire to him, said, "I pray you, my lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham Place for a time, that he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor anything requisite for his study." And thus after the king's departure, Cranmer went with my Lord of Wiltshire to his house, and he wrote his mind concerning the king's question ; adding, besides the authorities of the scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, also his opinion, which was this :—"That the Bishop of Rome had no such authority, as that he might dispense with the word of God and the scriptures." When Cranmer had made this book, and committed it to the king, the king said to him, "Will you abide by this that you have here written before the Bishop of Rome?" "That will I do, by God's grace," answered Cranmer, "if your majesty do send me there." "Marry," said the king, "I will send you even to him in a sure embassage." And thus by means of Cranmer, not only certain learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendom, to dispute the question, but also the same being by commission disputed by the divines in both universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded that no such matrimony was by the word of God lawful.

Upon this a solemn embassage was prepared and sent to the Bishop of Rome—viz., the Earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and other learned men.

When the time came that they should come before the Bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their embassage, he, sitting on high in his cloth of state, and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, offered his foot to be kissed by the ambassadors ; the Earl of Wiltshire (who stood first) disdaining to do so, stood still, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry.

They offered on the king's behalf to defend, that no man, *jure divino*, could or ought to marry his brother's wife, and that the Bishop

of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. Promises were made, and days appointed, in which the question should have been disputed, and when our embassage was ready to answer, no man appeared to dispute against them. So in the end, the Pope, showing to our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship, dismissed them.

Upon this, the Earl of Wiltshire and the other commissioners, except Cranmer, returned to England. And forthwith Cranmer went to the emperor, to answer such learned men of the emperor's council as would or could say anything against the divorce. Amongst the rest was Cornelius Agrippa, a high officer in the emperor's court, who having private conference with Cranmer on the question, was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter that there was never disputation openly offered to Cranmer in that behalf.

This matter thus prospering, as well touching the king's question as concerning the invalidity of the Pope's authority, Warham, then Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, by which that dignity, being in the king's gift and disposal, was immediately given to Cranmer.

At the time of the Six Articles, mention was made before in the history of King Henry VIII. how adventurously Cranmer opposed himself, standing, as it were, alone against the whole parliament, disputing and replying three days together against the said articles. Insomuch, that the king, when neither he could dislike his reasons, and yet would needs have these articles to pass, required himself to absent himself for the time out of the chamber, while the Act should pass.

After the apprehension of Lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospel thought all things sure on their side, it was so arranged amongst them that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, came to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the archbishop. For Lord Cromwell being gone, they thought all things safe and sure for ever; but Cranmer stood alone against them all in the defence of the truth; and those that he most trusted to—namely, Bishop Heath and Bishop Skip—left him, and so turned against him that they took upon them to persuade him to their purpose; and taking him from the rest of the commissioners into his garden at Lambeth, there, by all manner of persuasions, they entreated him to incline to the king's intentions, who was fully determined to have it. When those two, with other friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he said to them—

"You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles enforced as you have devised them; and now that you perceive his highness to be bent that way, you think it convenient to apply to his highness's mind. You are my friends both. Beware what you do. There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his highness, by consenting to a contrary doctrine, and then in process of time, when

the truth cannot be hid from him, his highness shall perceive how you have dealt with him, I know his grace's nature so well, that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I wish you to beware in time, and discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." All this would not serve, for they still persisted; but Cranmer discharged his conscience and declared the truth unto the king, and God so wrought with the king that his highness joined with him against the rest, so that the book of articles passed on his side, contrary to all their expectations.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his ancient enemy the Bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, endeavoured to prejudice the king against him, declaring plainly that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness further to permit it unreformed, lest, peradventure, by long suffering, such contention should arise and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that thereby might spring horrible commotions and uproars, as in some parts of Germany it did not long ago. The enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much as to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains', had filled the whole realm full of many pernicious heresies. The king desired to know his accusers. They answered that, as he was a councillor, no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but if it would please his highness to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enough against him, for otherwise just testimony and witness against him would not appear; "And therefore, your highness," said they, "must needs give us liberty and leave to commit him to prison."

The king, perceiving their importunate suit against the archbishop, but yet not intending to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands, granted to them that they should the next day commit him to the tower to take his trial. When night came, the king sent Sir Anthony Deny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, desiring him forthwith to resort to him at the court. The archbishop speedily attended at the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked, and tarried for him, his highness said, "Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news! For weighty consideration, it is determined by me and the council, that you to-morrow, at nine of the clock, shall be committed to the Tower, for you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared the whole realm being infected, no small contentions and commotions will arise among my subjects, as of late has occurred in many parts of Germany; and therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower."

When the king had spoken, the archbishop kneeled down and said, "I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at the command of your highness, and I most humbly thank your

majesty for an opportunity to come to my trial; for there are those that have slandered me, and now I hope to prove myself not worthy of such report."

The king perceiving the man's righteousness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord! what manner of man are you? What simplicity is in you? I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such imprisonment. Do you not know what state you are in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Think you to have better luck that way than your master Christ had? I see by it you will run headlong to your own undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you; for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet, notwithstanding, to-morrow, when the council shall sit and send for you, resort to them, and if, in charging you with this matter, they commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a councillor, that you may have your accusers brought before them, without any further imprisonment; and use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no entreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver to them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop), and say to them, If there be no remedy, my lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person by this his token to you all; for (said the king then to the archbishop) so soon as they shall see this my ring, they know it so well, that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof."

The archbishop perceiving the king benignity towards him, had much ado to forbear tears. "Well," said the king, "go your ways, my lord, and do as I have bidden you." Cranmer then, with thanks, took his leave of the king's highness for that night.

On the morrow the council sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop, who, when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in; but of purpose, as it seemed, was compelled there to wait among the pages, lackeys, and serving-men all alone. Shortly, the archbishop was called into the council-chamber. The archbishop answered as the king had advised him, and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion could serve, he delivered the king's ring, referring his cause into the king's hands. The whole council being somewhat amazed, immediately arose, and carried to the king his ring, surrendering the matter, as the custom was, into his own hands.

When they were all come into the king's presence, his highness, with a severe countenance, said to them, "Ah, my lords, I thought I had had wiser men of my council than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you in office, to wait at the council-chamber door amongst serving-men? You might have considered that he was a councillor as

well as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should try him as a councillor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things are done against him maliciously, and if some of you could have had your wish, you would have tried him to the utmost. But I do you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may be beholden to his subject (and so, solemnly laying his hand upon his breast, said), by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all others a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden." Then one or two of the leaders of the council, making their excuse, declared that, in requesting his imprisonment, it was rather meant for his trial, and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my lords," said the king, "take him and use him well, as he is worthy." With that every man caught him by the hand. But his enemies were determined to work his ruin with the king, if possible. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire should accuse him; which in very deed was brought to pass, and the articles were delivered to the king in such a manner as that there must needs follow to the archbishop both indignation of the prince and condign punishment for his grievous offence committed by him and his chaplains in preaching such erroneous doctrine within his diocese of Canterbury. This accusation was delivered to the king by some of the council. When the king had perused the document, he wrapt it up, and put it in his sleeve, and finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his barge furnished with his musicians along by Lambeth bridge. The noise of the musicians induced the archbishop to resort to the bridge to salute his prince. When the king perceived him standing at the bridge, he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge.

"Ah, my chaplain!" said the king to the archbishop, "come into the barge to me." The archbishop declared to his highness that he would take his own barge and wait upon his majesty. "No," said the king, "you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you." When the king and the archbishop were set together in the barge, the king said, "I have news out of Kent for you, my lord." The archbishop answered, "Good, I hope, if it please your highness." "Marry," said the king, "they are so good that I know now the greatest heretic in Kent," and with that he pulled out of his sleeve the articles against the archbishop and his preachers, and gave them to him, desiring him to peruse them. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so uncourteously handled by his own church (I mean of the prebendaries of his cathedral church, and of such of his neighbours as he had many ways obliged, I mean the justices of the peace), it much grieved him. Notwithstanding, he kneeled down to the king, and besought his majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his highness, to try the truth of this accusation. "In very deed," said the king, "I do so mean, and you yourself shall be chief

commissioner, joined with two or three more, as you shall think good yourself." "Then it will be thought," said the archbishop to the king, "that it is not impartial, if it please your grace, that I should be mine own judge, and my chaplains' also."

After three weeks it was seen that nothing could be done, and that the whole was a popish confederacy against the archbishop; so the king appointed the archbishop to name him a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, such as had discretion, wisdom, and courage, to whom he gave commission to search the purses, chests, and chambers of all those that were suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and such letters or writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbishop and the king.

These men, thus appointed, proceeded immediately to the persons' houses and places that they were appointed unto; and, within four hours afterwards, the whole conspiracy was disclosed, by finding of letters, some from the Bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London, at Oxford, and from justices of the shire, with others; so that the first beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire were also searched, where also were found letters serving to this purpose. Amongst all others, two letters came into Cranmer's hands, one from the suffragan of Dover, and another from Dr. Barber, a civilian, whom the archbishop continually retained with him in his household as a counsellor in the law. These two men having been promoted by the archbishop, he had ever held them in such intimacy that, when the suffragan, being a prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he always set him and Barber at his own table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort.

When Cranmer had got their letters into his hands, one day when the suffragan chanced to come to his house, he called him into his study, with Dr. Barber, saying, "Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter." When they were with him in his study he said to them, "You are men in whom I have had much confidence; you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or two to whom I have showed all my secrets from time to time, and trusted them as myself. The matter is so now fallen out that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy, and are become witnesses against me. I require, therefore, your good advice how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I always have used when I needed counsel. What say you to the matter?"

"Marry," quoth Dr. Barber, "such villains and knaves were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law." "Hanging were too good," quoth the suffragan, "and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myself."

At these words the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, "O Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days? It is most true which is said, 'Cursed is man that trusteth in man.'

There was never man handled as I am; but, O Lord, thou hast evermore defended me, and given me one great friend and master (meaning the king), without whose protection I were not able to stand upright one day; I praise thy holy name therefore." And with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and said, "Know ye these letters, my masters?" With that they fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how they a year before were tempted to do the same, and so very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon and forgive them. "Well," said the gentle archbishop, "God make you both good men; I never deserved this at your hands, but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now that there is no fidelity or trust amongst men. I am brought to this point now that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of His great mercy to finish that time shortly." And so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words. This was the last attempt that was made against the archbishop in King Henry VIII.'s days; for never after durst any man move against him. Also, after the death of King Henry VIII., under the government of his son, King Edward VI., the estate of Cranmer (who was godfather to the young king) was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all the time of King Henry, until the entering of King Edward, it seemed that Cranmer was scarcely yet thoroughly persuaded in the right views of the sacrament; but shortly afterwards, being more confirmed by conferences with Bishop Ridley, he so profited, that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute, first, the corporeal presence; secondly, the fanciful transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the papists, that wicked men can eat the natural body of Christ; and, lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. In conclusion, he wrote five books for the public instruction of the church of England, which instruction yet stands to this day, and is received in this church of England.

Against these five books of the archbishop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy of the gospel, attempted an answer.

The Archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replied to this, and published it abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men, in print.

Afterwards, King Edward falling sick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to the popish religion, bequeathed the succession of this realm to the Lady Jane Grey, a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being niece to King Henry VIII. by his sister, with the consent of the council and lawyers of this realm. To this testament of the king, when all the nobles of the realm, states and judges had subscribed, they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe.

But he excused himself, saying that it was otherwise in the testament of King Henry, her father, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary, as then the next heir, by which oath he was so bound that without manifest perjury he could not go from it. The council answered that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had a conscience as well as he, and moreover, that they were sworn to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger in it, or that he should be in more peril of perjury than the rest.

To this the archbishop answered, that he was judge of no man's conscience but his own; and, therefore, as he would not prejudge others, so he would not commit his conscience to other men, seeing that every man should give account of his own conscience, and not of other men's. And as to subscription, before he had spoken with the king himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The king, therefore, being asked by the archbishop concerning this matter, said that the nobles and lawyers of the realm counselled him to it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could not prevent, but that this Lady Jane might succeed him as heir, and the people acknowledge her as their queen. Then demanding leave of the king, that he might first talk with some lawyers that were in the court —when they all agreed that by the law of the realm it might be so, he returned to the king and subscribed the testament.

Not long after this King Edward died, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity, of the whole realm. After whose decease immediately it was commanded that the Lady Jane, who was very unwilling, should be proclaimed queen. To this the common people were much opposed, not that they favoured Mary, but for the hatred they conceived against some of the Lady Jane's supporters.

Besides this, other causes of discord happened between the nobles and the commons at the same time, for injuries of commons and inclosures, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants. In short, thus the matter fell out, that Mary, hearing of the death of her brother, was so assisted by the commons, that she soon prevailed, and being established in the possession of the realm, not long after came to London, and caused the Lady Jane, though tender in age, and innocent from this crime, after she could by no means be turned from the constancy of her faith, to be beheaded, together with her husband.

The nobles, except the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, on paying fines, were forgiven, the Archbishop of Canterbury only excepted. Who, though he desired pardon, could obtain none; insomuch that the queen would not vouchsafe to see him. For the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorce of her mother still remained rankling in her breast. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion, all which was imputed to the archbishop as the cause.

While these things were doing, a rumour was extensively spread, that the archbishop, to curry favour with the queen, had promised to say a dirge mass for the funeral of King Edward. Neither wanted

there some who reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury. To stop this rumour, Cranmer sent forth a writing, the tenor of which being before expressed, I need not here recite.

Some copies of this came into the hands of the bishops, who brought it to the council, and they having sent it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and Cranmer was commanded to appear.

The archbishop accordingly appeared before the commissioners, bringing an inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop of the queen's privy council, being one of the commissioners, after the inventory was received, mentioned the writing; "My lord," said he, "there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seen to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again; we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad."

To whom the archbishop answered again, saying, "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so I must confess to you that I am sorry that it went from me as it did. For when I had written it, Master Story got the copy, and it is now come abroad, and, as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry that it so passed my hands; for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on St. Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined to it."

At which words, when they saw the constancy of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at present to say to him, but that shortly he should hear further. Not long after this he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned for treason. Notwithstanding, the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and especially seeing he last of all others subscribed to King Edward's request, and that against his own will, released him from the charge of treason, and accused him only of heresy; which pleased the archbishop right well, because the cause was not his own, but Christ's: not the queen's, but the church's. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council that he should be removed from the Tower, where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And word was sent before to them of Oxford to prepare themselves, and make them ready to dispute. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some show of disputation the murder of the man might be covered.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions and reasons on both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university and the prolocutor, sufficient has been before declared. We now, therefore, proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was on the 12th September, A.D. 1555, and seven days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer. The account here follows, faithfully corrected by the report and narration of one, who, being both present at it, and also a devout

favourer of the see and faction of Rome, cannot but be credited by the members of that church.

After the disputations in Oxford between the doctors of both universities, and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, you heard how sentence condemnatory was passed against them, by which they were judged to be heretics, and committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But as the sentence was void in law, for at that time the authority of the Pope was not yet received into the land, therefore a new commission was sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly men.

At the coming down of the commissioners, which was on Thursday, the 12th of September, A.D. 1555, in the church of St. Mary, and in the east end of the church at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold for Bishop Brooks, representing the Pope, ten feet high. The seat was made that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar; and on the right hand of the Pope's delegate, beneath him, sat Dr. Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, who were both doctors of the civil law, and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and Pharisees also, with the Pope's collector, and a number of such like officials.

And thus these bishops, being placed in their pontifical robes, the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent for. He came out of the prison to the church of St. Mary, surrounded with armed men, for fear he should escape; being clothed in a black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university use to wear. After he was come into the church, and saw them sitting in their pontifical robes, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till he was called. Then one of the proctors for the Pope called for Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, to appear and make answer to what should be laid to his charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy.

Upon this, he was brought nearer to the scaffold, where the bishop, who represented the Pope, sat; he then first viewed the place of judgment, and seeing where the king and queen's majesties' proctors were, putting off his cap, he first humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and afterwards to the other.

That done, looking the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no token of obedience to him at all. The bishop being offended, said to him, that it might become him, weighing the authority he represented, to do his duty to him. Dr. Cranmer answered, that he had once taken a solemn oath never to consent to the admitting of the Bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant, by God's grace, to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing, either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of it; and so he desired the bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs. This he answered both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on

his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the Pope's person, which was greatly marked by the people that were there present.

When they perceived that the archbishop would not move his bonnet, Bishop Brooks proceeded to make a long oration. After whom Dr. Martin took the matter in hand, and when he had done, the archbishop, kneeling down on both his knees towards the west, said first the Lord's prayer, then rising up, he recited the articles of the creed, which done, he commenced with his protestation in form as follows :—

"This I do profess concerning my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the Bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm."

Story.—"Take a note of that."

Martin.—"Mark how you answer. You refuse him by whose laws you remain in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason."

Cranmer.—"I protest, before God, I was no traitor, but at my arraignment I pleaded guilty to more than was true."

Martin.—"That is not to be reasoned about at present. You know you were condemned for a traitor; but proceed."

Cranmer.—"I will never consent to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king, by God's laws. By the scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person in his realm is above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject; I owe my fidelity to the crown. The Pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the sword and keys, attributing the keys to the Pope, and the sword to the king. But I say the king has both. Therefore, he that is subject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, is a perjured man; for the laws of the Pope and the judges are contrary to each other. A priest breaking the laws of the realm shall be sued before a temporal judge: by the Pope's laws the contrary is settled. The Pope does the king injury, in that he hath his power from the Pope. The king is head in his own realm, but the Pope claims all bishops, priests, curates, etc. So the Pope in every realm has a realm.

"Again, by the laws of Rome, the benefice must be given by the bishop: by the laws of the realm the patron gives the benefice. Here the laws are as contrary as fire and water.

"No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a *præmunire*, and thus the law of the realm is expelled, and the king stands accursed in maintaining his own laws.

"The Bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to His laws; for God commands all men to be diligent in the knowledge of His law, and therefore has appointed one holy day in the week at the least for all people to come to church and hear the word of God expounded to them; and that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue, which they know: the Pope does the contrary, for he commands the service to be said in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it understood, the Pope will not.

When the priest gives thanks, God would that the people should do so too, and God wills them to confess altogether: the Pope will not.

"Now, as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine respecting the sacrament of the altar; for if it can be proved by any doctor within a thousand years after Christ that Christ's body is there really present, I will give over. My book was written seven years ago, and no man has brought any authors against it. I believe that whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is in them, a whole Christ, His nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that corporeally which sitteth in heaven.

"Now, Christ commands all to drink of the cup: the Pope takes it away from the laymen. Christ enjoins us to obey the king: the Bishop of Rome directs us to obey him. Therefore, unless he be antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him; for if I should obey him I cannot obey Christ.

"He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ, 'If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world.' Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the Bishop of Rome gives princes their crowns, being none of his to give; for where princes, either by election, or by succession, or by inheritance, obtain their crown, he saith that they should have it from him.

"Christ saith that antichrist shall appear, and who shall he be? He that advances himself above all other creatures. Now, if there be no one already that has advanced himself after such sort besides the Pope, then in the meantime let him be antichrist."

Story.—"Pleases it you to make an end?"

Cranmer.—"For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea, and with apostacy.

"Now, I have declared why I cannot, with my conscience, obey the Pope. I speak not this from any hatred I bear to him who now supplies his place, for I know him not. I pray God to give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my conscience for the zeal that I bear to God's word, trodden under foot by the Bishop of Rome. I cast fear apart, for Christ said to His apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for His name's sake. 'Fear not them,' saith he, 'which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.' Also Christ saith, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.' Moreover, he tells us to 'confess Him before men, and be not afraid; for if we do so He will stand with us: if we shrink from Him, He will shrink from us.' This is a comfortable and terrible saying, this makes me to set all fear apart. I say, therefore, the Bishop of Rome treads under foot God's laws and the king's.

"The Pope would give bishoprics; so would the king. But at last the king got the upper hand, and so are all bishops perjured, first to the Pope and then to the king.

"The crown has nothing to do with the clergy. If a clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make process against him, but not to execute any laws! If the judge should put him to execution, then is the king accursed in maintaining his own laws! Therefore, I say, that he is neither true to God nor true to the king, that first received the Pope. But I shall heartily pray for such counsellers as may inform the queen the truth: for the king and queen, if they be well informed, will do well."

Martin.—"As you understand, then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too."

Cranmer.—"I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths stand with the realm and the Pope. St. Gregory saith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the universal church is worse than the antichrist. If any man can show me that it is not against God's word to hold his stirrup when he takes his horse, and kiss his feet, as kings do, then will I kiss his feet also. And you for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now you sit as judge for the Pope, and yet you did receive your bishopric from the king. You have taken an oath to be an adversary to the realm; for the Pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm."

Gloucester.—"You were the cause that I forsook the Pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave it to King Henry VIII.; this you made me to do."

Cranmer.—"To that I answer; you report me ill, and say not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessor, Bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry VIII., and said that he ought to have it before the Bishop of Rome, and that God's word would justify him. And men were sent to both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would say concerning the supremacy; and it was reasoned upon and argued at length. So at last both the universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to King Henry to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the Pope. You were then doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was given to it, as by your hand appears. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the Pope; for it was your own act. All this was in Bishop Warham's time, and whilst he was alive; so that it was three quarters of a year before I had the archbishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I could do anything. So that here you have reported of me that which you cannot prove."

Gloucester.—"We come to examine you, and you, methink, examine us."

Story.—"Pleaseth it your lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queen's majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men, for it weareth the steadfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in snare the weak and simple—yet because he saith he is not bound to answer your lordship sitting for the Pope's

holiness, because of a *præmunire*, and the word of God, as he termeth it, I think good to say somewhat, that all men may see how he runneth out of his race of reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust hath done much good. And as the king and queen's majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him, so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And where he allegeth divinity, mingling *fas nefasque* together, he should not have been heard. He hath alleged many matters against the supremacy of the Pope maliciously. You say that the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me there was a perfect catholic church before any king was christened. Then, if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was member thereof; for you know Constantine the emperor was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are bound (as St. Paul saith) to obey your rulers, and kings have rule over the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of souls; for, *a fortiori*, the head may do what the minister cannot do; but the priest may consecrate, and the king cannot—therefore the king is not head.

"Now as concerning that talk of your conscience, that is no conscience that you profess; and as yet, for all your babble, you have not proved by God's laws that you ought not to answer the Pope's holiness."

This Dr. Story said much more to the same effect, as did also Dr. Martin, after which certain interrogatories were administered by the commissioners.

1. It was objected that he, the aforesaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin, in Cambridge.

Whereunto he answered that whether she was called Black or Brown he knew not; but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

2. That after the death of the aforesaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishop by the Pope.

He received, he said, a certain bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was made archbishop by him.

3. That he, being in holy orders, married another woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so was twice married.

To this he acknowledged.

4. In the time of King Henry VIII. he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

Hereunto he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. In the time of King Edward VI. he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might do the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

6. That he was not ashamed openly to glory that he had his wife in secret many years.

And though he so did, he said there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. That the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterwards into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also did compile and cause to be set abroad several books.

Whereunto, when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied no such books which he was the author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and like the same. As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

8. That he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same articles.

He exhorted, he said, such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none.

9. Forsomuch as he ceased not to perpetuate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament there should be holden.

To this he said that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. That in the said city of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresy, and there was convicted upon the same.

He defended, he said, there the cause of the sacrament, but that he was convicted in the same, that he denied.

11. When he persevered still in the same he was, by the public censure of the university, pronounced an heretic, and his books to be heretical.

That he was so denounced he denied not; but that he was an heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

12. That he was and is notoriously a promoter of schism, as one who not only himself receded from the catholic church and the see of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to the same.

As touching the receding, that he freely granted; but that receding or departing, said he, was only from the see of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schism.

13. That he had been twice sworn to the Pope; and Dr. Martin brought out the instrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had protested anything else.

He answered that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. That he, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the authority of the see of Rome, in that without leave or license from the said see, he consecrated bishops and priests.

He granted that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the Pope, at the time when it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the Pope, he only still persisted in his error.

That he did not admit the Pope's authority he confessed to be true, but that he erred in the same, that he denied.

16. That all and singular the premises are true.

That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

Dr. Thirleby and Dr. Bonner were appointed as a new commission to sit upon the archbishop, on the 14th day of February.

The letter or sentence definitive of the Pope was dated about the 1st day of January, and was delivered here in England about the middle of February. Upon the receipt of which another session was appointed, and the archbishop summoned to appear on the 14th day of February, before certain commissioners directed down by the queen; the chief of whom was the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Thirleby. Concerning which Dr. Thirleby it is here to be observed, that although he was not the archbishop's household chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced by him (not like a chaplain, but rather like a brother), that there was never anything in the archbishop's house so dear, were it plate, jewel, horse, maps, books, or anything else, but if Thirleby did ever so little commend it, the archbishop by-and-by either gave it to him, or else sent it after him to his house. So greatly was the archbishop attached to him, that whoever would obtain anything of him most commonly would make their suit first to Dr. Thirleby.

With the Bishop of Ely was also assigned in the same commission, Bonner, Bishop of London, who coming to Oxford upon St. Valentine's day, as the Pope's delegates, with a new commission from Rome, commanded the archbishop to come before them, in the choir of Christ's Church, before the high altar, where they sat in their pontifical robes. They first began, as the custom was, to read their commission; wherein it was contained, how that in the court of Rome all things being examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made to them, and witnesses examined on both parts, and counsel heard as well on the king and queen's behalf as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence, etc.; as it was in reading, "Oh," said the archbishop, "what lies are these, that I being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witnesses and appoint my counsel at Rome? God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They read on the commission *plenitudine protestatis*, supplying all manner of defects in law or process, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, without any appeal.

When the commission was read, they proceeded to his degradation; they first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a surplice, and

then an albe ; after that the vestment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to mass.

When they had apparelled him so far ; "What," said he, "I think I shall say mass."

"Yea," said Cousins, one of Bonner's chaplains, "my lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this."

"Do you?" said he, "that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it."

They then invested him with all manner of robes used by a bishop and archbishop at their installation, saving that as everything then is most rich and costly, so everything on this occasion was canvas and old cloth, with a mitre and a pall of the same kind put on him in mockery, and then the crosier-staff was put in his hand.

This done after the Pope's pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who by the space of many years had borne, as it seemed, no great good-will towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to use all his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly after this manner—

"This is the man that hath ever despised the Pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and is now come before an altar to be judged himself."

After all this mockery was finished they began to degrade him, and first proceeded to take from him his crosier-staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver, and imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, where he there and then delivered to them, saying, "I appeal to the next general council ; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted ;" and prayed divers of the standers-by, by name, to be witnesses.

This appeal being put up to the Bishop of Ely, he said, "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you without any appeal, and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," said he, "then you do me the more wrong ; for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the Pope and me, and none other ; and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause."

"Well," replied Ely, "if it may be admitted it shall," and so he received it from him. And then he began to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him ; and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on. The archbishop gently replied, he was very well content ; and so they proceeded to his degradation ; the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies, was taken out of the Pope's pontifical.

When they came to take off his pall (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop) Cranmer said, "Which of you has a pall, to take off my pall?" Which imported as much as that they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. One of them said, in that as they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges; but being the Pope's delegates, they might take his pall; and so forthwith they took everything from him. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishops scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other bishop was soft and gentle. Last of all they stripped him of his gown to his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, both bare and slovenly made as one could see, and a townsman's cap on his head; and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation and all was finished, then spake Lord Bonner, "Now are you no lord any more;" and whenever he spake to the people of him he used this term, "This gentleman here," etc. Thus attired, Cranmer was conveyed to prison, exciting the compassion and pity of every beholder.

While the archbishop was in prison (where he had been now for almost the space of three years) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves about him to induce him to recant, trying, by all crafty practices and allurements, how they might bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they invited him to the dean's house of Christ's Church, in the university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, they secretly suborned men, who, when they could not refute him by arguments and disputation, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recant; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they would receive, if the archbishop stood steadfast in his profession; and, again, on the other side, how great profit they would get if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason of which the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating, promising, and all other means.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him and for his soul's health the same would be. They added, moreover, how the council and the noblemen bore him goodwill. They put him in hope that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying, it is but a small matter, and so easy, that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand; which, if he did, there should be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have either riches or dignity, or else if he had rather live a private life in retirement, in whatsoever place he desired, without any public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refused, there was no hope of pardon: for the queen was so purposed, that she would

have Cranmer a catholic, or else no Cranmer at all. Therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the course of nature did call him; for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying, that he was not so old but that many years might yet remain to him in this life; and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he might do it for his own sake, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health than he was himself; saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues; which being joined with his life, would be profitable both to himself and to many others; but being extinct by death, would be fruitful to no man; that he should take good heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough safely to restore all things, and nothing was wanting, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they exhorted him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he now refused it while offered, he might hereafter seek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember, that to die is grievous at all times, especially in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous; but to die in the fire and such torments is most grievous of all. With these and like persuasions, these fair flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge him, using all means they could to draw him to their side, whose force his manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last when they made no end of calling and enticing him, the archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length put his hand to his recantation; of which the following is a copy:—

"I, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zwingle, and all other teachings which are contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess, one holy and catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to be the supreme head on earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar, the very body and blood of Christ being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into His blood.

"And in the other six sacraments also (like as in this), I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed are punished for a time, for whom the church doth

godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe than the catholic church and church of Rome holds and teaches. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God that of His mercy He will vouchsafe to forgive me whatsoever I have offended against God or His church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

"And all such as have been deceived either by my example or doctrine, I require them, by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, etc., and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of mine own conscience as to the instruction of others."

This recantation of the bishop was no sooner written than the doctors and prelates without delay caused it to be printed, and sent abroad in all men's hands. The queen, having now got a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly; but of her purpose to put him to death she would not relent.

Cranmer was now in a miserable state, neither inwardly had he any quietness in his own conscience; nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that he could neither die honestly, not yet dishonestly live. And where he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, so that neither with good men could he avoid secret shame, not yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

In the meantime, the queen taking secret counsel how to despatch Cranmer out of the way, appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Tame, and the Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, who were commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Cole, charged by the queen's commandment, returned to Oxford, who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith, Cole departed for that time. On the next day he repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his

death that was prepared; and therefore in the morning, which was the 21st day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any money. To whom, when he answered that he had none, he delivered to him fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would; and after exhorting him as much as he could to constancy in faith, departed.

By this, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, a witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should only profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him to write the document with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name; which, when he had done, the friar desired him to write another copy which should remain with him, and that he did also. The archbishop, however, not being ignorant whereto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer, with his exhortation written in another paper, which he minded to recite to the people before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after nine o'clock the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen that were sent by the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train. There was also a great concourse of people of both parties, filled with great expectation. For first of all, they that were of the Pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should establish their opinion; the other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet believe that he who, by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his religion. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires every man wished and hoped for that which he was gathered thither to hear and behold.

Cranmer at length, because it was a foul and rainy day, was brought from prison unto St. Mary's church, the chief church in the university, in this order: The mayor went before, next to him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer, placed between two friars, who saying to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the Song of Simeon, and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over the pulpit, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole was ready with his sermon.

The lamentable case of this man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy councillor, being

now in a bare and ragged gown, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own liability, to see such a prelate, so grave a councillor, and of so long-continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life; and also to descend from such showy and costly ornaments to such vile and ragged apparel.

In this habit, when he had stood a good while upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed to God once or twice, till at length Dr. Cole, coming into the pulpit, began his sermon. He entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary; and after he had praised them in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his sermon into three parts, according to the solemn custom of the schools, intending to speak, first, of the mercy of God; secondly, of His justice to be showed; and, last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by-and-by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he being endued with the favour and feeling of wholesome catholic doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious error: which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with His justice, that He did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same altogether to go unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who, when he was bidden choose of three kinds of punishment which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days, the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all; and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due, according to the canons, seeing he repented him of his errors, yet there were causes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

The latter part of his sermon he turned to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of scripture, as with these and such like: bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ said, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." And out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of the fire by this, "The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength." By the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew: adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross, the patience of St. Laurence on the fire, assuring him that

God, if he called on Him, and to such as die in His faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. He glorified God much in Cranmer's conversion, because it appeared to be only God's work, declaring what conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of His mercy to reclaim him and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings; thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time, said he, he flowed in riches and honour he was unworthy of his life, and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, he said, and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that, immediately after his death, there should be dirges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul.

With what great grief of mind Cranmer stood all the while hearing this sermon, the outward motions of his body and countenance better expressed than any man can declare; at one time lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image of perfect sorrow lively expressed in him. More than twenty distinct times the tears flowed abundantly, dropping down from his fatherly face. Those who were present do testify that they never saw in any child more tears than burst out from him at that time, during all the sermon; but especially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts that beheld so heavy a countenance and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart to prayers. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago—namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed." "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and that with a good will," who, by-and-by rising up and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people:—

"I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed. But among all the rest, there is one offence which most of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof, in process of my talk, you shall hear more in its proper place;" and then putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer and added—

"Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that He will forgive me all my sins and offences, which are without

number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins are, I beseech you to pray to God of His mercy to pardon and forgive them all."

And here kneeling down he said—

"O Father of heaven, O son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To Thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to Thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins are great, but yet have mercy upon me for Thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give Thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to Thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore, have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for Thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for Thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for Thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, our Father of heaven, hallowed be Thy name, etc.

And then rising, he said—

"Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby, so I beseech God to grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, it is a cause of much grief to see that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and are so careful for it, while they seem to care very little or nothing for the love of God, or the world to come. Therefore, this shall be my first exhortation—'That you set not your minds overmuch upon this deceiving world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

"The second exhortation is, 'That, next under God, you obey your king and queen, willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they are God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you; and whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.'

"The third exhortation is, 'That you love altogether like brethren and sisters.' For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and practice well this one lesson, 'To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would

hurt your own natural loving brother or sister.' For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.'

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!' (Luke xviii. 24). A sore saying, and yet spoken of Him that knoweth the truth.

"The second is from St. John, who says, 'But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother hath need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' (1 John iii. 17).

"The third is from St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, 'Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.' (James v. 1–3). Let them that are rich ponder well these three sentences; for if they had ever occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and the victuals so dear.

"And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up; I shall, therefore, declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation, for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, etc. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, His apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testaments.

"And now I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth, which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be, and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offendeth, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished for it; for when I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

"And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, which book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine shall be ashamed to show her face."

Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, were amazed, and did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Briefly, it was a victory to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more strikingly or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted that they looked for a glorious victory and perpetual triumph by Cranmer's recantation.

As soon, therefore, as the popish party heard those things, they began to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more because they could not revenge their grief; for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. The most miserable man in the world can die but once; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased; now being never so much offended with him, yet he could not be twice killed. And so when they could do nothing else, yet lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object to him his falsehood and dissimulation.

To which accusation he answered, "Ah, my masters, do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood and a lover of simplicity, and never before the time of my recantation have I dissembled;" and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, and especially Cole cried out upon him, "Stop the heretic's mouth and take him away."

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madness," said they, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study and apply to his book diligently, saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he would get knowledge.

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burned before him for the confession of the truth, he kneeled down and prayed to God, but did not tarry long in his prayers, for he put off his garments to his shirt, and prepared himself for death. His shirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare; and his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies.

Then an iron chain was tied about Cranmer, and when they perceived him to be more steadfast than to be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set to him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and oftentimes he repeated, "This unworthy right hand!" so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of His name and profit of His church. So good was the Lord, both to His church in fortifying with it the testimony and blood of such a martyr, and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and Master Allen, or if there were any others with whose burning and blood his hands had been polluted. But especially he had to rejoice that, dying in such a cause, he was numbered amongst Christ's martyrs.

GERTRUDE CROKHAY.

Gertrude Crokhay, dwelling at St. Katherine's, by the Tower of London, and being then in her husband's house, it happened then in the year 1558 that the Pope's childish St. Nicholas went about the parish. Which she understanding, shut her door against him, not suffering him to enter into her house.

Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof, and being then master of the said St. Katherine's, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to affright her, and asked why she would not the night before let him in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, etc. To whom she answered thus, "Sir, I know not that St. Nicholas came hither." "Yes," quoth Mallet, "here was one that represented St. Nicholas." "Indeed, sir," said she, "here was one that was my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas; for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have my purse cut by them; for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks," etc. So Mallet perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then in the year 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptised of one

Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house after the order of the service book in King Edward's time; and that being soon known to her enemies, she was sought for. She understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Guelderland, to see certain lands that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born; and being there about a quarter of a year, at length, coming homeward by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, *alias* John de Villa of Antwerp, shipper, who seeing her there, went out of malice to the margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist; whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why he did thus was, because he claimed of Master Crokhaw her husband, a piece of money which was not his due, for a ship that Master Crokhay bought of him; and because he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight. In which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rhenish wine-vats, and afterwards secretly put into sacks, and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, expecting to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought on the beginning of the sickness of which at length she died.

Then at last she was called before the margrave, and charged with Anabaptistry; which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with the profession, at the suit of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book; and so she came over into England again.

DEATH OF QUEEN MARY.

Mary being long sick, upon the 17th of November, at three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to Queen Elizabeth, her sister.

As touching the manner of her death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her much sighing before her death) suppose she died of thought and sorrow. Her council seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more ready consolation to her, feared, as they said, that she took thought for the king's majesty, her husband, who was gone from her. To whom she answered again, "Indeed, that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierces my oppressed mind;" but what that was she would not express to them.

Afterward she opened her mind more plainly to Master Rice and Mistress Clarentius, who then being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her that they feared she took thought for King Philip's departing from her. "Not that only (said she), but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart," etc. And here an end of Queen Mary and of her persecution.

Of which queen this may be truly affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens that shall suc-

ceed her, that before her was never read in history of any king or queen of England since the beginning of the kingdom, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning, so much Christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives, were spilled within this realm, as Queen Mary, for the space of four years, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

When she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and His gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by King Edward, her brother, so long God went with her, and by means of the [illegible]ellers brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that, she breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy to the Pope, God's blessing left her, neither did anything well thrive with her afterward, during the whole time of her reign.

She would needs bring in King Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, make the whole realm of England subject unto a stranger. And all that, notwithstanding, she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England on his head. With King Philip also came in the Pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns unto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the utmost of her ability; and yet God stopped her of her will.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this Queen Mary's days. The affairs of Queen Mary have had no great good success. But never was any woman more disappointed than Queen Mary was in her hope of children, for which she was so desirous, and of which the nation was so often in expectation, from the accounts which were given out from the court, and yet how was all the realm deluded? And, in the meanwhile, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the catholic clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their religion was so goodly as they pretend? If their masses "*Ex opere operato*," be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory, how chanced then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? if not, how then came it to pass, that all the popish church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived? The omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of joys and felicities came all to a castle come down; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation; she seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband; she neither had children by him while she had him, neither could now enjoy him whom she had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy.

At last, when all admonitions would take no place with the queen, [illegible] her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of

her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the poor servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, by death to cut her off, who in her life so little regarded the life of others, giving her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months.

And thus much in the closing up of this story I thought to insert touching the unlucky and rueful reign of Queen Mary, not for any detractation to her place and state royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forasmuch as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and His proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefor, but also by her may be advertised and learned what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church to the effusion of Christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them (as it did here), that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at the same stone as did the Jews in persecuting Christ and His true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

Printed by WALTER SCOTT, "The Kenilworth Press," Felling, Newcastle