

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

by

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Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 4

From John Huss to the Death of Pope Julius II

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John Huss preaching

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100. The Entry of the Story of the Bohemians.

I declared a little before, how, by the occasion of Queen Anne, who was a Bohemian, and married to King Richard the Second, the Bohemians, coming thereby to the knowledge of Wickliff's books here in England, began first to taste and savour Christ's gospel, till at length, by the preaching of John Huss, they increased more and more in knowledge, insomuch that Pope Alexander the Fifth, hearing thereof, began at last to stir coals, and directeth 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. To whom the said John answering again, declared that mandate or bull of the pope utterly to repugn against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the gospel, in binding the word of God not to have free recourse; 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, as is aforesaid.

After whom succeeded Pope John the Twenty-third, who also, playing his part here in this matter like a pope, sought by all means possible how to repress and keep under the Bohemians, first beginning to work his malice upon the aforesaid John Huss, their preacher, who at the same time preaching at Prague in the temple of Bethlehem, because he seemed rather willing to teach the gospel of Christ than the traditions of bishops, was therefore accused of certain to the forenamed Pope John the Twenty-third for a heretic. The bishop committed the whole matter unto Cardinal de Columna; who, when he had heard the accusation, he appointed a day to John Huss, that he should appear in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, and of Bohemia, at the request specially 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 quit and clearly deliver John Huss from that sentence and judgment; and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or false doctrine, he should send his ambassadors, the which might correct and amend the same, if there be any error or fault in them; and that all this should be done at the only cost 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. In the mean season, also, John Huss, before his day appointed, sent his lawful and meek procurators unto the court of Rome, and with most firm and strong reasons did prove his innocency; whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he should have easily obtained that he should not have been compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appear the day appointed. But when the Cardinal de Columna, unto whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed, would not admit any defence or excuse, John Huss's procurators appealed unto the high bishop: yet, notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so much prevail with Cardinal de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Huss as an obstinate heretic, because he came not at his day appointed unto Rome. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as his procurators had appealed unto the high bishop, they had other judges appointed unto them, as Cardinal Aquileianus and Cardinal Venetus, with certain others; the which judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter for the

space of a year and a half, at last returned to the sentence and judgment of Cardinal de Columna, and, confirming the same, commanded John Huss's procurators that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer: whereupon, when his procurators would not cease their instant suit, certain of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished; the others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding, 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 word 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 plucked 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.

Over and besides this, at the same time John Huss did propound publicly, and by the notaries caused to be written, three doubtful questions, the tenor whereof followeth here word for word, and is this: "Forasmuch," saith he, "as it is good for men being in doubt to ask counsel, whereby all dubitation is removed, they may be able more firmly to adhere to the truth; three doubts arise here to be solved: The first doubt is, Whether we ought to believe in the pope? The second, Whether it be possible for any man to be saved, which confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal priest? The third doubt is, Whether any of the doctors do hold or say, that some of Pharaoh's host being drowned in the Red Sea, and of the Sodomites being subverted, be saved?"

As concerning the first, he did hold negatively, alleging the saying of Bede upon this place of the apostle, To him that believeth upon him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness, Rom. iv. Upon this place saith Bede, *Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum, &c.* "The second doubt," saith he, "the master of the sentences doth answer in these words, 'What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assoiling of the outward pain, sins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart,'" &c. For the third doubt he brought in the words of St. Jerome upon the prophet Nahum, speaking of the Egyptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert. "Know you," saith Jerome, "that God, therefore, punished them for their sins here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually; and therefore, because they were here punished, they should not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lie, which is not to be granted." These three questions belike John Huss did bring in, to declare how the doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the Church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

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It followeth, moreover, after the death of the archbishop Swinco abovementioned, that one named Conrad was placed by the pope there to be chief general, which Conrad, conferring with the divines and doctors of the university of Prague, required their advices and counsels, what way they might best take to assuage the dissension and discords between the clergy and the people whereupon a certain council was devised to be holden after this sort and manner, as followeth

"1. First, That all doctors and masters of the university of Prague should be assembled in the court of the archbishop, and that, in his presence, every doctor and master should swear, not to hold or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff before condemned.

"2. Item, Concerning the seven sacraments of the church, the keys and censures of the church, the manners, rites, ceremonies, customs, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of relics and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that every one shall swear that he doth hold, believe, and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the Church of Rome, and no otherwise, of which Church of Rome the pope is the head, and the college of cardinals is the body, who are the true and manifest successors of blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and of the college of the other apostles of Christ.

"3. Item, That every one shall swear, that in every catholic matter, belonging to the church, he will stand to the determination of the apostolical see, and that he will obey the prelates in all manner of things, wheresoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden, or that which is mere ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both: which mean or indifferent thing, yet, notwithstanding, by circumstances of time, place, or person, may be either good or evil.

"4. Item, That every one shall swear and confess by his oath, that the opinions of Wickliff and others, touching the seven sacraments of the church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said Church of Rome, be false.

"5. Item, That an oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend, or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff aforesaid, or in any other matter catholic, and especially of the seven sacraments and other articles above specified, but only as doth the Church of Rome, and no otherwise.

"6. Item, That every ordinary in his diocese shall cause the said premises, contained in the first, second, third, and fourth articles aforesaid, to be published in his synods, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdom of Bohemia.

"7. Item, If any clerk, student, or layman shall withstand any of the premises, that the ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old laws and canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any means; for none but the ordinary hath power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancellor both of the kingdom and university of Prague.

"8. Item, That the songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others' fame, be not sung either in streets, taverns, or any other place.

"9. Item, That Master John Huss shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the court, neither shall hinder the preaching in Prague by his presence; that by this, his obedience to the apostolical see may be known.

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"10. Item, That this council doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the kingdom of Bohemia.

"11. Item, If Master John Huss, with his accomplices, will perform this, which is contained in the four former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of faith: otherwise, if they will not so do, we, in giving this testimony, should lie greatly unto our lord the king and to the whole world. And, moreover, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved."

This counsel and device being considered amongst the heads of the university of Prague, the aforesaid administrator, named Conrad, presented it to the king and to the barons of the realm, and also to the senate of Prague; whereof, as soon as word came to John Huss and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in manner and form of a counsel, as followeth:

"For the honour of God and the true preaching of his gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of the marquesship of Moravia, and of the city and university of Prague, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the clergy and the scholars of the university:

"1. Let the right and just decreement of the princes, and of the king's council, be holden and stand in force, which, between the lord archbishop Swinco, on the one party, and between the rector and Master John Huss, on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed, in the court of our sovereign lord the king.

"2. Item, That the kingdom of Bohemia remain in its former rites, liberties, and common customs, such as other kingdoms and lands do enjoy, that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother universal church.

"3. Item, That Master John Huss (against whom the aforesaid Lord Swinco could object no crime before that council) may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there whosoever will object to him either heresy or error, let him object; binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

"4. Item, If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the commandment be made by our sovereign lord the king through all his cities; and, likewise, let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and towns, that Master John Huss is ready to render account of his faith; and therefore if any will object unto him any heresy or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbishop, and bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

"5. Item, If none such shall be found to object, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which caused to be noised and rumoured in the pope's court, that in the kingdom of Bohemia, in the city of Prague, and in the marquisdom of Moravia, many there be whose hearts be infected with heresy and error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.

"6. Item, That commandment be directed to doctors of divinity and of the canon law, and to the chapter of cathedral churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be a heretic or erroneous, and if they deny to know any such, then let them

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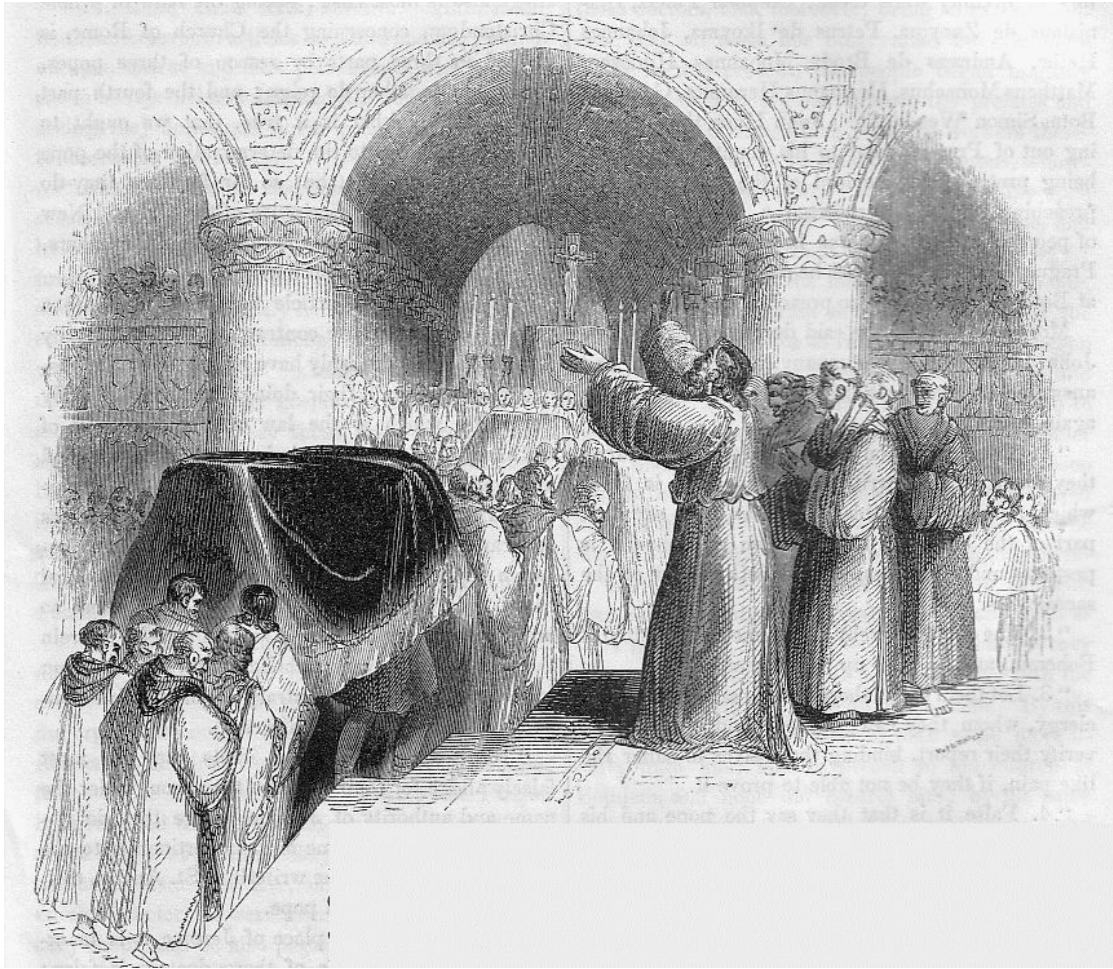
make recognition thereof, before the public notary, confirming the same with their seals.

"7. Item, These things thus done and premised, then that our sovereign lord the king, and also that the archbishop, will give commandment under pain, that no man shall call one another heretic or erroneous, unless he will stand to the probation of that heresy or error, as it becometh him.

"8. Item, After these things obtained, that our sovereign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then levy a subsidy, or collect of the clergy, and direct an honest embassy to the pope's court, with the which ambassadors let them also go upon their own proper charges or expenses for their purgation, which have caused this kingdom falsely and grievously to be defamed in the apostolical court.

"9. Item, In the mean season, for the presence of Master John Huss, no interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late, contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church," &c.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, the one objecting, the other answering in articles as is aforesaid, in the mean time 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 the said Ladislaus, gave full remission of sins to all them which would war of 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 commandment that no man should attempt any thing against the said pope's indulgences. But Huss, with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began manifestly to speak against them; of the which company were three certain artificers, who, hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speak against them, and called the pope antichrist, which would set up the cross to fight against his even-christened. Wherefore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward: but the people, joining themselves 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 returning home to his own house, the tumult was assuaged: but the captains, being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded, whose names were John, Martin, and Stascon. The death and martyrdom of these three being known unto the people, they took the bodies of them that were slain, and with great solemnity brought them unto the church of Bethlem: at whose funeral divers priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise; "These be the saints which, for the testament of God, gave their bodies," &c. And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlem, John Huss preaching at the same funeral, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had hid the Way of his verity so from the prudent of this world, and had revealed it to the simple lay-people and inferior priests, which chose rather to please God than men.



John Huss preaching at the funeral of John, Martin, and Stascon

Thus the city of Prague was divided. The prelates, with the greatest part of the clergy, and most of the barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold with the pope, especially Stephen Paletz, being the the chiefest doer on that side. 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 cease this dissension risen in the church, he committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, did 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 Wickliff and John Huss. The names of the doctors of divinity were these: Stephen Paletz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Ikoyma, Johannes Heliæ, Andræas de Broda, Johannes Hildesen, Mattheus Monachus, Hermanus Heremita, Georgius Bota, Simon Wenda, &c. John Huss, thus departing out of Prague, went to his country, where he, being protected by the lord of the soil, continued preaching, 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 Bethlem, and there also preached unto the people.

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Moreover, against the said decree of the doctors, John Huss, with his company, replied again, and answered to their articles, with contrary articles again, as followeth:

"1. The foundation of the doctors, whereupon they found all their writings and counsels, is false, which foundation is this: whereas they say that part of the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsely of the sacraments.

"2. The doctors hereby do defame the kingdom of Bohemia, and do raise up new discords.

"3. Let them show, therefore, those persons of the clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verify their report, binding themselves to suffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

"4. False it is that they say the pope and his cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the apostles, and that no other successors of Peter and of the apostles can be found upon the earth besides them: whereas no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour; and all bishops and priests be successors of Peter and of the apostles.

"5. Not the pope, but Christ only is the head; and not the cardinals, but all Christ's faithful people be the body of the catholic church; as all Holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do testify and affirm.

"6. And as touching the pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member also of the holy church of God, but of the devil and of his synagogue.

"7. The clergy of the gospellers, agreeing with the saying of St. Austin which they allege, and according to the sanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, do say and affirm laudably: that the condemnation and prohibition of the forty-five articles is unlawful, and unjust, and rashly done; and that not only because the doctors, but also all bishops and archbishops, in such great causes, namely, touching faith, as these articles do, have no authority at all.

"8. The second cause of the discord which they allege also is most false; seeing the faith of whole Christendom, concerning the Church of Rome, is divided in three parts by reason of three popes, which now together do reign; and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope and of the cardinals, but so far forth as they do agree with the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers, as is evident, did first spring.

"9. In the fourth article they burst out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themselves; by reason that they doltishly have reprehended the gospellers, who in all their doings receive the Holy Scripture, which is the law of God, the way of truth and life, for their judge and measure: and afterwards they themselves do allege the Scripture, Deut. xvii., where all judges, both popes and cardinals, are taught to judge and discern between leper and leper, and in every ecclesiastical cause, only after the rule of God's law. And so are they contrary unto their second article, wherein they say, that in every catholic matter we must run to the pope; which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

"10. Consequently, like idiots they do most falsely allege for their purpose the canon, under the name and authority of Jerome, where they do apply the words of

Jerome most impertinently to the pope of Rome, which he writeth to St. Austin, calling him a most blessed pope.

"11. By the which place of Jerome it is manifest that the first article of those doctors is false: forasmuch as by these words appeareth that others besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and seat of Peter, and are successors of the apostles; as was Austin and other holy bishops more.

"12. Whereof it followeth moreover, that the Church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principal see of his whole church: for Christ, which was the head priest of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes did sit some in Bononia, some at Perugia, some at Avignon.

"13. Item, The aforesaid prelates are falsifiers of the Holy Scriptures and canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished; which affirm and say, that we must obey the pope in all things. For why? it is known that many popes have erred, and one pope was also a woman; to whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but also unlawful to communicate with them, as all rubrics and infinite canons do declare.

"14. Item, Their sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles do stand and are grounded upon untrue and false persuasions, and therefore are to be rejected and detested like the other before; seeing they do induce, not to peace and verity, but to dissension and falsity.

"15. It is manifest also to the laity, that this dissension among the clergy riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the gospel, which reprehendeth such simoniacs, and such heretics in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, spreading out their branches abroad into all the world, who deserve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the clergy gospellers, but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simony, luxury, and avarice, which is idol-worship, be the causes of all this dissension among the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia, and not the other, which they falsely ascribe to the gospellers of Prague. These three vices being removed, peace and unity would soon be restored in the clergy.

"16. Moreover, their last article is too gross, and not only is without all law, but also without all colour of law: whereas they fondly and childishly do argue thus: that the processes made against Master John Huss ought to be obeyed, because, forsooth, the common sort of the clergy of Prague hath received them. By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the devil, for our first parents, Adam and Eve, obeyed him. Also our ancestors before us were pagans, wherefore we must obey them, and be also pagans.

"17. But let this frivolous opinion go, this is certain truth, that the said processes, made against Master John Huss, by law, are none, forasmuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed, contrary to the commission of the pope, against the determination of the holy mother church, and a thousand other laws besides.

"18. Finally, whosoever wittingly and obstinately doth defend and execute, (the said process made,) or consenteth unto them, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretics, as hath been before written and exhibited to the lord general bishop Olomucense; and more shall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the doctors."

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Tedious it were to recite all the bible-babble of these doctors in this their long responsal. Whoso listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may resort either to the history of Æneas Silvius, or else to Master Cochleus, in his first book, De Hist. Hussit.

Thus then Master John Huss, being driven out of Prague, as is before touched, by the motion of these doctors, and, moreover, being so excommunicate, that no mass nor other must be said there where he was present, the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests, which were the workers thereof, accusing them to be simoniacs, covetous, whoremasters, adulterers, proud; sparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignominy and shame, and much craving reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king, seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickedness of the clergy, under pretence to reform the church, began to require greater exactions upon such priests and men of the clergy, as were known and accused to be wicked livers. Whereupon they, on the other part, that favoured John Huss, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the catholic faction, or enemies to John Huss; by reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear; insomuch that they were glad 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 unto him, and to preach in his church at Bethlem, and none did control him: by the same means the people also received some comfort, and the king much gain and money by that reason.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Huss, were enwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of laymen, as of learned men of the clergy, insomuch that women also and children were against them; and by the same reason wherewith they thought to entangle him, they were overthrown themselves. For the doctors, which before condemned this doctrine in John Huss for intolerable heresy, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that temporal lords might take away temporal livings from the clergy sinning *habitualiter*, that is, lying and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now, when the king and the lords temporal began to amerce them, and bereave them of their temporalities for their transgressions, the said doctors did keep silence and durst speak never a word. Again, where the aforesaid doctors before could not abide in John Huss, that tithes were to be counted for pure alms, now coming to the Guildhall, they were feign to entreat for their temporal goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same temporalities .to be mere alms and devotion of good men, given unto the church.

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemn. The more that the pope's clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Huss, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings, for the which cause Stephen Paletz, and Andræas de Broda, being the chief champions of that faction, though they would not remedy the cause, yet, to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruel letters to Master Huss. And, to help the matter forward, the pope also here must help at a pinch, who likewise writeth his letters to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, which was brother to Sigismund, emperor, for the suppressing of John Huss and of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last year of his popedom, A. D. 1414: the tenor of whose letters to King Wenceslaus in this wise proceedeth.

"John, bishop, servant of God's servants, to his well-beloved son in Christ, Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia, greeting and apostolical benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart, who, although unworthy, represent the room of Christ here in earth, this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms do increase, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is between your honour and our well-beloved son in the Lord, Sigismund, your brother german and cousin, for the noble king of the Romans, &c.

"And as we have cause to joy at the premises, so likewise again the heavy rumours which are here, do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in divers places under your dominion, there be certain which do follow and lean to the errors of that arch-heretic Wickliff, whose books have been long since condemned in the general Roman council, to be erroneous, heretical, and swerving from the catholic faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons, cleaving to the opinions of the heretics, (lest they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excess, to cover their naughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commandments of the apostolical seat,) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keys and ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of the apostolical dignity, setting at naught the decrees of the holy fathers and canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship, for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire and hope you will, so effectuously to show forth your regal power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the catholic faith, which you go about to defend, and for the conservation of your kingly name, state, and honour, for the prosperous and safe government of your kingdom and dominions, as it becometh a catholic prince: whereby this blot of heresy, which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortal men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the congregation of the pure and catholic faith and truth, may be rooted out, &c.

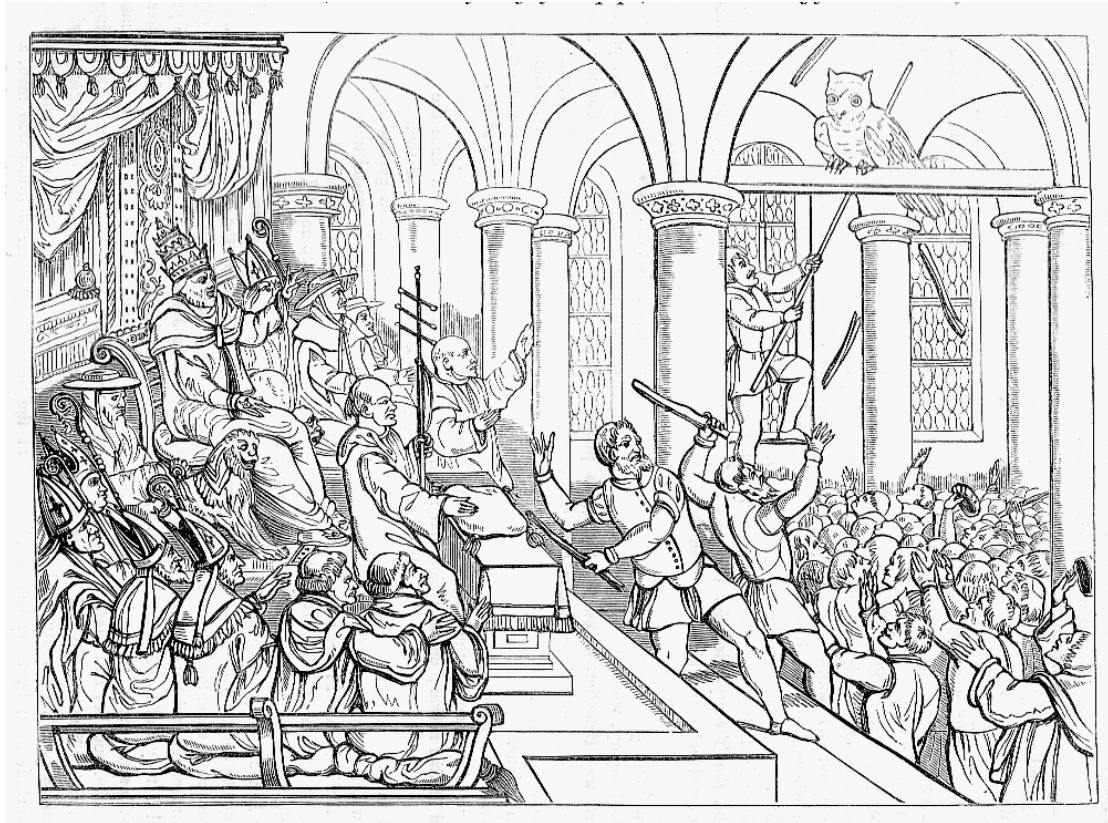
"Given at Bononia, in the ides of June, in the fifth year of our popedom," &c.

In this epistle of Pope John above prefixed, forasmuch as mention is made of a certain council before holden at Rome (which was four years before) against the articles and books of John Wickliff, it shall not be impertinent, nor out of purpose, to repeat a certain merry history, and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by Nicholas Clemangis, of a certain spirit which ruled the popish councils: his words are these:

"The same pope called a council at Rome about four years before, at the earnest suit of divers men; and a mass of the Holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said council, according to the accustomed manner, the council being set, and the said John sitting highest in a chair prepared for him for that purpose; behold, an ugly and dreadful owl, or, as the common proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro, with her evil-favoured voice, and standing upon the middle beam of the church, cast her staring eyes upon the pope sitting. The whole company began to marvel to see the night-crow, which is wont to abide no light, how he should, in the mid-day, come in the face of such a multitude; and judged, not without cause, that it was an ill-favoured token. 'For behold,' said they, (whispering one in another's ear,) 'the spirit appeareth in the shape of an owl.' And as they stood beholding one another, and advising the pope, scarcely could they keep their countenance from laughter. John himself, upon whom the owl stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat, and to fret and fume

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with himself, and not finding by what other means he might salve the matter, being so confused, dissolving the council, rose up and departed. After that there followed another session: in the which the owl again, after the manner aforesaid, although, as I believe, not called, was present, looking stedfastly upon the bishop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more ashamed than he was before, and justly, saying he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she should be driven away with bats and shoutings. But she, being afraid neither with their noise, neither with any thing else, would not away, until that, with the strokes of the sticks which were thrown at her, she fell down dead before them all. This I learned of a faithful friend, who at the same time came to Rome: the which thing I scarcely crediting for the rareness of the matter, he affirmed by his oath, that it was most certain and true; adding, moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that council called for such a purpose; and by little and little the council was dissolved, nothing done there, as he saith."



The Council disturbed by an Owl

Although it hath not been always seen that such spiritual doves have been present with popes and their councils, and governed them, yet their evil doctrine declareth no less. Read, gentle reader! the book of Clemangis, and thou shalt not think thy labour evil bestowed; for he hath both learnedly, truly, freely, and godly bewrayed the filthiness of antichrist, and his ministers, their wickedness, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the church, &c. And thus much for Pope John.

101. The Council of Constance.

Here, by the way, is to be noted and understood, that during all this time of Pope John, there were three popes reigning together, neither was yet the schism ceased, which so long time had continued, the space, as I said, of twenty-nine years; by reason whereof a general council was ordained and holden at Constance in the same year, A. D. 1414, being called by Sigismund the emperor, and Pope John the Twenty-third, for the pacifying of the aforesaid schism, which was then between three popes striving for the popedom; the first whereof was John, whom the Italians set up; the second was Gregory, whom the Frenchmen set up; the third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this schismatical ambitious conflict, every one defended his pope, to the great disturbance of Christian nations. This council endured four years long, wherein all their matters were decided mostly by four nations, namely, the English, German, French, and Italian nation; out of which four nations were appointed and chosen four presidents, to judge and determine the matters of the council. The names of which presidents were these: John, the patriarch of Antioch, for France; Anthony, archbishop of Riegen, for Italy; Nicholas, archbishop of Genesensis, for Germany; and Nicholas, bishop of Bath, for England; by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and public profit, might have been concluded, if the rotten flesh of the churchmen could have abiden the salt of the gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But, as Gregory Nazianzen writeth, "There lightly come few general councils, but they end more with disturbance, than tranquillity," so it happened in this council. For whereas John the Twenty-third, in the first session, exhorteth them by these words taken out of the eighth of Zechariah, *Veritatem diligite*, that is to say, Love the truth, further monishing them, and especially the divines, every man to do his endeavour for the unity of the church, and to speak their mind freely; how soon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the prophets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appear hereafter in the process of this history.

First, this John did resign his papacy: the emperor, giving him thanks, kissed his feet. Afterwards, the said John, repenting him that he had so done, sought means to flee, whereunto Frederic, duke of Austria, did assist him; for he, changing his garments, fled by night with a small company. And when he was now come unto Schaffhausen, to go into Italy, the emperor pursuing, took him, and proclaimed Frederic traitor, and for that cause took away certain cities from him. At the last the matter was appeased under this condition, that Frederic should require grace of the emperor, and resign all his possessions unto him: whereupon the emperor received him again into favour, and restored him to his dukedom. This pope, being thus deposed, was committed unto the county Palatine, and by him carried to the castle of Manheim, where he was kept prisoner by the space of three years. Afterwards he was again, by Pope Martin, admitted to the number of cardinals.

This Pope John was deposed by the decree of the council, more than three and forty most grievous and heinous crimes being objected and proved against him: as that he had hired Marculus Parmensis, a physician, to poison Alexander, his predecessor; further, that he was a heretic, a simoniac, a liar, a hypocrite, a murderer, an enchanter,

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a dice-player, an adulterer; and, finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

And now, to return unto the council: first, we will declare the order of their sessions, with things therein concluded, in general; then we will, Christ willing, adjoin the special tractation of such matters as pertain to the story of the Bohemians, and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who, in the same ungodly council, were condemned and burned.

This council, therefore, of Constance, which was summoned by the emperor Sigismund, and Pope John the Twenty-third, about the nativity of our Lord Jesus, A. D. 1414, began the same year to be assembled about the latter end of the year; which first beginning, as the manner is, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custom their hymn, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, there was, at the same time, a certain bill set up in the church by some well-disposed man, as it seemed, wherein were contained these words following: "We are otherwise occupied at this time; we cannot attend to come to you." Here is also to be remembered the worthy saying of the emperor Sigismund, when talk was ministered as touching the reformation of the spiritually, and some said, "The reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites;" the emperor answering again, "Not with the Minorites, but with the Majorites;" meaning the reformation ought first to begin with the pope, cardinals, and bishops, and other superior states of the church; and so to descend after to the inferiors. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the sessions as we promised. The which council continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of four years, and had in it forty-five sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place; as the deposition of three several popes, which were before spoken of, and the hearing of certain legates. Yet I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the most principal matters there done in the sessions orderly ensuing.

"In the first session chiefly was concluded, First, that this council was lawfully congregated.

"In the second session, Item, that the going away of the pope should be no let or stay, but the council might proceed. — Wherein note, gentle reader, that the authority of the general council is above the pope, contrary to their own doctrine.

"In the third session, Item, this council should not be dissolved before the church were reformed, as well in the superiors as inferiors.

"In the fourth session, amongst other things this was first concluded, That a synod congregated in the Holy Ghost, making a general council, representing the whole catholic church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to the which power every person, of what state or dignity soever he be, yea, being the pope himself, ought to be obedient in all such things as concern the general reformation of the church, as well in the heads, as in the subjects. Item, the said pope should not translate the court of Rome, and the officers of the same court, from the city of Constance; and that all his censures, doings, and workings, after the time of his departure, whatsoever he should enterprise to do to the prejudice of this council, should be of no effect.

"In the fifth session, the same articles were repeated and concluded again.

"In the sixth session, procuration and citation was sent out against the pope. Item, commissioners were appointed out of the four nations for the hearing of John

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Huss, which shall be hereafter mentioned in his story following. Item, the memory of John Wickliff was condemned, and the sentence, given in the council holden at Rome upon the condemnation and burning of Wickliff's books, was there confirmed. Item, in the same session, citation was sent out against Jerome of Prague, the tenor whereof followeth after in the story of the said Jerome. Item, in this session was decreed against libels of infamy.

"In the seventh session, nothing was handled, but that the tenor of the citation against Pope John was recited.

"In the eighth session, the sentence and condemnation of John Wickliff and his forty-five articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearsed in the history of John Wickliff before passed.

"In the ninth session, the matter and cause of Pope John was again treated, and commissioners appointed to inquire upon his cause, and judges for the same.

"In the tenth session, suspension was given out and read against the said pope.

"In the eleventh and twelfth sessions, notaries were assigned, and definitive sentence was given against the said pope; where also it was decreed that none of them that intended before for the papacy, should be chosen pope.

"In the thirteenth session was decreed, that no priest, under pain of excommunication, shall communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.

"In the fourteenth session came in the resignation of Pope Gregory the Twelfth, which was one of the three before mentioned, striving for the papacy, with certain other articles concerning the election of the bishop of Rome, and the ratification of their resigning, which gave over the papacy.

"Then ensueth the fifteenth session, in the which silence was commanded on all parts under pain of excommunication and the great curse; that no person or persons, high or low, of what estate or degree soever he were, emperor, king, cardinal, or other, should disturb the said session with any manner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against John Huss was read and published, which after in the story of John Huss followeth to be seen more at large.

"In the sixteenth session, ambassadors were assigned by the council to go into Arragon to Benedict the Thirteenth, to treat with him for the resignation of his papacy, as the other two had done before. Item, power was given to judges to cite, under pain of deprivation, all such as privily departed away from the council; in the which session also the sentence against John Huss was confirmed and ratified.

"In the seventeenth session, the emperor took upon him a journey to the king of Arragon, to treat with Pope Benedict. Item, an excommunication denounced against all such as should go about to impeach the emperor's journey about that matter, &c. Item, prayers and processions were determined to be made by the council every Sunday for the same cause, with a hundred days of pardon given to them that would be present thereat; and that all prelates should be present at every of these said masses and processions, in their pontificalibus. Granting besides to every priest that said one mass, for the same a hundred days of pardon: and to all other that once a day

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should say one Pater Noster, and one Ave, for the safety of the emperor, forty days of pardon.

"In the eighteenth session, certain judges were assigned for the hearing of matters, which the council had no leisure to hear. It was there also decreed, that such letters and bulls as were written in the name of that council, should be received with no less credit and authority than the bulls proceeding from the see apostolical, and that the falsifiers of the same should incur no less penalty than the falsifiers of the other. Legates, also, and ambassadors, were sent into Italy.

"In the nineteenth session, which was the same year, in the month of September, Jerome of Prague, who was cited, as is before said, was accused of heresy, and cast into prison, by the said council, and constrained to abjure; the which his abjuration hereafter followeth to be seen in his history. Item, it was decreed, notwithstanding the safe conduct given by the emperor and kings, &c., inquiry may be made against a man for heresy by a sufficient judge, and process to be made according to the law. Item, the causes of heresies were committed to certain judges and deputies. Item, the chart called Carolina, and divers other charts and constitutions concerning the liberties of the Church of Rome, being brought forth, were approved and confirmed.

"In the twentieth session, letters and instruments were made and set upon church doors, to require and admonish Duke Frederic to restore again unto George, bishop of Austria, such lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of interdictment, suspending, and excommunication. During the time of this session, the ambassadors returned out of Arragon from Pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; where certain articles and conditions between the pope and the council were brought forth and agreed upon, to the number of twelve.

"In the year of our Lord 1416, was the twenty-first session, beginning, after their manner, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, with procession and such other rites; in the time of which mass, James, bishop of Londe, made a sermon, taking for his theme these words, The Lord rebuked their misbelief and hardness, &c. This sermon being ended, Jerome of Prague, which had abjured, as is said, the year before, being present thereat, stood up upon a certain bench or form, replying against the aforesaid James and his sermon, alleging and preaching divers and sundry things; whereupon the patriarch of Constantinople, one of the commissioners, proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitive, which he had in writing against the said Jerome; which sentence being read and approved by the council, (the tenor whereof ensueth in his history,) the said Jerome was delivered unto the secular power, and burned.

"The twenty-second and twenty-third sessions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the ambassadors of Alphonsus, king of Arragon, and granting them voices in the council.

"In the twenty-fourth session, citation was given out against Benedict, keeping with Alphonsus, king of Arragon.

"The twenty-fifth session containeth nothing but a certain *Commendam* given to the church of Olmutz.

"In the twenty-sixth session there was nothing else handled, but the uniting and incorporating of the ambassadors of the king of Navarre into the council; and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

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"After this followed the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions, which were in the year 1417; wherein was treated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt Duke Frederic and the bishop of Trent, and process given out against the said duke, accusing him of sacrilege; and also excommunicating him for not obeying the admonition of the council, concerning the usurpation and detaining of the city of Trent and other possessions from Bishop George, as is before specified.

"In the twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions, proctors and notaries were given out in the cause against Pope Benedict, and order decreed upon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the same pope was recited, and approved by the council.

"In the thirty-first session, certain instruments and special letters monitory were directed from the council to a certain earl of Italy, named Comes Virtutum, for laying violent hands upon Albert, bishop of Asce, and for bringing him to prison; requiring the said earl, under pain of interdiction and excommunication, to set the said bishop at liberty. Also another decree was set forth for the restoring again the liberties of the church of Beron.

"In the thirty-second and thirty-third sessions, the accusation of Pope Benedict was renewed, and his obstinacy accused, and witness brought in; at which thing doing the Emperor Sigismund was present.

"In the thirty-fourth session, the cause of the aforesaid pope was heard, and process given out against him.

"In the thirty-fifth session, the ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and united to the council, and instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the oaths made to the aforesaid pope, men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

"In the thirty-sixth session, a certain citation was made and read against the pope, containing his deprivation and the sentence against him, and instruments made upon the same. And whereas this pope had thundered out his curses, deprivations, and excommunications against them, the said synod did annihilate all his doings.

"The thirty-seventh session did renew again the accusation of the aforesaid pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

"In the thirty-eighth session, certain decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the ambassadors of King Henry, son of Alphonsus, king of Arragon. Also, another decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the ambassadors of the king of Arragon.

"Thus Pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next sessions following they addressed themselves to the election of a new pope, beginning first in the thirty-ninth session, to give out decrees concerning general councils, and provision for the avoiding of such-like schisms hereafter; decreeing every tenth year to have a general council, after the two councils that should follow immediately after this, of the which, the one should be kept within five years then next following, and the second within seven years after that. Item, In the same session was drawn out a form touching such things as the pope should profess and bind himself to observe at the time of his election, of the which form, the order and tenor is this:

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"I, *N.*, elected for pope, profess with heart and mouth unto Almighty God, whose church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to blessed St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, so long as I shall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy catholic faith, after the traditions of the apostles, of general councils, and of other holy fathers, and namely, of the eight general councils: Nice the first, the second of Constantinople, Ephesus the third, Chalcedon the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in Constantinople, the seventh of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople. And also of the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Vienna; willing to observe the same faith inviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to the spending of my life and blood; and also, by all means possible, to prosecute and observe the rites of the sacraments canonically delivered to the catholic church. And this my profession and confession, by my commandment being written out by the notary of the arches of the holy Church of Rome, I have subscribed with mine own hand, and sincerely, with a pure mind and devout conscience, I offer it unto the Almighty God upon such an altar, &c. In the presence of such witnesses, &c. Given,' &c.

"It was also decided in this session, that no prelates should be translated against their wills.

"The third of the same month and the same year, followed the fortieth session, wherein certain decrees were constituted and read, as touching reformatations to be made through the whole church by the pope that next should be, with the council, before this synod should break up. Item, That they should so proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those cardinals which were with Pope Benedict in Spain. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

"After these things thus decreed, in the next session, which was forty-one, the constitution of Clement the Sixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being then in the conclave about the choosing of the pope; and upon the same, oaths were ministered unto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the election.

"First, That they should enter into the conclave within ten days after the fortieth session, which was this present day, after sunset.

"Secondly, That every cardinal should have but two servitors attending upon him at the most, either of the laity or clergy, as they would themselves.

"Thirdly, That they should remain together in the said conclave, without any wall betwixt them, or any other cover, save only bare curtains, if any were disposed to sleep.

"Fourthly, That the conclave should so be shut up, and the entry to the privy chamber be kept so straitly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse unto them to talk with them privily or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except, by the consent of them all, certain should be called about matters concerning the election.

"Fifthly, that no man should send to them either messenger or writings.

"Sixthly, that a competent window should be assigned unto them to receive in their victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

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"Seventhly, That no day after their first ingress into the conclave, beside bread, wine, and water, they should have any more dishes but one of one only kind, either of flesh or fish, eggs, pottage made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort; besides salads, cheese, fruit, and conserves, whereof there shall be no principal mess made, but for sauce and taste.

"Eighthly, That not one should be compelled to go into the conclave; but if they did all refuse to go in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

"Ninthly, That such as would go out, might: but if they would all go out before the pope were elect, they should be compelled to go in again, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but without the excuse of infirmity, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

"Tenthly, That such as went out, by reason of infirmity, to be absent, and return before the election be determined, may be admitted again into the conclave in the same state wherein they shall find the election to stand.

"Further and besides, the keepers of the conclave should also be sworn to see all these premises observed and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors above the order here taken. And if the king be there himself, sitting in his throne of estate, he should receive the same oath of the cardinals. Upon this, such as should be electors, besides the cardinals, were chosen."

Furthermore, forasmuch as the goods and substance of such as were elect, were accustomed to be given and granted unto such as could catch them, (whereupon, under the pretence of the same, many did invade the goods of the cardinals, and others which were in the conclave, falsely feigning them to be elected which were not elected,) to stop the greedy ravening of such, a decree also was published in the same session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors, entering into the conclave upon Monday, on Thursday after they had hatched out a pope, being St. Martin's even, whereupon they named him Martin. This Martin being thus elected, was straightway brought in by the emperor and the council into the church of Constance, and there enthroned for pope, not without great solemnity and triumph. The twenty-first day of the said month, this aforesaid Martin, according to their accustomed pomp, was honourably brought in to be crowned with sumptuous procession from the high church of Constance, unto the monastery of St. Austin; the emperor on foot leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the marquis of Brandenburg, prince elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand; the pope himself riding in the midst upon his palfrey.



Pope Martin riding in procession

And thus being brought into the monastery aforesaid, and so reduced round about again from thence to the high church of Constance, he was there crowned with all magnificence. Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this council, more great than wise, did not end thus; for "in the next session, which was the forty-second, came out a decree in the name of the pope and the council, discharging the bond of the emperor and the county palatine, touching the safe custody of Pope John, who was by bond committed unto them to be kept in safety.

"In the forty-third session, certain other decrees and statutes were made by Pope Martin in the said synod, annulling and reprovng all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schism from the time of Gregory the Eleventh; as in matters concerning exemptions, unions, fruits, and profits of the church, benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes, and other burdens of the church. Also concerning the apparel of the clergy, and such other things.

"In the forty-fourth session, the sage fathers of this council were occupied about the determining what place the next council should be kept in. The forty-fifth session brake up and dissolved this synod."

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Now, to finish our tedious rehearsal of this synod, the Cardinal Umbald, by the commandment of the pope and the council, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words, Domini! ite in pace; which is, "Lords! depart in peace;" whereunto the standers-by answered, "Amen."

Thus the council being dissolved, Friar John, bishop of Catania, by the consent and commandment of the pope and the council, went up into the pulpit to make a sermon, taking for his theme, "You are now in sadness, I will see you again, and then your hearts shall rejoice." The which collation being ended, another cardinal, named Anthony, was sent up by the pope and the council, with this proclamation; first, to dismiss the synod, and to give every man leave to depart home. Also to declare the pope's indulgence unto them, who, by the authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one present at that council, full absolution once in their life; so that every one, within two months after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in form of writing. Also, another indulgence was granted in like manner of plenary remission at the hour of death, and that was understood as well of the household as of the masters themselves; but under this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole year every Friday, for the absolution in their life-time; and for the absolution at the hour of death, to fast the same Friday another year, except they had some lawful impediment to the contrary, so that after the second year, they should fast unto their lives' end, or else do some other good work; the which being in this manner proclaimed, the synod brake up, and every man departed home.

The number of the foreigners resorting to this council, both spiritual and temporal, was sixty thousand five hundred, whereof the number of archbishops and bishops was three hundred and forty-six; abbots and doctors, five hundred and sixty-four; princes, dukes, earls, knights, esquires, sixteen thousand; besides common women belonging to the same council four hundred and fifty; barbers, six hundred; minstrels, cooks, and jesters, three hundred and twenty; so that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the town of Constance, between Easter and Whitsuntide, were numbered to be sixty thousand five hundred strangers and foreigners at that council.

Here is to be noted that in this council of Constance nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the pope's authority is under the council, and that the council ought to judge the pope. And, as touching the communion in both kinds, although the council did not deny, but that it was used by Christ and his apostles, yet, notwithstanding, by the same council it was decreed to the contrary.

102. John Huss before the Council of Constance

Hitherto we have comprehended the order and discourse of this council, with the acts and sessions concerning the same; which council, although it was principally thought to be assembled, for quieting of the schism between the three popes; yet, notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for John Huss, as appeared by their preparation before the council. For before the council began, the Emperor Sigismund, aforesaid, sent certain gentlemen, Bohemians, which were of his own household, giving them in charge to bring John Huss, bachelor of divinity, unto the said council, and that under his safe-conduct. The meaning and intent thereof 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 did not only promise him safe-conduct, that he might come freely unto Constance, but also that he should return again into Bohemia, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire. For the same only cause the emperor sent him afterwards the safe-conducts double written, both in Latin and Almain; the form whereof doth hereafter ensue.

"Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmark, Croatia, &c. To all princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular, dukes, marquisses, and earls, barons, captains, borough-masters, judges, and governors, officers of towns, burgages, and villages, and unto all rulers of the commonalty; and generally, to all the subjects of our empire, to whom these letters shall come, grace and all goodness.

"We charge and command you all, that you have respect unto John Huss, the which is departed out of Bohemia, to come unto the general council, the which shall be celebrate and holden very shortly at the town of Constance. The which John Huss we have received under our protection, and safeguard of the whole empire, desiring you that you will cheerfully receive him when he shall come towards you, and that you entreat and handle him gently, showing him favour and good will, and show him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardness, ease, and assurance of his journey, as well by land as by water.

"Moreover, we will, that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessaries, shall pass throughout all places, passages, ports, bridges, lands, governances, lordships, liberties, cities, towns, burgages, castles, and villages, and all other your dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition or Dane-money, peage, tribute, or any manner of toll, whatsoever it be. We will also, that you suffer him to pass, rest, tarry, and to sojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need shall so require, you do provide a faithful company to conduct him withal, for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our imperial majesty. Given at Spires, the eighteenth of October, in the year of our Lord God 1414."

By this it may appear, that this safe-conduct was granted not in the time of the council, by the bishops, but before the council, by the emperor, who was or ought to be the principal ordainer and director of the council, under God. Now, whether the bishops did well in breaking and annulling this promise of the emperor, against the

emperor's mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth *ad materiam juris, non facti*, being a matter rather of law than of story, I will defer to reason this case with Master Cope, to such time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof.

Notwithstanding, briefly to touch and pass, let us consider part of the reasons of the said Cope, how frivolous and false they be, and easy to be refelled. "What," saith he, "if he preached by the way, coming up?" First, that it is false. "What," saith he, "if he stood obstinate in his heresy?" "what if he sought to escape away after his coming up?" To this the lords of Bohemia do answer: That this safe-conduct was broken, and he imprisoned, not only before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for a heretic, but also before he was heard of the council what he was.

Further, where Cope saith, that the general council was above the emperor, and hath power in case of heresy to break public leagues and grants: to that I say, that this safe-conduct stood not only upon the emperor, but also upon the consent of the pope himself.

And admit that to be true, that the council had power to make this decree, to break promise with heretics; yet this cannot be denied, but that John Huss was condemned and judged before that decree in the nineteenth session was made. Finally, when Cope hath proved by what scripture the councils have power to defeat the authority of their emperors in such secular causes touching safe-conducts and outward safety, then will I answer him more fully herein. But to the purpose again of the story.

John Huss, seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the emperor had given unto him, sent answer unto the emperor, that he would come unto the council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and especially out of the town of Prague, he did write certain bills long enough before, as well in Latin as in the Bohemian language and Almain, and caused them to be set and fastened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbeys, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the general council at Constance; wherefore, if any man have any suspicion of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the Lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague; or, if he had rather, at the general council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith. The example of his letters and intimations set up, were these, the copy whereof here followeth:

"Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, will appear before the most reverend father the Lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and legate of the apostolic seat, in their next convocation of all their prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia; being ready always to satisfy all men which shall require him to give a reason of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to hear and see all such as will lay unto his charge either any stubbornness of error or heresy, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by God's law and man's. And if so be that they could not lawfully prove any stubbornness of error or heresy against him, that then they should suffer the like punishments that he should have had; unto whom altogether he will answer the next general council at Constance, before the archbishop and the prelates, and, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, show forth his innocency in the name of Christ. — Dated the Sunday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew."

"I, Master John Husnetz, do signify unto all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my lord the archbishop, and to answer to all things whereof I am falsely accused in the next convocation of bachelors; and chiefly to this point, that

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in many places they do report me to be a heretic, not having respect unto justice or law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore, since that you, which do never cease to slander and backbite me with your words, do understand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the lord archbishop, and with an open mouth declare and show forth what false doctrine or other things ye have heard me teach, contrary to the catholic faith; and if that I shall be found faulty in never so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I do choose that or other things contrary to the faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace and suffer punishment as a heretic. And if there be no man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once again I say unto you, that I am ready to appear at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the divines, even before the face of the pope. Therefore, whosoever knoweth any false doctrine contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and show it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay against me; and for my part I will not be slack, if I may understand or know it, to answer as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men, therefore, which love the truth, say now whether, by these my words, I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifest unto all men, that it happeneth not through my fault. — The same day."

This epistle which followeth, was set upon the gates of the king's palace, translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian tongue.

"Unto the king's Majesty, the queen, and to all such as are of his council, and to all other rulers and magistrates, which now are in the king's court, I, John Huss, do signify and publish, that I have understood, not by any vain rumour or tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the king's Majesty, the contents whereof are these: That the king's Majesty should bring to pass, that the heretics which were now lately sprung up in his kingdom and dominions, should not take any firm or strong root. Forasmuch as without any desert, as I trust by God's grace, the fame or noise is sprung and blown abroad, it shall be our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the king's Majesty, neither the noble kingdom of Bohemia, should be driven to bear or suffer any reproach or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I have sent my letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence caused to be openly set up; to this intent, that I might thereby cause the archbishop to be careful and diligent about the matter; signifying openly, that if there were any man in all Bohemia, which did know me to be a follower of any false or corrupt doctrine, he should profess his name in the archbishop's court, and there show forth and declare what he thought. And, forasmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuse me, the archbishop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the king's Majesty, which is the defender of the truth, also the queen and their counsellors, and all other rulers and magistrates, that they would give me a faithful testimonial of this matter; forasmuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accused me or troubled me. I do it, moreover, to be known unto all Bohemia, and to all nations, that I will be present even at the first time before the council of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the pope, the pope being president; and finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place; and that whosoever hath any suspicion of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the faith of Christ, let him come thither

also, let him declare there before, or in the presence of, the pope, and all the doctors of divinity, what erroneous and false doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. Moreover, if he shall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the Christian faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall be due for a heretic. But I hope and trust, even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving men, who do willingly kick and spurn against the truth."

The same time John Huss sent his procurers to the lord bishop of Nazareth, ordained, by the apostolic see, inquisitor of heresy of the city and diocese of Prague, requiring him, that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said bishop, before the said procurer, and the public notary, with many other credible witnesses, answered, that he had often talked with John Huss, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a godly and faithful man; and this his testimony of John Huss, he approved by his letters, the copy whereof is hereunder written:

"We, Nicholas, by the grace of God, bishop of Nazareth, and inquisitor, specially deputed by the apostolic seat, for heresies both of the city and diocese of Prague, by these presents do it to be known unto all men, that we in times past have often communed and talked with that honourable man, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, of the famous university of Prague, and have had divers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters; and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be a faithful and a catholic man, finding no manner of evil, sinister, or, by any means, erroneous doings, in him unto this present. We do witness and protest moreover, how the said John Huss, of late, in the cathedral church of Prague, and in other both collegiate and parish churches, and in the colleges of the university of Prague, and in the gates and porches of the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia; also in the gates of the reverend father, the Lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, legate of the apostolic see, and chancellor of the university, of Prague, and of other princes and barons, then being in the city of Prague, hath set up his letters, written both in Latin and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the aforesaid Master John Huss would appear before the reverend father, the Lord Conrad, the aforesaid archbishop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, that shall be congregated and called together by the said archbishop, at the day appointed in the said city of Prague; ready always to satisfy every man that shall desire and require him to show a reason of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to see and hear all and every one which could prove any obstinacy of error or heresy lawfully against him, under the pain to receive the like punishment: unto whom all together he would, by God's help, answer in the council of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said lord archbishop and us, with all other prelates; and there, in Christ's name, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, to declare and show forth his innocency. After the which letters as is aforesaid, by the said Master John Huss openly set up, there did no man appear before us, the which would accuse the said Master John Huss of any error, either of any heresy. For the evident witness of all which things we have commanded these present letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our seal. Dated in Prague the thirtieth of August, A. D. 1414."

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Upon which matter also, a public instrument was drawn, testified with the hand and seal of the public notary, named Michael Pruthatietz: the copy of which instrument hereunder followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. In the year of his nativity, one thousand four hundred and fourteen, the thirtieth of August, in the fifth year of the bishopric of the most holy father in Christ, John, by the grace of God, pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermost parlour of the house of the most famous man the Lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Zuirglits, master of the mint of the most famous prince and lord, the Lord Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia, in the greater city of Prague, about the abbey of St. James the apostle, in the presence of me the public notary hereunder written, and certain witnesses here within written, specially called for that purpose.

"There was personally present Master John Jessenitz, master of arts, procurer in the name of the honourable man, Master John Huss, bachelor, formed in divinity of the university of Prague. He most humbly and earnestly required of the reverend father in Christ and lord, Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, inquisitor of heresies for the city and diocese of Prague, specially appointed by the apostolic see, being there also present, saying, 'Reverend father, do you know any heresy or error in Master John Husnetz, otherwise called Huss?' The which said Lord Nicholas, not compelled or constrained, but of his own will and accord freely and openly, did there recognise, saying these or the like words, in the Bohemian tongue:

"I have often and many times been conversant with Master John Huss, and have eaten and drunk with him; also I have been often present at his sermons, and divers of his collations which he hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any error or heresy, but in all his words and deeds I have found him always a true and a catholic man, neither have I found any thing that doth savour of any error or heresy.'

"Again, the said Master John's procurer in the behalf as above, required and asked the said Lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor, whether any man have accused the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him, being inquisitor for heresy, and hath convicted him of heresy. He answered, that since the time he knew John Huss, and that he was made inquisitor for heresy in the city and diocese of Prague, (as is aforesaid,) never any man accused, either convinced the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him unto this present time. Adding, moreover, that he, the said Master John Huss, did openly set up his letters patent this present year aforesaid, in the said month of August, upon the porches of the cathedral church of Prague, and other collegiate and parish churches of the city of Prague, and upon the gates of our said lord, our lord the king, and the archbishop of Prague, containing in them this effect: how that he would appear before Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, which should be congregated and called together at a certain day of the month aforesaid, ready always to satisfy all men as touching the faith and hope which he held, and to see and hear all or singular that would lay any obstinacy of error and heresy unto him; that they should determine themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of God's law and man's law; unto whom altogether he would answer in his own right before the said archbishop of Prague, and the said Lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor aforesaid, and the prelates even in the next general council of Constance; and there, according unto the canons and decrees of the holy fathers, declare and show

forth his uprightness and innocency; upon all and singular of which proceedings, Master John de Jessenitz, procurer, and in the procurer's name or behalf as before, required and desired that he might have one or many public instruments made unto him by me the public notary here underwritten. These things were done the year, indiction, day, month, hour, place, and bishopric, as is aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous men, the Lord William de Zwingelitz, baron of the kingdom of Bohemia; Peter his son; the Lord Hlawaczion de Renow, likewise Baron Wenceslaus de Lunarx, Vassone de Miekonitz, burgrave of the castle of Lichtenburg, Czitborius de Bodanetz, esquire, and William de Dupoer, knight of the said diocese of Prague, with many other worthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required unto the premises. And I, Michael, sometime the son of Nicholas de Prachatitz of the diocese of Prague, and by the imperial authority, public notary, was present with the witnesses afore-named, at the affairs aforesaid, at the request, demand, answer, and petition, and all and singular the doings within written, and did see and hear all these things to be done in the aforesaid manner and form. But being busied with other matters, I have caused this to be faithfully drawn and written, and subscribing the same with mine own hand, have published and reduced it into this form, and have signed it with my seal and name accustomed, being called and required to bear witness of all and singular the premises."

After this, as all the barons of Bohemia were assembled in the abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the realm, where the archbishop of Prague was also present, there the said John Huss presented supplications, by the which he most humbly desired the barons, that they would show him that favour towards the said archbishop: that if the said archbishop did suspect him of any error or heresy, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a testimonial thereof, through the which he, being as it were armed, he might the more freely go unto Constance. The said archbishop confessed openly, before all the assembly of barons, that he knew not that the said John Huss was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counsel: that the said John Huss should purge himself of the excommunication he had incurred. This report which the archbishop had given of John Huss, doth appear by the letters which the barons of Bohemia sent unto the Emperor Sigismund by the said Huss, in the town of Constance.

Finally, all the prelates and clergy assembled together in the town of Prague, in the archbishop's court, where appeared personally the worshipful Master John Jessenitz, doctor of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalf of the honourable man, Master John Huss, requiring that either the said Master John Huss, or that he, in the name and behalf of him, might be suffered to come into the said archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop, and the prelates which were there congregated together, forasmuch as Master John Huss is ready to satisfy all men which shall require him to show any reason of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to see and hear all and singular which were there gathered together; that is to say, the lord archbishop and prelates, or any of them which would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresy unto him: that they should there write in their names, and according both unto God's law and man's, and the canon law, prepare themselves to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresy against him: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, answer before the said archbishop and the prelates in the next general council holden at Constance, and

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stand unto the law: and, according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, show forth and declare his innocency, in the name of Christ. Unto the which Master John of Jessenitz, doctor, one called Ulricus Swabe, of Swabenitz, marshal of the said archbishop, coming forth of the said court, did utterly deny unto the said master doctor and his party, all manner of ingress and entrance into the court, and to the presence of the archbishop aforesaid, and of the prelates there gathered together; pretending that the archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the king's affairs: requiring the said master doctor, that he would tarry in some place without the said court, that when the archbishop and the prelates had finished the king's affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the court there. The said Master John Huss and the doctor of law tarried awhile, entreating to be admitted into the archbishop's court; but seeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both he, and also Master John Huss and his party, could not be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates; requiring of the aforesaid notary, public instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

And these were the things which were done before John Huss took his journey to the general council of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse, whereunto I will also annex somewhat as touching his journey thitherwards.

About the ides of October, 1414, John Huss being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, that is, to wit, Wencelate of Duba, and John of Clum, he departed from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. And in every place as he passed, he notified his presence by his letters which he sent abroad, and especially in every good town or city of name, the tenor whereof ensueth:

"Master John Huss goeth now unto Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this present doth hold, and by God's help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore, even as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdom of Bohemia by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to have satisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man, which should object or lay any thing against him in the general convocation holden in the archbishop of Prague's court: so likewise he doth manifest and signify, that if there be any man in this noble and imperial city, the which will impute or lay any error or heresy unto him, that he should prepare himself to come unto the council, forasmuch as the said Master John Huss is ready to satisfy every man at the said council, which shall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his faith."

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of Bohemia and entered into Almain, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained of his hosts through all the towns of Germany, and especially of the citizens and burgesses, and oftentimes of the curates; insomuch that the said Huss did confess, in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Bohemia. And if it happened that there were any bruit or noise before of his coming, the streets were always full of people which were desirous to see John Huss and gratify him; and, amongst all others, especially at Nuremberg, where certain merchants, which went before, certified the citizens of his coming. In the same city there were many curates which came unto him, desiring him that they might talk with him secretly apart, unto whom he answered, That he loved much rather to pronounce and show forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in hugger-mugger, for he would keep nothing close nor hidden. So, after dinner, until

it was night, he spake before the priests, senators, and divers other citizens, insomuch that they all had him in great estimation and reverence, one only doctor excepted, which was a charter-house monk, and the curate of St. Sebauld, which did improve all that he had said.



John Huss speaking after dinner

The twentieth day after that he departed out of the town of Prague, which was the third day of November, he came unto Constance, and lodged at an honest matron's house, being a widow named Faith, in St. Galle's Street.

The morrow after, the gentleman, Master John de Clum, and Master Henry Latzemboge, went to speak with the pope, and certified him that John Huss was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the general council, under the emperor's safe-conduct; desiring him also, that he, on his part, would grant the said John Huss liberty to remain in Constance, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the pope answered, That albeit that John Huss had killed his brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done unto him during his abode in the town of Constance.

In this mean time, the greatest adversary that John Huss had, named Master Stephen Paletz, the which was also a Bohemian born, was come unto Constance. But his companion, Master Stanislaus Znoyma, was not yet passed the borders of Bohemia when he was stricken with an imposthume, whereof he died. As soon as the said Paletz was come to Constance, he did associate unto him one Michael de Causis, the which had before falsely accused and blamed the same John Huss. And this may not be forgotten, that the said Paletz had been familiarly conversant and acquainted

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with the said John Huss from his youth upward; but after that there was a bull brought unto Prague, from Pope John the Twenty-third, against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said John Huss withstood it openly, forasmuch as he saw that it was wicked and naught.

And as touching the said Paletz, albeit that he had confessed at a certain banquet, in the presence of the said John Huss, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right, yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as he was obliged and bound unto the pope, by means of certain benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the said bull against John Huss: and this was the cause of the discord and falling out between them. As for Michael de Causis, the companion of Master Paletz, he was sometime the curate of New Prague; but he, not being content therewith, but seeking after a further prey, dreamed, and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it, for he made a semblance that he had found out a new invention, or mean whereby the mines of gold in Gilory, which were perished and lost, might be renewed and set on work again. By this means he did so much with the king Wenceslaus, that he did put a great sum of money into his hands, to do that withal which he had promised.

This honest man, after he had laboured and travailed certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to pass, and that by that means he was utterly in despair of his purpose, he conveyed himself privily out of the realm of Bohemia, with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself, as a worthy bird for such a nest, into the court of Rome. Such a man, of such conditions, was easily corrupted with money, and that, by the adversaries of the said Huss, and promised them to do what he could for them, the which he did shortly after. These two jolly roisters, Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, drew out certain articles against the said Huss, saying, that they had gathered them out of his own writings, and specially out of his treatise which he had written of the church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to show the said articles unto the cardinals, bishops, and monks, and such other of that sort, doing them also to understand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said John Huss had committed and done against the holy constitutions, and other ordinances of the pope and the church; which, if need were, they said they would propound before the council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals and all the priests, that all they, with one mind and consent, thought to cause the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

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, through the instigation and motion of Paletz and Michael de Causis, sent two bishops, to wit, the bishop of Augusta, and of Trent, and with them the borough-master of the town of Constance, and a certain knight, to the place where John Huss lodged, about dinner time, which should make report unto him, that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to advertise him that he should come to render some knowledge or witness of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready to hear him.

Unto whom John Huss answered, "I am not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the pope and his cardinals, protesting that I never desired any such thing, but that 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,

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"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 instant upon him, and not showing any outward semblance that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, albeit they had privily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses, John Huss took his horse which he had at his lodgings, and went unto the court of the pope and the cardinals.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speak to him in this sort: "We have heard many reports of you, the which, if they be true. are in no case to be suffered; for men say, that you have taught great and manifest errors, and contrary and against the doctrine of the true church; and that you have sowed your errors abroad through all the realm of Bohemia, by a long space or time; wherefore we have caused you to be called hither before us, that we might understand and know how the matter standeth."

Unto whom John Huss answered in few words: "Reverend fathers, you shall understand that I am thus minded and affectioned, 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 unto the general council, which is here appointed, 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 the said John Huss, with Master John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.



John Huss and the Franciscan

In the mean season, they did suborn and furnish out a certain divine, a friar Franciscan, a subtle and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, to question with the said John Huss, which was compassed round about with armed men. This man drawing near in his monkish gesture, said, "Reverend master, I, a simple and rude idiot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many strange and contrary things against the catholic faith to be ascribed unto you, the which do diversely move my mind, being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do desire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach me, most simple and miserable man, some certainty and truth. And first, men say, that you hold opinion that, after the consecration and pronunciation of the words in the sacrament of the altar, there remaineth only material bread." John Huss answered, that it was falsely attributed and imputed unto him. Then said he, "I pray you, is not this your opinion?" "No verily," said John Huss, "I do not so think of it." When the monk asked this question the third time, Master John de Clum, being somewhat moved with him, said, "Why art thou so importunate upon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou, albeit he hath showed thee his mind so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him." Then said the monk, "Gentle master, I pray you pardon me, a poor idiot and simple friar; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learn." This friar put forth another question unto him, protesting his simplicity and ignorance: "What manner of unity of the Godhead and manhood was in the person of Christ?" When John Huss had heard this question, he, turning himself unto Master John de Clum, in

the Bohemian language said: "Truly this friar is not simple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard question." And afterwards, turning himself to the friar, he said unto him, "Brother! you say that you are simple, but as I have heard of you, I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not simple." "It is not so, verily," said the friar. "Well," said John Huss, "I will cause you well to understand that it is so. For as touching the simplicity of a man, it is required in things that concern civility and manners, that the spirit, the understanding, the heart, the words, and the mouth, should agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain semblance of simplicity, the which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds show plainly and evidently a great subtlety and craft in you, with a great quickness and liveliness of wit, in that you have proponed unto me so hard and difficult a question. Notwithstanding, I will not fear to show you my mind in this question." And when he had made an end, the monk gave him great thanks for his gentleness, and so departed. After that, the pope's garrison which was about the said John Huss, told him that this friar was called Master Didace, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtle divine in all Lombardy. "Oh!" said John Huss, "that I had known that before; I would have handled him after another sort and fashion: but I would to God they were all such; then, through the help and aid of the Holy Scriptures, I would fear none of them."

In this manner the said Huss and Master John de Clum were left under the keeping of these men of arms, until four of the clock in the afternoon. After which time the cardinals assembled again in the pope's court, to devise and take counsel what they should do with John Huss. Then Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, with divers other of their adherents, made earnest suit that he should not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the judges on their part, they bragged up and down in a manner as they had been mad-men, and mocked the said John Huss, saying, "Now we will hold thee well enough; thou art under our power and jurisdiction, and shalt not depart until such time as thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court unto 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, forasmuch as through their crafts, subtleties, and glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares; whereupon he went unto the pope, declaring unto 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?"

In mine opinion, forasmuch as Pope John feared that which indeed did after follow, that he should be deprived of his dignity, he thought to win the favour of these Herodian cardinals and bishops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the said Master Clum returned very pensiveful and sorry; he complained very sore, both privily and openly, of the injury and outrage that the pope had done; but all profited nothing. After this, the said John Huss was led by the officers to the chapter-house of the great church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner by the space of eight days; from thence he was carried unto the Jacobines, hard by the river Rhine, and was shut up in the prison of the abbey, the which was hard by the Bogardes.



John Huss in prison

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 unto 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 the said John Huss might be condemned, and presented unto the pope these articles hereunder written:

"First, he doth err about the sacraments of the church, and especially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, forasmuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, the body and blood. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples at this instant in Prague do minister the same in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the schools and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced upon the altar, there remaineth still material bread in the sacrament. This article shall be known by his examination.

"Secondly, He doth err as touching the ministers of the church, forasmuch as he saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortal sin. This article shall likewise be known by his examination: notwithstanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered by his writings De Ecclesia; the which if he deny, let there then be some divines and others appointed, to peruse and look over his said writings of the church. Moreover he saith, that other men besides priests may minister the sacrament. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples do the same at Prague, the which of themselves do violently take the sacrament out of the treasury, and communicate among themselves, when the holy communion is denied unto them. By this and other things also it is sufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal sin, hath the power of orders or priesthood, forasmuch as such only as have taken orders ought to minister the sacrament unto themselves. And because he proceedeth from small matters unto great and weightier, it doth consequently appear and follow, that those which be in state of grace can bind and loose.

"Thirdly, He doth err as touching the church, and especially for that he doth not allow and admit that the church signifieth the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy underneath them; but saith, that this signification was drawn out from the schoolmen, and is in no case to be holden or allowed. This article is manifest by his said treatise upon the church.

"Moreover, He doth err concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church ought not to have any temporal possessions. And that the temporal lords may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forasmuch as through his doctrine and enticements many churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in the city of Prague, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalities and goods. He saith also, that Constantine and other secular princes erred by enriching and enduing churches and monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

"Fourthly, He erreth as touching the church, in that he saith, that all priests are of like power; and therefore affirmeth, that the reservations of the pope's casualties, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were invented only for covetousness. This article doth somewhat appear by those aforegoing, but by his examination shall be more evident.

"Fifthly, He erreth concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church, being in sin, hath no power of the keys, when the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sin, the which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appear in his treatise upon the church, in his first error as touching the ministers of the church.

"Sixthly, He erreth touching the church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not fear excommunication. This doth notoriously appear by his own doings, that he did contemn and despise the apostolic and ordinary censure; and in all the apostolic excommunications and injunctions he hath borne himself upon the divine commandments; and in contempt of the keys, to the setting out of his hypocrisy, he hath said mass all the ways between this and the city of Prague, and thereby hath profaned the process and authority of the church.

"Seventhly, He erreth again as touching the church, because he keepeth not the institutions and investitures thereof, but holdeth opinion that every man hath authority

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to invest and appoint any man to the cure of souls. This is evident by his own doings, forasmuch as many in the kingdom of Bohemia, by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himself, were appointed and put into parish churches, the which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the apostolic see, neither yet by the ordinary of the city of Prague.

"Eighthly, He erreth as touching the church, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man, being once ordained a priest or a deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, forasmuch as he himself could never be letted from preaching, neither by the apostolic see, neither yet by the archbishop of Prague.

"And to the intent that the said John Huss, who is clothed in sheep's clothing, and inwardly a ravening wolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you, most reverend fathers, I say, that from the first time that he took in hand, or went about to sow such errors and heresies, the which afterward he did indeed, he, understanding and perceiving himself to be withstood and gainsaid by the Germans, which were in the university of Prague, forasmuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and he on his part had but one voice only: he went about and brought to pass, and that by the secular power, that the Germans should have but one voice, and he and his parts three voices; the which thing when the Germans once perceived, rather then they would lose or forsake any part of their right which they had in voices, or be in danger in their persons, the which would then have ensued upon it, to save themselves, they wholly, with one consent, agreed together to depart out of Prague; and by this means this solemn and famous university of Prague was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in divers sciences. Behold this his first-fruits, which divided that so famous university, forasmuch as grapes are not gathered of thorns, neither figs of brambles.

"Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the divines of the university of Prague upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and that they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Bohemia, (for the Germans were already departed,) they concluded that every one of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous. He alone held the contrary opinion, that none of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did dispute, hold, and teach, in the common schools of Prague; whereby it is evidently enough foreseen, that he doth affirm those articles of Wickliff, the which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole church, because they were first invented and set forth by the members of antichrist.

"Moreover, he being complained of to the archbishop of Prague, that he preached and set forth certain articles which were heretical, false, and seditious, he was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more, who proceeded against him, according to the canonical sanctions; the which process is confirmed by the apostolic see, and published as well in the court of Rome, as without; the which John Huss and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated and profaned. And whosoever did speak against him, they were deprived of their benefices, and others placed in, which have ruled and yet do rule the said churches, and the flocks pertaining to the same, not having any cure or charge of the souls committed unto them, neither by the apostolic see, neither yet by the ordinary of the place.

"Also as many, as well priests as laymen, in the city of Prague and kingdom of Bohemia, which have spoken against the doctrine of Huss, and the profanation of the

process aforesaid, or at the least not allowing the same, have suffered most mortal hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day do suffer, but that at this present it is dissimuled until the end of the process against John Huss. Wherefore, if he be now let go again, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realm of Bohemia 'house shall be against house;' and this mischief will creep, yea, suddenly spring up throughout all Germany, and innumerable souls shall be infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the clergy and faithful, as hath not been since the time of the Emperor Constantine to this present day; for he ceaseth not to move and stir up the laity against the clergy and faithful Christians. And, when any of the clergy would draw him away, or call him from his heresy, and for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that he do not teach any heresies; then saith he, and teacheth, that the clergy do that of envy and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to say, their simony, and pride, and covetousness.

"Moreover, he stirreth up the secular princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, and universities, and generally against the whole clergy. Going about by this means, he preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to have any temporal goods or possessions, but only to live upon alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoyed divers and many prelates, clerks, and churches in the kingdom of Bohemia and city of Prague, forasmuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, he teacheth also that it is lawful for the lay-people without sin, to withhold and keep back the tithes and oblations, or to give the church-goods to any other minister; all the secular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but especially the laity, who follow every man his own will.

"He hath generally to lay for himself all those heretics which do but very smally regard the ecclesiastical censures, and hate the authority of the Roman Church, yea, do utterly detest and abhor the same; the which thing will more and more increase, except it be effectually and manfully withstood: and if he do by any means escape from the council, he and his favourers will say that his doctrine is just and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the universal sacred council, and that all his adversaries are wicked and naughty men; so that he would do more mischief, than ever any heretic did since the time of Constantine the Great. "Wherefore, most holy fathers, provide and take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock amongst whom the Holy Ghost hath placed you, to rule the church of Christ, the which he hath purchased with his own blood; and whilst the disease is new and fresh, help and remedy it, as well touching him which doth so infect and trouble the church of God, as also concerning the occasions, through the which he hath presumed, and might do the same, because the prelates do abuse the ecclesiastical censures, and as well the prelates as those that are under them, do not keep and observe the order of the church which is appointed them by God; whereby it cometh to pass, that whilst they themselves do walk the broken and unknown paths, their flock falleth headlong into the ditch.

"Wherefore let our sovereign lord the pope, and this most sacred council, ordain and depute commissioners, the which may examine the said John Huss upon all aforewritten, and other things in the presence of them which know the matter. Let there be also certain doctors and masters appointed to read over and peruse his books which he hath written, whereof some are here present; that the church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors."

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Upon this his 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 Lybusse; the which prelates being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain babbling priests of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterwards recited the said accusation unto the said Huss in the prison, at such time as his ague was fervent and extremely upon him.

Upon this, John Huss required to have an advocate to answer for him; the which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reasons that the masters and commissioners brought against it was this, that the plain canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of his, which is suspected of any kind of heresy. The vanity and folly of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not been both the accusers and judges themselves, there should have needed no distinct confutation. I would have rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise reader could have read without great tediousness. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the process of his judgment.

Afterward, when John Huss had recovered a little strength or health, by the commandment of the three commissioners, there were presented unto him certain articles, many in number, which, they said, they had gathered out of his book which he made of the church; of which articles some were forged and invented by Master Paletz, and other some were gathered only by halves, as shall be more plainly declared hereafter, when we come to speak of the judgment pronounced and given against the said Huss.

Thus John Huss remained in the prison of the convent of the Franciscans, until the Wednesday before Palm Sunday, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean season, to employ and spend his time withal, he wrote certain books, that is to say, of 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 the Twenty-third changed his apparel, and conveyed himself secretly out of Constance, fearing the judgment by the which afterwards he was deprived of his papal dignity, by means of most execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cause that John Huss was transported and carried unto another prison; for the pope's servants, which 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 whole consent of the council, the said 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 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 mean season, certain noblemen and gentlemen of Poland and Bohemia did all their endeavour to purchase his deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the realm, the which was wonderfully defamed and slandered by certain naughty persons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they which were in the town of Constance, that seemed to bear any favour unto 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 unto the

whole council, or at the least unto the four nations, of Almain, Italy, France, and England: this request was presented the fourteenth day of May, A. D. 1415; the tenor here ensueth:

"Most reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and Poland here present, by these their present writings do show and declare unto your fatherly reverences, how that the most noble king and lord, the Lord Sigismund, king of Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c., hearing of the great dissension that was in the kingdom of Bohemia, as heir, king, and lord successor, willing and minding to foresee and provide for his own honour, sent these noblemen, Master Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum here present, that they would bring and assure Master John Huss under the king's name and safe-conduct; so that he would come to the sacred general council of Constance, under the safe-conduct of the said king, and the protection of the said empire, openly given and granted unto the said Master John Huss, that he might purge himself and the kingdom of Bohemia from the slander that was raised upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge: the which the said nobles, with the forenamed Master John Huss, have performed and done, according to the king's commandment.

"Whereas the said Master John Huss was freely of his own accord come unto Constance, under the said safe-conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past, at the council holden at Pisa, in the year of our Lord 1410, the heretics which were condemned, were suffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithstanding this, Master John Huss, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, whereas neither king nor any prince elector, neither any ambassador of any university, was yet come or present. And albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here present, most instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe-conduct they would foresee and have respect unto his honour, and that the said Master John Huss might be openly heard, forasmuch as he would render and show a reason of his faith; and if he were found and convicted obstinately to affirm or maintain any thing against the truth of Holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the council; yet could he never obtain this. But the said Master John Huss, notwithstanding all this, is most grievously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared, lest that, his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

"And although the lords of Bohemia here present are greatly slandered, because they, seeing the said Master John Hues so to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the king's safe-conduct, have not by their letters put the king in mind of his said safe-conduct, that the said lord and king should not any more suffer any such matters, forasmuch as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdom of Bohemia, which from the first original and beginning, since it received the catholic faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy Church of Rome; yet, notwithstanding, they have suffered and borne all these things patiently hitherto, lest by any means, occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred council might arise or spring thereof.

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"Wherefore, most reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords, before named, do wholly and most earnestly desire and require your reverences here present, that both for the honour of the safe-conduct of our said lord the king, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown, both of the aforesaid kingdom of Bohemia, and your own also, you will make a short end about the affairs of Master John Huss; forasmuch as by the means of his strait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do most specially trust upon the most upright consciences and judgments of your fatherly reverences. But, forasmuch as, most reverend fathers and lords, it is now come to the knowledge and understanding of the nobles and lords of Bohemia here present, how that certain backbiters and slanderers of the most famous kingdom of Bohemia aforesaid, have declared and told unto your reverences, how that the sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord is carried up and down through Bohemia in vessels not consecrated or hallowed, and that cobblers do now hear confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord unto others: the nobles, therefore, of Bohemia here present, require and desire you, that you will give no credit unto false promoters and tale-tellers, for that, as most wicked and naughty slanderers and backbiters of that kingdom aforesaid, they do report and tell untruths; requiring also your reverences, that such slanderous persons of the kingdom aforesaid may be named and known. And the lord the king, together with your reverences, shall well perceive and see, that the lords of Bohemia will go about in such manner to refel and put away the false and frivolous slanders of these naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to appear hereafter before the lord the king and your reverences."

As soon as this their supplication was read, the bishop of Luthonis, rising up, said, "Most reverend fathers, I well perceive and understand, that the last part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars, and friends, as though the kingdom of Bohemia were slandered by us. Wherefore I desire to have time and space of deliberation, that I may purge myself from this crime that is laid against me." The principal of the council appointed him the seventeenth day of May, at which day the lords of Bohemia should be present again, to hear both the answers of the council, and also the excuse of the bishop of Luthonis; the which thing indeed was afterward performed, for, the seventeenth day of May, which which was the fourth day before Whitsuntide, they met there again; where, first of all, a certain bishop, in the name of the whole council, answered by word to the nobles of Bohemia; the contents of whose answer may easily be known by the second supplication which the Bohemians put up to the council. But first, I shall here, in these few words following, show how the bishop of Luthonis defended himself against that which is before written.

"Most reverend fathers and noble lords, as Peter de Mladoneywitz, bachelor of arts, in the name of certain of the nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia, in his writings, amongst other things did propound how that certain slanderers and backbiters of the said kingdom, have brought to the ears of your reverences, that the most precious blood of Christ is carried up and down in Bohemia in bottles, and that cobblers do hear confessions, and minister the body of Christ unto others; whereupon, most reverend fathers and lords, albeit that I, together with the other prelates, doctors, masters, and other innumerable catholics of the said kingdom, the which do desire, as much as in them lieth, to defend the faith of Christ, have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wickliff's, which now (alas! for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdom, as it is well known: notwithstanding, here, in this my oration, not for any shame or reproof, but

for the honour of the kingdom aforesaid, I have propounded and declared a certain new sect, which is now lately sprung up in the said kingdom, the followers whereof do minister and communicate the sacraments in many cities, towns, and places of the said kingdom, under both kinds, both of bread and wine, and do constantly teach the common people, both men and women, that it is so to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the clergy which do repugn or say nay unto it, are to be counted church robbers; as by the writings of their assertions, being directed and presented hither, shall openly appear.

"Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the writings which were sent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Christ is carried about in vessels not consecrated, approving the aforesaid erroneous assertion of the Wicklevists, that affirm it necessary for salvation, that the people should communicate under both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is necessary, as the body of Christ is carried in the pix or box, so the blood of Christ should be carried in bottles, or other necessary vessels, from place to place, and especially about the ministration of the sick. Also I declared not of myself, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certain woman, a follower of that sect, the which, taking by violence the body of Christ out of a priest's hands, did communicate unto herself, and affirmed that all men ought to do so, if the priests should deny them the communion. And the same woman, amongst many other errors of the which she was convicted, did affirm that a good laywoman might better consecrate and give absolution, than an evil priest; affirming that an evil priest can neither consecrate nor absolve. But I know that neither I, neither any of my assistants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that cobblers in the said kingdom do hear confession, or minister the sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alleged by the said Peter, in the behalf of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, we did fear, if means were not found to recounter or stop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore, most reverend fathers, lest that the kingdom might be defamed any more by such pestiferous sects, and that the Christian faith might happen to be endangered, with all reverence and charity, I do desire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this most sacred council would provide some speedy remedy for this kingdom, as touching the premises.

"Moreover, whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enviers of the kingdom of Bohemia, the which do let the errors aforesaid, and many others more, which are sown by the Wicklevists in the said kingdom, and also elsewhere? which also both do labour, and have laboured, for the extirpation and rooting out of those errors out of the kingdom aforesaid, and as catholic men, for the zeal of their faith have manifestly put forth themselves against the maintainers of the said errors, or such as do maintain and defend the teachers of those errors? This answer I have here presented before your reverences, always wholly submitting myself and assistants unto your judgment, and to the definition of this most sacred council of Constance."

The day before Whitsuntide, the nobles of Bohemia did confute this their answer, made two days before in the council to their former writing, as here followeth:

"Most reverend fathers and lords, forasmuch as upon Thursday it was answered in the behalf of your reverences, to the requests of the nobles and lords of

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Bohemia, that the said lords were misinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their said bill; therefore the aforesaid lords have now determined and decreed, to declare their former propounded requests more at large unto your reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your fatherly wisdoms and circumspections; but that your reverences (their desires being partly on this behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuously and distinctly discern and judge as touching this matter.

"And first of all, whereas the lords alleged and said, how that Master John Huss was come hither unto Constance freely of his own good will, under the safe-conduct of the lord the king, and the protection of the sacred empire; it is answered on the behalf of your reverences, how that the said lords are misinformed as touching the safe-conduct, and that you have understood by such as are worthy credit, that the friends and favourers of the said Master John Huss, did first procure and get his safe-conduct, fifteen days after his imprisonment.

"The lords of Bohemia, and specially the Lord John de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answer, that not only the fifteenth day after, but even the very same day that John Huss was apprehended and taken, when our reverend father the pope, in the presence of all his cardinals, demanded of Master John de Clum, whether Master John Huss had any safe-conduct from the king his son, he answered, Most holy father and cardinals, know ye that he hath a safe-conduct; and when he was asked the question again the second time, he answered in like manner.

"Yet, notwithstanding, none of them required to have the safe-conduct showed unto them and again, the third day following, the Lord John de Clum complained unto our lord the pope, how, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of our sovereign lord the king, he detained and kept Master John Huss as prisoner, showing the said safe-conduct unto many. And for the further truth herein, he referreth himself unto the testimonies and witnesses of divers earls, bishops, knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the town of Constance, the which all together at this present, did see the said safe-conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said John de Clum is ready to bind himself under what penalty shall be required, evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promised, whosoever say to the contrary.

"Moreover, the lords of Bohemia refer themselves unto the knowledge of certain princes electors, and other princes, bishops, and many other noblemen, which were present before the king's Majesty, where and when the said safe-conduct was granted and given out by the special commandment of our said lord the king.

"Hereby your fatherly reverences may understand and perceive that the said lords of Bohemia are not evil informed as touching the said safe-conduct; but rather they, which by such reports have falsely and untruly informed your reverences. And first of all, they have offended against the lord our king, and his chancellors. Secondly, against the lords and nobles of Bohemia, as though we had privily and by stealth purchased the said safe-conduct. Wherefore the lords aforesaid most humbly require and desire your reverences, that you will not so lightly believe such as be not worthy of credit; but rather, hearing the contrary part, to labour and discuss, that the truth may the more evidently appear.

"Secondly, Whereas the lords aforesaid, alleging how Master John Huss, coming unto Constance of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your reverences have made answers thereunto, that he, the said Master

John Huss, in the time of Alexander the Fifth, was infamed and slandered upon certain heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appear in the court of Rome, and there was heard by his procurers.

"And forasmuch as he refused obstinately to appear, he was excommunicated; in the which excommunication he continued, as you affirm, by the space of five years: for the which he was judged, and counted not only a simple and plain heretic, but a heresiarch, that is to say, an inventor and sower of new and strange heresies; and that he, coming toward Constance, did preach by the way openly. To this the lords aforesaid do answer, that, as touching his slander and citation, they can affirm nothing but by report. But, as touching that he did not personally appear, they say they have heard both himself and divers other credible persons say, yea, even the most famous Prince Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and almost all the whole nobility is witness, that he would willingly have appeared at Rome, or elsewhere, if he might safely have come thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted: and, moreover, his procurers which he sent unto the court of Rome, alleging reasonable causes for his non-appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and others were evil entreated.

"As for the excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they have often heard him say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacy, or stubbornness, but under evident appellation, and thereupon referreth himself unto the acts of his causes which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely contained; the which your reverences may easily perceive and see in this our present public transumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforesaid.

"As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that Master John Huss did preach openly in the city of Constance; the lords aforesaid, and especially the Lord John de Clum here present, do answer, that he hath continually lodged with the said Master John Huss, here in Constance, and that whosoever they be, that have been so bold, or dare be so bold, to say and affirm that Master John Huss had preached, as is premised, or, which is less, that since the time of his coming unto this city, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and imprisonment, that he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, that the said Lord John de Clum will and is content to bind himself with any such as shall affirm the same, under what penalty soever it be, of money or otherwise, that that which they have falsely reported unto your reverences, they shall never be able justly and truly to affirm and prove.

"Thirdly, Whereas your reverences do say, that you do not understand or know, what the lords do mean, by the heretics condemned at the council holden at Pisa, whether the mocking or deriding of the pope, whose ambassadors came thither for unity or concord, the which were suffered, and gently treated, as their lords were most inclined unto unity and peace; or else that they did understand or mean the particular heretics, which were there condemned; adjoining thereunto, that the heretics also coming unto the council under the pretence of that unity, should be gently handled and. entreated, &c. Reverend fathers and lords, whether they be counted the first, or that they be thought the second or last, the lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said Master John Huss may use such liberty as they used, forasmuch as he came willingly unto this most sacred council, not for any other purpose, but only publicly to recognise his faith. And in what point soever he shall seem to vary from the word of God, and the union of the holy mother the church, in

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that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto; and not only himself, but also his favourers and adherents he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the kingdom of Bohemia. Also he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble kingdom of Bohemia from the sinister and evil slander which was raised upon it.

"Last of all, most reverend fathers and lords, forasmuch as your reverences have most favourably answered unto the principal request made by the lords aforesaid, that the process of Master John Huss, through God's help, should be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleness; the lords aforesaid do render most hearty thanks unto your reverences, and whensoever their desire, by God's help, shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only here, but also before the whole kingdom of Bohemia, and in all other places wheresoever they come, render most immortal thanks unto your reverences for ever."

Whereas the noblemen of Bohemia by long time could receive no answer of those supplications which they had already put up, they determined, the last day of May following, by another supplication being put up unto the principals of the council, to entreat that John Huss might be delivered out of prison, and defend his own cause openly: they also put up the testimonial of the bishop of Nazareth as touching John Huss; the copy whereof is expressed in the beginning of this history, word by word.

Another supplication of the nobles of Bohemia.

"Most reverend fathers and lords in Christ, of late there was a supplication put up unto your reverences on the behalf of the lords and nobles of Bohemia, and the nation of the Poles, wherein they most humbly desired your reverences to consider how the informations which were put up unto your reverences, by the enemies of Master John Huss, were insufficient, and, with reverence be it spoken, in many points untrue; as in the safe-conduct granted by the king's Majesty, and also in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon the which said schedule and other things at that present, being put up, they could not as yet receive any answer. Wherefore the lords aforesaid most humbly require your fatherly reverences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to give some answer to the lords aforesaid thereupon, and specially having respect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the said Master John Huss, the which may be understood and known by the schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee, that all those griefs and evils, so far different from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.

"To the intent, therefore, that the rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may please your fatherly reverences to understand that it is notified and known unto the barons, nobles, and citizens, the clergy and laity, of the kingdom of Bohemia, that Master John Huss in all his acts and doings, as well scholastical as ecclesiastical, and especially in all his public and open sermons, hath made, and hath accustomed to make, these manner of protestations; and which, without any thing to the contrary, he hath always endeavoured to have them strong and firm, as by this his protestation here following, (which he made about the determination of a certain question,) it may most evidently

and plainly appear unto every man which would behold and look upon the same: the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is such."

The protestation of John Huss.

"Forasmuch as about all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holy church, and that I myself may be a faithful member of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the head and husband of the holy church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even so now again, I make this protestation: That I never obstinately said, or hereafter will say, any thing that shall be contrary unto the truth and verity; and, moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly desire to hold, the very true and infallible truth and verity; so that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereunto, I would rather choose, by the hope and help of the Lord, to suffer extreme punishment, even unto death: yea, and through the help of God, I am ready to offer this, my miserable life unto death for the law of Christ, the which I do believe, every part and parcel thereof, to be given and promulgated for the salvation of mankind, by the counsel and determination of the most holy Trinity and the saints of God,' &c.

"By the which his protestation, and also other protestations by the said Master John Huss, being well observed and noted, it may be easily gathered and known, that his whole intent and purpose was and is, that he neither would nor will have spoken or written any thing in his books, treatises, doctrines, or public sermons; or else to have affirmed any articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did understand or know to be erroneous, offensive, seditious, heretical, or offending the godly ear; albeit that these and such-like things are falsely imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent and purpose, and so is, that every point, conclusion, or article, contained in his books or articles, to have put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the gospel, the holy doctors, and writers upon the Holy Scriptures; and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his protestations: and if in any point he should be found to vary or go astray, or that he were not well understood of others, by like information to be informed, understood, corrected, and amended: and that he will by no means sustain or defend any manner of article against the holy Church of Rome, or the catholic faith.

"Wherefore, most reverend fathers, the premises notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreme hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by piecemeal, certain articles out of the books of Master John Huss, rejecting and not looking upon the allegations and reasons, neither having any relation unto the distinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made thereof certain false and feigned articles against him to this end, that, all charity and love being set apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe-conduct upon good and just occasion openly assigned and given unto the said Master John Huss, by the most noble prince the Lord Sigismund, King of the Romans and of Hungary, for his just defence against all the frivolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not only of the said Master John Huss, but also of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumours rising and springing in the said kingdom of Bohemia, or elsewhere; the avoiding of which most perilous uproars, the said king of Romans doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heir and successor of the said kingdom.

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"Whereupon, the barons and nobles aforesaid most humbly desire and require, the premises being considered, and respect had unto the great infamy and slander which may happen by the premises unto the said kingdom and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands and take some order and means, that Master John Huss may be directly heard by some famous men, divines, already deputed, or otherwise to be appointed, upon all and singular such articles as shall be laid unto him; to declare his own mind and intent, and also the mind of the doctors alleged for this purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations, in the which the drawers-out of the most part of his articles have also made equivocations, that so, according unto the disposition of the witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, that at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, when he was miserably detained prisoner, that he should not be condemned unheard. Forasmuch as by the said declarations your fatherly reverences might be the better informed of the truth, he himself is ready always to submit himself under the determination of this most sacred council. For your reverences, by the crafty and feigned persuasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that Master John Huss hath been incurably obstinate for a long time, in most perilous articles, the which your reverences may now plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evidence herein to be showed, there is presented unto your reverences an instrument of public recognition of the most reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, an inquisitor of heresies, specially appointed by the apostolic see in the diocese of Prague, the which by your reverences is more diligently to be hearkened unto.

"Wherefore it may please your fatherly reverences to command the said Master John Huss, neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in the which he is now most grievously detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of some reverend lords, bishops, or commissioners, appointed, or to be appointed, by this present council; that the said Master John Huss may somewhat be relieved, and recover again his health, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the commissioners. And for the more assurance, the barons and nobles aforesaid, of the kingdom of Bohemia, will provide most sure and good sureties, the which will not break their fidelity and faith for any thing in the world; which also shall promise in this behalf, that he shall not flee or depart out of their hands, until such time as the matter be fully determined by the said commissioners. In the execution of the which premises, we have determined to provide and foresee, unto the fame and honour of the said kingdom of Bohemia, and also to the safe-conduct of the most worthy prince, the king of Romans; lest that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the kingdom aforesaid, might not a little slander and reprove the said lords, pretending and showing forth hereafter, that they had made unreasonable or unlawful requests: for the withstanding of which mischief, we require your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition and supplication may be drawn out again by your notary, and reduced into public form and order."

After this supplication was read before the deputies of the four nations, the patriarch of Antioch answered in the name of them all, unto every article the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

"First, as touching the protestation of John Huss, whether it be true or false, it shall be made evident in the process of his cause. Moreover, whereas they say that the adversaries of John Huss have perversely drawn certain things out of his books: that,

also, the matter itself shall declare in the end; whereas, if it shall be found and decreed that John Huss is unjustly and untruly accused, that then it shall come to pass that his adversaries shall incur perpetual ignominy and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the deputies of the council, with a safe conscience, may receive or take them in this man's cause, unto whom there is no faith or credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do, upon the fifth day of June next, John Huss shall be brought again unto Constance, and there have free liberty to speak his mind before the council:" and he promised that they would lovingly and gently hear him: but the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promise.

The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication of this tenor unto the emperor:

"Unto the most high and mighty prince, the Lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious lord, faithful and true service in all things, and at all times. Most noble prince and gracious lord, we signify unto your worthiness, that we all, together with one mind, consent, and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend fathers and lords, the deputies of the four nations, and to the whole sacred council of Constance, this our supplication hereunder written, as reasonable, just, and worthy of consideration; the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this."

The copy of the supplication, which was presented unto the deputies of the council, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed:

"Wherefore we most humbly require and desire your princely Majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renown of that most famous kingdom of Bohemia, whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly the true lord, heir, and successor; and also foreseeing unto the liberty of your safe-conduct, that you will, with your favourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and just supplications, which we have put up to the lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they will effectually hear us in this our most just petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid; lest that the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and such be our slanderers also, hereafter may detract and slander us, that we should make unreasonable and unlawful requests unto the said reverend fathers and lords; and therefore we required and desired of them, that it would please them to decree by setting to their public hand and seal, to authorize our said publication. Likewise, we do most heartily require your Highness, that you would vouchsafe in like manner to give us your testimony of the premises."

But what answer the emperor made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge, that this good emperor was brought and led even unto this point, 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 whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe-conduct, or by any other means, unto him which was suspected or judged to be a heretic. But by the epistles and letters of John Huss a man may easily judge what the king's mind was. Now we will proceed in the history.

103. The Trial of John Huss

The fifth day of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests, almost 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; the which articles, with John Huss's answer, we will hereafter repeat. By chance there was then present a certain notary, named Peter Mladoniewitz, the which bare great love and amity unto the said Huss; who, as soon as he perceived that the bishops and cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the said articles in the absence of John Huss, he went with all speed unto Master Wencelate de Duba, and John of Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the emperor, who, understanding their intent, sent Louis, the county Palatine of Heidelburgh, and the Lord Frederic, burgrave of Nuremberg, to signify unto them which ruled the council, that nothing should be resolved or done in the case of John Huss before that it were first heard with equity, and that they should send him all such articles as were laid against the said Huss, which were either false or heretical; and he would do so much, that the said articles should be examined by good and learned men. Then, according to the emperor's will, the judgment of the principals of the council was suspended, until such time as John Huss were present.

In the mean season, these gentlemen, Master Wencelate of Duba, and John of Clum, did give unto the two princes, which the emperor had sent, certain small treatises which the said John Huss had made, out of the which they had drawn certain articles to present unto them which ruled the council; under this condition, that they would render them again, when they should demand them. The intent and meaning of these barons was, that by this means the adversaries of John Huss might the more easily be reproved, the which, of a naughty and corrupt conscience, had picked out corrupt sentences out of the said books of John Huss. The books were delivered unto the cardinals and bishops; and, that done, John Huss was brought forth, and the princes which were sent by the emperor departed back again. Afterwards they showed the books unto John Huss, and he confessed openly, before the whole assembly, that he had made them; and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the same.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of these reverend fathers, for there 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 had not leisure to speak one only word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it a bruit 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 never so little cease, that he might answer any thing at all out of the Holy Scriptures or ecclesiastical doctors, by and by he should hear these goodly replies upon him, "That maketh nothing to the purpose."

Besides all this, some did outrage in words against him, and other some spitefully mocked him; so that he, seeing himself overwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speak, he determined finally with himself to hold his peace and keep silence. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adversaries thought that they had won the battle of him, and cried out all together, "Now he is dumb, now he is dumb; this is a certain sign and token, that he doth consent and agree unto these his errors." Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be deferred and put off until another time. Through their advice, the prelates and others departed from the council for that present, and appointed to meet there again the morrow after to proceed in judgment.

The next day, which was the seventh of June, on which day the sun was almost wholly eclipsed, somewhat after about seven of the clock, this same flock assembled again in the cloister of the Friars Minor, and by their appointment John Huss was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the gentlemen, Master Wencelate of Duba, and John of 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 Bethlem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague, of the which errors, some of them he hath drawn out of Wickliff's books, and the rest he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the same very obstinately and stiffly.

"First, that after the consecration and pronounciation of the words in the supper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread." And this is proved by the witness of John Protway, parish priest of St. Clement's in Prague; John Pecklow, preacher at St. Giles in Prague; Benise, preacher in the castle of Prague; Andrew Brode, canon of Prague, and divers other priests. Unto this John Huss, taking a solemn oath, answered that he never spake any such word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbishop of Prague forbade him to use any more that term or word, bread, he could not allow the bishop's commandment; forasmuch as Christ, in the 6th chapter of John, doth oftentimes name himself the bread of angels, which came down from heaven, to give life unto the whole world; but as touching material bread, he never spake any thing at all. Then the cardinal of Cambray, taking a certain bill in his hand, which he said he received the day before, said unto John Huss: "Will you put any universalities, as touching the thing?" When John Huss answered, that he would, because St. Anselm and divers others had so done, the cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

"It followeth then," said he, "that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: that the consecration being done, while the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remain the common substance of material bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remain, then is our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then it doth follow, that by the decision of the singularity, the universal ceaseth any more to be." John Huss answered, "Truly it ceaseth to be, in this singular material bread, by means of this transubstantiation, by which it is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ; but, notwithstanding, in other singularities it is made subject."

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Then a certain Englishman by that argument would prove out of the first position, that there remained material bread. Then said John Huss, "That is a childish argument, which every boy in schools knoweth:" and thereupon gave a solution. Then another Englishman would prove, that there remained material bread in the sacrament, because the bread after the consecration was not annihilate. Unto whom John Huss answered, "Although," said he, "that the bread be not annihilate or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to be by means of the alteration of its substance into the body of Christ." Here another Englishman stepping forth, said; "John Huss seemeth unto me to use the same kind of crafty speech which Wickliff used, for he granted all these things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully persuaded that material bread remained in the sacrament after the consecration." The which when John Huss had denied, saying, that he spake nothing but only sincerely and uprightly, according to his conscience; the Englishman proceeded to demand of him again, whether the body of Christ be totally and really in the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto John Huss answered, "Verily, I do think that the body of Christ is really and totally in the sacrament of the altar, even that body which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, died, and rose again, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty." When they had disputed a good while to and fro, as touching universalities, the Englishman, which before would prove that material bread remained in the sacrament, because that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talk, said: "To what purpose is this disputation upon universalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpose, as touching faith? For as far as I can perceive or hear, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the sacrament of the altar." Then another Englishman, named Stokes, said, "I have seen at Prague a certain treatise, the which was ascribed unto this man John Huss, wherein it was plainly set forth, that after the consecration there remained material bread in the sacrament." "Verily," said John Huss, "saving your reverence, that is not true."

Then they returned again unto the witnesses of them which were spoken of a little before, who, every man for himself, affirmed, with an oath, that which he had said; amongst whom John Protwyway, parish priest of St. Clement's in Prague, when he should come to confirm his testimony, added more, that John Huss should say, that St. Gregory was but a rhymer, when he did allege his authority against him. Unto whom John Huss answered, that in this point they did him great injury, forasmuch as he always esteemed and reputed St. Gregory for a most holy doctor of the church.

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased, the cardinal of Florence turned himself toward John Huss and said: "Master, you know well enough that it is written, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, all witness is firm and stable; and here you see now almost twenty witnesses against you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongst the which some have heard you teach these things themselves, the other by report and common bruit or voice do testify of your doctrine; and all together, generally, bring firm reasons and proofs of their witness, unto the which we are forced and constrained to give credit; and, for my part, I see not how you can maintain and defend your cause against so many notable and well-learned men." Unto whom John Huss answered in this manner: "I take God and my conscience to witness, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fantasy to teach in sort or manner, as these men here have not feared to witness against me that which they never heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that I do much more esteem, yea, and without comparison

regard, the witness of my Lord God, before the witness and judgment of all mine adversaries, upon whom I do in no point stay myself."

Then said the cardinal again unto him, "It is not lawful for us to judge according to your conscience; for we cannot choose, but that we must needs stay ourselves upon the firm and evident witness of these men here. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred, that these men do witness this against you, (as you do allege,) for they allege and bring forth such reasons of their witness, that there is no man that can perceive any hatred in them, or that we can, in any case, be in doubt thereof. And as touching Master Stephen Paletz, whereas you say, you do suspect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawn out certain points or articles out of your books to betray them afterwards; it seemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath used and showed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your articles much more than they are in your own books. I understand also that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and specially you have said, that you do suspect Master Chancellor of Paris, than whom there is no more excellent and Christian man in all the whole world."

Then was there read a certain article of accusation, in the which it was alleged, that John Huss had taught, and obstinately defended, certain erroneous articles of Wickliff's in Bohemia. Whereunto Huss answered, that he never taught any errors of John Wickliff's, or of any other man's. "Wherefore, if it be so that Wickliff hath sowed any errors in England, let the Englishmen look to that themselves." But to confirm their article, there was alleged that John Huss did withstand the condemnation of Wickliff's articles, the which were first condemned at Rome. And afterwards also, when the archbishop of Swinco, with other learned men, held a convocation at Prague for the same matter, when they would have there been condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the catholic faith or doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous, or offensive; he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending his conscience, and especially for these articles, that Silvester the pope, and Constantine, did err in bestowing those great gifts and rewards upon the church. Also, that the pope or priest, being in mortal sin, cannot consecrate nor baptize. "This article," said he, "I have thus determined, as if I should say, that he doth unworthily consecrate or baptize, when he is in deadly sin, and that he is an unworthy minister of the sacraments of God." Here his accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant that the article of Wickliff was written by the very same words of the treatise which John Huss made against Stephen Paletz. "Verily," said John Huss, "I fear not to submit myself, even under the danger of death, if you shall not find it so as I have said." When the book was brought forth, they found it written as John Huss had said. He added also, moreover, that he durst not agree unto them which had condemned Wickliff's articles, for this article, "The tenths were pure alms." Here the cardinal of Florence objected unto him this argument, as touching the alms: "It is required that it should be given freely without bond or duty. But tenths are not given freely without bond or duty; therefore are they no alms." John Huss, denying the major of this syllogism, brought this reason against him: "Forasmuch as rich men are bound, under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the six works of mercy, which Christ repeateth in the 25th chapter of Matthew, and these works are pure alms; ergo, alms are also given by bond and duty." Then an archbishop of England, stepping up, said, "If we all be bound unto those six works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, which have nothing at all to give, should be damned." "I answer," said Huss, "unto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those which had

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wherewithal to do those works. They, I say, were bound to give alms under pain of damnation."

He answered, moreover, unto the minor of the first argument, that tenths were at first given freely, and afterward made a bond and duty; and when he would have declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. He declared also divers other causes why he could not, with safe conscience, consent unto the condemnation of Wickliff's articles. But howsoever the matter went, he did affirm and say, that he did never obstinately confirm any articles of Wickliff's, but only that he did not allow and consent that Wickliff's articles should be condemned before that sufficient reasons were alleged out of the Holy Scripture for their condemnation. "And of the same mind," saith John Huss, "are a great many other doctors and masters of the university of Prague; for when Swinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliff's books to be gathered together in the whole city of Prague, and to be brought unto him, I myself brought also certain books of Wickliff's which I gave unto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any error or heresy in them, he would note and mark them, and I myself would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he showed me no error nor heresy in them, burned my books, together with those that were brought unto him, notwithstanding that he had no such commandment from Pope Alexander the Fifth. But, notwithstanding, by a certain policy, he obtained a bull from the said pope by means of Jaroslaus, bishop of Sarepta, of the order of Franciscans, that all Wickliff's books, for the manifold errors contained in them, (whereof there were none named,) should be taken out of all men's hands. The archbishop, using the authority of this bull, thought he should bring to pass that the king of Bohemia and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wickliff's books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheless, calling together certain divines, he gave them in commission to sit upon Wickliff's books, and to proceed against them by a definitive sentence in the canon law. These men, by a general sentence, judged all those books worthy to be burned; the which when the doctors, masters, and scholars of the university heard report of, they all together, with one consent and accord, (none excepted but only they which before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in judgment,) determined to make supplication unto the king to stay the matter. The king, granting their request, sent by and by certain unto the archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing, as touching Wickliff's books, contrary unto the king's will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the king, the matter was passed over. In the mean time Pope Alexander the Fifth, being dead, the archbishop, fearing lest the bull which he had received of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed soldiers, consumed and burned all Wickliff's books.



The burning of John Huss's books

Besides this great injury, the archbishop, by means of his bull aforesaid, committed another no less intolerable; for he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the pope; who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewise unto his successor John the Twenty-third: before whom when, by the space of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocates to defend my cause, I appealed unto the high Judge, Christ.

When John Huss had spoken these words, it was demanded of him whether he had received absolution of the pope or no? He answered, "No." Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto Christ or no? Whereunto John Huss answered; "Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more just or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto Christ, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeal, is no other thing than in a cause of grief or wrong done by an inferior judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher judge's hand. Who is then a higher judge than Christ? Who, I say, can know or judge the matter more justly, or with more equity? when in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or, who can better help the miserable and oppressed than he?" While John Huss, with a devout and

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sober countenance, was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole council.

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 Wickliff'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 Wickliff, and could by no means vanquish him, or give him the foil; suddenly the church door was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wickliff's enemies hardly escaped without hurt." He added, moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wickliff's soul was. Whereunto John Huss answered, that a dozen years before that any books of divinity of John Wickliff's were in Bohemia, he did see certain works of philosophy of his, the which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understood the good and godly life of the said Wickliff, he spake these words: "I trust," said he, "that Wickliff is saved; and albeit that 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 Wickliff's is." Then again did all the company jest and laugh at him.

It is also in his accusation, that John Huss did counsel the people, according to the example of Moses, to resist with the sword against all such as did gainsay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly, in divers places, certain intimations that every man, being armed with his sword about him, should stoutly proceed; and that brother should not spare brother, neither one neighbour another. John Huss answered, that all these things were falsely laid unto his charge by his adversaries; for he at all times, when he preached, did diligently admonish and warn the people, that they should all arm themselves to defend the truth of the gospel, according to the saying of the apostle, with the helmet and sword of salvation; and that he never spake of any material sword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations, or Moses's sword, he never had any thing to do withal.

It is moreover affirmed in his accusation and witness, that many offences are sprung up by the doctrine of Huss. For first of all, he sowed discord between the ecclesiastical and the political state; whereupon followed the persecution, spoiling, and robbery of the clergy and bishops; and moreover, that he, through his dissension, dissolved the university of Prague. Hereunto John Huss briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his means or default; for the first dissension that was between the ecclesiastical and political state, sprang and grew upon this cause, that Pope Gregory the Twelfth promised at his election, that at all times, at the will and pleasure of the cardinals, he would depart from and give over his seat again; for under that condition he was elect and chosen. This man, contrary and against Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and was then also king of the Romans, made Louis, duke of Bavaria, emperor.

A few years after it happened, when Pope Gregory would not refuse and give over his seat and office at the request of the cardinals, that the whole college of cardinals sent letters to the king of Bohemia, requiring him, that, together with them, he would renounce and forsake his obedience unto Pope Gregory, and so it should come to pass, that by the authority of a new bishop he should recover again his imperial dignity. For this cause the king consented to the will of the cardinals as touching a neutrality; that is to say, that he would neither take part with Pope Gregory,

neither yet with Benedict the Twelfth, bishop of Avignon, who was then named pope, as it doth appear by chronicles. In this cause then, forasmuch as the archbishop Swinco with the clergy were against the king, and abstaining from the divine service, many of them departed out of the city, and the archbishop himself, breaking down the tomb of the Lord Wencelate, contrary and against the king's will, did also take Wickliff's books and burned them. Thereupon the king, without any gainsaying, suffered that certain goods of theirs, which of their own wills were fled away, should be spoiled; because they should not consent or accord with the bishop. Whereupon it is easy to be understood and known that John Huss was falsely accused for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one Naso, rising up, said: "The clergy did not abstain from the divine service, because they would not swear to consent unto the king; but because that they were spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance." And the cardinal of Cambray, who was one of the judges, said: "Here I must say somewhat which is come into my mind. When I came from Rome, the same year that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certain prelates of Bohemia: whom, when I demanded what news they had brought out of Bohemia, they answered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact; for all the clergy were spoiled of all their substance, and very ill entreated and handled."

Then John Huss, alleging the same cause which he did before, went forward unto the second part of the article which was objected against him, denying, also, that it happened through his fault, that the Germans departed from the university of Prague. "But when the king of Bohemia, according to the foundation of Charles the Fourth, his father, granted three voices unto the Bohemians, and the fourth unto the Germans; whereat the Germans grudging that they should be exempted from their voices, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themselves with a great oath, and under a great penalty, both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should return again unto Prague. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confess, that I did approve and allow the doings of the king, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my country. And because you shall not think that I have spoken any untruth, here is present Albert Warren Trapius, which was deacon of the faculties, who had sworn to depart with the rest of the Germans; he, if that he will say the truth, shall easily clear me of this suspicion."

But when Albert would have spoken, he could not be heard. But the aforesaid Naso, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leave to speak, said: "This matter do I understand well enough, for I was in the king's court when these things were done in Bohemia, when I saw the masters of the three nations, of the Germans, Bavarians, Saxons, and Silesians, amongst whom the the Polonians were also numbered, most humbly come unto the king, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them; then the king promised them that he would foresee and provide for their requests: but John Huss and Jerome of Prague, with divers others, persuaded the king that he should not so do. Whereat the king at the first, being not a little moved, gave him a sore check, that he and Jerome of Prague did so much intermeddle themselves, and moved such open controversies, insomuch that he threatened them, that except they would foresee and take heed, he would bring it to pass that the matter should be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore, most reverend fathers, you shall understand that the king of Bohemia did never favour with his heart these men, whose unshamefacedness is such, that they feared not even of late to entreat me evil, being so much in the king's favour and credit." After him stepped forth Paletz, saying, "Verily, most reverend fathers, not only the learned men of other

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nations, but also of Bohemia itself, are, through the counsel of John Huss and his adherents, banished out of Bohemia, of the which number some remain yet in exile in Moravia." Hereunto John Huss answered: "How can this be true," said he, "since I was not at Prague at that time, when these men you speak of departed and went away from thence?" These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching John Huss.

This done, the said John Huss was committed to the custody of the bishop of Reggio, under whom Jerome of Prague was also prisoner. But before that he was led away, the cardinal of Cambray calling him back again, in the presence of the emperor, said, "John Huss, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto Constance, neither the emperor himself, neither the king of Bohemia, could have compelled you to do it." Unto whom John Huss answered: "Under your licence, most reverend father, I never used any such kind of talk or words. But this I did say, that there was in Bohemia a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, which did favour and love me, the which also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come into this town of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither of the king of Bohemia." With that the cardinal of Cambray, even for very anger, began to change his colour, and despitefully said: "Do you not see the unshamefacedness of the man here?" And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the Lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Huss had spoken, said, that John Huss had spoken very well; "for on my part," said he, "which, in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realm of Bohemia, yet always, if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily by the space of one year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they have done it which are of more force or puaissance than I am, and have stronger castles and places than I have!" After that the Lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinal of Cambray said, "Let us leave this talk; and I tell you, John Huss, and counsel you, that you submit yourself unto the sentence and mind of the council, as you did promise in the prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour."

And the emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying, "Albeit that there be some which say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our letters of safe-conduct; I can well prove, by the witness of many princes and noblemen, that the said safe-conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my lords de Duba and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prague, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the council, and to answer as touching your faith and doctrine: and, as you see, my lords the cardinals and bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you; for the which we have great cause to thank them. And forasmuch as divers have told us, that we may not, or ought not, of right to defend any man which is a heretic, or suspected of heresy; therefore, now we give you even the same counsel which the cardinal of Cambray hath given you already, that you be not obstinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do submit yourself under such obedience as you owe unto the authority of the holy council, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses; the which thing if you do according to our counsel, we will give order that, for the love of us, of our brother, and the whole realm of Bohemia, the council shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easy and tolerable penance and satisfaction. The which thing if you, contrariwise, refuse to do, the

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presidents of the council shall have sufficient wherewithal to proceed against you. And, for our part, be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintain or use this stiffness of opinions, which you have hitherto maintained and used. Wherefore our advice and counsel is, that you submit yourself wholly unto the judgment of the council." Unto whom John Huss answered in this sort; "O most noble emperor, I render unto your Highness most immortal thanks for your letters of safe-conduct." Upon this, Lord John de Clum did break him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did in no point excuse himself of the blame of obstinacy.

Then said John Huss, "O most gentle lord, I do take God to my witness, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obstinately; and that for this same intent and purpose I did come hither of mine own good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine than mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt." After he had spoken and said these things, he was sent away with sergeants.

104. The Articles against John Huss, and his Answers.

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of June, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now again at the convent of the Franciscans. And in this assembly were also John Huss's friends, Lord de Duba, and Lord de Clum, and Peter the notary. Thither was John Huss also brought; and in his presence there were read about thirty-nine articles, the which, they said, were drawn out of his books. Huss acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of the which sort there were but very few. The residue were counterfeited and forged by his adversaries, and specially by Stephen Paletz, the principal author of this mischief: for they could find no such thing in the books, out of the which they said they had drawn and gathered them; or at the least, if they were, they were corrupted by slanders, as a man may easily perceive by the number of articles.

These be the same articles in a manner which were showed before in the prison to John Huss, and are rehearsed here in another order. Howbeit there were more articles added unto them, and other some corrected and enlarged. But now we will show them one with another, and declare what the said Huss did answer both openly before them all, as also in the prison, for he left his answers in the prison briefly written with his own hand in these words:

"I, John Huss, unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, do confess that I have written a certain small treatise entitled, Of the Church; the copy whereof was showed me by the notaries of the three presidents of the council; that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Libusse: the which deputies or presidents, in reproof of the said treatise, delivered unto me certain articles, saying, that they were drawn out of the said treatise, and were written in the same.

"The first article: 'There is but one holy universal or catholic church, which is the universal company of all the predestinate.' I do confess that this proposition is mine, and is confirmed by the saying of St. Augustine upon St. John.

"The second article: 'St. Paul was never any member of the devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant church. And likewise St. Peter, which fell into a horrible sin of perjury and denial of his Master, it was by the permission of God, that he might the more firmly and stedfastly rise again and be confirmed.' I answer, according to St. Augustine, that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sin and offend. Hereby it appeareth that there are two manner of separations from the holy church. The first is not to perdition, as all the elect are divided from the church. The second is to perdition, by the which certain heretics are, through their deadly sin, divided from the church. Yet notwithstanding, by the grace of God, they may return again unto the flock, and be of the fold of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom he speaketh himself, saying, I have other sheep which are not of this fold, John xx.

"The third article: 'No part or member of the church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forasmuch as the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall.' This proposition is thus placed in my book: As

the reprobate of the church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same, forasmuch as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away, because that the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away.' This is proved by the 13th chapter of the First to the Corinthians; and to the Romans, the 8th chapter: All things turn to good to them which love God. Also, I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God: as it is more at large in the book.

"The fourth article: 'The predestinate, although he be not in a state of grace according to present justice, yet is he always a member of the universal church.' This an error, if it be understood of all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the book, about the beginning of the 5th chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners and sorts of being in the church; for there are some in the church according to the misshapen faith, and other some according to predestination, as Christians predestinate, now in sin, but shall return again unto grace.

"The fifth article: 'There is no degree of honour or dignity, neither any human election, or any sensible sign, that can make any man a member of the universal church.' I answer, this article is after this manner in my book: 'And such subtleties are understood and known by considering what it is to be in the church, and what it is to be a part or member of the church; and that predestination doth make a man a member of the universal church, the which is a preparation of grace for the present, and of glory to come; and not any degree of dignity, neither election of man, neither any sensible sign. For the traitor, Judas Iscariot, notwithstanding Christ's election, and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true apostle of Jesus Christ, yet was he no true disciple, but a wolf covered in a sheep's skin, as St. Augustine saith.'

"The sixth article: 'A reprobate man is never a member of the holy church.' I answer, it is in my book, with sufficient long probation out of the 26th Psalm, and out of the 5th chapter to the Ephesians; and also by St. Bernard's saying, The church of Jesus Christ is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death.' I have also written in the 5th chapter of my book, that the holy church is the barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predestinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corn or grain, and the evil as the chaff; and thereunto is added the exposition of St. Augustine.

"The seventh article: 'Judas was never a true disciple of Jesus Christ.' I answer, and I do confess the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed before, and by St. Augustine in his Book of Penance, where he doth expound the meaning of St. John, in the First Epistle and 2nd chapter, where he said, 'They came out from amongst us, but they were none of us. He knew from the beginning all them which should believe, and him also which should betray him, and said, And therefore I say unto you, that none cometh unto me, except it be given him of my Father. From that time many of the disciples parted from him: and were not those also called disciples, according to the words of the gospel? And yet, notwithstanding, they were no true disciples, because they did not remain and continue in the word of the Son of God, according as it is said, If you remain in my word, you be my disciples; forasmuch then as they did not continue with Christ as his true disciples, so likewise are they not the true sons of God: although they seem so, unto him they are not so, unto whom it is known what they shall be, that is to say, of good, evil.' Thus much writeth St. Augustine. It is also evident that Judas could not be the true disciple of Christ, by

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means of his covetousness; for Christ himself said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose, Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Forasmuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lord's will, and follow him, he was a thief, as it is said, John xii.; and a devil, John vi.; whereby it is evident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true, but feigned, disciple. Whereupon St. Augustine writing upon John, declaring how the sheep hear the voice of Christ, saith, 'What manner of hearers, think ye, his sheep were? Truly, Judas heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the Shepherd; but being clothed in a sheep's skin, he lay in wait for the Shepherd.'

"The eighth article: 'Of the congregation of the predestinate, whether they be in the state of grace or no, according unto present justice, is the holy universal church; and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same church which hath neither wrinkle, neither spot in it, but is holy and undefiled, the which the Son of God doth call his own. The answer: The words of the book out of the which this article was drawn, are these: 'Thirdly, the church is understood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithful, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present justice, or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of the which St. Paul maketh mention in the 5th chapter to the Ephesians, Christ so loved his church, that he delivered and offered himself for the same, &c. I pray you, then, is there any faithful man the which doth doubt that the church doth not signify all the elect and predestinate, the which we ought to believe to be the universal church, the glorious spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmly to believe according to our creed, 'I believe the holy catholic church:' and of this church doth St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, and divers other make mention.'

"The ninth article: 'Peter never was, neither is, the head of the holy universal church.' The answer: This article was drawn out of these words of my book; 'All men do agree in this point, that Peter had received of the Rock of the church, (which is Christ,) humility, poverty, stedfastness of faith, and consequently blessedness. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Upon this Rock I will build my church, that he would build every militant church upon the person of Peter; for Christ should build his church upon the Rock, which is Christ himself, from whence Peter received his stedfastness of faith, forasmuch as Jesus Christ is the only Head and Foundation of every church, and not Peter.'

"The tenth article: 'If he that is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true vicar; but if so be he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of St. Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the vicar of Judas Iscariot!' I answer, the words of my book are these: 'If he which is called the vicar of St. Peter, walk in the ways of Christian virtues aforesaid, we do believe verily that he is the true vicar, and true bishop of the church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of antichrist, contrary both to St. Peter, and our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore St. Bernard, in his fourth book, did write in this sort unto Pope Eugene: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancy, being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed; what fruit or profit do thy flock or sheep receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of devils than of sheep. St. Peter and St. Paul did not so; wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not St. Peter. These be the very words of St. Bernard.' It followeth after, in my book, 'That if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to

that which St. Peter used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousness, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot, which loved and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ.' As soon as they had read the same, those which ruled and governed the council beheld one another, making mocks and mows, they nodded their heads at him.

"The eleventh article: 'All such as do use simony, and priests living dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the seven sacraments, as unbelieving bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keys or censures, rites and ceremonies; neither of the divine service of the church, or of veneration or worshipping of relics; neither of the orders constituted and ordained in the church; neither yet of indulgences or pardons.' I answer, that it is placed in this manner in my book: 'This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as do sell and make merchandise of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making fairs and markets of the holy sacraments, and living in all kind of voluptuousness and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villanous kind of living: they do pollute and defile the holy ecclesiastical state. And albeit that they profess in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and consequently believe not in God; but, as unbelieving bastards, they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seven sacraments of the church. And this appeareth most evidently, forasmuch as all such do utterly contemn and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi, chap. i., Unto you, O priests! be it spoken, which do despise and contemn my name.'

"The twelfth article: 'The papal dignity hath his original from the emperors of Rome.' I answer, and mark well what my words are: 'The pre-eminence and institution of the pope is sprung and come of the emperor's power and authority. And this is proved by the ninety-sixth distinction; for Constantine granted this privilege unto the bishop of Rome, and other after him confirmed the same: That like as Augustus, for the outward and temporal goods bestowed upon the church, is counted always the most high king above all others; so the bishop of Rome should be called the principal father above all other bishops. This notwithstanding, the papal dignity hath his original immediately from Christ, as touching his spiritual administration and office to rule the church.' Then the cardinal of Cambray said, 'In the time of Constantine, there was a general council holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the highest room and place in the church was given to the bishop of Rome, for honour's cause, it is ascribed unto the emperor. Wherefore then do ye not as well affirm and say, that the papal dignity took his original rather from that council, than by the emperor's authority and power?'

"The thirteenth article: 'No man would reasonably affirm (without revelation) either of himself or of any other, that he is the head of any particular church.' I answer, I confess it to be written in my book, and it followeth straight after, 'Albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy universal church, the spouse of Jesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher, No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deserved grace and favour, or hatred. And Luke xvii., When ye have done all that ye can, say that you are unprofitable servants.'

"The fourteenth article: 'It ought not to be believed, that the pope, whatsoever he be, may be the head of any particular church, unless he be predestinate or ordained of God.' I answer, that I do acknowledge this proposition to be mine; and this is easy

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to prove, forasmuch as it is necessary that the Christian faith should be depraved, forasmuch as the church was deceived by N., as it appeareth by St. Augustine.

"The fifteenth article: 'The pope's power as vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and address his life according to Jesus Christ, and follow the manners of St. Peter.' I answer, that it is thus in my book; 'That it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained vicar, should address and frame himself, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place.' And John Huss said, moreover, before the whole council: 'I understand that the power and authority in such a pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is frustrate and void, as touching the merit and reward which he should obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office.' Then certain others standing by, asked of him, saying, 'Where is that gloss in your book?' John Huss answered, 'You shall find it in my treatise against Master Paletz:' whereat all the assistants, looking one upon another, began to smile and laugh.

"The sixteenth article: 'The pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the room and place of St. Peter, but because he hath great revenues.' I answer, that my words are mutilated, for thus it is written: 'He is not most holy, because he is called the vicar of St. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions; but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentleness, patience, labour, and travail, and in perfect love and charity.'

"The seventeenth article: 'The cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus.' I answer, that it is thus written in my book, and it proveth itself sufficiently: 'For if they enter in by another way than by the door, which is the Lord Jesus, they be murderers and thieves.'

"Then said the cardinal of Cambray, 'Behold, both this and all other articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his book than are presented in his articles. Truly, John Huss, thou hast kept no order in thy sermons and writings, Had it not been your part to have applied your sermons according to your audience? for to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you, before the people to preach against the cardinals, when none of them were present? It had been meeter for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the laity.' Then answered John Huss: 'Reverend father, forasmuch as I did see many priests and other learned men present at my sermons, for their sakes I spake those words.' Then said the cardinal, 'Thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talk thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the church.'

"The eighteenth article: 'A heretic ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the ecclesiastical censure.' These are my words: That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, especially forasmuch as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judge such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death.' As touching the first point, it may evidently be seen in the 12th chapter of St. Luke. And for the second, it appeared also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the 8th chapter of St. John. And it is said in the 18th chapter of St. Matthew, If thy brother have offended thee, &c. Mark therefore what I do say, That a heretic, whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian love and gentleness by the Holy Scriptures,

and by the reasons drawn and taken out of the same, as St. Augustine and others have done, disputing against the heretics. But if there were any which, after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from or leave off their stiffness of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporal or bodily punishment."

As soon as John Huss had spoken those things, the judges read in his book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them which delivered a heretic unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresy, and compared them unto the high priests, scribes, and Pharisees, which said unto Pilate, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death, and delivered Christ unto him; and yet, notwithstanding, according unto Christ's own witness, they were greater murderers than Pilate; For he, said Christ, which hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence. Then the cardinals and bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Huss, saying, "Who are they that thou dost compare or resemble unto the Pharisees?" Then he said, "All those which delivered up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the scribes and Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto Pilate." "No, no," said they again; "for all that, you spake here of doctors." And the cardinal of Cambray, according to his accustomed manner, said, "Truly they which have made and gathered these articles, have used great lenity and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable and horrible."

"The nineteenth article: 'The nobles of the world ought to constrain and compel the ministers of the church to observe and keep the law of Jesus Christ.' I answer, that it standeth thus word for word in my book: 'Those which be on our part do preach and affirm that the church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and consisteth in these parts: That is to say, ministers of the church, which should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God, and the nobles of the world, that should compel and drive them to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ, and of the common people, serving to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ.'

"The twentieth article: The ecclesiastical obedience is a kind of obedience, which the priests and monks have invented without any express authority of the Holy Scriptures.' I answer and confess, that those words are thus written in my book. I say that there be three kinds of obedience, spiritual, secular, and ecclesiastical. The spiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the law and ordinance of God, under the which the apostles of Jesus Christ did live, and all Christians ought to live. The secular obedience is that which is due according to the civil laws and ordinances. The ecclesiastical obedience is such as the priests have invented, without any express authority of Scripture. The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part which giveth the commandment, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in the 24th chapter of Deuteronomy: Thou shalt do all that which the priests of the kindred of Levi shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.

"The twenty-first article: 'He that is excommunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the pope and the general council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his apellation, all the excommunications and curses of the pope cannot annoy or hurt him.' I answer, that I do not acknowledge this proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my book, that they had both done me and such as favoured me great wrong, and that they refused to hear me in the

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pope's court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeal to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the pope to the council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should seek an uncertain remedy. And therefore, last of all, I have appealed to the Head of the church, my Lord Jesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better than any pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forasmuch as he cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause, neither can he condemn the innocent. Then spake the cardinal of Cambray unto him, and said, Wilt thou presume above St. Paul, who appealed unto the emperor, and not unto Jesus Christ?' John Huss answered, 'Forasmuch then as I am the first that do it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted a heretic? And yet, notwithstanding, St. Paul did not appeal unto the emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake unto him by revelation, and said, Be firm and constant, for thou must go unto Rome.' And as he was about to rehearse his appeal again they mocked him."

Forasmuch as mention here is made of the appeal of the said Huss, it seemeth good here to show the manner and form thereof.

"Forasmuch as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chief and first, and also the last and uttermost refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing justice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those that are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those which honour and fear him, defending and keeping all those that love him, and utterly destroying and bringing to ruin the stiff-necked and impenitent sinner; and that the Lord Jesus Christ, very God and man, being in great anguish, compassed in with the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, wicked judges and witnesses, willing, by the most bitter and ignominious death, to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory unto them which should come after him, to the intent they should commit all their causes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this manner: O Lord! behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himself against me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord! thou hast given me understanding, and I have acknowledged thee; thou hast opened unto me all their enterprises; and for mine own part, I have been as a meek lamb which is led unto sacrifice, and have not resisted against them. They have wrought their enterprises upon me, saying, Let us put wood in his bread, and let us banish him out of the land of the living, that his name be no more spoken of nor had in memory. But thou, O Lord of hosts! which judgest justly, and seest the devices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifested my cause unto thee, forasmuch as the number of those which trouble me is great, and have counselled together, saying, The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him and catch him. O Lord my God! behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; do not separate thyself far from me, forasmuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will succour me. My God! my God! look down upon me; wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs have compassed me in, and the company of the wicked have besieged me round about; for they have spoken against me with deceitful tongues, and have compassed me in with words full of despite, and have enforced me without cause. Instead of love towards me they have slandered me, and have recompensed me with evil for good; and in place of charity they have conceived hatred against me.

"Wherefore, behold, I, staying myself upon this most holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgment, and the excommunication determined by the bishops, scribes, Pharisees, and judges, which sit in Moses's seat, and resign my cause wholly unto him; so as the holy patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, appealed twice from the council of the bishops and clergy; and Andrew, bishop of Prague, and Robert, bishop of Lincoln, appealed unto the sovereign and most just Judge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly, that all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and especially the princes, barons, knights, esquires, and all other which inhabit our country of Bohemia, should understand and know these things, and have compassion upon me, which am so grievously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, the which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis, my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance .of the canons of the cathedral church of Prague, and given and granted out by Peter of St. Angles, dean of the Church of Rome, and cardinal, and also ordained judge by Pope John the Twenty-third, who hath continued almost these two years, and would give no audience unto my advocates and procurators: which they ought not to deny, (no, not to a Jew or pagan, or to any heretic whatsoever he were,) neither yet would he receive any reasonable excuse, for that I did not appear personally; neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole university of Prague with the seal hanging at it, or the witness of the sworn notaries, and such as were called unto witness. By this all men may evidently perceive, that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or disobedience, forasmuch as that I did not appear in the court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.

"And moreover, forasmuch as they had laid ambushments for me on every side by ways where I should pass, and also because the perils and dangers of others have made me the more circumspect and advised; and forasmuch as my procurers were willing and contented to bind themselves, even to abide the punishment of the fire, to answer to all such as would oppose or lay any thing against me in the court of Rome; as also because they did imprison my lawful procurator in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. Forasmuch then as the order and disposition of all ancient laws, as well Divine of the Old and New Testament, as also of the canon laws, is this; that the judges should resort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to inquire of all such crimes as shall be objected and laid against him which is accused or slandered, and that of such men as by conversation have some knowledge or understanding of the party so accused (the which may not be the evil-willers or enemies of him which is so accused or slandered; but must be men of an honest conversation, no common quarrel-pickers or accusers, but fervent lovers of the law of God): and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accused party might without danger or peril resort or come, and that the judge and witnesses should not be enemies unto him that is accused. And also forasmuch as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the safeguard of my life, I am excused before God from the frivolous pretended obstinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I, John Huss, do present and offer this my appeal unto my Lord Jesus Christ, my just Judge, who knoweth and defendeth, and justly judgeth, every man's just and true cause."

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"The twenty-second article: 'A vicious and naughty man liveth viciously and naughtily; but a virtuous and godly man liveth virtuously and godly.' I answer, My words are these; 'That the division of all human works is in two parties, that is, that they be either virtuous, or vicious; forasmuch as it doth appear, that if any man be virtuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then virtuously and godly. And contrariwise, if a man be vicious and naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby understand deadly sin, doth universally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the subject, that is, of the man which doth them: so likewise virtue and godliness doth quicken all the acts and doings of the virtuous and godly man; insomuch that he being in the state of grace, is said to pray and do good works even sleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and divers others affirm. And it appeareth in the 6th chapter of Luke: If thine eye, that is to say, the mind or intention, be simple, not depraved with the perverseness of any sin or offence, all the whole body, that is to say, all the acts and doings, shall be clear and shining, that is, acceptable and grateful unto God. But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened. And in the Second to the Corinthians, chap. x., All things that you do, do them to the glory of God. And likewise in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and last chapter, it is said, Let all your doings be done with charity. Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity, is virtuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This saying may well be proved out of the 23rd chapter of Deuteronomy, where God speaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his commandments is blessed in the house and in the field, out going and in coming, sleeping and waking; but he that doth not keep his commandments is accursed in the house and in the fields, in going out and in coming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is evident by St. Augustine upon the Psalm, where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and consequently be virtuous and good! And contrariwise, it is understood of him which is in deadly sin, of whom it is spoken in the law, that whatsoever the unclean man doth touch, is made unclean.

"To this end doth that also appertain which is before repeated out of the 1st of Malachi. And Gregory, in the first book and first question, saith, We do defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when we come unworthily to the table, and when we, being defiled, do drink his blood. And St. Augustine, upon the 146th Psalm, saith, If thou dost exceed the due measure of nature, and dost not abstain from gluttony, but gorge thyself up with drunkenness, whatsoever laud and praise thy tongue doth speak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same.' When he had made an end of this article, the cardinal of Cambray said, The Scripture saith, that we be all sinners. And again, If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and so we should always live in deadly sin.' John Huss answered, 'The Scripture speaketh in that place of venial sins, the which do not utterly expel or put away the habit of virtue from a man, but do associate themselves together.' And a certain Englishman, whose name was W., said, 'But those sins do not associate themselves with any act morally good.' John Huss alleged again St. Augustine's place upon 146th Psalm, the which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said, 'What makes this to the purpose?'

"The twenty-third article: 'The minister of Christ, living according to his law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding the pretended excommunication

of the pope. And moreover, if the pope or any other ruler do forbid any priest or minister, so disposed, to preach, that he ought not to obey him.' I answer, that these were my words; 'That albeit the excommunication were either threatened or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of St. Peter and the other apostles, that we ought rather to obey God than man. Whereupon it followeth that the minister of Christ, living according unto his law, &c., ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended excommunication. For it is evident that it is commanded unto the ministers of the church to preach the word of God. Acts v., God hath commanded us to preach and testify unto the people; as by divers other places of the Scripture, and the holy fathers rehearsed in my treatise, it doth appear more at large.' The second part of this article followeth in my treatise in this manner:

"By this it appeareth, that for a minister to preach, and a rich man to give alms, are not indifferent works, but duties and commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the pope or any other ruler of the church do command any minister, disposed to preach, not to preach, or a rich man, disposed to give alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him.' And he added, moreover, 'To the intent that you may understand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is unjustly disordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the law and God's commandments: For the which the meet minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.' "

When they objected unto him, that he said that such kind of excommunications were rather blessings: "Verily," said John Huss, "even so I do now say again, that every excommunication, by the which a man is unjustly excommunicate, is unto him a blessing before God; according to that saying of the prophet, I will curse whereas you bless; and the contrariwise, They shall curse, but thou, O Lord, shalt bless." Then the cardinal of Florence, which had always a notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said, "The law is, that every excommunication, be it never so unjust, ought to be feared." "It is true," said John Huss, "for I do remember eight causes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared." Then said the cardinal, "Are there no more but eight?" "It may be," said John Huss, "that there be more."

"The twenty-fourth article: 'Every man which is admitted into the ministry of the church, receiveth also by special commandment the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that commandment, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended to the contrary.' The answer: My words are these; 'Forasmuch as it doth appear by that which is aforesaid, that whosoever cometh or is admitted unto the ministry, receiveth also by especial commandment the office of preaching, he ought to fulfil that commandment, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also, no Christian ought to doubt but that a man sufficiently instructed in learning, is more bound to counsel and instruct the ignorant, to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are unruly, and to remit and forgive those that do him injury, than to do any other works of mercy. Forasmuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bound, under the pain of damnation, to minister and give corporal and bodily alms, as appeareth in the 25th chapter of Matthew, how much more is he bound to do spiritual alms!'

"The twenty-fifth article: 'The ecclesiastical censures are antichristian, such as the clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and servitude of the common people. Whereby if the laity be not obedient unto the clergy at their

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will and pleasure, it doth multiply their covetousness, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for antichrist. Whereby it is an evident sign and token, that such censures proceed from antichrist; the which censures in their processes they do call fulminations or lightnings, whereby the clergy doth chiefly proceed against such as do manifest and open the wickedness of antichrist, which thrust themselves into the office of the clergy.' These things are contained in the last chapter of his treatise Of the Church. I answer, and I deny that it is in that form. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23rd chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they have gathered certain clauses most contrary thereunto. The which, when they had read, the cardinal of Cambray renewed his old song, saying, 'Truly these are much more grievous and offensive than the articles which are gathered.'

"The twenty-sixth article: 'There ought no interdictment to be appointed unto the people, forasmuch as Christ the high Bishop, neither for John Baptist, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdictment.' My words are these: 'When I complained, that for one minister's sake, an interdictment was given out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laud and praise of God. And Christ the high Bishop, notwithstanding that the prophet was taken and kept in prison, than whom there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not give out any curse or interdictment, no, not when Herod beheaded him; neither when he himself was spoiled, beaten, and blasphemed of the soldiers, scribes, and Pharisees, did he then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his disciples to do the same, as it appeareth in the 5th chapter of Matthew. And Christ's first vicar, following the same doctrine and learning, saith in his First Epistle of St. Peter, and the 2nd chapter, Hereunto are ye called; for Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps, who, when he was cursed and evil spoken of, did not curse again. And St. Paul, following the same order and way in the 12th chapter of the Romans, saith, Bless them that persecute you.' There were, besides these, many other places of Scripture recited in that book; but they, being omitted, these were only rehearsed, which did help or prevail to stir up or move the judges' minds."

And these are the articles which are alleged out of John Huss's book entitled, Of the Church.

Other articles, moreover, out of his other books were collected, and forced against him, first out of his treatise written against Stephen Paletz, to the number of seven articles. Also six other articles strained out of his treatise against Stanislaus Znoyma. Whereunto his answers likewise be adjoined, not unfruitful to be read.

Here followeth seven articles, which are said to be drawn out of his treatise which he wrote against Stephen Paletz.

"The first article: 'If the pope, bishop, or prelate be in deadly sin, he is then no pope, bishop, nor prelate.' The answer: I grant thereunto, and I send you unto St. Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; the which do say, moreover, that whosoever is in deadly sin, is no true Christian, how much less then is he pope or bishop! Of whom it is spoken by the prophet Amos, in his 8th chapter, They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became princes, and I knew them not, &c. But afterwards I do grant that a wicked pope, bishop, or priest, is an unworthy minister of the sacrament, by whom God doth baptize, consecrate, or otherwise work to the profit of his church; and this is largely handled in the text of the book by the authority of the holy doctors; for even he which is in deadly sin, is not worthily a king before God, as appeareth in the First Book of the Kings, the 15th

chapter; where God saith unto Saul, by the prophet Samuel, saying, "Forasmuch as thou hast refused and cast off my word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more king." Whilst these things were thus entreating, the emperor, looking out at a certain window of the cloister, accompanied with the county Palatine and the burgrave of Nuremberg, conferring and talking much of John Huss, at length he said, that there was never a worse or more pernicious heretic than he. In the mean while, when John Huss had spoken these words, as touching the unworthy king, by and by the emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat those words again; which, after that he had done, his duty therein being considered, the emperor answered, 'No man,' saith he, 'doth live without fault.' Then the cardinal of Cambray, being in a great fury, said, 'Is it not enough for thee that thou dost contemn and despise the ecclesiastical state, and goest about, by thy writings and doctrine, to perturb and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to throw kings out of their state and dignity?' Then Paletz began to allege the laws whereby he would prove that Saul was king, even when those words were spoken by Samuel, and therefore that David did forbid that Saul should be slain, not for the holiness of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holiness of his anointing.' And when John Huss repeated out of St. Cyprian, that he did take upon him the name of Christianity in vain, which did not follow Christ in his living, Paletz answered, 'Behold and see what a folly is in this man, which allegeth those things which make nothing for the purpose; for albeit any man be not a true Christian, is he not therefore true pope, bishop, or king? whenas these are names of office, and to be a true Christian is a name of merit and desert, and so may any man be a true pope, bishop, or king, although he be no true Christian.' Then said John Huss, 'If Pope John the Twenty-third were a true pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his office?' The emperor answered, 'The lords of the council have now lately agreed thereupon that he was true pope, but for his notorious and manifest evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the church of God, and did spoil and bring to ruin the power thereof, he is rejected and cast out of his office.'

"The second article: 'The grace of predestination is the bond whereby the body of the church, and every part and member thereof, is firmly knit and joined unto the Head.' The answer: I acknowledge this article to be mine, and it is proved in the text out of the 8th chapter to the Romans, Who shall separate us from the charity and love of Christ, &c.? and in the 10th chapter of John, My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give them eternal life, neither shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shall take them out of my hands. This is the knot of the body of the church, and of our spiritual head Christ, understanding the church to be the congregation of the predestinate.

"The third article: 'If the pope be a wicked man, and especially a reprobate, then, even as Judas the apostle, he is a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant church, forasmuch as he is no part or member thereof.' The answer: My words are thus; 'If the pope be an evil or wicked man, and especially if he be a reprobate, then, even as Judas, so is he a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant church? whereas he is not truly any member or part thereof; for if he were a member of the holy church, then should he be also a member of Christ; and if he were a member of Christ, then should he cleave and stick unto Christ by the grace of predestination and present justice, and should be one spirit with God, as the apostle saith in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the 6th chapter, Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?'

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"The fourth article: 'An evil pope or prelate, or reprobate, is no true pastor, but a thief and a robber. The answer: The text of my book is thus; 'If he be evil or wicked, then is he an hireling, of whom Christ speaketh, He is no shepherd, neither are the sheep his own. Therefore when he seeth the wolf coming, he runneth away and forsaketh the sheep: and so finally doth every wicked and reprobate man. Therefore every such reprobate, or wicked pope or prelate, is no true pastor, but a very thief and a robber, as is more at large proved in my book.' Then said John Huss, I do so limit all things, that such as, touching their desert, are not truly and worthily popes and shepherds before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are popes, pastors, and priests.'

"Then a certain man rising up behind John Huss, clothed all in silk, said, My lords, take heed lest that John Huss deceive both you and himself with these his glosses, and look whether these things be in his book or not; for of late I had disputation with him upon these articles, in the which I said, that a wicked pope, &c. was no pope, as touching merit and desert, but as touching his office he was truly pope. Whereupon he used these glosses which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his book.' Then John Huss, turning himself unto him, said, 'Did you not hear that it was so read out of my book? and this did easily appear in John the Twenty-third, whether he were a true pope, or a very thief and robber.' Then the bishops and cardinals looking one upon another, said that he was a true pope, and laughed John Huss to scorn.

"The fifth article: 'The pope is not, neither ought to be called according unto his office, most holy; for then the king ought also to be called most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, lictors, and devils ought also to be called holy.' The answer: My words are otherwise placed in this manner; 'So ought a feigner say, that if any man be a most holy father, then he doth most holily observe and keep his fatherliness: and if be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he most wickedly keep the same. Likewise, if the bishop be most holy, then is he also most good; and when he saith, that he is pope, it is the name of his office.

"Whereupon it followeth, that the man which is pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a most holy man; and consequently, by that his office he is most good. And forasmuch as no man can be good by his office, except he do exercise and use the same his office very well; it followeth, that if the pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or use his office well. Forasmuch as he cannot use the office well, except he be morally good; Matthew xii., How can you speak good things, when you yourselves are evil? And immediately after it followeth, If the pope by reason of his office be called most holy, wherefore should not the king of Romans be called most holy, by reason of his office and dignity; since the king, according unto St. Augustine's mind, representeth the Deity and Godhead of Christ, and the priest representeth only his humanity. Wherefore also should not judges, yea, even tormentors, be called holy, forasmuch as they have their office by ministering unto the church of Christ? These things are more at large discoursed in my book; but I cannot find or know,' saith John Huss, any foundation whereby I should call the pope most holy, seeing this is only spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy. Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the pope most holy?

"The sixth article: 'If the pope live contrary unto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elect and chosen, according to human election, yet doth he ascend and come another way than by Christ.' The answer: The text is thus; 'If the pope live

contrary unto Christ in pride and avarice, how then doth he not ascend and come in another way into the sheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door, our Lord Jesus Christ?' But admit, as you say, that he did ascend by lawful election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according unto the common and vulgar constitution and ordinances of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved that he should ascend and come in another way; for Judas Iscariot was truly and lawfully chosen of the Lord Jesus Christ unto his bishopric, as Christ saith in the 6th of John, and yet he came in another way into the sheepfold, and was a thief and a devil, and the son of perdition. Did he not come in another way? whereas our Saviour spake thus of him, He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me.

"The same also is proved by St. Bernard unto Pope Eugenius.' Then said Paletz, 'Behold the fury and madness of this man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be than to say, Judas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding he did ascend another way, and not by Christ?' John Huss answered, 'Verily both parts are true, that he was elect and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascend and come in another way, for he was a thief, a devil, and the son of perdition.' Then said Paletz, 'Cannot a man be truly and lawfully chosen pope, or bishop, and afterward live contrary unto Christ; and that notwithstanding, he doth not ascend any other way?' 'But I,' said John Huss, 'do say, that whosoever doth enter into any bishopric or like office by simony, not to the intent to labour and travail in the church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuously, and unrighteously, and to the intent to advance himself with all kind of pride; every such man ascendeth and cometh up by another way, and according unto the gospel he is a thief and a robber.'

"The seventh article: 'The condemnation of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff made by the doctors is unreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alleged is feigned and untrue; that is to say, that none of these articles are catholic, but that every of them be either heretical, erroneous, or offensive.' The answer: I have written it thus in my treatise; 'The forty and five articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those forty and five is a catholic article, but each of them is either heretical, erroneous, or offensive.'

"O master doctor, where is your proof? you feign a cause which you do not prove, &c., as it appeareth more at large in my treatise. Then said the cardinal of Cambray, 'John Huss, thou didst say that thou wouldst not defend any error of John Wickliff's, and now it appeareth in your books, that you have openly defended his articles.' John Huss answered, Reverend father, even as I said before, so do I now say again, that I will not defend any errors of John Wickliff's, neither of any other man's; but forasmuch as it seemed unto me to be against conscience, simply to consent unto the condemnation of them, no scripture being alleged or brought contrary against them, thereupon I would not consent or agree unto the condemnation of them; and forasmuch as the reason, which is copulative, cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof."

Now there remain six articles of thirty-nine. These are said to be drawn out of another treatise, which he wrote against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

"The first article: 'No man is lawfully elect or chosen, in that the electors or the greater part of them have consented, with a lively voice, according to the custom of men, to elect and choose any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successor of Christ, or vicar of Peter in the ecclesiastical office; but in that that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath

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more abundant power given him of God thereunto.' The answer: These things which follow are also written in my book: 'It standeth in the power and hands of wicked electors to choose a woman into the ecclesiastical office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, which was called John, who held and occupied the pope's place and dignity by the space of two years and more.

"It may also be that they do choose a thief, a murderer, or a devil, and consequently they may also elect and choose antichrist.

"It may also be that for love, covetousness, or hatred, they do choose some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elect and chosen; insomuch as the electors or the greater part of them have consented and agreed together according to the custom of men, upon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest successor or vicar of Peter the apostle, or any other in the ecclesiastical office.

"Therefore, they which most accordingly unto the Scripture do elect and choose, revelation being set apart, do only pronounce and determine by some probable reason upon him they do elect and choose, whereupon whether the electors do so choose good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is chosen; for in that point that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon, saith Christ in the 10th of John, give credit unto works.'

"The second article: 'The pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy church of God.' The answer: I wrote it thus in my treatise, that I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reason of the doctor, how this question is contrary unto the faith, to say, that if the pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church? Behold, the truth cannot decay or fail in disputation, for did Christ dispute against the faith, when he demanded of the scribes and Pharisees, Matt. xii., Ye stock and offspring of vipers, how can ye speak good things, when you yourselves are wicked and evil? And behold, I demand of the scribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the stock of vipers, how is he the head of the holy church of God, that the scribes and Pharisees, which were in the council-house of Prague, may make answer hereunto? For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speak good things, forasmuch as he may be in a state of grace according unto present justice, than to be the head of the holy church of God.

"Also in the 5th of John, our Saviour complaineth upon the Jews, saying, How can you believe which do seek for glory amongst yourselves, and do not seek for the glory that cometh only of God? And I likewise do complain how, that if the pope be a reprobate, can he be the head of the church of God, which receiveth his glory of the world, and seeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more possible that the pope being a reprobate should believe, than that he should be the head of the church of God, forasmuch as he taketh his glory of the world.

"The third article 'There is no spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head in the spirituality, to rule the church, the which should be always conversant with the militant church.' The answer: I do grant it. For what a consequence is this, The king of Bohemia is head of the kingdom of Bohemia; ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant church? Christ is the Head of the spirituality, ruling and governing the militant church by much more and greater necessity than Cæsar ought to rule the temporalty. Forasmuch as Christ, that sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth

necessarily rule the militant church as Head. And there is no spark of appearance that there should be one head in the spirituality ruling the church, that should always be conversant with the militant church, except some infidel would heretically affirm, that the militant church should have here a permanent and continual city or dwelling-place, and not inquire and seek after that which is to come. It is also further evident in my book, how unconsequent the proportion of the similitude is, for a reprobate pope to be the head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be the head of the kingdom of Bohemia.

"The fourth article: 'Christ would better rule his church by his true apostles dispersed throughout the whole world without such monstrous heads.' I answer, that it is in my book as here followeth: That albeit that the doctor doth say, that the body of the militant church is oftentimes without a head, yet, notwithstanding, we do verily believe that Christ Jesus is the head over every church, ruling the same without lack or default, pouring upon the same a continual motion and sense, even unto the latter day; neither can the doctor give a reason why the church in the time of Agnes, by the space of two years and five months, lived according to many members of Christ in grace and favour, but that by the same reason the church might be without a head by the space of many years. Forasmuch as Christ should better rule his church by his true disciples dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads.' Then said they all together, 'Behold, now he prophesieth.' And John Huss again further prosecuting his former talk, said, 'But I say that the church in the time of the apostles, was far better ruled and governed than now it is. And what doth let and hinder that Christ should not now also rule the same better by his true disciples without such monstrous heads, as have now been of late? For, behold, even at this present, we have no such head; and yet Christ ceaseth not to rule his church.' When he had spoken these words, he was derided and mocked.

"The fifth article: 'Peter was no universal pastor or shepherd of the sheep of Christ, much less is the bishop of Rome.' The answer: Those words are not in my book, but these which do follow; 'Secondly, it appeareth by the words of Christ, that he did not limit unto Peter, for his jurisdiction, the whole world, no not one only province. So likewise neither unto any other of the apostles. Notwithstanding certain of them walked through many regions, and other some fewer, preaching and teaching the kingdom of God: as Paul, which laboured and travailed more than all the rest, did corporally visit and convert most provinces; whereby it is lawful for any apostle or his vicar to convert and confirm as much people or as many provinces in the faith of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraint of their liberty or jurisdiction, but only by disability or insufficiency.'

"The sixth article 'The apostles and other faithful priests of the Lord have stoutly ruled the church in all things necessary unto salvation, before the office of the pope was brought into the church, and so would they very possibly do still, if there were no pope even unto the latter day.' Then they all cried out again and said, 'Behold the prophet.' But John Huss said, 'Verily it is true that the apostles did rule the church stoutly, before the office of the pope was brought into the church. And certainly a great deal better than it is now ruled. And likewise may other faithful men which do follow their steps do the same; for as now we have no pope, and so peradventure it may continue and endure a year or more.'"

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Besides this, were brought against him other nineteen articles, objected unto him being in prison, which, with his answers to the same, here likewise follow. Of the which articles, the first is this:

"The first article: 'Paul, according unto present justice was a blasphemmer and none of the church, and therewithal was in grace, according unto predestination of life everlasting.' The answer: This proposition is not in the book, but this which followeth; 'Whereby it doth seem probable, that as Paul was both a blasphemmer according to present justice, and therewithal also was a faithful child of our holy mother the church, and in grace, according to predestination of life everlasting; so Iscariot was both in grace according unto present justice, and was never of our holy mother the church, according to the predestination of life everlasting, forasmuch as he lacked that predestination. And so Iscariot, albeit he was an apostle, and a bishop of Christ, which is the name of his office, yet was he never any part of the universal church.'

"The second article: 'Christ doth more love a predestinate man, being sinful, than any reprobate, in what grace possible soever he be.' The answer: My words are, in the fourth chapter of my book entitled Of the Church, 'And it is evident that God doth more love any predestinate, being sinful, than any reprobate, in what grace soever he be for the time; forasmuch as he will, that the predestinate shall have perpetual blessedness, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both, as his creatures, yet he doth more love the predestinate, because he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to say, life everlasting, which is greater and more excellent than only grace, according unto present justice. And the third article of those articles before soundeth much near unto this, that the predestinate cannot fall from grace, for they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense.'

"The third article: 'All the sinful, according unto present justice, are not faithful, but do swerve from the true catholic faith, forasmuch as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sin but in that point that he doth swerve from the faith.' The answer: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth that if they did think upon the punishment which is to be laid upon sinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the Divine knowledge and understanding, &c., then undoubtedly they would not so offend and sin. This proposition is verified by the saying of the prophet Isaiah, Thy rulers are unfaithful, misbelievers, fellows and companions of thieves, they all love bribes and follow after rewards. Behold, the prophet calleth the rulers of the church infidels for their offences, for all such as do not keep their faith inviolate unto their principal Lord, are unfaithful servants, and they also are unfaithful children which keep not their obedience, fear, and love, unto God their Father.

"Item, this proposition is verified by the saying of the apostle, the first chapter to Titus, They do confess that they know God, but by their works they do deny him. And forasmuch as they which are sinful, do swerve away from the meritorious work of blessedness, therefore they do swerve from the true faith grounded upon charity, forasmuch as faith without works is dead. To this end doth also pertain that which the Lord speaketh, Matthew xxiii., of the faithful and unfaithful servant.

"The fourth article: 'These words of John in his 22nd chapter, Receive the Holy Ghost, and, Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, &c.; and Matthew the 16th and 18th chapters, For lack of understanding shall terrify many Christians, and they

shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceived by them, presuming upon the fulness of their power and authority.' The answer: This sentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that 'it is first of all to be supposed that the saying of our Saviour is necessary, as touching the virtue of the word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a priest to bind and loose, except that binding and loosing be in heaven. But for the lack of the true understanding of those words, many simple Christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselves that, whether they be just or unjust, the priests may at their pleasures, whensoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant priests do also presume and take upon them to have power to bind and loose whensoever they will. For many foolish and ignorant priests do say, that they have power and authority to absolve every man confessing himself, of what sin or offence soever it be, not knowing that in many sins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that a hypocrite do confess himself, or such a one as is not contrite for his sin, whereof proof hath oftentimes been found, and it is evident, forasmuch as the letter doth kill, but the spirit doth quicken.'

"The fifth article: 'The binding and loosing of God, is simply and plainly the chief and principal.' The answer: This is evident, forasmuch as it were blasphemous presumption to affirm, that a man may remit and forgive an evil fact or offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himself not approving or allowing the same. For by the universal power of the Lord, it is necessary that he do first absolve and forgive, before that his vicar do the same; neither is there one article of our faith, which ought to be more common or known unto us, than that it should be impossible for any man of the militant church to absolve or bind, except in such case as it be conformable unto the Head of the church, Jesus Christ. Wherefore every faithful Christian ought to take heed of that saying, If the pope or any other pretend, by any manner of sign, to bind or loose, that he is thereby bound or loosed; for he that doth grant or confess that, must also consequently grant and confess that the pope is without sin, and so that he is a God; for otherwise he must needs err and do contrary unto the keys of Christ. This saying proveth the fact of the pope, who always, in his absolution, presupposeth contrition and confession. Yea, moreover, if any letter of absolution be given unto any offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby evident, that many priests do not absolve those which are confessed, because that either through shamefacedness they do cloak or hide greater offences, or else that they have not due contrition or repentance; for unto true absolution there is, first, required contrition; secondly, a purpose and intent to sin no more; thirdly, true confession; and fourthly, stedfast hope of forgiveness. The first appeareth by Ezekiel, If the wicked do repent him, &c. The second in the 5th and 8th of John, Do thou not sin any more. The third part by this place of Luke, Show yourselves unto the priests. And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ, My son, believe, and thy sins are forgiven thee. I also added many other probations in my treatise out of the holy fathers, Augustine, Jerome, and the master of the sentences.

"The sixth article: 'The priests do gather and heap up out of the Scriptures those things which serve for the belly, but such as pertain to the true imitation and following of Christ, that they reject and refuse, as impertinent unto salvation.' The answer: This St. Gregory doth sufficiently prove in his 17th Homily, alleging the saying of Christ, The harvest is great, the workmen are few; speaking also that which we cannot say without grief or sorrow, that 'albeit there be a great number which willingly hear good things, yet there lack such as should declare the same unto them;

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for behold, the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcity of workmen in the harvest of the Lord. We take upon us willingly priesthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of priesthood.' And immediately after he saith, 'We are fallen unto outward affairs and business, for we take upon us one office for honour sake, and we do exhibit and give another to ease ourselves of labour. We leave preaching, and, as far as I can perceive, we are called bishops to our pain, which do retain the name of honour, but not the verity.'

"And immediately after he saith, 'We take no care for our flock, we daily call upon for our stipend and wages, we covet and desire earthly things with a greedy mind, we gape after worldly glory, we leave the cause of God undone, and make haste about our worldly affairs and business; we take upon us the place of sanctity and holiness, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles,' &c. This writeth St. Gregory, with many other things more in the same place; also in his Pastoral, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also St. Bernard, as in many other places, so likewise in his 33rd sermon upon the Canticles, he saith, 'All friends, and all enemies, all kinsfolks, and adversaries, all of one household, and no peacemakers; they are the ministers of Christ, and serve antichrist; they go honourably honoured with the goods of the Lord, and yet they do honour,' &c.

"The seventh article: 'The power of the pope, which doth follow Christ, is not to be feared.' The answer: It is not so in my treatise, but contrariwise, 'that the subjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the virtuous and good rulers, and also those which are wicked and evil. But, notwithstanding, if the pope do abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the lords, the cardinals, as I suppose, did not fear the power of Gregory the Twelfth before his deposition, when they resisted him, saying, that he did abuse his power contrary unto his own oath.'

"The eighth article: 'An evil and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas.' The answer: I wrote this in my treatise; 'If the pope be humble and meek, neglecting and despising the honours and lucre of the world; if he be a shepherd, taking his name by the feeding of the flock of God; (of the which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying, Feed my sheep;) if he feed the sheep with the word, and with virtuous example, and that he become even like his flock with his whole heart and mind; if he do diligently and carefully labour and travail for the church; then is he without doubt the true vicar of Christ. But if he walk contrary unto these virtues, forasmuch as there is no society between Christ and Belial, and Christ himself saith, He that is not with me is against me, how is he then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the vicar of antichrist? Christ called Peter himself Satan, when he did contrary him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had chosen his vicar, and specially appointed over his church. Why should not any other then, being more contrary unto Christ, be truly called Satan, and consequently antichrist, or at least the chief and principal minister or vicar of antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambrose, &c.

"The ninth article: 'The pope is the same beast of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse, Power is given unto him to make war upon the saints.' The answer: I deny this article to be in my book.

"The tenth article: 'It is lawful to preach, notwithstanding the pope's inhibition.' The answer: The article is evident, forasmuch as the apostles did preach contrary to the commandment of the bishops of Jerusalem. And St. Hilary did the like,

contrary to the commandment of the pope, which was an Arian. It is also manifest by the example of cardinals, which, contrary unto the commandment of Pope Gregory the Twelfth, sent throughout all realms such as should preach against him. It is also lawful to preach under appeal, contrary unto the pope's commandment. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey.

"The eleventh article: 'If the pope's commandment be not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the gospel or the apostles, it is not to be obeyed.' The answer: I have thus written in my book; 'The faithful disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider whether the pope's commandment be expressly and plainly the commandment of Christ or any of his apostles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no; and that being once known or understood, he ought reverently and humbly to obey the same. But if he do certainly know that the pope's commandment is contrary and against the Holy Scripture, and hurtful unto the church, then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto.' This I have handled at large in my treatise, and have confirmed it by the authorities of St. Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Chrysostom, Bernard, and Bede, and with the Holy Scripture and canons, the which for brevity's cause I do here pass over. I will only rehearse the saying of St. Isidore, who writeth thus: 'He which doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrary and besides the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honoured as a false witness of God, and a church robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no prelate, but in such case as he do command or take counsel of the counsels and commandments of Christ.'

"Likewise St. Augustine upon this saying, upon the chair of Moses, &c., saith, 'Secondly, they teach in the chair of Moses the law of God; ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their own inventions, do not give ear unto them, neither do as they command you. Also in the saying of Christ, He that heareth you, heareth me, all lawful and honest things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christ's saying, It is not you which do speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Let, therefore, my adversaries and slanderers learn, that there be not only twelve counsels in the gospel, in the which subjects ought to obey Christ and his appointed ministers; but that there are so many counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawful and honest things joined with precepts and commandments of God, binding us thereunto, under the pain of deadly sin; for every such thing doth the Lord command us to fulfil in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their minister.

"The twelfth article: 'It is lawful for the clergy and laity, by their power and jurisdiction, to judge and determine of all things pertaining unto salvation, and also the works of the prelates.' The answer: I have thus written in my book; 'That it is lawful for the clergy and laity to judge and determine of the works of their heads and rulers.' It appeareth by this, that the judgment of the secret counsels of God in the court of conscience is one thing, and the judgment of the authority and power in the church is another. Wherefore subjects, first, ought principally to judge and examine themselves, 1 Cor. xi. Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertain unto their salvation, for a spiritual man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alleged as touching the first judgment, and not the second, as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the same place I do say, that the layman ought to judge and examine the works of his prelate, like as Paul doth judge the doings of Peter in

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blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them, according to this saying, Beware of false prophets," &c. Thirdly, to rule over the minister: for the subject ought by reason to judge and examine the works of the prelates. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and rejoice; but if they be evil, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to do the like, lest they be damned with them, according to this saying, If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.

"The thirteenth article: 'God doth suspend of himself every wicked prelate from his ministry, while he is actually in sin, for by that means that he is in deadly sin, he doth offend and sin, whatsoever he do, and consequently is forbidden so to do; therefore also is he suspended from his ministry:' The answer: This is proved as touching suspension from dignity, by Hosea the 4th chapter, and Isaiah, and Malachi the 1st. And Paul, in the First to the Corinthians, the 11th chapter, suspendeth all such as be sinful, or in any grievous crime or offence, from the eating of the body of the Lord, and the drinking of his blood; and consequently suspendeth all sinful prelates from the ministration of the reverend sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinful from the declaration of his righteousness, Psal. xlix. Forasmuch then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibit the ministry or any other good thing for the offence sake, or, as the new laws do determine or call it, to interdict or forbid: it is manifest by the Scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinful, being in sin, to exercise or use their ministry or office, which by God's commandment ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he saith by Isaiah the prophet, Ye that carry the vessels of the Lord, be ye cleansed and made clean. And to the Corinthians it is said, Let all things be done with love and charity, &c. The same thing also is commanded by divers and sundry canons, the which I have alleged in my treatise.

"The fourteenth article. The answer which he made to the five and twentieth article in prison sufficeth for this, that is to say, that the clergy, for their own preferment and exaltation, doth supplant and undermine the lay-people, doth increase and multiply their covetousness, cloaketh and defendeth their malice and wickedness, and prepareth a way for antichrist.

"The first part be proveth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himself Benedict, by the example of Angelus Coriarius, which named himself Gregory the Twelfth, and also by the example of John the Twenty-third. Likewise by the 13th and 24th of Ezekiel, and out of Gregory, which saith, 'What shall become of the flock, when the shepherds themselves are become wolves,' &c. Also out of Hosea, Michael, and other of the prophets, and many places of St. Bernard.

"The second part is proved by the 8th chapter of Jeremiah, Gregory in his seventeenth Homily, and St. Bernard upon the Canticles.

"The third part of this article is also proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickedness of any schism but only the clergy, alleging Scriptures, and bringing reasons therefore? Who excuseth simony, but only the clergy? likewise covetousness in heaping together many benefices, luxuriousness, and fornication? for how many of the clergy are there now-a-days which do say it is no deadly sin, alleging (albeit disorderly) the saying of Genesis, Increase and multiply!

"Hereby also is the fourth part of the article easily verified. For the way of antichrist is wickedness and sin, of the which the apostle speaketh to the

Thessalonians; Gregory, in his Register, Pastoral, and Morals; also St. Bernard upon the Canticles plainly saith, 'Wicked and evil priests prepare the way for antichrist.'

"The fifteenth article: 'John Huss doth openly teach and affirm that these conclusions aforesaid are true.' The answer is manifest by that which I have before written. For some of these propositions I did write and publish, other some mine enemy did feign, now adding, then diminishing and taking away, now falsely ascribing and imputing the whole proposition unto me, the which thing the commissioners themselves did confess before me. Whom I desired, for the false invention and feigning of those articles, that they would punish those, whom they themselves knew and confessed to be mine enemies.

"The sixteenth article. Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the article following, that is to say, that all the aforesaid conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as do weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the church, invented contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the church. But if there be any such, I am ready most humbly to revoke and recant the same.

"The seventeenth article. There was also an objection made against me as touching the treatises which I wrote against Paletz and Stanislaus de Znoyma. The which I desired for God's sake they might be openly read in the audience of the whole council, and said that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit myself to the judgment of the whole council.

"The eighteenth article. There was also another article objected against me in this form: 'Item, John Huss said and preached that he should go to Constance, and if so be that for any manner of cause he should be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet, notwithstanding, he never purposed to do it with his mind; forasmuch as whatsoever he had before taught was pure and true, and the sound doctrine of Christ.' The answer: This article is full of lies, to the inventor whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus, All the day long thou hast imagined mischief and wickedness, and with thy tongue, as with a sharp razor, thou hast wrought deceit; thou hast delighted and loved rather to talk of wickedness and mischief than of equity and justice. Verily, I do grant, that I left behind me a certain epistle to be read unto the people, the which did contain that all such, as did weigh and consider my careful labours and travails, should pray for me, and stedfastly persevere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, knowing for a certainty that I never taught them any such errors as mine enemies do impute or ascribe unto me; and if it should happen that I were overcome by false witness, they should not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but stedfastly continue in the truth.'

"The nineteenth article. Last it was objected against me, that after I was come into Constance, I did write unto the kingdom of Bohemia, that 'the pope and emperor received me honourably, and sent unto me two bishops to make agreement between me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by me to this end and purpose, that they should confirm and establish me and my hearers in the errors which I had preached and taught in Bohemia.' This article is falsely alleged even from the beginning. For how manifestly false should I have written that the pope and the emperor did honour me, when otherwise I have written before that as yet we knew not where the emperor was? And before the emperor himself came unto Constance, I was by the space of three weeks in prison. And to write that I was honoured by my imprisonment, the people of the kingdom of Bohemia would repute the honour as no great renown and glory unto me. Howbeit, mine enemies may in derision say unto me,

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that according to their wills and pleasures I am exalted and honoured. Wherefore this article is wholly throughout false and untrue."

Unto these articles above prefixed were other articles also to be annexed, which the Parisians had drawn out against Master John Huss, to the number of nineteen. The chief author whereof was John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, a great setter-on of the pope against good men. Of these articles John Huss doth often complain in his epistles, that he had no time nor space to make answer unto them. Which articles being falsely collected and wrongfully depraved, although John Huss had no time to answer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to set them down for the reader to see and judge.

"The first article: 'No reprobate is true pope, lord, or prelate.' The error is in the faith, and behaviour, and manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well against the poor men of Lyons, as also against the Waldenses and Picards. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, seditious, offensive, and pernicious, and tending to the subversion of all human policy and governance, forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby should all rule and dominion be made uncertain and unstable, if it should be founded upon predestination and charity: neither should the commandment of Peter have been good, which willeth all servants to be obedient unto their masters and lords, although they be wicked.

"The second article: 'That no man being in deadly sin, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the devil, is true pope, prelate, lord.' The error of this is like unto the first.

"The third article: 'No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the apostolic seat of Peter, neither hath any apostolical power over the Christian people.' This error is also like unto the first.

"The fourth article: 'No reprobates are of the church, neither likewise any which do not follow the life of Christ.' This error is against the common understanding of the doctors, concerning the church.

"The fifth article: 'They only are of the church, and sit in Peter's seat, and have apostolic power, which follow Christ and his apostles in their life and living.' The error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first article, but containing more arrogancy and rashness.

"The sixth article: 'That every man which liveth uprightly according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea, although he be forbidden or excommunicate by any prelate or bishop, even as he might and ought to give alms; for his good life in living together with his learning doth sufficiently send him.'

"This is a rash and temerarious error, offensive and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy.

"The seventh article: 'That the pope of Rome being contrary unto Christ, is not the universal bishop, neither hath the Church of Rome any supremacy over other churches, except peradventure it be given unto him of Cæsar, and not of Christ.' An error lately and plainly reprovèd.

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"The eighth article: 'That the pope ought not to be called most holy, neither that his feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed.' This error is temerarious, unreverently and offensively published.

"The ninth article: 'That according unto the doctrine of Christ, heretics, be they never so obstinate or stubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated.' This is the error of the Donatists, temerariously, and not without great offence, affirmed against the laws of the ecclesiastical discipline, as St. Augustine doth prove.

"The tenth article: 'That subjects and the common people may and ought publicly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their superiors and rulers, as having power given them of Christ, and example of St. Paul so to do.' This error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience, and sedition, and the curse and malediction of Ham.

"The eleventh article: 'That Christ only is Head of the church, and not the pope.' It is an error according unto the common understanding of the doctors, if all the reason of the supremacy, and of being head, be secluded and taken away from the pope.

"The twelfth article: 'That the only church, which comprehendeth the predestinate and good livers, is the universal church, whereunto subjects do owe obedience.' And this is consequent unto the former article. The error is contained as in the former articles.

"The thirteenth article: 'That tithes and oblations, given unto the church, are public and common alms.' This error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the apostle, 1 Cor. ix.

"The fourteenth article: 'That the clergy, living wickedly, ought to be reprov'd and corrected by the lay-people, by the taking away of their tithes and other temporal profits.' A most pernicious error, and offensive, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacrilege, subverting the ecclesiastical liberty.

"The fifteenth article: 'That the blessings of such as are reprobate or evil livers of the clergy are maledictions and cursings before God, according to the saying, I will curse your blessings.' This error was lately reprov'd of St. Augustine, against St. Cyprian and his followers, neither is the master of the sentences allowed of the masters in that point that he seemeth to favour this article.

"The sixteenth article: 'That in these days, and in long time before, there hath been no true pope, no true church, or faith, which is called the Romish Church, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the synagogue of antichrist and Satan.' The error in this article is in this point, that it is derived, and taketh his foundation, upon the former articles.

"The seventeenth article: 'That all gift of money given unto the ministers of the church, for the ministration of any spiritual matter, doth make such ministers in that case users of simony.' This error is seditious and temerarious, forasmuch as something may be given unto the clergy, under the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without the selling or buying of any spiritual thing. "The eighteenth article: 'That whosoever is excommunicate of the pope, if he appeal unto Christ, he is preserved that he need not fear the excommunication, but may utterly contemn and despise the same.' This error is temerarious and full of arrogancy.

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"The nineteenth article: 'That every deed done without charity is sin.' This error was reprov'd and revoked before this time at Paris, especially if it be understood of deadly sin; for it is not necessary that he which lacketh grace should continually sin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in sin."

Reasons and determinations of the masters of Paris.

"We affirm that these articles aforesaid are notoriously heretical, and that they are judicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, lest they do infect others. For albeit they seem to have a zeal against the vices of the prelates and the clergy, the which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet is it not according unto learning; for a sober and discreet zeal suffereth and lamenteth those sins and offences, which he seeth in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, forasmuch as devils are not cast out through Beelzebub, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Ghost, who willeth that in correction the measure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the saying, Mark who, what, where, and why, by what means, and when, prelates and bishops are bound, under grievous and express penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themselves against the aforesaid errors and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it always be understood and noted, that the error which is not resisted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or society of him, which slacketh to withstand a manifest mischief.

"These things are intermeddled by the way under correction, as by way of doctrine."

These things thus declared, a man may easily understand, that John Huss was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the articles of our faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the kingdom of antichrist, for the glory of Christ, and the restoring of the church.

105. The Trial of John Huss (Continued)



The Trial of John Huss

Now to return unto the story; when the first thirty-nine articles which I have before rehearsed were all read over together with their testimonies, the cardinal of Cambray, calling unto John Huss, said, "Thou hast heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them they are; and now it is thy part to devise with thyself what thou wilt do. Two ways are proponed and set before thee of the council, whereof the one of them thou must of force and necessity enter into.

"First, that thou do humbly and meekly submit thyself unto the judgment and sentence of the council, that whatsoever shall be there determined, by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part, both for the honour of the most gentle emperor, here present, and also for the honour of his brother, the king of Bohemia, and for thy own

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safeguard and preservation, will treat and handle thee with as great humanity, love, and gentleness, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we have propounded unto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and licence thereunto; but this thou shalt well understand, that here are such manner of men, so clear in understanding and knowledge, and having so firm and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment, and peril, if thou shouldst any longer will or desire to defend the same.

"This I do speak and say unto thee to counsel and admonish thee, and not as in manner of a judge."

This oration of the cardinal's, many other, prosecuting every man for himself, did exhort and persuade John Huss to the like; unto whom with a lowly countenance he answered: "Most reverend fathers, I have often said that I came hither of mine own free-will, not to the intent obstinately to defend any thing, but if that in any thing I should seem to have conceived a perverse or evil opinion, that I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon, I desire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind. Whereof except I shall allege most firm and strong reasons, I will willingly submit myself (as you require) unto your information."

Then there started up one which with a loud voice said, "Behold, how craftily this man speaketh! he termeth it information, and not correction or determination." "Verily," said John Huss, "even as you will term it, information, correction, or determination; for I take God to my witness, that I speak nothing but with my heart and mind."

Then said the cardinal of Cambray, "Forasmuch then as thou dost submit thyself unto the information and grace of this council, this is decreed almost by threescore doctors, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose room and place the Parisians are succeeded; and also is approved by the whole council, not one man speaking the contrary thereunto.

"First of all, that thou shalt humbly and meekly confess thyself to have erred in these articles, which are alleged and brought against thee.

"Moreover, that thou shalt promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not teach, hold; or maintain any of these articles. And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles."

Upon the which sentence, when many others had spoken their minds, at the length John Huss said, "I once again do say, that I am ready to submit myself to the information of the council; but this I most humbly require and desire you all, even for his sake which is the God of us all, that I be not compelled or forced to do the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation, that is, that I would make revocation by oath to all the articles which are alleged against me. For I remember that I have read in the book of universalities, that to abjure, is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And forasmuch as many of these articles are said to be mine, which were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an oath? But as touching those articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwise unto them, I will willingly perform that which you desire."

Then said the emperor, "Why mayst not thou without danger also renounce all those articles which thou sayest are falsely alleged against thee by the witnesses? For

I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all errors, neither doth it follow that therefore by and by I have professed any error." To whom John Huss answered: "Most noble emperor, this word, to abjure, doth signify much otherwise than your Majesty doth here use it." Then said the cardinal of Florence, "John Huss, you shall have a form of abjuration, which shall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will easily and soon determine with yourself, whether you will do it or no." Then the emperor, repeating again the words of the cardinal of Cambray, said, "Thou hast heard that there are two ways laid before thee: First, that thou shouldst openly renounce those thy errors, which are now condemned, and subscribe unto the judgment of the council, whereby thou shouldst try and find their grace and favour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opinions, the council shall have sufficient, whereby according to their laws and ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee"

Huss answered, "I refuse nothing, (most noble emperor,) whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience, or say that I have professed those errors which was never in my mind or thought to profess. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are objected against me, and specially concerning ecclesiastical offices, and the state of the ministry."

But when other men began to speak, the emperor himself began to sing the same song which he had sung before. "Thou art of lawful age," said the emperor, "thou mightest easily have understood what I said unto thee yesterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto these witnesses which are worthy of credit, forasmuch as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth is tried; how much more then by so many witnesses of such worthy men!

"Wherefore if thou be wise, receive penance at the hands of the council, with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifest errors, and promise by an oath that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them. The which if thou refuseth to do, there are laws and ordinances whereby thou shalt be judged of the council."

Here a certain very old bishop of Poland put to his verdict. He said the laws are evident as touching heretics, with what punishment they ought to be punished. But John Huss constantly answered as before; insomuch that they said he was obstinate and stubborn. Then a certain well-fed priest, and gaily apparelled, cried out unto the presidents of the council, saying, "He ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for he hath written unto his friends, that although he do swear with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unsworn without oath; wherefore he is not to be trusted." Unto this slander John Huss answered as is said in the last article, affirming that he was not guilty of any error.

Then said Paletz, "To what end is this protestation, forasmuch as thou sayest that thou wilt defend no error, neither yet Wickliff, and yet dost defend him." When he had spoken these words, he brought forth for witness nine articles of John Wickliff's, and read them openly, and afterward he said, "When I and Master Stanislaus, in the presence of Ernest of Austria, duke of Prague, preached against them, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his sermons, but also by his books which he set forth. The which except you do here exhibit, we will cause them to be exhibited." So said the emperor also. Unto whom John Huss answered, "I am

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very well contented that not only those, but also all other my books, be brought forth and showed."

In the mean time there was exhibited unto the council a certain article, wherein John Huss was accused, that he had slanderously interpreted a certain sentence of the pope's: the which he denied that he did, saying, that he never saw it but in prison, when the article was showed him by the commissioners; and when he was demanded who was the author thereof, he answered, that he knew not, but that he heard say that Master Jessenitz was the author thereof.

"What," said they, "then do you think or judge of the interpretation thereof?" Then answered John Huss, "What should I say thereunto, when I said I never saw it, but as I have heard it of you." Thus they were all so grievous and troublesome unto him that he waxed faint and weary, for he had passed all the night before without sleep, through the pain of his teeth.

Then was there another article read, in the which was contained that three men were beheaded at Prague, because that, through Wickliff's doctrine and teaching, they were contumelious and slanderous against the pope's letters; and that they were by the same Huss, with the whole pomp of the scholars, and with a public convocation or congregation, carried out to be buried, and by a public sermon placed amongst the number of saints; and the same Doctor Naso, of whom you have heard certain testimonics already recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he himself was present, when the king of Bohemia commanded those blasphemers so to be punished.

Then said John Huss, "Both those parts are false, that the king did command any such punishment to be done, and that the corpses were by me conveyed with any such pomp unto their sepulture or burial: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the king."

Then Paletz confirmed the affirmation of Doctor Naso, his fellow, with this argument, for they both laboured to one end and purpose; That it was provided by the king's commandment, that no man should once speak against the pope's bulls: and these three spake against the pope's bulls: ergo, by virtue of the king's commandment they were beheaded. And what John Huss's opinion and mind was as touching these men, it is evident enough by his book entitled *Of the Church*, wherein he writeth thus, "I believe they have read Daniel the prophet, where it is said, And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captivity, and many shall fraudulently and craftily associate themselves unto them." And afterward he saith, how "this is fulfilled in these two laymen, who not consenting, but speaking against the feigned lies of antichrist, have offered their lives therefore, and many other were ready to do the same, and many were fraudulently associate unto them, which being feared by the threatenings of antichrist are fled, and have turned their backs," &c.

When these things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous strange study, they held their peace for a certain space. For this Paletz, and the aforesaid Doctor Naso, had also added that John Huss in an open sermon had inflamed and stirred up the people against the magistrates, insomuch that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselves against the magistrates; and by that means was it that, he said, those three were ready to suffer death for the truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit or help that the king could do. Then the Englishmen exhibited the copy of a certain epistle, which they said was falsely conveyed unto Prague, under the title of the university of Oxford, and that

John Huss did read the same out of the pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praise John Wickliff unto the citizens of Prague. When they had read the same before the council, the Englishmen demanded of John Huss, whether he had read the same openly or no. Which when he had confessed, because it was brought thither by two scholars under the seal of the university; they also inquired of him what scholars they were. He answered, "This my friend "(meaning Stephen Paletz) "knoweth the one of them as well as I; the other I know not what he was."

Then they first inquired of him, as touching the last man, where he was. John Huss answered, "I heard say," said he, "that in his return into England he died by the way." As touching the first, Paletz said, that he was a Bohemian and no Englishman, and that he brought out of England a certain small piece of the stone of Wickliff's sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this present do reverence and worship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done, and that John Huss was the author of them all.

Then the Englishmen exhibited another epistle, contrary to the first, under the seal of the university, the effect and argument whereof was this: "The senate of the university, not without great sorrow and grief, hath experimented and found, that the errors of Wickliff are scattered and spread out of that university throughout all England. And to the intent that through their help and labour means may be found to remedy this mischief, they have appointed for that purpose twelve doctors, men of singular learning, and other masters, which should sit in judgment upon the books of Wickliff.

"These men have noted out above the number of two hundred articles, the which the whole university have judged worthy to be burnt; but for the reverence of the said sacred council, the said university hath sent them unto Constance, referring and remitting the whole authority of the judgment unto this council."

Here was great silence kept for a while. Then Paletz rising up, as though he had finished now his accusation, said, "I take God to my witness before the emperor's Majesty here present, and the most reverend fathers, cardinals and bishops, that in this accusation of John Huss I have not used any hatred or evil will; but that I might satisfy the oath which I took, when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruel and sharp enemy of all manner of errors, for the profit and commodity of the holy catholic church." Michael de Causis did also the like. "And I," said John Huss, "do commit all these things unto the heavenly Judge, which shall justly judge the cause or quarrels of both parties." Then said the cardinal of Cambray, "I cannot a little commend and praise the humanity and gentleness of Master Paletz, which he hath used in drawing out the articles against Master John Huss; for, as we have heard, there are many things contained in his book much worse and more detestable."

When he had spoken these words, the bishop of Reggio, unto whom John Huss was committed, commanded that the said John Huss should be carried again safely unto prison. Then John de Clum, following him, did not a little encourage and comfort him. No tongue can express what courage and stomach he received by the short talk which he had with him; when in so great a broil and grievous hatred, he saw himself in a manner forsaken of all men. After that John Huss 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

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by him; of the 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 albeit 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 abettors 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.

"Moreover, I judge and think it good that his articles which are condemned, should be sent unto my brother, the king of Bohemia, and afterward into Poland and other provinces, where men's minds are replenished with his doctrine, with this commandment, that whosoever do proceed to hold or keep the same, they should, by common aid both of the ecclesiastical and civil power, be punished. So at the length shall remedy be found for this mischief, if the boughs together with the root be utterly rooted and pulled up; and if the bishops and other prelates, which here in this place have laboured and travailed for the extirpating of this heresy, be commended by the whole voices of the council unto the king and princes under whose dominion they are. Last of all, if there be any found here at Constance, which 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."

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the cloister, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the 6th of July, the Emperor Sigismund sent unto him four bishops, accompanied with Master Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum, that they should learn and understand of him what he did intend to do. When he was brought out of prison unto them, John de Clum began first to speak unto him, saying,



ASTER John Huss, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding; notwithstanding I do require you, if you know yourself guilty of any of those errors, which are objected and laid against you before the council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the council; if contrariwise, I will be no author unto you, that you should do any thing contrary, or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you have known to be truth." Unto whom John Huss turning himself, with lamentable tears, said, "Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do take the most high God for my witness, that I am ready with my whole heart and mind, if the council can instruct or teach me any better by the Holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my heart to alter and change my purpose." Then one of the bishops, which sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own mind or opinion before the judgment of the whole council. To whom John Huss answered, "Neither do I otherwise mind or intend; for if he which is the meanest or least in all this council can convict me of error, I will, with a

humble heart and mind, perform and do whatsoever the council shall require of me." "Mark," said the bishops, "how obstinately he doth persevere in his errors." And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carry him again unto prison, and so they returned again unto the emperor with their commission.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of July, there was a general session holden of the princes and lords, both of the ecclesiastical and temporal estates, in the head church of the city of Constance, the Emperor Sigismund being president in his imperial robes and habit; in the midst whereof there was made a certain high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a desk of wood, upon the which the garments and vestments pertaining unto priesthood were laid, for this cause, that before John Huss should be delivered over unto the civil power, he should be openly deprived and spoiled of his priestly ornaments. When John Huss was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before that same high place, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the bishop of Londe went up into the pulpit, and made this sermon following:

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Trusting, by humble invocation upon the Divine help and aid, most noble prince and most Christian emperor, and you, most excellent fathers, and reverend lords, bishops, and prelates, also most excellent doctors and masters, famous and noble dukes, and high counts, honourable nobles, and barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpose of my mind may the more plainly and evidently appear unto this most sacred congregation, I am first of all determined to treat or speak of that which is read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, in the 6th chapter to the Romans, that is to say, Let the body of sin be destroyed, &c.

"It appeareth by the authority of Aristotle, in his book entitled, De Cælo et Mundo, how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand perverse and wicked beginnings. For he saith that a small error in the beginning is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy doctor St. Jerome, in his book upon the exposition of the catholic faith, teacheth how necessary a thing it is that heretics and heresies should be suppressed, even at the first beginning of them, saying thus, The rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the body, lest that the whole body do perish and putrefy. For a scabbed sheep is to be put out of the fold, lest that the whole flock be infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, lest the whole house be consumed and burned.' Arius was first a spark in Alexandria, who, because he was not at the first quenched, he presumed and went about with his wicked and perverse imaginations, and fantastical inventions, to spot and defile the catholic faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many martyrs, and illuminate and set forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such therefore must be resisted; such heretics, of necessity, must be suppressed and condemned.

"Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the punishment of every such obstinate heretic, that the body of sin is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered, according unto the holy traditions of the fathers, that some sins are adverse and contrary unto others; other some are annexed or conjoined together; other some are, as it were, branches and members of others; and some are, as it were, the roots and head of others. Amongst all which, those are to be counted the most detestable, out of the which the most and worst have their original and beginning.

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Wherefore, albeit that all sins and offences are to be abhorred of us, yet those are specially to be eschewed, which are the head and root of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection ought they to be rooted out and extinguished, with apt preservatives and remedies. Forasmuch, then, as amongst all sins, none doth more appear to be inveterate than the mischief of this most execrable schism, therefore have I right well propounded that the body of sin should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this schism, great and most cruel destruction is sprung up amongst the faithful, and hath long continued; abominable divisions of heresies are grown; threatenings are increased and multiplied; the confusion of the whole clergy is grown thereupon, and the opprobries and slanders of the Christian people are abundantly sprung up and increased. And truly it is no marvel, forasmuch as that most detestable and execrable schism, is, as it were, a body and heap of dissolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, where such a pestiferous schism hath reigned so long a time? For, as St. Bernard saith, Like as in the unity and concord of the faithful, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord, so likewise in the schism and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the devil. Is not schism and division the original of all subversion, the den of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of unity and peace being once troubled and broken; there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Covetousness is uttered in oaths for lucre's sake, lust and will is set at liberty, and all means opened unto slaughter. All right and equity is banished, the ecclesiastical power is injured, and the calamity of this schism bringeth in all kind of bondage; sword and violence doth rule, the laity have the dominion, concord and unity are banished, and all the prescript rules of religion utterly contemned and set at nought.

"Consider, most gentle lords, during this most pestiferous schism, how many heresies have appeared and showed themselves, how many heretics have escaped unpunished, how many churches have been spoiled and pulled down, how many cities have been oppressed, and regions brought to ruin! What confusion hath there happened in the clergy! What and how great destruction hath been amongst the Christian people! I pray you, mark how the church of God, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithful, is contemned and despised. For who doth reverence the keys of the church, who feareth the censures or laws, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it that doth not offend the same, or who doth not invade it, or else, what is he that dare not violently lay hands upon the patrimony or heritage of Jesus Christ? The goods of the clergy, and of the poor, and the relief of pilgrims and strangers, gotten together by the blood of our Saviour, and of many martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold the abomination of the desolation brought upon the church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruin of the Lord's flock or fold, and all the whole company of our most holy Saviour and Redeemer. This loss is more great or grievous than any which could happen unto the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution much more cruel than the persecution of any tyrant; for they did but only punish the bodies, but in this schism and division the souls are tormented. There the blood of men was only shed, but in this case the true faith is subverted and overthrown. That persecution was salvation unto many; but this schism is destruction unto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increase; but by this division it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madness the primitive church increased; but through this schism it is confounded and overthrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend; but in this schism many do wittingly and willingly, even of obstinacy, offend. There came in heretics, users of simony, and

hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the church; under those tyrants, the merits of the just were increased.

"But during this schism mischief and wickedness are augmented; for in this most cursed and execrable division, truth is made an enemy to all Christians, faith is not regarded, love and charity hated, hope is lost, justice overthrown, no kind of courage or valiantness, but only unto mischief: modesty and temperance cloaked, wisdom turned into deceit, humility feigned, equity and truth falsified, patience utterly fled, conscience small, all wickedness intended, devotion counted folly, gentleness abject and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reproachful and abominable. With how great and grievous sorrows is the church of God replenished and filled, whilst that tyrants do oppress it, heretics invade it, users of simony do spoil and rob it, and schismatics go about utterly to subvert it! O most miserable and wretched Christian people, whom now by the space of forty years, with such indurate and continual schism, they have tormented, and almost brought to ruin! O the little bark and ship of Christ, which hath so long time wandered and strayed now in the midst of the whirlpools, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tempestuous storms! O miserable and wretched boat of Peter, if the most holy Father would suffer thee to sink or drown, into what dangers and perils have the wicked pirates brought thee! amongst what rocks have they placed thee! O most godly and loving Christians, what faithful and devout man is there, which, beholding and seeing the great ruin and decay of the church, would not be provoked unto tears? What good conscience is there that can refrain weeping? because that contention and strife is poured upon the ecclesiastical rulers, which have made us to err in the way; because they have not found, or rather would not find, the way of unity and concord: whereupon so many heresies, and so great confusion is sprung up, and grown in the flock of Peter, and the fold of our Lord.

"Many princes, kings, and prelates, have greatly laboured and travailed for the rooting out hereof; but yet could they never bring to pass or finish that most wholesome and necessary work. Wherefore, most Christian king, this most glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried only for thee, the crown and glory thereof shall be thine for ever, and this most happy victory shall be continually celebrate to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored again the church which was so spoiled, thou hast removed and put away all inveterate and over-grown schisms and divisions, thou hast trodden down users of simony, and rooted out all heretics. Dost thou not behold and see how great, perpetual, and famous renown and glory it will be unto thee? For what can be more just, what more holy, what better, what more to be desired, or finally, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this wicked and abominable schism, to restore the church again unto her ancient liberty, to extinguish and put away all simony, and to condemn and destroy all errors and heresies from amongst the flock of the faithful? Nothing, truly, can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole world, and finally, nothing more acceptable unto God: for the performance of which most holy and godly work, thou wast elect and chosen of God; thou wast first deputed and chosen in heaven, before thou wast elect and chosen upon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestial and heavenly Prince, before the electors of the empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that by the imperial force and power, thou shouldst condemn and destroy those errors and heresies, which we have presently in hand to be condemned and subverted. To the performance of this most holy work, God hath given unto thee the knowledge and understanding of his Divine truth and verity, power of princely majesty, and the just judgment of equity

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and righteousness, as the Most Highest himself doth say; I have given thee understanding and wisdom, to speak and utter my words, and have set thee to rule over nations and kingdoms, that thou shouldst help the people, pluck down and destroy iniquity, and by exercising of justice thou shouldst, I say, destroy all heresies, and specially this obstinate heretic here present, through whose wickedness and mischief, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and heretical poison, and by his means and occasion almost utterly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble prince, was reserved only for thee, upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and ministration of justice is given; wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renown, even by the mouths of infants and sucking babes, for thy praises shall be celebrate for evermore, that thou hast destroyed and overthrown such and so great enemies of the faith. The which that thou mayst prosperously and happily perform, and bring to pass, our Lord Jesus vouchsafe to grant thee his grace and help, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen."

When this sermon was thus ended, the proctor of the council rising up, named Henricus de Piro, required that the process of the cause against John Huss might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive sentence. Then a certain bishop, which was appointed one of the judges, declared the process of the cause, which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome and elsewhere, between John Huss and the prelates of Prague.

At the last he repeated those articles which we have before remembered, amongst the which he rehearsed also one article, that John Huss should teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Christ. John Huss went about briefly with a word or two to answer unto every of them; but as often as he was about to speak, the cardinal of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying, "Hereafter you shall answer to all together, if you will." Then said John Huss, "How can I at once answer unto all those things which are alleged against me, when I cannot remember them all?" Then said the cardinal of Florence, "We have heard thee sufficiently." But when John Huss for all that would not hold his peace, they sent the officers which should force him thereunto. Then began he to entreat, pray, and beseech them, that they would hear him, that such as were present might not credit or believe those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he, kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God and the Lord Jesus Christ, for at their hands he believed easily to obtain that which he desired.

When the articles above-said 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 which had alleged the article said, that it was not needful to name him. Then said John Huss, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear such a blasphemy and slander.

Afterward the article was repeated, how he appealed unto Christ, and that by name was called heretical. Whereunto John Huss answered, "O Lord Jesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this council, unto thee again I do appeal; which, when thou wast evil-entreated of thine enemies, didst appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto a most just Judge, that by thy example we also, being oppressed with manifest wrongs and injuries, should flee unto thee." Last of all the article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John

Huss, whereunto he answered as before, That he was excused by his advocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified; and, finally, to the intent he might clear himself of obstinacy, he was for that cause come unto Constance, under the emperor's safe-conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them, which was appointed judge, read the definitive sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

"The most holy and sacred general council of Constance, being congregated and gathered together, representing the catholic church, for a perpetual memory of the thing, as the verity and truth doth witness, an evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit; hereupon it cometh, that the man of most damnable memory, John Wickliff, through his pestiferous doctrine, not through Jesus Christ by the gospel, as the holy fathers in times past have begotten faithful children; but, contrary unto the wholesome faith of Jesus Christ, as a most venomous root, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked children, whom he hath left behind him, successors and followers of his perverse and wicked doctrine, against whom this sacred synod of Constance is forced to rise up, as against bastards and unlawful children, and with diligent care, with the sharp knife of the ecclesiastical authority, to cut up their errors out of the Lord's field, as most hurtful brambles and briars, lest they should grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

"Forasmuch, then, as in the holy general council lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed, that the doctrine of John Wickliff, of most damnable memory, should be condemned, and that his books which contained the same doctrine should be burned as heretical, and this decree was approved and confirmed by the sacred authority of the whole council; nevertheless one John Huss, here personally present in this sacred council, not the disciple of Christ, but of John Wickliff, an arch-heretic, after, and contrary, or against the condemnation and decree, hath taught, preached, and affirmed the articles of Wickliff, which were condemned by the church of God, and, in times past, by certain most reverend fathers in Christ, lords, archbishops, and bishops, of divers kingdoms and realms, masters of divinity of divers universities; especially resisting in his open sermons, and also with his adherents and accomplices in the schools, the condemnation of the said articles of Wickliff's oftentimes published in the said university of Prague, and hath declared him, the said Wickliff, for the favour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergy and people, to be a catholic man, and a true evangelical doctor. He hath also published and affirmed certain and many of his articles, worthily condemned, to be catholic, the which are notoriously contained in the books of the said John Huss.

"Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the reverend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy Church of Rome, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, doctors of divinity, and of both laws, in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred and holy council of Constance declareth and determineth the articles above said (the which, after due conference had, are found in his books written with his own hand, the which also the said John Huss in open audience, before this holy council, hath confessed to be to his books) not to be catholic, neither worthy to be taught; but that many of them are erroneous, some of them wicked, other some offensive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously heretical, and even now of late by the holy fathers and general councils reprov'd and condemned. And forasmuch as the said articles are expressly contained in the books

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of the said John Huss, therefore this said sacred council doth condemn and reprove all those books which he wrote, in what form or phrase soever they be, or whether they be translated by others, and doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the clergy and people of the city of Constance, and elsewhere; adding, moreover, for the premises, that all his doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. And to the intent this most pernicious and wicked doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the church, this sacred synod doth straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places, by the ecclesiastical censure, for such treatises and works, and that such as are found be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemn or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred synod ordaineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against every such person as suspected of heresy.

"Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Huss, and full information had by the commissaries and doctors of both laws, and also by the sayings of the witnesses which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the said John Huss, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred council, (by the which allegations of the witnesses, it appeareth that the said John Huss hath taught many evil and offensive, seditious, and perilous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time,) this most sacred and holy synod, lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, the name of Christ being invocated and called upon, by this their sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that John Huss was and is a true and manifest heretic, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies lately condemned by the church of God, and many other seditious, temerarious, and offensive things, to no small offence of the Divine Majesty, and of the universal church, and detriment of the catholic faith and church, neglecting and despising the keys of the church, and ecclesiastical censure. In the which his error he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate, and hardened by the space of many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, when he made his appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the most high Judge, omitting and leaving all ecclesiastical means. In the which his appeal he allegeth many false, injurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the apostolic see, and the ecclesiastical censures and keys.

"Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said synod pronounceth John Huss to be a heretic, and judgeth him by these presents to be condemned and judged as a heretic; and reproveth the said appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and judgeth the said Huss not only to have seduced the Christian people, by his writings and preachings, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, neither to have been a true preacher of the gospel of Christ unto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors; but also to have been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiff-necked person, yea, and such a one as doth not desire to return again to the lap of our holy mother the church, neither to abjure the errors and heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred council decreeth and declareth, that the said John Huss shall be famously deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignity," &c.

Whilst these things were thus read, John Huss, albeit he were forbidden to speak, notwithstanding did often interrupt them; and especially when he was reprov-

of obstinacy, he said with a loud voice, I was never obstinate, but as always heretofore, even now again, I desire to be taught by the Holy Scriptures, and I do profess myself to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one only word subvert the errors of all heretics, I would not refuse to enter into what peril or danger soever it were. When his books were condemned, he said, "Wherefore have you condemned those books, when you have not proved by any one article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or articles of faith? And moreover, what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these books written in the Bohemian tongue, which you never saw, neither yet read?" And oftentimes, looking up unto heaven, he prayed.

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 mercies' sake." This his prayer and oration, the greater part, and especially the chief of the priests, did deride and mock.

At the last, the seven bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining unto priesthood, which thing when he had done, until he came to the putting on of the albe, he called to his remembrance the white vesture which Herod put upon Jesus Christ, to mock him withal. So, likewise, in all other things he did comfort 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 purpose, and provide for his honour and safeguard. Then he, (according as the manner of the ceremony is,) going up to the top of the scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this sort:

"These lords and bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; the which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might peradventure easily persuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominy, and grudge of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me, but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heavens? with what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it should come to pass that those things which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, endued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? 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 consent 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 the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying, "O cursed Judas, why hast thou forsaken the counsel 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

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redemption, but have a stedfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in his kingdom." Then followed the other bishops in order, which 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 hear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. At the last they came to the rasing 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 shoule be done, with a razor, or with a pair of shears.

In the mean season, John Huss, turning himsel towards the emperor, said, "I marvel that, foras much as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty.' Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut of 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 knack of 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, Heresiarcha. The which when he saw, he said, "My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake did wear a crown of thorns; why should not I 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 bishops said, "Now we commit thy soul unto the devil." "But I," said John Huss, (lifting up his eyes 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 contumelious opprobries thus ended, the bishops, turning themselves towards the emperor, said, "This most sacred synod of Constance leaveth now John Huss, which hath no more any office, or to do in the church of God, unto the civil judgment and power." Then the emperor commanded Ludovicus duke of Bavaria, which stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the cross in his hand, that he should receive John Huss of the bishops, and deliver him unto them which should do the execution. By whom, as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doors he saw his books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that he 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, which had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. All the whole city in manner being in armour, followed him.



The Execution of John Huss

The place appointed for the execution was before the gate Gotlebian, 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 50th and 31st psalms. And they which stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," &c. Which thing when the lay-people beheld which stood next unto 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. Other some wished that he had a confessor. There was a certain priest by, sitting on horseback, in a green gown, drawn about with red silk, which said, he ought not to be heard, because he is a heretic. Yet, notwithstanding, whilst he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certain doctor, a monk, as Huss himself doth witness in a certain epistle which he wrote unto his friends out of prison. Thus Christ reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midst of his enemies. In the mean time whilst he prayed, as he bowed his neck backward 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 hath served."

When, by the commandment of the tormentors, he was risen up from the place of 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 unto the people. In the mean season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and, turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast unto, 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 unto the stake, the which chain

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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, admixing straw withal, 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, Ludovicus, duke of Bavaria, with another gentleman with him, which was the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Huss, that he would yet be mindful of his safeguard, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, "What error 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 penance and 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 a while after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lord's prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chain, the which they threw down stake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner be consumed unto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staves and clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp stick, and roasted at a fire apart until it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river Rhine, 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 minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

I know very well that these things are very slenderly written of me, as touching the labours of this most holy martyr John Huss, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared; for that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters, but this our Hercules, with a most stout and valiant courage, hath subdued even the world itself, the mother of all monsters and cruel beasts. This story were worthy some other kind of most curious handling; but forasmuch as I cannot otherwise perform it myself, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same unto all godly minds; neither have I heard it reported by others, but I myself was present at the doing of all these things, and, as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howsoever it were, I might preserve the memory of this holy man and excellent doctor of the evangelical truth.

What was the name of this author which wrote this story it is not here expressed. Cochleus, in his second book, *Contra Hussitas*, supposeth his name to be Johannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward succeeding in the place of John Huss at Prague, at last is thought to relent to the papists.

106. Certain Letters relating to the Case of John Huss

How grievously this death of John Huss was taken among the nobles of Bohemia and of Moravia, hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear by their letters which they sent unto the council, and by the letters of Sigismund, the king of Romans, written unto them; wherein he laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuse himself of Huss's death. Albeit he was not altogether free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood; yet, notwithstanding, he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest upon the bloody prelates of that council, as the words of the king do purport in form as followeth:

"In the mean time as we were about the coasts of Rhine, John Huss went to Constance, and there was arrested, as it is not to you unknown; who if he had first resorted unto us, and had gone with us up to the council, perhaps it had been otherwise with him; and God knoweth what grief and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there present, can bear us witness, seeing and beholding how careful and solicitous we were in labouring for him: insomuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the council; and not only out of the council, but also went out of the city of Constance taking his part, unto such time as the rulers of the council, sending unto us, said, that if we would not permit them to prosecute that which right required in the council, what should they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with ourselves, that here was nothing else for us more to do, nor yet to speak in this case, forasmuch as the whole council otherwise had been dissolved. Where is to be noted, moreover, that in Constance the same time there was not one clerk, or two, but there were ambassadors from all kings and princes in Christendom, especially, since the time that (Petrus de Luna giving over) all those kings and princes which took his part, came to us; so that whatsoever good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present council," &c. Ex Regist. Imp. Sigismund. ad Nobiles, &c.

By this it may appear that the emperor, as partly ashamed and sorry of that which was, would gladly have cleared himself thereof, and have washed his hands with Pilate; yet he could not so clear himself, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension, as may appear by his last words spoken in the council to John Huss, whereof John Huss, in his epistles, complaineth, writing to certain of his friends in Bohemia, in his 33rd epistle, as by his words here following may appear:

"I desire you yet again, for the love of God, that the lords of Bohemia, joining together, will desire the king for a final audience to be given me. Forasmuch as he alone said to me in the council, that they should give me audience shortly, and that I should answer for myself briefly in writing; it will be to his great confusion, if he shall not perform that which he hath spoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and sure as the other was concerning my safe-conduct granted by him. Certain there were in Bohemia, which willed me to beware of his safe-conduct; and other said, "He will surely give you to your enemies;" and the Lord Mikest Dwakie told me, before Master Jessenitz, saying, "Master, know it for certain you shall be condemned." And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the king. I hoped well that he had

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been well affected toward the law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence; now I conceive that he is not greatly skilful, nor so prudently circumspect in himself. He condemned me before mine enemies did, who, if it had pleased him, might have kept the moderation of Pilate, the Gentile, which said, I find no cause in this man; or, at least, if he had said but thus, Behold, I have given him his safe-conduct safely to return, and if he will not abide the decision of the council, I will send him home to the king of Bohemia with your sentence and attestations, that he with his clergy may judge him. But now I hear, by the relation of Henry Leffi, and of others, that he will ordain for me sufficient audience, and if I will not submit myself to the judgment of the council, he will send me safe the contrary way," &c.

This John Huss, being in prison, wrote divers treatises, as of the Commandments, of the Lord's Prayer, of Mortal Sin, of Matrimony, of the Knowledge and Love of God, of Three Enemies of Mankind, the World, and Flesh, and the Devil; of Penance, of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, of the Sufficiency of the Law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote also divers epistles and letters to the lords, and to his friends of Bohemia, and in his writings did foreshow many things before to come, touching the reformation of the church; and seemeth in the prison to have had divers prophetic revelations showed to him of God. Certain of which his letters and predictions I thought here underneath to insert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all I will overcharge the volume too much, nor yet in reciting of none will I be so brief, but that the reader may have some taste and take some profit of the Christian writings and doings of this blessed man; first beginning with the letter of the Lord Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of John Huss.

A letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of John Huss.

"To all and singular that shall see and hear these presents, I, John de Clum, do it to understand how Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, under the safe-conduct and protection of the renowned prince and lord, Sigismund of Romans, semper Augustus, and king of Hungary, &c., my gracious lord, and under the protection, defence, and safeguard of the holy empire of Rome, having the letters patent of the said my lord, king of Romans, &c., came unto Constance, to render full account of his faith, in public audience, to all that would require the same. This, the said Master John Huss, in this imperial city of Constance, under the safe-conduct of the said my lord, king of Romans, hath been and yet is detained. And although the pope, with the cardinals, have been seriously required by solemn ambassadors of the said my lord, king of Romans, &c., in the king's name and behalf, that the said Master John Huss should be set at liberty, and be restored unto me; yet, notwithstanding, they have, and yet do refuse hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe-conduct of the king, and of the safeguard and protection of the empire, or imperial majesty. Wherefore I, John, aforesaid, in the name of the king, do here publish and make it known, that the apprehending and detaining of the said Master John Huss was done wholly against the will of the forenamed king of Romans, my lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe-conduct of his subjects, and of the protection of the empire, because that the said my lord was then absent far from Constance, and if he had been there present, would never have permitted the same. And when he shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he, for this great injury and contempt of this safe-conduct done to him and to the empire, will grievously be molested for the same.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Given at Constance, in the day of the nativity of the Lord, 1414."

In this instrument above prefixed, note, gentle reader, three things.

First, the goodness of this gentle lord, John de Clum, being so fervent and zealous in the cause of John Huss, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, the safe-conduct granted unto the said John Huss, under the faith and protection of the emperor, and of the empire.

Thirdly, here is to be seen the contempt and rebellion of these proud prelates, in disobeying the authority of their high magistrate, who, contrary to his safe-conduct given, and the mind of the emperor, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the coming of the said emperor, and before that John Huss was heard. Let us now, as we have promised, adjoin some of the epistles of this godly man.

"Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, that you, being delivered from sin, may walk in his grace, and may grow in all modesty and virtue, and after this may enjoy eternal life.

"Dearly beloved, I beseech you, which walk after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the salvation of your souls, when you, hearing the word of God, are premonished wisely to understand that you be not deceived by false apostles, which do not reprehend the sins of men, but rather do extenuate and diminish them; which flatter the priests, and do not show to the people their offences; which magnify themselves, boast their own works, and marvellously extol their own worthiness, but follow not Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the cross, and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our merciful Saviour did premonish us before, saying, False Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. And when he had forewarned his well-beloved disciples, he said unto them, Beware and take heed of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits. And truth it is, that the faithful of Christ have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themselves. For as our Saviour himself doth say, the elect also, if it were possible, shall be brought into error. Wherefore, my well-beloved, be circumspect and watchful, that ye be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the devil. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last judgment is near at hand; death shall swallow up many; but to the elect children of God, the kingdom of God draweth near, because for them he gave his own body. Fear not death; love together one another; persevere in understanding the good-will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of judgment be always before your eyes, that you sin not; and also the joy of eternal life, whereunto you must endeavour. Furthermore, let the passion of our Saviour be never out of your minds; that you may bear with him, and for him gladly, whatsoever shall be laid upon you. For if you shall consider well in your mind his cross and afflictions, nothing shall be grievous unto you, and patiently you shall give place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and imprisonment, and shall not doubt to give your lives moreover for his holy truth, if need require. Know ye, well-beloved, that antichrist, being stirred up against you, deviseth divers persecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can testify, although he hath been vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore, I desire you all, with your prayers to make intercession for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence, sufferance, patience, and constancy, that I never swerve from his Divine verity. He hath brought me now to Constance. In all my

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journey, openly and manifestly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the servant of God. In no place I kept myself secret, nor used any dissimulation. But never did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest enemies than at Constance. Which enemies neither should I have had there, had it not been for certain of our own Bohemians, hypocrites and deceivers, who for benefits received, and stirred up with covetousness, with boasting and bragging have persuaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way; but I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist strongly in the immutable verity of God, unto the last breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his office, I only as an outcast am neglected, &c. I commend you to the merciful Lord Jesus Christ, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate Virgin Mary, which hath redeemed us by his most bitter death, without all our merits, from eternal pains, from the thralldom of the devil, and from sin.

"From Constance, the year of our Lord 1415."

Another letter of John Huss, to his benefactors.

"My gracious benefactors and defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that now ye, setting aside the vanities of this present world, will give your service to the eternal King, Christ the Lord. Trust not in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no health. For the sons of men are dissemblers and deceitful. To-day they are, to-morrow they perish, but God remaineth for ever. Who hath his servants, not for any need he hath of them, but for their own profit; unto whom he performeth that which he promiseth, and fulfilleth that which he purposeth to give. He casteth off no faithful servant from him, for he saith, Where I am, there also shall my servant be. And the Lord maketh every servant of his to be the lord of all his possession, giving himself unto him, and, with himself, all things; that without all tediousness, fear, and without all defect, he may possess all things, rejoicing with all saints in joy infinite. O happy is that servant, whom, when the Lord shall come, he shall find watching! Happy is the servant, which shall receive that King of glory with joy! Wherefore, well-beloved lords and benefactors, serve you that King in fear; which shall bring you, as I trust, now to Bohemia at this present by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think that this is the last letter that I shall write to you; who to-morrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Jesus Christ, through bitter death for my sins. The things that happened to me this night I am not able to write. Sigismund hath done all things with me deceitfully, God forgive him, and only for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you have no suspicion of faithful Vitus."

Another letter to the Lord John de Clum.

"Most gracious benefactor in Christ Jesus, dearly beloved, yet I rejoice not a little, that, by the grace of God, I may write unto your honour. By your letter, which I received yesterday, I understand, first, how the iniquity of the great strumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation, (whereof mention is made in the Apocalypse,) is detected, and shall be more detected. With the which strumpet the kings of the earth do commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ, and, as is there said, sliding back from the truth, and consenting to the lies of antichrist, through his seduction, and through fear, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour.

Secondly, I perceived by your letter how the enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceived the settled constancy of your charity, wherewith you profess the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and painful service of this present world, and to serve the Lord Jesus Christ quietly at home. Whom to serve is to reign, as Gregory saith. Whom he that serveth faithfully, hath Jesus Christ himself in the kingdom of heaven to minister unto him, as he himself saith, Blessed is that servant, whom, when the Lord shall come, he shall find waking, and so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he rising shall gird himself, and shall minister to him. This do not the kings of the world to their servants; whom only they do love so long as they are profitable and necessary for their commodities," &c.

Another epistle of John Huss, wherein he declareth why God suffereth not his to perish, bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himself and other.

"The Lord God be with you. Many causes there were, well-beloved in God, my dear friends, which moved me to think that those letters were the last, which before I sent unto you, looking that same time for instant death. But now, understanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great comfort unto me, that I have some leisure more to talk with you by letters? and therefore I write again to you, to declare and testify at least my gratitude and mindful duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me, and to my well-beloved brother Master Jerome, who I trust will die holily and without blame; and do know also that he doth and suffereth now more valiantly than I myself, a wretched sinner., God hath given us a long time, that we might call to memory our sins the better, and repent for the same more fervently. He hath granted us time, that our long and great temptation should put away our grievous sins, and bring the more consolation. He hath given us time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful King and Lord Jesus, and should ponder his cruel death, and so more patiently might learn to bear our afflictions. And, moreover, that we might keep in remembrance, how that the joys of the life to come are not given after the joys of this world immediately, but through many tribulations the saints have entered into the kingdom of heaven. For some of them have been cut and chopped all to pieces, some their eyes bored through, some sod, some roasted, some flayed alive, some buried quick, stoned, crucified, ground betwixt millstones, drawn and haled hither and thither unto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted in bonds. And who is able to recite all the torments and sufferings of the holy saints, which they suffered under the Old and New Testament for the verity of God; namely, those which at any time rebuked the malice of the priests, or have preached against their wickedness? And it will be a marvel, if any man now also shall escape unpunished, whosoever dare boldly resist the wickedness and perversity, especially of those priests, which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to read my books, in the which their malice is somewhat described; and I know they have read the same more exactly and willingly, than the holy gospel, seeking therein to find out errors. Given at Constance upon Thursday, the 28th day of June, A. D. 1415."

Another letter of John Huss, wherein he rehearseth what injuries he received of the council, and of the deputies.

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"If my letter be not yet sent to Bohemia, keep it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.

"Item, If the king do ask, who ought to be my judge, since that the council neither did call me, nor did cite me, neither was I ever accused before the council, and yet the council hath imprisoned me, and hath appointed their proctor against me.

"Item, I desire you, right noble and gracious Lord John, if audience shall be given me, that the king will be there present himself, and that I may have a place appointed near unto him, that he may hear me well, and understand what I say; and that you also, with Lord Henry, and with Lord Wencelate and other more, if you may, will be present, and hear what the Lord Jesus Christ, my procurator and advocate, and most gracious judge, will put in my mouth to speak; that whether I live or die, you may be true and upright witnesses with me, lest lying lips shall say hereafter that I swerved away from the truth which I have preached.

"Item, Know you that before witnesses and notaries in prison, I desired the commissioners that they would depute unto me a proctor and an advocate, who promised so to do, and afterward would not perform it. Wherefore I have committed myself to the Lord Jesus Chrst, that he will be my procurator and advocate, and judge of my cause.

"Item, Know you, that they have, as I suppose, no other quarrel against me, but only this, that I stood against the pope's bull, which Pope John sent down to Bohemia, to sanctify war with the sign of the cross and full remission of sins, to all them which would take the holy cross, to fight for the patrimony of the Romish Church against Ladislaus king of Naples, and they have mine own writing which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly, they have also against me, that I have continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take upon me to minister in the church and say mass. Thirdly, they have against me, because I did appeal from the pope to Christ; for they read my appeal before me, the which, with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, because I left a certain letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethlehem, the which letter my adversaries have very evil-favouredly translated, and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did write that I went out with a safe-conduct. Whereunto you yourselves can say and bear me record, that I in my going out had no safe-conduct of the pope, neither yet did I know whether you should go out with me when I wrote that letter.

"Item, If audience may be given to me, and that after the same audience the king would suffer me not to be returned again into prison, but that I may have your counsels and others my friends; and if it may please God that I may say something to my sovereign lord the king, for the behalf of Christianity, and for his own profit," &c.

Another letter of John Huss, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickedness of that council.

"John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful in Bohemia which love the Lord, greeting, through the grace of God. It cometh in my mind, wherein I must needs admonish you that be the faithful and beloved of the Lord, how that the council of Constance, being full of pride, avarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my books written in the Bohemian tongue for heretical, which books they never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had heard them, yet could they not

unstand the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britons, some Spaniards, Germans, with other people of other nations more; unless, peradventure, John, bishop of Litomysl, understood them, which was present in that council, and certain other Bohemians and priests which are against me, and labour all they may how to deprave both the verity of God, and the honesty of our country of Bohemia; which I judge, in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well given to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth so greatly desire the word of God, and honest manners. And if you were here at Constance, ye should see the grievous abomination of this council, which they call so holy, and such as cannot err. Of the which council I have heard it by the Switzers reported, that the city of Constance is not able in thirty years to be purged of those abominations in that council committed. And all be offended almost with that council, being sore grieved to behold such execrable things perpetrated in the same.

"When I stood first to answer before mine adversaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outrageously crying out, I said plainly unto them, that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better order and discipline in that council. Then the chief cardinal answered, 'Sayest thou so? But in the Tower thou spakest more modestly.' To whom said I, 'In the Tower no man cried out against me, whereas now all do rage against me.' My faithful and beloved in Christ, be not afraid with their sentence in condemning my books. They shall be scattered hither and thither abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as spiders' webs. They went about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ; but they could not overcome the virtue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scriptures against me, as divers honourable lords can witness with me, which being ready to suffer contumely for the truth of God, took my part stoutly; namely, Lord Wencelate de Duba, and Lord John de Clum; for they were let in by King Sigismund into the council. And when I said, that I was desirous to be instructed, if I did in any thing err; then they heard the chief cardinal answer again, 'Because thou wouldst be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first revoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of fifty bachelors of divinity appointed.' O high instruction!

"After like manner St. Katherine also should have denied and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because the fifty masters likewise did withstand her; which, notwithstanding, that good virgin would never do, standing in her faith unto death: but she did win those her masters unto Christ, when I cannot win these my masters by any means. These things I thought good to write unto you, that you might know how they have overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any reason; but only did essay with terrors and deceits to persuade me to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God, whose law I have magnified, was and is with me, and I trust, so will continue, and will keep me in his grace unto death. Written at Constance after the feast of John Baptist, in prison and in bonds, daily looking for death; although, for the secret judgments of God, I dare not say whether this be my last epistle; for now also Almighty God is able to deliver me."

Another letter of John Huss, wherein he comforteth his friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his books; and also declareth the wickedness of the clergy.

"Master John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful which love him and his statutes, wisheth the truth and grace of God.

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"Beloved, I thought it needful to warn that you should not fear or be discouraged because the adversaries have decreed that my books shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachings of the prophet Jeremiah, and yet they could not avoid the things that were prophesied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same prophecy again, and that larger; which was also done. For Jeremiah sitting in prison spake, and Baruch which was ready at his hand wrote. This is written either in the thirty-fifth or forty-fifth chapter of the vision of Jeremiah. It is also written in the books of the Maccabees, that the wicked did burn the law of God, and killed them that had the same. Again, under the New Testament, they burned the saints, with the books of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of St. Gregory's books, and had burnt them all if they had not been preserved of God by the means of Peter, Gregory's minister. Having these things before your eyes, take heed lest through fear you omit to read my books, and deliver them to the adversaries to be burnt. Remember the sayings of our merciful Saviour, by which he forewarneth us, Matthew xxiv., There shall be (saith he) before the day of judgment great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning until this day, neither shall be afterwards: so that even the elect of God should be deceived, if it were possible. But for their sakes those days shall be shortened. When you remember these things (beloved) be not afraid, for I trust in God that that school of antichrist shall be afraid of you, and suffer you to be inquiet, neither shall the council of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I think, that many of them which are of the council shall die before they shall get from you my books. And they shall depart from the council and be scattered abroad, throughout the parts of the world, like storks, and then they shall know when winter cometh what they did in summer. Consider that they have judged their head, the pope, worthy of death, for many horrible facts that he hath done. Go to now; answer to this, you preachers, which preach that the pope is the god of the earth; that he may, as the lawyers say, make sale of the holy things; that he is the head of the whole church in verity well governing the same; that he is the heart of the church in quickening the same spiritually; that he is the well-spring from which floweth all virtue and goodness; that he is the sun of the holy church; that he is the safe refuge to which every Christian man ought to fly for succour. Behold, now that head is cut off with the sword, now the god of the earth is bound, now his sins are declared openly, now that well-spring is dried up, that sun darkened, that heart is plucked out and thrown away, lest that any man should seek succour thereat. The council hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, because he took money for indulgences, bishoprics, and other such like. But they condemned him by order of judgment which were themselves the buyers and sellers of the same merchandise. There was present John, bishop of Lytomysl, who went twice about to buy the bishopric of Prague, but others prevented him. O wicked men, why did they not first cast out the beam out of their own eyes? These men have accursed and condemned the seller, but they themselves, which were the buyers and consenters to the bargain, are without danger. What shall I say, that they do use this manner of buying and selling at home in their own countries? For at Constance there is one bishop that bought, and another which sold, and the pope, for allowing of both their facts, took bribes on both sides. It came so to pass in Bohemia also, as you know. I would that in that council God had said, He that amongst you is without sin, let him give the sentence against Pope John; then surely they had gone all out of the council house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him always, before this his fall, kiss his feet, and call him the most holy father. seeing they saw apparently before that he was a heretic, that he was a man-killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all which things now they have

found in him? Why did the cardinals choose him to be pope. knowing before that he had killed the holy father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedom? for to this end they are his counsellors, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselves as guilty of these faults as he, seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselves? Why durst no man lay aught to his charge before he had fled from Constance, but as soon as the secular power, by the sufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never before, they conspired all together that he should not live any longer? Surely, even at this day, is the malice, the abomination, and filthiness of antichrist revealed in the pope and others of this council.

"Now the faithful servants of God may understand what our Saviour Christ meant by this saying, When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel, &c.; whoso can understand it, &c. Surely these he great abominations, pride, covetousness, simony, sitting in a solitary place, that is to say, in a dignity void of goodness, of humility, and other virtues; as we do now clearly see in those that are constituted in any office and dignity. Oh how acceptable a thing should it be, if time would suffer me, to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparent, that the faithful servants of God might know them! I trust in God that he will send after me those that shall be more valiant, and there are alive at this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of antichrist, and shall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall give both to you and me the joys of life everlasting. This epistle was written upon St. John Baptist's day, in prison, and in cold irons, I having this meditation with myself, that John was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God."

Another letter of John Huss.

"John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful at Bohemia, which love the Lord, wisheth to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attain unto eternal life.

"Ye that bear rule over other and be rich, and ye also that be poor, well-beloved and faithful in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient unto God, make much of his word, and, gladly hearing the same, will humbly perform that which ye hear. I beseech you, stick fast to the verity of God's word, which I have written and preached unto you out of his law, and the sermons of his saints. Also I desire you, if any man, either in public sermon or in private talk, heard of me any thing, or have read any thing written by me, which is against the verity of God, that he do not follow the same. Albeit I do not find my conscience guilty that I ever have spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

I desire you, moreover, if any man at any time have noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, that he do not follow the same, but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sin of lightness. I pray you that ye will love your priests and ministers, which be of honest behaviour, to prefer and honour them before others; namely, such priests as travail in the word of God. I pray you, take heed to yourselves, and beware of malicious and deceitful men, and especially of these wicked priests of whom our Saviour doth speak, that they are under sheep's clothing, and inwardly are ravening wolves. I pray such as be rulers and superiors, to behave themselves gently towards their poor inferiors, and to rule them justly. I beseech the citizens, that they

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will walk every man in his degree and vocation with an upright conscience. The artificers also I beseech, that they will exercise their occupations diligently, and use them with the fear of God. I beseech the servants, that they will serve their masters faithfully. And likewise the schoolmasters I beseech, that they, living honestly, will bring up their scholars virtuously, and teach them faithfully, first to learn to fear God; then for the glory of God and the public utility of the commonwealth, and their own health, and not for avarice or for worldly honour, to employ their minds to honest arts. I beseech the students of the university and all schools, in all honest things to obey their masters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence they will study to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glory of God, and to the soul's health, as well of themselves, as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yield most hearty thanks to the right honourable lords, the Lord Wencelate de Duba, Lord John de Clum, Lord Henry Lumlovio, Lord Vilem Zagecio, Lord Nicholas, and other lords of Bohemia, of Moravia, and Poland; that their diligence towards me may be grateful to all good men; because that they, like valiant champions of God's truth, have oftentimes set themselves against the whole council for my deliverance, contending and standing against the same to the uttermost of their power; but especially Lord Wencelate de Duba, and Lord John de Clum.

Whatsoever they shall report unto you, give credit unto them, for they were in the council when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that council cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you also, that you will pray for the king of Romans, and for your king, and for his wife your queen, that God of his mercy would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life. Amen.

"This epistle I have written to you out of prison and in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof for the sentence of the council upon my death; having a full trust that He will not leave me, neither suffer me to deny his truth and to revoke the errors, which false witnesses maliciously have devised against me. How mercifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in marvellous temptations, ye shall know when hereafter by the help of Christ we shall all meet together in the joy of the world to come. As concerning Master Jerome, my dearly beloved brother and fellow, I hear no other but that he is remaining in strait bonds, looking for death as I do; and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruel enemies of Bohemia have given us into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bonds. I beseech you, pray to God for them.

"Moreover, I beseech you, namely you of Prague, that ye will love the temple of Bethlehem, and provide so long as God shall permit, that the word of God may be preached in the same. For, because of that place the devil is angry, and against the same place he hath stirred up priests and canons, perceiving that in that place his kingdom should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in God that he will keep that holy church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall give greater increase of his word by other, than he hath done by me a weak vessel. I beseech you also, that ye will love one another, and, withholding no man from the hearing of God's word, ye will provide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence. Written at Constance, the year of Lord 1415."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Another right godly letter of John Huss to a certain priest, admonishing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all ministers.

"The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. My dear brother, be diligent in preaching the gospel, and do the work of a good evangelist; neglect not your vocation; labour like a blessed soldier of Christ. First, live godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to others in well doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings; correct vice and set forth virtue. To evil livers threaten eternal punishment; but to those that be faithful and godly, set forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be short and fruitful, prudently understanding and discreetly dispensing the Holy Scriptures. Never affirm or maintain those things that be uncertain and doubtful, lest that your adversaries take hold upon you, which rejoice in depraving their brethren, whereby they may bring the ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the body and blood of Christ, whereby such as do repent earnestly of their sins, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warn you that you enter into no taverns with guests, and be not a common company-keeper. For the more a preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, deny not yet your help and diligence, wheresoever you may profit others. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that ever you can; for that is the raging beast, which devoureth men, for whom the flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore, my heartily beloved, I beseech you to fly fornication; for where a man would most profit and do good, there this vice useth most to lurk. In any case fly the company of young women, and believe not their devotion; for St. Austin saith, the more devout she is, the more proclive to wantonness; and under the pretence of religion the snare and venom of fornication lurketh. And this know, my well-beloved, that the conversation with them subverteth many, whom the conversation of this world could never blemish nor beguile. Admit no women into your house, for what cause soever it be, and have not much talk with them otherwise, for avoiding of offence. Finally, howsoever you do, fear God and keep his precepts; so shall you walk wisely, and shall not perish; so shall you subdue the flesh, contemn the world, and overcome the devil; so shall you put on God, find life, and confirm others, and shall crown yourself with the crown of glory, the which the just Judge shall give you. Amen."

This letter of John Huss containeth a confession of the infirmity of man's flesh, how weak it is, and repugnant against the spirit; wherein he also exhorteth to persevere constantly in the truth.

"Health be to you from Jesus Christ, &c. My dear friend, know that Paletz came to me to persuade me that I should not fear the shame of abjuration, but consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, that the shame of condemnation and burning is greater than to abjure; and why should I fear then that shame? But I pray you tell me plainly your mind; presuppose that such articles were laid to you, which you knew yourself not to be true, what would you do in that case? would you abjure? Who answered, The case is sore, and began to weep. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de Causis was sometimes before in the prison with the deputies; and when I was with the deputies, thus I heard him speak unto the keepers, We, by the grace of God, will burn this heretic shortly, for whose cause I have spent many florins. But yet understand that I write not this to the intent to

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revenge me of him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

"Yet I exhort you again, to be circumspect about our letters; for Michael hath taken such order, that none shall be suffered to come into the prison; no, nor yet the keepers' wives are permitted to come to me. O holy God, how largely doth antichrist extend his power and cruelty! But I trust that his power shall be shortened, and his iniquity shall be detected more and more amongst the faithful people.

"Almighty God shall confirm the hearts of his faithful, whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the world, that they may receive the eternal crown of glory. And let antichrist rage so much as he will, yet he shall not prevail against Christ, which shall destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the apostle saith; and then shall the creature be delivered out of servitude of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God, as saith the apostle in the words following: We also within ourselves do groan, waiting for the adoption of the sons of God, the redemption of our body.

"I am greatly comforted in those words of our Saviour, Happy be you when men shall hate you, and shall separate you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the Son of man. Rejoice and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heaven, Luke vi. O worthy, yea, O most worthy consolation, which not to understand, but to practise in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson!

"This rule St. James, with the other apostles, did well understand, which saith, Count it exceeding joy, my brethren, when ye shall fall into divers temptations, knowing that the probation of your faith worketh patience: let patience have her perfect work. For certainly it is a great matter for a man to rejoice in trouble, and to take it for joy to be in divers temptations. A light matter it is to speak it and to expound it, but a great matter to fulfil it. For why? our most patient and valiant champion himself, knowing that he should arise again the third day, overcoming his enemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his elect, after his last supper was troubled in spirit, and said, My soul is heavy unto death. Of whom also the gospel saith, that he began to fear, to be sad and heavy; who being then in an agony, was confirmed of the angel, and his sweat was like the drops of blood falling upon the ground. And yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his disciples, Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear the cruelty of them that persecute you, for you shall have me with you always, that you may overcome the tyranny of your persecutors. Whereupon those his soldiers, looking upon the Prince and King of glory, sustained great conflicts. They passed through fire and water, and were saved, and received the crown of the Lord God, of the which St. James, in his canonical Epistle, saith, Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation, for when he shall be proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him. Of this crown I trust stedfastly the Lord will make me partaker also with you, which be the fervent sealers of the truth, and with all them which stedfastly and constantly do love the Lord Jesus Christ, which suffered for us, leaving to us example that we should follow his steps. It behoved him to suffer, as he saith, and us also it behoved to suffer, that the members may suffer together with the Head. For he saith, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

"O most merciful Christ, draw us weak creatures after thee, for except thou shouldst draw us, we are not able to follow thee. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be ready, and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace go before us, go with us, and

follow us; for without thee we can do nothing, and much less enter into the cruel death, for thy sake. Give us that prompt and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm hope, and perfect charity, that we may give our lives patiently and joyfully for thy name's sake. Amen. Written in prison and in bonds, in the Vigil of holy St. John the Baptist, who, being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickedness, was beheaded."

Among divers other letters of John Huss, which he wrote to the great consolation of others, I thought also here to intermix another certain godly letter, written out of England, by a faithful scholar of Wickliff, as appeareth, unto John Huss and the Bohemians, which, for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not unworthy to be read.

A letter of a scholar of Wickliff to John Huss, and to the Bohemians, dated from London.

"Greeting, and whatsoever can be devised more sweet, in the bowels of Christ Jesus. My dearly beloved in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not I only, but also all they that have the knowledge of the truth, which abideth in you, and shall be with you through the grace of God for evermore. I rejoiced above measure, when our beloved brethren came, and gave testimony unto us of your truth, and how you walked in the truth. I have heard, brethren, how sharply antichrist persecuteth you, in vexing the faithful servants of Christ with divers and strange kinds of afflictions. And surely no marvel if amongst you (since it is so almost all the world over) the law of Christ be too grievously impugned, and that red dragon, having so many heads, (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse,) have now vomited out of his mouth that great flood, by which he goeth about to swallow up the woman; but the most gracious God will deliver for ever his only and most faithful spouse. Let us therefore comfort ourselves in the Lord our God, and in his unmeasurable goodness, hoping strongly in him, which will not suffer those that love him to be unmercifully defrauded of any their purpose, if we, according to our duty, shall love him with all our heart; for adversity should by no means prevail over us, if there were no iniquity reigning in us. Let, therefore, no tribulation or sorrow for Christ's cause discourage us, knowing this for a surety, that whomsoever the Lord vouchsafeth to receive to be his children, those he scourgeth; for so the merciful Father will have them tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that afterwards he may spare them. For the gold that this high Artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it up in his pure treasury. For we see that the time we shall abide here is short and transitory; the life which we hope for after this, is blessed and everlasting. Therefore, whilst we have time, let us take pain that we may enter into that rest. What other thing do we see in this brittle life, than sorrow, heaviness, and sadness, and, that which is most grievous of all to the faithful, too much abusing and contempt of the law of the Lord? Let us therefore endeavour ourselves, as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are eternal and abiding, despising in our minds all transitory and frail things. Let us consider the holy fellowship of our fathers that have gone before us. Let us consider the saints of the Old and New Testaments. Did they not pass through this sea of tribulation and persecution? were not some of them cut in pieces, other some stoned, and other of them killed with the sword? some others of them went about in pelts and goats' skins, as the apostle to the Hebrews witnesseth. Surely they all walked straightways, following the steps of Christ, which said, He that ministereth unto me,

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let him follow me wheresoever I go, &c. Therefore let us also, which have so noble examples given us of the saints that went before us, laying away, as much as in us lieth, the heavy burden and the yoke of sin which compasseth us about, run forward through patience to the battle that is set before us, fixing our eyes upon the author of faith, and Jesus the finisher of the same; who, seeing the joy that was set before him, suffered the pains of the cross, despising death. Let us call upon him, which suffered such reproach against himself of sinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may heartily pray for help of the Lord, and may fight against his adversary antichrist; that we may love his law, and not be deceitful labourers, but that we may deal faithfully in all things, according to that which God hath vouchsafed to give us, and that we may labour diligently in the Lord's cause, under hope of an everlasting reward. Behold, therefore, brother Huss, most dearly beloved in Christ, although in face unknown to me, yet not in faith and love, for distance of places cannot separate those whom the love of Christ doth effectually knit together, be comforted in the grace which is given unto thee, labour like a good soldier of Christ Jesus, preach, be instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst to the way of truth; for the truth of the gospel is not to be kept in silence, because of the frivolous censures and thunderbolts of antichrist. And therefore, to the uttermost of thy power, strengthen thou and confirm the members of Christ, which are weakened by the devil; and, if the Lord will vouchsafe it, antichrist shall shortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly rejoice, that in your realm, and in other places, God hath stirred up the hearts of some men that they can gladly suffer, for the word of God, imprisonment, banishment, and death.

"Further, beloved, I know not what to write unto you, but I confess that I could wish to pour out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the law of the Lord. Also I salute, from the bottom of my heart, all the faithful lovers of the law of the Lord, and especially Jacobellus, your coadjutor in the gospel, requiring that he will pray unto the Lord for me in the universal church of Jesus Christ. And the God of peace, which hath raised from the dead the Shepherd of the sheep, the mighty Lord Jesus Christ, make you apt in all goodness, to do his will, working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight. All your friends salute you which have heard of your constancy; I would desire also to see your letters written back to us, for know ye that they shall greatly comfort us.

"At London, by your servant, desiring to be fellow with you in your labours, Ricus Wichewitze, priest unworthy."

The consolation of Master Jerome to Master Huss.

"My master, in those things which you have both written hitherto, and also preached, after the law of God, against the pride, avarice, and other inordinate vices of the priests, go forward, be constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require, of mine own accord I will follow after to help you, as much as I can."

By the life, acts, and letters of John Huss, hitherto rehearsed, it is evident and plain that he was condemned not for any error of doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their popish transubstantiation, neither spake against the authority of the Church of Rome if it were well governed, nor yet the seven sacraments, and also said mass himself, and almost in all their popish opinions was a

papist with them; but only of evil will was accused of his malicious adversaries, because he spake against the pomp, pride, and avarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, and because he could not abide the high dignities and livings of the church, and thought the doings of the pope to be antichrist-like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false witnesses against him; who, straining and picking matter out of his books and writings, having no one just article of doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him a heretic, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charity of Christ hath no place. Which being so, as thy charity, good reader, may easily understand, in perusing the whole course of his story; I beseech thee then, what cause had John Cochleus to write his twelve books against John Huss and Hussites? In which books how bitterly and intemperately he misuseth his pen, by these few words in his second book thou mayst take a little taste; which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to the end that all Englishmen may judge thereby, with what spirit and truth these catholics be carried. His words be these: "I say, therefore, John Huss is neither to be counted holy nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; insomuch that in the day of judgment, it shall be more easy, not only with the infidel pagans, Turks, Tartarians, and Jews, but also with the most sinful Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, which most filthily do lie with their daughters, sisters, or mothers; yea, and also with most impious Cain, killer of his own brother, with Thiestes, killer of his own mother, and the Lestrygones and other anthropophagi, which devour man's flesh; yea, more easy with those infamous murderers of infants, Pharaoh and Herod, than with him," &c. These be the words of Cochleus, whose railing books, although they deserve neither to be read nor answered, yet, if it please God, it were to be wished that the Lord would stir up some towardly young man, that hath so much leisure, to defend the simplicity of this John Huss, which cannot now answer for himself. In the mean time, something to satisfy or stay the reader's mind against this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few words I will bring out John Huss to speak and to clear himself against this slander; whose words in his book I beseech the reader to note: "For in writing these things, I confess nothing else to have moved me hereunto, but only the love of our Lord Jesus crucified, whose prints and stripes, according to the measure of my weakness and vileness, I covet to bear in myself, beseeching him so to give me grace that I never seek to glory in myself or in any thing else, but only in his cross, and in the inestimable ignominy of his passion, which he suffered for me. And therefore, I write and speak these things, which, I do not doubt, will like all such as unfeignedly do love the Lord Christ crucified; and contrary, will mislike not a little all such as be of antichrist. Also again, I confess before the most merciful Lord Jesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durst so have written, unless he by his inward unction had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authority, to get me fame and name. For as St. Augustine and Jerome do say, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and writings of the apostles, evangelists, and prophets, and to the canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulness of the Spirit of Jesus. And whatsoever is there said, is full of verity and wholesome utility," &c. And here place also would require something to say to Æneas Sylvius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falsely impute articles to him which he never maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the story of Master Jerome of Prague.

107. Jerome of Prague.



Portrait of Jerome of Prague

These things hitherto being discoursed, touching the life, acts, and constant martyrdom of Master John Huss, with part also of his letters adjoined to the same,

whose death was on the sixth of July, A. D. 1416, now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his Christian companion and fellow in bonds, Master Jerome of Prague; who grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproach and defamation of his country of Bohemia, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done unto that man of worthy memory Master John Huss, freely and of his own accord came unto Constance the fourth day of April, A. D. 1415. Who there 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, a city of the empire, until the next day, the which city was a mile off from Constance; and from thence he wrote his letters by me unto Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his barons, and also unto the council, most earnestly requiring that the king and the council would give him a safe-conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the council that would lay any crime unto him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

When the said king of Hungary was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the lord cardinal of Cambray, he denied 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 thereunto by the lords of the kingdom of Bohemia, answered, "We," say they, "will give him a safe-conduct to come, but not to depart." Whose answers, when they were reported unto Master Jerome, he, the next day after, wrote certain intimations according to the tenor hereunder written, which he sent unto 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. The tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner:

"Unto the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, always Augustus, and of Hungary, &c. I, Jerome of Prague, master of arts of the general universities of Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg, and Prague, by these my present letters do notify unto the king, together with the whole reverend council, and, as much as in me lieth, do all men to understand and know, that because of the crafty slanderers, backbiters, and accusers, I am ready, freely, and of my will, to come unto Constance, there to declare openly before the council, the purity and sincerity of my true faith and mine innocency, and not secretly in corners before any private or particular person. Wherefore if there be any of my slanderers, of what nation or estate soever they be, which will object against me any crime of error, or heresy, let them come forth openly before me, in the presence of the whole council, and in their own names object against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publicly before the whole council, of mine innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true faith; and if so be that I shall be found culpable in error or heresy, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meet and worthy for an erroneous person, or a heretic.

"Wherefore, I most humbly beseech my lord the king, and the whole sacred council, that I may have, to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happen that I, offering such equity and right as I do, before any fault be proved against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifest unto the whole world, that this general council doth not proceed according to equity and justice, if they would by any means put me back from this profound and strait justice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy council of wise men."

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When as yet he through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latin, and German tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe-conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights especially of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gave unto Master Jerome their letters patent, confirmed with their seals for a testimony and witness of the premises. With the which letters the said Master Jerome returned again unto Bohemia; but by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirsaw by the officer of Duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought back again to the presence of the duke. In the mean time, 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 the said Master Jerome should be cited by reason of his intimations; and certain days after, the citation hereunder written was set upon the gates and porches of the city and churches, which followeth here in this manner:

"This most sacred and holy synod and general council of Constance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, representing the universal militant church, unto Jerome of Prague, which writeth himself to be a master of arts of so many universities, and pretendeth those things which are only pertaining unto sobriety and modesty, and that he knoweth no more than he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certain writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, the which was set up as it were by thine own person upon the gates of the churches and city of Constance, upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the church of God, *Quasi modo geniti*; wherein thou dost affirm, that thou wilt openly answer unto thy accusers and slanderers which shall object any crime, error, or heresy against thee, whereof thou art marvellously infamed and accused before us, and specially touching the doctrine of Wickliff, and other doctrines contrary unto the catholic faith, so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe-conduct to come. But forasmuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty foxes which go about to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth, by the tenor of these presents, thy person, manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; so that within the term of fifteen days to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof five days are appointed for the first term, five for the second, and other five for the third, we do ordain and appoint by canonical admonition and warning, that thou do appear in the public session of the sacred council, if there be any holden the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when any session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things, which any person or persons shall object or lay against thee in any cause of thy faith, and to receive and have as justice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as catholic faith shall require, we offer and assign to thee, by the tenor hereof, our safe-conduct from all violence, (justice always being saved,) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appear or not, the said term or time appointed notwithstanding, process shall go forward against thee by the sacred council, or by their commissary or commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept, thy contumacy or stubbornness in any thing notwithstanding. Given in the sixth session of the general council, the seventeenth day of April, under the seal of the presidents of the four nations."

After that Sigismund, king of Hungary, with the rest of the council, understood by the aforesaid Duke John, that Master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that Master Jerome should be brought before them unto the council. The which Duke John, after he had received letters of the king and the council,

brought Master Jerome bound unto Constance, whom his brother, Duke Ludovicus, led through the city to the cloister of the Friars Minors in Constance, where the chief priests and elders of the people, scribes and Pharisees, were gathered together, attending and waiting for his coming. He, the said Master Jerome, carried a great handbolt of iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he passed, the chain made a great rattling and noise; and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chain after Duke Ludovicus aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him, with the which chain they also kept him bound in the cloister. When he was brought into the cloister, they read before him the letter of Duke John, which was sent with the said Master Jerome unto the council, containing in effect, how that the said Duke John had sent Master Jerome unto the council, who by chance was fallen into his hands, because he heard an evil report of him, that he was suspected of the heresies of Wickliff; that the council might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did err and stray from the truth; besides many other flattering tales which were written in the said letter for the praise of the council. After this, they read the citation which was given out by the council against Master Jerome, whereof we have spoken before. Then certain of the bishops said unto him, "Jerome, why didst thou fly, and run away, and didst 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 appeareth by these letters patent of the barons, which you have, neither by mine 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, albeit I had been in Bohemia, I would have returned again." Then all the whole rabble rising up, alleged divers and sundry accusations and testimonies 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 *corolaria*, and especially in the question *de universalibus et de Idæis*, with many other very offensive questions." Unto whom Master Jerome said, "I answer to you, Master Gerson; those matters which I did put forth there in schools at Paris, in the which also I answered to 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 be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same."

While he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the master of the university of Cullen upon the river Rhine) rising up said, "When thou wast also at Cullen, 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."

And by and by the third man rising up, said, "When that you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain shield or scutcheon, comparing the Trinity of persons in Divinity unto water, snow, and ice, and such-like." Unto whom Master Jerome answered, "Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speak,

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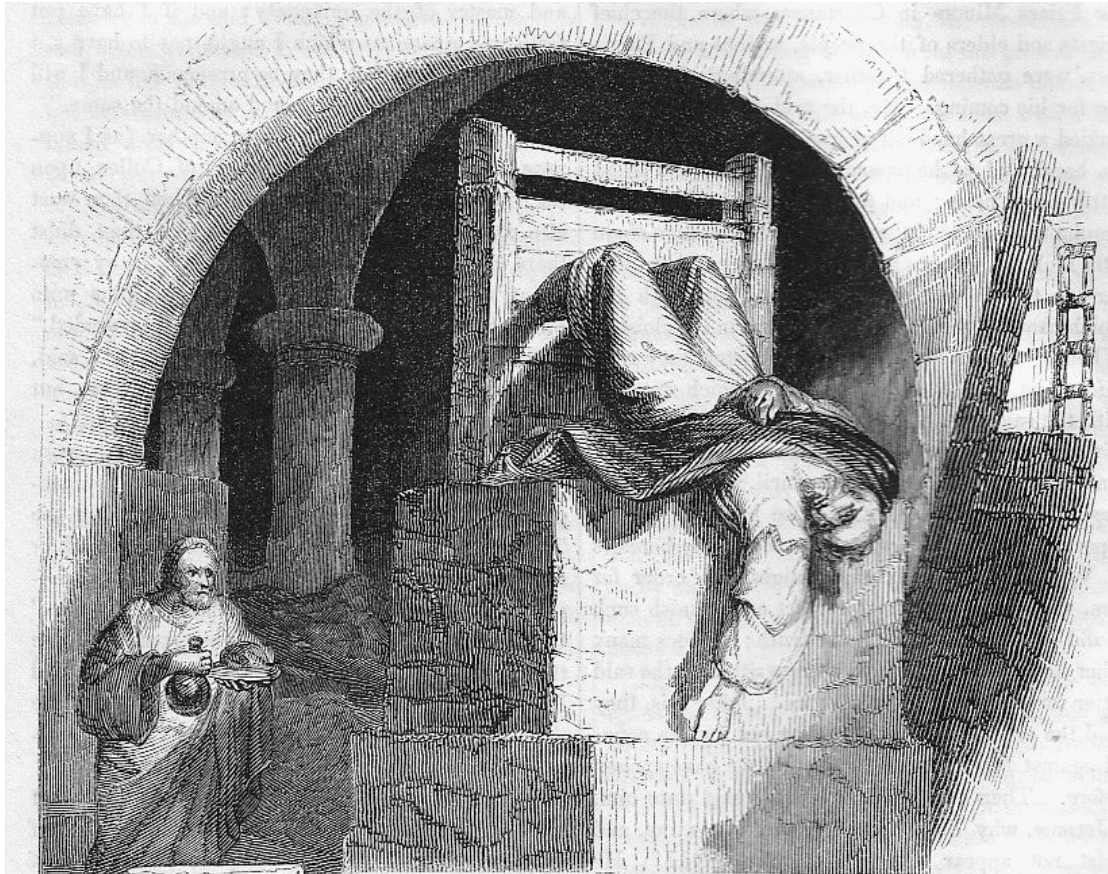
write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly revoke and recant the same."

Then certain cried out, "Let him be burned, let him be burned." Unto 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 Salisbury, "Not so, Master Jerome, forasmuch as it is written, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live." When these and many other tumults and cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outrageously witness against him, they delivered the said Master Jerome, being bound, unto 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 mean time, 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 unto him, "Be constant and fear not to suffer death for the truth's sake, of the which, when you were in times past at liberty, you did preach so much goodness." Unto whom Jerome answered, "Truly, brother, I do not fear death; and forasmuch 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 strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the cloister.

Then came there one Vitus unto Master Jerome, and said, "Master, how do you?" Unto whom he answered, "Truly, brother, I do very well." Then his keepers coming about him laid hold of the said Vitus, saying, "This is also one of the number," and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Reigen sent certain of his servants which led away Master Jerome, being strongly bound with chains, both by the hands and by the neck, and kept him so for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain tower of the city in St. Paul's churchyard, where they, tying him fast unto a great block, and his feet in the stocks, his hands also being made fast upon them, they left him; whereas the block was so high, that he could by no means sit thereupon, but that his head must hang downward. They carried also the said Vitus unto the archbishop of Reigen, who demanded of him, why he durst be so bold to talk with such a man, being a reprobate of all men, and a heretic; and when he could find no cause of imprisonment in him, and that he said he was Master John de Clum's friend, taking an oath and promise of him that he should not go about to endamage the council by reason of that imprisonment and captivity, so dismissed him and sent him away. Master Jerome, unknown unto us whither he was carried, lay in the said tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers coming unto Master Peter, declared unto him how that 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 unto him. The keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, so hanging by the heels, he used so small repast, that he fell sore sick, even unto the death. When he living then in that captivity and prison desired to have a confessor, they of the council denied that he should have any, until such time as, by great importunity, he obtained to have one; his friends being then there present in the same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one year, lacking but seven days.



Jerome of Prague in the Stocks

After they had put John Huss to death, then about the feast of the Nativity of Mary the Virgin, they brought forth Master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chains, unto the church of St. Paul; and threatening him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent unto the death of Master John Huss, that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what 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 unto him, did make abjuration, and that in the cathedral church and open session, the draught whereof penned to him by the papists, here ensueth.

The abjuration of Master Jerome of Prague.

"I Jerome of Prague, master of arts, acknowledging the catholic church, and the apostolic faith, do accurse and renounce all heresies, and specially that whereof I have hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wickliff have holden and taught in their works, treatises, and sermons, made unto the people and clergy; for the which cause the said Wickliff and Huss, together with the said doctrines and errors, are condemned by this synod of Constance as heretics, and all the said doctrine sententially condemned, and especially in certain articles expressed in the sentences and judgments given against them by this sacred council.

"Also I do accord and agree unto the holy Church of Rome, the apostolic seat in this sacred council, and with my mouth and heart do profess in all things, and touching all things, and specially as touching the keys, sacraments, orders, and

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offices, and ecclesiastical censures, of pardons, relics of saints, ecclesiastical liberty, also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining unto Christian religion, as the Church of Rome, the apostolic see, and this sacred council, do profess; and specially that many of the said articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reprov'd by the holy fathers; some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous; some offensive unto godly ears, and many of them temerarious and seditious: and such also were counted the articles lately condemned by the sacred council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular catholic men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintain any of the said articles, under pain of being accursed.

"And I, the said Jerome, forasmuch as I have laboured by scholastical arts to persuade the opinion, that one substance of the common kind should signify many things subject under the same, and every one of them, as St. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, do affirm, and likewise others. For the teaching hereof by a plain example, I described as it were a certain triangle, form, or figure, the which I called the shield of faith.

"Therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, the which peradventure some men may gather thereby, I do say, affirm, and declare that I never made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith, to that intent or purpose, that I would extol or prefer the opinion of universalities above or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the catholic faith could not be defended or maintained, whenas I myself would not obstinately stick thereto; but this I said, because I had put example in the description of the triangle or form, that one Divine essence consisted in three subjects, or persons, in themselves distinct, that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The article of the which Trinity, is the chief shield of faith, and foundation of the catholic truth.

"Furthermore, that it may be evident unto all men what the causes were for the which I was reputed and thought to stick to, and favour sometime John Huss; I signify unto all men, by these presents, that when I heard him oftentimes, both in his sermons, and also in the schools, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainsay the traditions of our holy mother the church, or holy doctors; insomuch as when I was lately in this city, and the articles which I affirmed were showed unto me, which were also condemned by the sacred council, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his, at the least not in that form; but when I had further understood by certain famous doctors and masters of divinity that they were his articles, I required for my further information and satisfaction to have the books of his own hand-writing showed unto me, wherein it was said those articles were contained. The which books, when they were showed unto me, written with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine own, I found all and every one those articles therein written in like form as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily judge and think him and his doctrine, with his adherents, to be condemned and reprov'd by the sacred council, as heretical and without reason. All which the premises, with a pure mind and conscience, I do here pronounce and speak, being now fully and sufficiently informed of the aforesaid sentences and judgments given by the sacred council against the doctrines of the said John Wickliff and John Huss, and against their own persons; unto the which judgment, as a devout catholic in all things, I do most humbly consent and agree.

"Also I, the aforesaid Jerome, which before the reverend fathers the lords cardinals, and reverend lords, prelates, and doctors, and other worshipful persons of this sacred council in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpose, amongst other things, speaking of the church, did divide the same into three parts; and, as I did perceive afterward, it was understood by some that I would affirm, that in the triumphant church there was faith. Whereas I do firmly believe that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all dark understanding and knowledge. And now also I do say, affirm, and declare, that it was never my intent and purpose, to prove that there should be faith, speaking of faith as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge far exceeding faith. And generally whatsoever I said, either there, or at any time before, I do refer, and most humbly submit myself unto the determination of this sacred council of Constance.

"Moreover, I do swear both by the holy Trinity, and also by the most holy gospel, that I will for evermore remain and persevere without all doubt, in the truth of the catholic church. And all such as by their doctrine and teaching shall impugn this faith, I judge them worthy, together with their doctrines, of eternal curse. And if I myself at any time (which God forbid I should) do presume to preach or teach contrary thereto, I will submit myself unto the severity of the canons, and be bound unto eternal pain and punishment. Whereupon I do deliver up this my confession, and tenor of my profession, willingly before this sacred general council, and have subscribed and written all these things with mine own hand."

After all this they caused him to be carried again unto 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, afterward, his enemies which were appointed against him, as Michael de Causis, and wicked Paletz, with other their companions in these affairs, 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 the intent thereby to escape their hands; they, together with certain friars of Prague, of the order of Carmelites, then coming in, put up new accusations against the said Master Jerome, and drew the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forasmuch 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, did see the great injury that was done unto 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 the said Master Jerome, that the Germans and Bohemians 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, which 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 aforesaid obtained to have other judges appointed, as the patriarch of Constantinople, and a German doctor, forasmuch as they did know that

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the patriarch was a grievous enemy unto Master Jerome, because he, being before appointed judge by the council, had condemned John Huss unto death.

But Master Jerome would not answer them in prison, requiring to have open audience, because he would there finally declare unto them his mind, neither would he by any means consent unto those private judges. Whereupon the presidents of the council, thinking that the said Master Jerome would renew his recantation before the said audience, and confirm the same, did grant him open audience.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the twenty-fifth day of May, which was the Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, the said Master Jerome was brought unto an open audience before the whole council, to the great cathedral church of Constance, where, by the commissioners of the council, in the behalf of his aforesaid enemies, there were laid against him of new, a hundred and seven articles, to the intent that he should not escape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him; insomuch as the judges had before declared, that, by the saying of the witnesses, it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning until noon, he answered unto more than forty articles, most subtilly 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 unto death, because that the noon-time drew so fast on, that he could not answer unto the articles. Wherefore, for lack of time sufficient to answer unto the residue of the articles, there was another time appointed, which was the third day after the aforesaid Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, at which time again, early in the morning, he was brought unto the said cathedral church, to answer unto all the residue of the articles.

In all which articles, as well those which he had answered unto the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly, refelling his adversaries (who had no cause, but only of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselves astonished at his oration and refutation of their testimonies brought 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 withal more words according to their catholic faith. Then another rising up, "Jerome," said he, "there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou shouldest 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 being spoken, one of the Dominic friars fumishly took on, and said, "What! doest thou deny that which no man doubteth of?" Whose peevish sauciness Jerome, with these words, did well repress, "Hold thy peace," said he, "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," said he, "by my conscience, that to be true, that thou dost deny." To whom said Jerome again, "Thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive." Another there was, a spiteful and a bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name than dog, or ass. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against them, neither in this matter nor in any other, they were all driven to keep silence.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who, coming in presence, gave testimony unto the articles before produced; by reason whereof the innocent cause of

Jerome was oppressed, and began in the council to be concluded. Then Jerome, rising up, began to speak, "Forasmuch," saith he, "as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you should also now hear me to 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, from morning to noon continuing, treated of divers and sundry matters, with great learning and eloquence: who, first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to give him spirit, ability, and utterance, which might most tend to the profit and salvation of his own soul. And so entering into his oration:

"I know," saith he, "reverend lords, that there have been many excellent men, which have suffered much otherwise than they have deserved, being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong judgments." And so beginning with Socrates, he declared how he was unjustly condemned of his countrymen, neither would he escape when he might; taking from us the fear of two things, which seem most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment and death. Then he inferred the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the torments of Zeno. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of Rupilius, reciting also the unworthy death of Boetius, and of others whom Boetius himself doth write of.

From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrews, and first began with Moses, the deliverer of the people, and the lawgiver, how he was oftentimes slandered of his people, as being a seducer and contemner of the people. Joseph also, saith he, for envy was sold of his brethren, and for false suspicion of whoredom was cast into bonds. Besides these, he reciteth Isaiah, Daniel, and almost all the prophets, who, as contemnors of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the judgment of Susanna, and of divers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjustly cast away with wrongful sentence. At the length he came to John Baptist, and so in long process he descended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and John Baptist were condemned. Moreover, how Stephen was slain by the college of the priests, and how all the apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and contemnors of the gods, and evil-doers. "It is unjust," saith he, "unjustly to be condemned one priest of another," and yet he proved that the same hath so happened most unjustly in that council of priests. These things did he discourse at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

And forasmuch as the whole sum of the cause did rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envy. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expressly he opened unto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost persuaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was given to their testimonies, save only for the cause and quarrel wherein they stood touching the pope's doctrine. All men's minds here were moved and bending to mercy towards him; for he told them how that he, of his own accord, came up to the council, and, to purge himself, he did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of virtue and godliness. "This was," saith he, "the old manner of ancient and learned men and most holy elders, that in matters of faith they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to find out the verity.

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So did Augustine and Jerome dissent, not only being diverse, but also contrary one from the other, and yet without all suspicion of heresy."

And this while the pope's holy council did wait still, when he would begin to excuse himself and to retract those things which were objected against him, and to crave pardon of the council. But he persisting still in his constant oration, did acknowledge no error, nor gave any signification of retractation.

At last, entering into the praise and commendation of Master John Huss, he affirmed, that he was a good, just, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did suffer. Whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a just and true preacher of the holy gospel; and whatsoever things Master John Huss and Wickliff had holden or written specially against the abuse and pomp of the clergy, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and, blessed men, and that in all points of the catholic faith he doth believe as the holy catholic church doth hold or believe. And finally he did conclude, that all such articles as John Wickliff and John Huss had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp, and disorder of the prelates, he would firmly and stedfastly, without recantation, hold and defend even unto the death. And last of all he added, that all the sins that ever he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that only sin, which he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when in his recantation he had unjustly spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine, and specially in consenting unto his wicked condemnation, concluding that he did utterly revoke and deny that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakness of heart and fear of death; and moreover, that whatsoever thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lied upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that ever he did it.

And at the hearing hereof the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorry; for they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blind superstition would have suffered it. But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire rather death than life. And persisting in the praise of John Huss, he added, moreover, that he never maintained any doctrine against the state of the church, but only spake against the abuses of the clergy, against the pride, pomp, and excess of the prelates. Forasmuch as the patrimonies of the churches were first given for the poor, then for hospitality, and thirdly, to the reparations of the churches; it was a grief to that good man, said he, to see the same mispent and cast away upon harlots, great feastings, and keeping of horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things, unseeming Christian religion. And herein he showed himself marvellous eloquent; yea, never more.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by divers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him which escaped unblanched, 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; neither yet was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults.

And this was marvellous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait 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 Wickliff and John Huss, they which sat in the council whispered together, saying, "By these his words it appeareth that he is at a point 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 unto 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 Wickliff and Master John Huss, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant the same; but he marvellous stoutly, without all fear, spake against them, and amongst other things said unto 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 doth hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, 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 a certain bishop, named the bishop of Londe, made a certain sermon exhortative against Master Jerome, persuading to his condemnation.

After the bishop had ended the said sermon, Master Jerome said again unto them, "You shall 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; wherefore I have but only touched here the superficial matter of his talk, partly and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when by no means he might be persuaded to recant the premises, immediately, even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him.

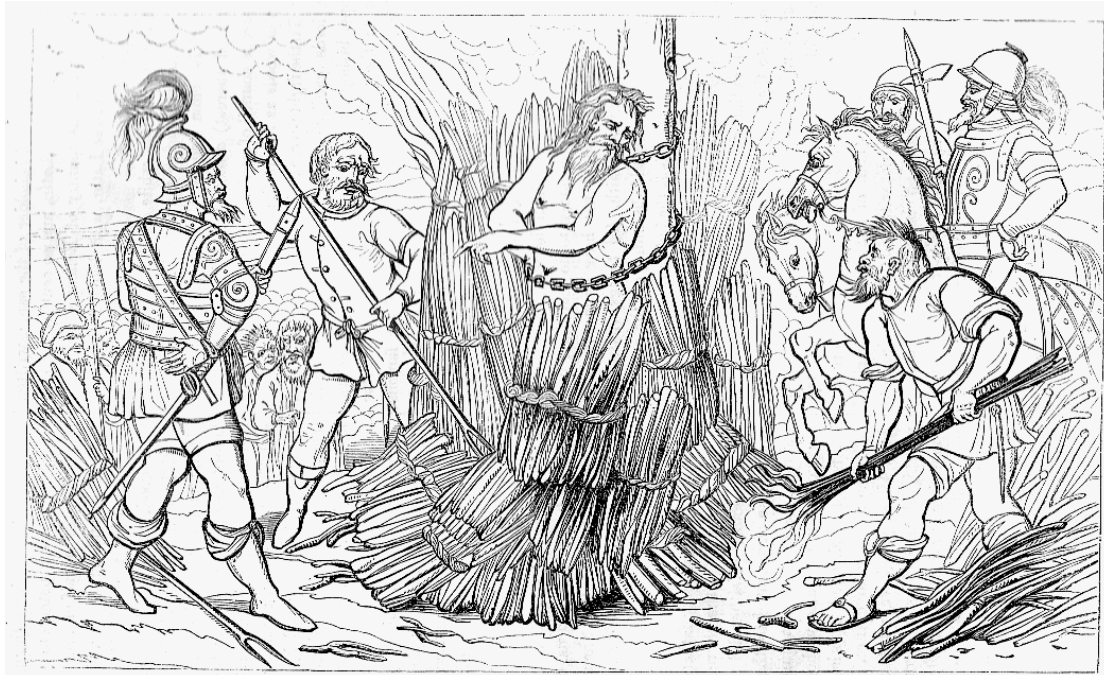
"In the name of God. Amen. Christ our God, and our Saviour, being the true vine, whose Father is the husbandman, taught his disciples, and all other faithful men, saying, If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry, &c. The doctrine and precepts of which most excellent doctor and master, this most sacred synod of Constance executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretics, being moved by this said sacred synod, through report, public fame, and open infamation, proceeding against Jerome of Prague, master of arts, layman. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said Master Jerome hath holden, maintained, and taught divers articles heretical and erroneous, lately reprov'd and condemned by the holy fathers, some being very blasphemous, other some offending godly ears, and many temerarious and seditious,

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which have been affirmed, maintained, preached, and taught by the men of most damnable memory, John Wickliff and John Huss, the which are also written in divers of their works and books. Which articles of doctrine and books of the said John Huss and Wickliff, together with their memory and the person of the said John Huss, were, by the said sacred synod, condemned of heresy. The which sentence of condemnation this Jerome afterward, during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred synod, and approved the true catholic and apostolic faith, thereunto consenting, accursing all heresy, especially that whereof he was infamed, and confessed himself to be infamed, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wickliff maintained and taught in their works, sermons, and books, for the which the said Wickliff and Huss, together with their doctrine and errors, were by the said sacred synod as heretical condemned. The condemnations of all which the premises he did openly profess and allow, and did swear that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith; and if that he should presume at any time to hold opinion or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession, written with his own hand, he delivered unto the holy council. Many days after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and lain hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the council. The which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said, and professed, before the whole synod, being publicly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said Wickliff and Huss, and that he had most shamefully lied in approving and allowing the said sentence, neither was he ashamed to confess that he had lied; yea, he did also revoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresy in the books and treatises of the said Wickliff and Huss. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently proved, that he did diligently study, read, and preach their books, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said Master Jerome did profess as touching the sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ, that he doth hold and believe as the church doth hold and believe, saying also, that he doth give more credit unto St. Augustine, and the other doctors of the church, than unto Wickliff and Huss. It appeareth, moreover, by the premises, that the said Jerome is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wickliff and Huss, and their errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them. 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 a heretic, and drowned in all kind of heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leaving him unto the arbitrement 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."

The which sentence so given before his face, and ended, a great and long mitre of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red devils, the 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." Afterward 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 a loud voice, lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he began to sing, *Credo in unum Deum*, as it is accustomed to be sung in the church. Afterward as he passed along, he did sing some canticles of the church; the which being ended, in the entering out of the gate of the city, as men go unto Gothlehem, he did sing this hymn, *Felix namque*. And that response being ended, after he came to the place of execution, where Master John Huss before had suffered death innocently, kneeling down before an image which was like unto the picture of Master John Huss, which was there prepared to burn Master Jerome, he made a certain devout prayer.



Execution of Jerome of Prague

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 said image which was made fast unto the earth; and so standing upon the ground, when 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, *Credo in unum Deum*, unto the end. That being ended, he said unto the people in the German tongue, in effect as followeth: "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 that 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. The which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice, *In manus tuas*,

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Domine, commendo spiritum meum. When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burn, he said in the vulgar 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 in a manner his whole body with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared, through the great burning, upon his body certain great bladders as big as an egg, yet he continually very strongly and stoutly moved, and shook his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, whilst one might easily have gone from St. Clement's over the bridge unto our Lady church; he was of such a stout and strong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by 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. The which ashes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a cart, and cast them into the river Rhine, which ran hard by the city.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which testified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of Master Jerome, and sent the same unto us to Prague in writing, doth thus conclude: "All these things," saith 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 unto Constance of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound unto 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 note of ignorance and rudeness of style, to bear witness unto 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."

Thus end the tragical histories of Master John Huss and Master Jerome of Prague, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a present witness and beholder of the same, written and compiled first in Latin, and so sent by the said Bohemian unto his country of Bohemia, and again translated out of the Latin, with like fidelity, unto our English tongue.

108. The Letter of the Lords of Bohemia to the Council

In the mean time, while Master Jerome was in this trouble, and before the council, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and of Moravia (but not a little aggrieved thereat) directed their letters unto this barbarous council of popish murderers, in tenor and form of words as followeth:

"To the right reverend fathers and lords in Christ, the lords cardinals, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, ambassadors, doctors, and masters, and to the whole council of Constance, we, the nobles, lords, knights, and esquires, of the famous marquisdom of Moravia, wish the desire of all goodness, and the observation of the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Forasmuch as every man, both by the law of nature, and also by God's law, is commanded to do that unto another man which he would have done unto himself, and is forbidden to do that thing unto another which he would not have done unto himself; as our Saviour saith, All things whatsoever you will that men should do unto you, the same do you unto them, for this is the law and the prophets; yea, the law is fulfilled in this one point, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: We, therefore, God being our author, having respect, as much as in us lieth, unto the said law of God, and the love of our neighbour, before did send our letters unto Constance for our dearly beloved friend of good memory, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, and preacher of the gospel; whom of late, in the council of Constance, we know not with what spirit being led, you have condemned as an obstinate heretic; neither having confessed any thing, neither being lawfully convict as were expedient; having no errors or heresies declared or laid against him, but only at the sinister, false, and importune accusations, suggestions, and instigations of his mortal enemies, and the traitors of our kingdom and marquisdom of Moravia. And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have slain him with most shameful and cruel death, to the perpetual shame and infamy of our most Christian kingdom of Bohemia, and the famous marquisdom of Moravia, as we have written unto Constance, unto the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Sigismund, king of Romans and of Hungary, the heir and successor of our kingdom, the which was also read and published in your congregations, which we will here also have enrolled, and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.

"Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our letters patent to your reverences, now present, in the behalf of Master John Huss, openly professing and protesting, both with heart and mouth, that he, the said Master John Huss, was a just, good, and catholic man, and a long season worthily commended and allowed in our kingdom for his life and conversation. He also preached and taught us and our subjects the law of the gospel, and of the holy prophets, and the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the church, and left many monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies, continually admonishing both us and all faithful Christians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men, as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travail, unto quietness and concord: so that, using all the diligence that we might, we never heard, or could understand, that Master John Huss had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or heresies in his sermons, or that by any

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manner of means he had offended us, or our subjects, either by word or deed; but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to observe and keep the law of the gospel, and the institutions of the holy fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the church, and to the edifying of men's souls. Neither did these premises, which you had so perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our kingdom and marquisdom, suffice and content you; but that also without all mercy and pity you have apprehended, imprisoned, and condemned, and even now, peradventure, like as you did Master John Huss, you have most cruelly murdered the worshipful man, Master Jerome of Prague, a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seven liberal arts, and a famous philosopher, not being seen, heard, examined, neither convicted, but only at the sinister and false accusations of his and our accusers and betrayers.

"Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and understanding, which we do not without great grief rehearse, as we may also evidently gather by your writings, how that certain detractors, odious both to God and men, privy enviers and betrayers, have wickedly and grievously, albeit falsely and traitorously, accused us, our kingdom and marquisdom aforesaid, before you in your council, that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, divers errors are sprung up, which have grievously and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithful men; insomuch that without a speedy stop or stay of correction, the said kingdom and marquisdom, together with the faithful Christians therein, should incur an irreparable loss and ruin of their souls.

"These cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us, and to our said kingdom and marquisdom, albeit most falsely and slanderously, how may we suffer? Forasmuch as, through the grace of God, (when in a manner all other kingdoms of the world have oftentimes wavered, making schisms and anti-popes,) our most gracious kingdom of Bohemia, and most noble marquisdom of Moravia, since the time they did receive the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a most perfect quadrant, have always without reproof stuck upon the Church of Rome, and have sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges, and great travail, with what worship and due reverence they have revered the holy mother the church and her pastors, by their princes and faithful subjects, it is more manifest than the day-light unto the whole world; and yourselves, if you will confess the truth, can witness the same also.

"Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the apostle, may procure honest and good things, not only before God, but before men also, and lest by neglecting the famous renown of the kingdom and marquisdom, we be found cruel toward our neighbours; having a stedfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certain true faith in Christ Jesus our Lord, by the tenor of these we signify and declare unto your fatherhoods, and to all faithful Christians, openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatsoever man, of what estate, pre-eminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion soever he be, which hath said or affirmed, either doth say or affirm, that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, heresies have sprung up which have infected us and other faithful Christians, as is aforesaid, the only person of our most noble prince and lord, Sigismund, king of Romans and of Hungary, &c., our lord and heir successor, being set apart, whom we trust and believe not to be guilty in the premises, all and every such man, as is aforesaid, doth lie falsely upon his head, as a wicked and naughty traitor and betrayer of the said kingdom and marquisdom, and most traitorous unto us, and most pernicious heretic,

the son of all malice and wickedness, yea, and of the devil himself, who is a liar and the father of all lies.

"Notwithstanding, we for this present, committing the aforesaid injuries unto God, unto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquity, will prosecute them more amply before him whom God shall appoint in the apostolic see, to govern his holy church, as the only and undoubted pastor. Unto whom, God willing, we, exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithful children, in those things which are lawful, honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God, will make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be provided for us, our said kingdom and marquisdom, upon the premises, according to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the institutions of the holy fathers. The premises notwithstanding, we setting apart all fear and men's ordinances provided to the contrary, will maintain and defend the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the devout, humble, and constant preachers thereof, even to the shedding of our blood.

"Dated at Sternberg, in the year of our Lord 1415, upon St. Wenceslaus' day, martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Round about the said letters there were fifty-four seals hanging, and their names subscribed, whose seals they were. The names of which noblemen I thought it here good to annex withal.

1. Alssokabat de Wiscowitz.
2. Vlricus de Lhota.
3. Ioan. de Ksimicz.
4. Ioslko de Sczitoiwcz.
5. Pærdus Zwiranowicz.
6. Ioan. de Ziwla.
7. Ioan. de Reychenberg.
8. Wildo Skitzyny.
9. Diliko de Biesa.
10. Kos de Doloylatz.
11. Ioan. de Simusin.
12. Dobessimus de Tissa.
13. Drazko de Aradeck.
14. Steph. de Hmdorkat.
15. Ioan. Dern. de Gaboneex.
16. Barso dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.
17. Ioan. Hmrsdorf.
18. Psateska de Wilklek.
19. Petrus Mog de Sczitolowicy.
20. N. Studenica.
21. N. Brischell.
22. N. de Cromassona.
23. Arannisick Donant de Polonia.
24. Ioan. Donant de Polonia.
25. Ioan. de Cziczow.
26. Wenceslaus de N.
27. N. de N.
28. N. N.
29. Iosseck de N.
30. Henricus de N.

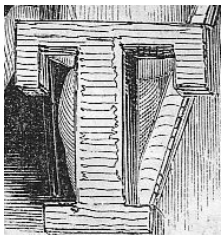
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31. Waczlals de kuck. This nobleman did accompany John Huss, and with certain horsemen conducted him to Constance.
32. Henr. de Zrenowicz.
33. Baczko de Convald.
34. Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltoroldeck.
35. Czenko de Mossnow.
36. N.
37. Zibilutz de Clezam.
38. Ioan. de Paterswald.
39. Parsifal de Namyescz.
40. Zodoni de Zwietzick.
41. Raczeck Zawskalp.
42. Ion de Tossawicz.
43. Diwa de Spissnia.
44. Steff ko de Draczdw.
45. Issko de Draczdw.
46. Odich. de Hlud.
47. Wosfart de Paulowicz.
48. Pirebbor de Tyrezewicz.
49. Rynard de Tyrezewicz.
50. Bohunko de Wranicz.
51. Vlricus de Racdraw.
52. Dessaw de Nali.
53. Bonesb de Frabretisdow.
54. Eybl de Roissowan.

109. John Claydon and Others



The Trial of John Claydon



he order of time calleth me back to matters here of our own country, which passed in the mean time with us in England; which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterward return to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beside pertaining to the latter end of the council of Constance, and choosing of Pope Martin, as the order of years and time shall require.

Ye heard before how after the death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Henry Chichesley, A. D. 1414, and sat twenty-five years. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were burned, divers were driven to exile: whereof partly now to treat as we find them in registers and histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claydon, currier, of London, and Richard Turning, whom Robert Fabian doth falsely affirm to be burned in the year wherein Sir Roger Acton and Master Brown suffered; who indeed suffered not before the second year of Henry Chichesley being archbishop of Canterbury, which was A. D. 1413. The history of which John Claydon in the registers is thus declared:

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THE seventeenth of August, 1415, did personally appear John Claydon, currier, of London, arrested by the mayor of the said city, for the suspicion of heresy, before Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's church; which John (it being objected to him by the archbishop, that in the city of London and other places of the province of Canterbury he was suspected by divers godly and learned men for heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of the church) did openly confess and denied not, but that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected, both about the city of London, and also in the province of Canterbury, and especially of the common sort, for Lollardy and heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the Church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid.

Insomuch that, in the time of Master Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, deceased, he was, for the space of two years, committed to the prison of Conway for the aforesaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fleet for three years. Out of which prison he (in the reign of King Henry the Fourth) was brought before the Lord John Scarle, then chancellor to the king, and there did abjure all heresy and error. And the said John Claydon being asked of the said archbishop whether he did abjure the heresy of which he was suspected before any other, did confess, that in a convocation at London, in Paul's church, before Thomas Arundel, late archbishop, deceased, he did abjure all such doctrine which they called heresy and error, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church; and that he had not only left such articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour unto them.

And, moreover, the said John was asked by the said archbishop, whether he ever had in his house since his abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in English. Whereunto he confessed that he would not deny, but that he had in his house and in his keeping many English books; for he was arrested by the mayor of the city of London for such books as he had, which books (as he thought) were in the mayor's keeping. Upon the which the mayor did openly confess, that he had such books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst and the most perverse that ever he did read or see; and one book that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand; and among the other books found with the said John Claydon, the mayor gave up the said book before the archbishop. Whereupon the said John Claydon, being asked of the archbishop if he knew that book, did openly confess that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written of his own costs and charges, for he spent much money thereupon since his abjuration. Then was he asked who wrote it. He did answer, "One called John Grime."

And further, being required what the said John Grime was, he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same book, he did confess that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one John Fullar. And being asked whether he thought the contents of that book to be catholic, profitable, good, and true? he answered, that many things which he had heard in the same book were both profitable, good, and healthful to his soul; and, as he said, he had great affection to the said book, for a sermon preached at Horsleydown, that was written in the said book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abjuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker of the city aforesaid, he did answer, yea, for the said Richard Baker did come often unto his house to have communication with him; and being asked whether he knew the said

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Richard to be suspected and defamed of heresy, he did answer again, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be a heretic.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said books to be delivered to Master Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, to William Lindewood, doctor of both laws, and other clerks, to be examined; and in the mean time, David Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthasar Mero, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined to Master John Escourt, general examiner of Canterbury. This done, the archbishop continued his session till Monday next in the same place. Which Monday being come, which was the twentieth of the said month, the said Master Escourt openly and publicly exhibited the witnesses, being openly read before the archbishop, and other bishops; which being read, then after that were read divers tractations, found in the house of the said John Claydon; out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, and especially out of the book aforesaid, which book the said John Claydon confessed by his own costs to be written and bound, which book was entitled, The Lantern of Light. In the which, and in the other examined, were these articles underwritten contained.

"1. Upon the text of the gospel, how the enemy did sow the tares, there is said thus, That wicked antichrist the pope, hath sowed among the laws of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, strength, nor value.

"2. That the archbishops and bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seats of the beast antichrist, when he sitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of errors and heresies.

"3. That the bishop's licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast, i. e. antichrist, and therefore simple and faithful priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that antichrist, and without licence.

"4. That the court of Rome is the chief head of antichrist, and the bishops be the body; and the new sects, that is, the monks, canons, and friars, brought in not by Christ, but damnably by the pope, be the venomous and pestiferous tail of antichrist.

"5. That no reprobate is a member of the church, but only such as be elected and predestinate to salvation; seeing the church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful souls, which do and will keep their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

"6. That Christ did never plant private religions in the church, but whilst he lived in this world he did root them out. By which it appeareth that private religions be unprofitable branches in the church, and to be rooted out.

"7. That the material churches should not be decked with gold, silver, and precious stones, sumptuously; but the followers of the humility of Jesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly, in mean and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the churches be now-a-days.

"8. That there be two chief causes of the persecution of the Christians; one is, the priests' unlawful keeping of temporal and superfluous goods; the other is, the insatiable begging of the friars, with their high buildings.

"9. That alms is not given virtuously nor lawfully, except it be given with these four conditions: first, Unless it be given to the honour of God; secondly, Unless it be given of goods justly gotten; thirdly, Unless it be given to such a person as the

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giver thereof knoweth to be in charity; and fourthly, Unless it be given to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

"10. That the often singing in the church is not founded in the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for priests to occupy themselves with singing in the church, but with the study of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

"11. That Judas did receive the body of Christ in bread and his blood in wine. In the which it doth plainly appear, that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before doth truly remain on the altar.

"12. That all ecclesiastical suffrages do profit all virtuous and godly persons indifferently.

"13. That the pope's and the bishops' indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

"14. That the laity is not bound to obey the prelates whatsoever they command, unless the prelates do watch to give God a just account of the souls of them.

"15. That images are not be sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kiss them, nor to give them any manner of reverence."

For the which articles, the archbishop, with other bishops and divers learned communing together, first condemned the books as heretical, and burned them in fire; and then, because they thought the said John Claydon to be forsworn and fallen into heresy, the archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said John personally appearing before him in judgment, (his confessions being read and deposed against him,) after this manner:

"In the name of God. Amen. We Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of heretical pravity and of relapse into the same, whereupon John Claydon, layman, of the province of Canterbury, was detected, accused, and denounced, and in the said our province of Canterbury publicly defamed, (as by public fame and common report notoriously to us hath been known,) first, sitting in judgment-seat and observing all things lawfully required in this behalf, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth: The name of Christ being invocated and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited, and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences, we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be, publicly and notoriously relapsed again into his former heresy, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being of us diligently searched, weighed, and pondered before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren, Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Stephen, bishop of St. David's, and of other doctors, as well of divinity as of both laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce, and declare the said John Claydon to be relapsed again into his heresy, which he before did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him by these presents."

Thus John Claydon, receiving his judgment and condemnation of the archbishop, was committed to the secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal magistrate had no such law sufficient for them to burn any such man for religion condemned of the prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But to be short, John Claydon, notwithstanding, by the temporal magistrates, not long after was had to Smithfield, where meekly he was made a burnt offering unto the Lord, A. D. 1415.

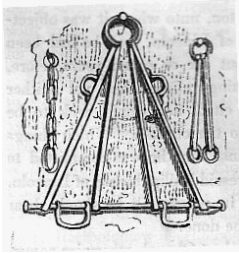
Robert Fabian, and other chronologers which follow him, add also that Richard Turming, baker, of whom mention is made before in the examination of John Claydon, was likewise the same time burnt with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the register I find no sentence of condemnation given against the said Turming, neither yet in the story of St. Alban's is there any such mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of John Claydon aforesaid; wherefore the judgment hereof I leave free to the reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said Turming, this is certain, that he was accused to the bishops, and no doubt was in their hands and bonds. What afterward was done with him, I refer it unto the authors.

The next year, after the burning of these two aforesaid, and also of John Huss, being burnt at Constance, which was A. D. 1416, the prelates of England, seeing the daily increase of the gospel, and fearing the ruin of their papal kingdom, were busily occupied with all their counsel and diligence to maintain the same: wherefore, to make their state and kingdom sure, by statutes, laws, constitutions, and terror of punishment, as Thomas Arundel and other prelates had done before, so the forenamed Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, in his convocation holden at London, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough been made before) against the poor Lollards, the copy and tenor whereof he sendeth abroad to the bishop of London, and to other his suffragans, by them to be put in straight execution, containing in words as followeth:

"Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the chief seat, to our reverend brother in the Lord, Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of London, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately, in our last convocation in St. Paul's church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our province, we do remember to have made this order underwritten by your consents: 'Whereas among many other our cares this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those heretics, which like foxes lurk and hide themselves in the Lord's vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet, and from the feet of our fellow brethren, in this the said convocation of the prelates and clergy, we have ordained that our fellow brethren, our suffragans and archdeacons of our province of Canterbury, by themselves, their officials or commissaries, in their jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their country, twice every year at the least, do diligently inquire of such persons as are suspected of heresy; and that in every such their archdeaconries in every parish, wherein is reported any heretics to inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest men, and best reported of, to take their oath upon the holy evangelist, that if they shall know or understand, any frequenting either in privy conventicles, or else differing in life or manners from the common conversation of other catholic men, or else that hold any either heresies or errors, or else that have any suspected books in the English tongue, or that do receive any such persons suspected of heresies and errors into their houses, or that be favourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conversant with them, or else have any recourse unto them; they make certificates of

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those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspected, unto the said our suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, so soon, and with as much speed, as possibly they can; and that the said archdeacon, and every of their commissaries aforesaid, do declare the names of all such persons denounced, together with all the circumstances of them, the diocese, and places, and secretly under their seals do send over unto us the same; and that the same diocesans effectually direct forth lawful process against them, as the quality of the cause requireth, and that with all diligence they discern, define, and execute the same.



and if perhaps they leave not such persons convicted unto the secular court, yet, notwithstanding, let them commit them unto the perpetual or temporal prisons, as the quality of the cause shall require, until the next convocation of the prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury, there personally to remain; and that in the same prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth; and that of all and singular the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they have made, and what they have found, and how in the process they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convicted they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and especially of the abjurations, if in the mean time they shall chance to abjure any heresies; that then in the next convocation of the prelates and clergy under the form aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and apertly to be certified to us and our successors; and that they deliver effectually to the official of our court, the same process to remain with them, or else, in the register of our court of Canterbury; so that every one, to whom such things appertain for the further execution of the same process, may have recourse unto the same official with all effect.

"We therefore command that, as touching the constitution brought unto your city and diocesan, you cause the same in convenient place and time to be published, and that in all points you both observe the same yourselves, and cause it also of others to be diligently observed: commanding, furthermore, all and singular our fellow brethren and suffragans, that they in like wise cause the same to be published throughout all their cities and diocese, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others to do the same; and what thing soever you shall do in the premises, that you certify us betwixt this and the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula* next coming, that you duly certify us of these things, by your letters patent, containing the same effect, sealed with your seals. Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, A. D. 1416."

During the time of this convocation, in the year abovesaid, two priests were presented and brought before the bishops, noted and defamed for heretics, one named John Barton, unto whom it was objected by Philip, bishop of Lincoln, that he had been excommunicated about six or seven years before, upon articles concerning religion, and yet neither would appear being cited, nor would seek to be reconciled again unto the church. Which things being so proved against him, he was committed to the custody of the aforesaid Philip, bishop of Lincoln, and so to be holden in prison, till he should hear further what should be done.

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"The other was Robert Chapel, otherwise named Holbech, chaplain sometimes to the Lord Cobham; unto whom likewise it was objected, that he, being under the sentence of excommunication about three or four years, yet, notwithstanding, to the contempt of the keys, did continue saying mass, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; Chapel denying that he did know any such excommunication given out against him. Then was the copy of his excommunication first made by the bishop of Rochester, afterward denounced by the bishop of London, at Paul's cross, brought and read before him; and so that done that session brake up for that time, which was about the latter end of May, A. D. 1416.

The twelfth day of the month of July, next following, the said Chapel appeared again before the archbishop and the prelates. To whom when it is objected as before, how he had preached without the bishop's licence in divers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne; at length he, confessing and submitting himself, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted unto him, yet, at the last the bishop of Rochester, putting in his hands the decree of the canon law, and causing him to read the same, made him to abjure all his former articles and opinions, as heretical and schismatical, never to hold the same again, according to the contents of the aforesaid canon. Whereupon the said Robert, being absolved by the authority of the archbishop, (save only that he should not intermeddle with saying mass before he had been dispensed from the pope himself for irregularity,) was enjoined by the archbishop himself for his penance, standing at Paul's, to publish these articles following unto the people, instead of his confession given him to be read.

"1. I confess that bishops, priests, and other ecclesiastical persons, having no other profession to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retain lands and possessions temporal, to dispense and dispose the same, and the rents thereof, to the behoof of themselves, or of their church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

"2. Item, I confess that it were very unlawful, yea, rather unjust, that temporal men upon any occasion, whatsoever it be, should take away temporal lands and possessions from the church, either universal or particular, to which they are given, the consideration of the abuse of mortal prelates, priests, or other ministers in the church, conversant, (which are mixed together good with bad,) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"3. Item, I confess that peregrinations to the relics of saints and to holy places are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any catholic, but are available to remission of sins, and approved of holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

"4. Item, I confess that to worship the images of Christ or of any other saints, being set up in the church, or any other place, is not forbidden, neither is any cause inductive of idolatry, being so used as the holy fathers do will them to be worshipped; but rather such images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they do put us in remembrance of the merits of those saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth move and stir the people to prayers and devotion.

"5. Item, I confess that auricular confession used in the church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done of such a priest, as is ordained by the church to hear the confession of the sinner, and to enjoin him penance for the same; without which confession (if it may he had) there is no remission of sins to him that is in sin mortal.

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"6. Item, I confess and firmly do hold, that although the priest be in mortal sin, yet may he make the body of Christ, and minister other sacraments and sacramentals; which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithful, whosoever receive them in faith and devotion of the church.

"7. Item, I confess that bishops in their own dioceses may forbid, decree, or ordain, upon reasonable causes, that priests should not preach, without their special licence, the word of God, and that those that do against the same should suffer the ecclesiastical censures.

"8. Item, I confess that private religions, as well of monks, canons, and other, as also of the Begging Friars, being allowed by the Church of Rome, are profitable to the universal church, and in no means contrary to God's law, but rather founded and authorized thereon.

"9. Item, I promise and swear upon these holy evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, nor by any means teach any thing contrary unto the premises either openly or privately."

After the setting out of the constitution aforesaid in the days of the above-named Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, great inquisition hereupon followed in England, and many good men, whose hearts began to be won to the gospel, were brought to much vexation and caused outwardly to abjure.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men, yet the catholic antichrist would needs possess their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abjure, besides the other aforesaid, was also John Taylor, of the parish of St. Michael's at Querne; William James, master of arts and physician, who had long remained in prison, and at length, after abjuration, was licensed with his keeper to practise his physic.

Also John Dwarf, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the duke of Bedford to the aforesaid Chichesley, and other bishops, to be examined before them in the convocation; there he at length, revolting from his doctrine recanted, and did penance.

In like manner John Jourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the registers for his learning, accused by the priests of Lincoln for a certain book, which he, contrary to the former decree of the bishops, did conceal and did not exhibit unto them, was therefore enforced to abjure. After whom was brought likewise before the bishops one Katharine Dertford, a spinster, who being accused and examined upon these three articles, concerning the sacrament of the pope's altar, adoration of images, and of pilgrimage, answered, that she was not able, being unlearned, to answer to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but only her creed and ten commandments; and so was she committed to the vicar-general of the bishop of Winchester, (for that she was of the same diocese,) to be kept and further to be examined of the same.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said archbishop and his fellow bishops, by the lieutenant of the Tower, the parson of Heggely in Lincolnshire, named Master Robert, who being long kept in the Tower, at length by the king's writ was brought and examined the same time upon the like articles, to wit, touching the sacrament of their altar, peregrination, adoration of images, and whether it was lawful for spiritual men to enjoy temporal lordships, &c. To the which articles he answered (saith the register) doubly and mockingly, save only in the sacrament he seemed

something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore being committed to the custody and examination of Richard, bishop of Lincoln, in the end he was also induced to submit himself.

The same likewise did W. Henry of Tenterden, being suspected and arrested for company-keeping with them whom the bishops called Lollards, and for having suspected books.

Besides these, divers other there were also which in the same convocation were convented and revoked their opinions, as J. Galle, a priest of London, for having a book in English, entitled, A book of the New Law. Item, Richard Monk, vicar of Chesham in Lincolnshire, who submitted himself likewise. In this race and number followed, moreover, Bartholomew Cornmonger, Nicholas Hoper, servant to the Lord Cobham, Thomas Granter, with other more, mentioned in the aforesaid register.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for their faith, was one Ralph Mungin, priest, who for the same doctrine was arrested and sent by the lord chancellor of England to the aforesaid archbishop, and by him committed to David Price, vicar-general to the bishop of London: where after he had endured four months in prison, he was by the said David presented to the convocation, against whom divers articles were objected.

But for the better explaining of the matter, first here is to be noted, that touching the time of this convocation provincial, Pope Martin had sent down to the clergy of England for a subsidy to be gathered of the church, to maintain the pope's war against the Lollards (so the papists did term them) of Bohemia. Also another subsidy was demanded to persecute one Peter Clerke, master of arts of Oxford, who, flying out of England, was at the council of Basil, disputing on the Bohemians' side. And thirdly, another subsidy was also required to persecute William Russel, warden of the Grey Friars in London, who the same time was fled from England to Rome, to maintain his opinion before the pope, and there escaped out of prison, &c., of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall treat. In the mean time, mark here the pretty shifts of the pope to hook in the English money, by all manner of pretences possible.

Thus Ralph Mungin, the aforesaid examinee, appearing before the bishops in the convocation, it was articulated against him, first, that he should affirm and hold, that it was not lawful for any Christian to fight and make war against the heretics of Bohemia.

Item, It was to him objected, that he did hold and say, that it was not lawful for any man to have propriety of goods, but the same to be common; which he expressly denied that ever he so said or affirmed. Whereby we have to observe, how the crafty malice of these adversaries useth falsely to collect and surmise of men, what they never spake, whereby to oppress them wrongfully whom by plain truth they cannot expugn.

Moreover, they objected against him, that he should keep company with Master Clerke aforesaid, and also that he dispersed in the city of London certain books of John Wickliff and of Peter Clerke, namely, the book Trialogus, and the Gospels of John Wickliff, &c. He was charged, moreover, to have spoken against the pope's indulgences, affirming that the pope had no more power to give indulgences than he had.

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Upon these and other such articles objected, the said Mungin, being asked if he would revoke, answered, that it seemed to him not just or meet so to do, which did not know himself guilty of any heresy. Thus he, being respited for the time, was committed to prison till the next sitting; who then being called divers and sundry times afterward before the bishops, after long inquisition and strait examination made, also depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, he notwithstanding still denied, as before, to recant. Wherefore the aforesaid Henry the archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitive, condemned him to perpetual prison.

After whose condemnation, the Sunday next following the recantation of Thomas Granter, and of Richard Monk, priests above mentioned, were openly read at Paul's cross; the bishop of Rochester the same time preached at the said cross. The tenor of whose recantations, which his articles in the same expressed, hereunder followeth.

"In the name of God. Before you my lord of Canterbury, and all you my lords here being present, and afore you all here gathered at this time, I Thomas Granter priest unworthy, dwelling in the cite of London, feeling and understanding that afore this time I affirmed open errors and heresies saying, beleaving, and affirming within this cite, that he that Christian men callen pope, is not very pope, nor Gods vicar in earth, but I said he was antichrist. Also I said, beleaved, and affirmed, that after the sacramentall words said by a priest in the masse, there remaineth materiall bread and wine, and is not turned into Christ's body and His blood. Also I said and affirmed that it was not to doe in no wise, to goe on pilgrimage, but it was better I said to abide at home and beat the stooles with their heeles; for it was, I said, but tree and stone that they soughten. Also I said and affirmed that I held no Scripture catholike ner holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints, I held hem nought, and the miracles written of hem I held untrue. Because of which errors and heresies I was tofore Master Davie Price vicar generall of my lord of London, and since tofore you my lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your councill provinciall, and by you fully informed, which so said, mine affirming, beleaving and teaching beene open errors and heresies, and contrarious to the determination of the Church of Rome. Wherefore I willing to follow and sewe the doctrine of holy church, and depart fro all manner errors and heresie, and turne with good will and heart to the one head of the chirch, considering that holy chirch shutteth ner closeth not her bosome to him that will turne again, ne God will not the death of a sinner, but rather he ben turned and live; with a pure heart I confesse, detest, and despise my said errors and heresies, and the said opinions I confesse as heresies and errors to the faith of the Church of Rome, and to all universally holy chirch repugnant. And therefore, these said opinions in speciall, and all other errors and heresies, doctrines and opinions, ayen the faith of the church, and the determinations of the Chirch of Rome, I abjure and forswear here tofore you all, and swear by these holy Gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, ne preach error, errors, heresie, ne heresies, nor false doctrine against the faith of holy chirch, and determination of the Chirch of Rome, ner none such thing I shall obstinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching such manner things by me or any other person, openly or privily I shall defend, I shall never after this time be receitor, fautor, counsellor, or defendor of heretikes, or of any person suspect of heresie, ner I shall trow to him, ner wittingly fellaship with him, ner yeve him counsell, favour, yifts, ne comfort. And if I know any heretikes, or of heresie, or of such false opinions any person suspect, or any man or woman making or holding privy conventicles, or assemblies, or any divers or singular opinions from the

common doctrine of the Church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellors, or defenders; or any that have suspect bookes or quiers of such errours and heresies; I shall let you my lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your absence, or the diocesans and ordinaries of such men, have soon and ready knowing, so help me God and holydeme, and these holy evangelies by me bodily touched."

After this recantation at the cross, thus published, and his submission made, the said Granter then was, by the advice of the prelates, put to seven years prisonment, under the custody and charge of the bishop of London.

After this followed in like manner the recantation of Richard Monk. Also of Edmund Frith, which was before butler to Sir John Oldcastle.

Besides this above remembered, many and divers there be in the said register recorded, who likewise for their faith and religion were greatly vexed and troubled, especially in the diocese of Kent, in the towns of Romney, Tenterden, Woodchurch, Cranbrook, Staphelhurst, Beninden, Halden, Rolvenyden, and others, where whole households, both man and wife, were driven to forsake their houses and towns for danger of persecution; as sufficiently appeareth in the process of the Archbishop Chichesley, against the said persons, and in the certificate of Burbath, his official, wherein are named these persons following:

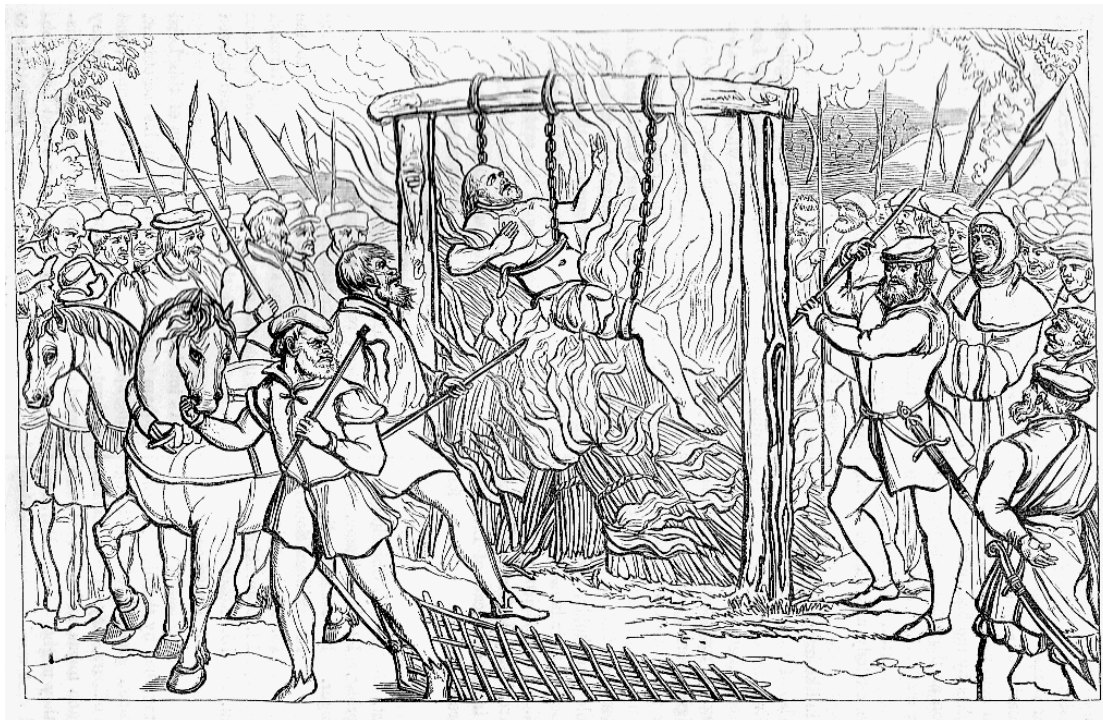
1. W. White, priest.
2. Th. Grenested, priest.
3. Bartho. Cornmonger.
4. John Wadnon.
5. Joan, his wife.
6. Tho. Everden.
7. William Everden.
8. Stephen Robin.
9. W. Chiveling.
10. John Tame.
11. John Fowlin.
12. William Somer.
13. Marian, his wife.
14. John Abraham.
15. Robert Munden.
16. Laurence Coke.

These being cited together by the bishop would not appear. Whereupon great inquisition being made for them by his officers, they were constrained to flee their houses and towns, and shift for themselves as covertly as they might. When Burbath, and other officers, had sent word to the archbishop that they could not be found, then he directed down order that citations should be set up for them on every church door, through all towns where they did inhabit, appointing them a day and term when to appear. But, notwithstanding, when they yet could not be taken, neither would appear, the archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, proceedeth to the sentence of excommunication against them. What afterward happened to them in the register doth not appear; but like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

Concerning Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, and of his first apprehension, with his whole story and life, sufficiently hath been expressed before; how he being committed to the Tower, and condemned falsely of heresy, escaped

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afterward out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the space of four years. In the which mean time, a great sum of money was proclaimed by the king to him that could take the said Sir John Oldcastle, either quick or dead. About the end of which four years being expired, the Lord Powis, whether for love or greediness of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of ways how to play the part of Judas, at length obtained his bloody purpose, and brought the Lord Cobham bound up to London; which was about the year of our Lord 1417, and about the month of December. At which time there was a parliament assembled in London, for the relief of money the same time to be sent to the king, whom the bishops had sent out (as ye heard before) to fight in France. The records of which parliament do thus say, That on Tuesday the fourteenth day of December, and the nine and twentieth day of the said parliament, Sir John Oldcastle, of Cowling in the county of Kent, knight, being outlawed, as is before minded, in the king's bench, and excommunicated before by the archbishop of Canterbury for heresy, was brought before the lords, and having heard his said convictions, answered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and process it was adjudged that he should be taken as a traitor to the king and the realm; that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence drawn through London unto the new gallows in St. Giles's without Temple Bar, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.



The Execution of John Oldcastle

As touching the pretended treason of this Lord Cobham falsely ascribed unto him in his indictment, rising upon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggravated by rigour of words rather than upon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath been discoursed before in my defence of the said Lord Cobham, against Alanus Copus. Where again it is to be noted, as I said before, and by this it appeareth that the Lord Cobham was never executed by force of the indictment or outlawry, because if he had, he should then have been brought to the bar in the king's

bench, and there the judges should have demanded of him, what he could have said, why he should not have died; and then not showing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the judges should have awarded and given the judgment of treason; which being not so, it is clear he was not executed upon the indictment. Besides, to prove that he was not executed upon the indictment and the outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it; because it was neither an execution of a traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the judge, as by due order of law was requisite.

Finally, as I said before, here I repeat again, that albeit the said Lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons assented to the act; yet all that bindeth not in such sort (as if indeed he were no traitor) that any man may not, by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly the very true and certain cause whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth, by all circumstance and firm arguments, to rise principally of his religion, which first brought him in hatred of the bishops; the bishops brought him in hatred of the king; the hatred of the king brought him to his death and martyrdom. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy servant of Christ, the Lord Cobham.

Moreover, in the records above mentioned it followeth, how in the said parliament, after the martyrdom of this valiant knight, motion then was made, that the Lord Powis might be thanked and rewarded, according to the proclamation made, for his great travail taken in the apprehension of Sir John Oldcastle, knight, heretic. Thus stand the words of the record; where two things are to be noted: First, how Sir John here in the record is called not traitor, but heretic only. Secondly, mark how this brother of Judas here craveth his reward for betraying the innocent blood. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee in this world, will have a heavy reward hereafter in the world to come, unless he repented, &c.

Furthermore, in the said parliament, Act 17, it was enacted, that the church and all estates should enjoy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealable, by the common law; meaning belike the excluding of the jurisdiction of the pope's foreign power, which had always by the common law been excluded out of this realm.

In the same parliament also a grievous complaint was made (by the bishops no doubt) against insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the Lollards, heretics and traitors, with a request that commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto answer was made, that the statutes therefore made should be executed, &c. Thus the clergy ceased not to roar after Christian blood, and whosoever was else in fault, still the clergy cried, Crucify Christ, and deliver us Barabbas; for then all horrible acts and mischiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poor Lollards.

110. The Bohemians Resist the Pope

And now, from our English matters, to return again to the story of the Bohemians, from whence we have a little digressed. When the news of the barbarous cruelty exercised at Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, were noised in Bohemia, the nobles and gentlemen of Moravia and Bohemia, such as favoured the cause of John Huss, gathering themselves together in the zeal of Christ, first sent their letter unto the council, expostulating with them for the injury done to those godly men, as is before expressed: for the which letter they were all cited up to the council. Unto this letter Sigismund, the emperor, maketh answer again in the name of the whole council; first, excusing himself of John Huss's death, which he said was against his safe-conduct, and against his will; insomuch that he rose in anger from the council, and departed out of Constance, as is before remembered. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conform themselves peaceably unto the order of the catholic Church of Rome, &c.

Also the council, hearing or fearing some stir to rise among the Bohemians, did make laws and articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of twenty-four.

"First, That the king of Bohemia shall be sworn to give obedience and to defend the liberties of the Church of Rome.

"That all masters, doctors; and priests shall be sworn to abjure the doctrine of Wickliff and Huss, in that council condemned.

"That all they which, being cited, would not appear, should also be sworn to abjure; and they, which would not appear, contemning the censure of the keys, should have process against them, and be punished.

"That all such laymen as had defended the causes of John Wickliff and John Huss, should swear to defend them no more, and to approve the doings of that council, and the condemnation of John Huss.

"That all such secular men as had spoiled the clergy should be sworn to restitution.

"That priests, being expelled from their benefices, should be restored again.

"That all profaners of churches should be punished after the canonical sanctions.

"That such as had been promoters in the council against John Huss, should be permitted safely to return into Bohemia again, and to enjoy their benefices.

"That the relics and treasure, taken out of the church of Prague, should be restored fully again.

"That the university of Prague should be restored again and reformed, and that they which had been the disturbers thereof should be really punished.

"That the principal heretics and doctors of that sect should be sent up to the see apostolic, namely, Johannes Jessenetz, Jacobellus de Misna, Simon de Tysna,

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Simon de Rochinzano, Christians de Brachatitz, Johannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de Loben, the provost of Allhallows, Zaislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

"That all secular men, which communicated under both kinds, should abjure that heresy, and swear to stop the same hereafter.

"That they which were ordained priests by the suffragan of the archbishop of Prague, taken by the Lord Zencho, should not be dispensed with, but sent up to the see apostolic.

"That the treatises of John Wickliff, translated into the Bohemian tongue by John Huss and Jacobellus, should be brought to the ordinary. "That the treatises of John Huss, condemned in the council, should also be brought to the ordinary.

"That all the tractations of Jacobellus, wherein he calleth the pope antichrist, should likewise be brought and burned.

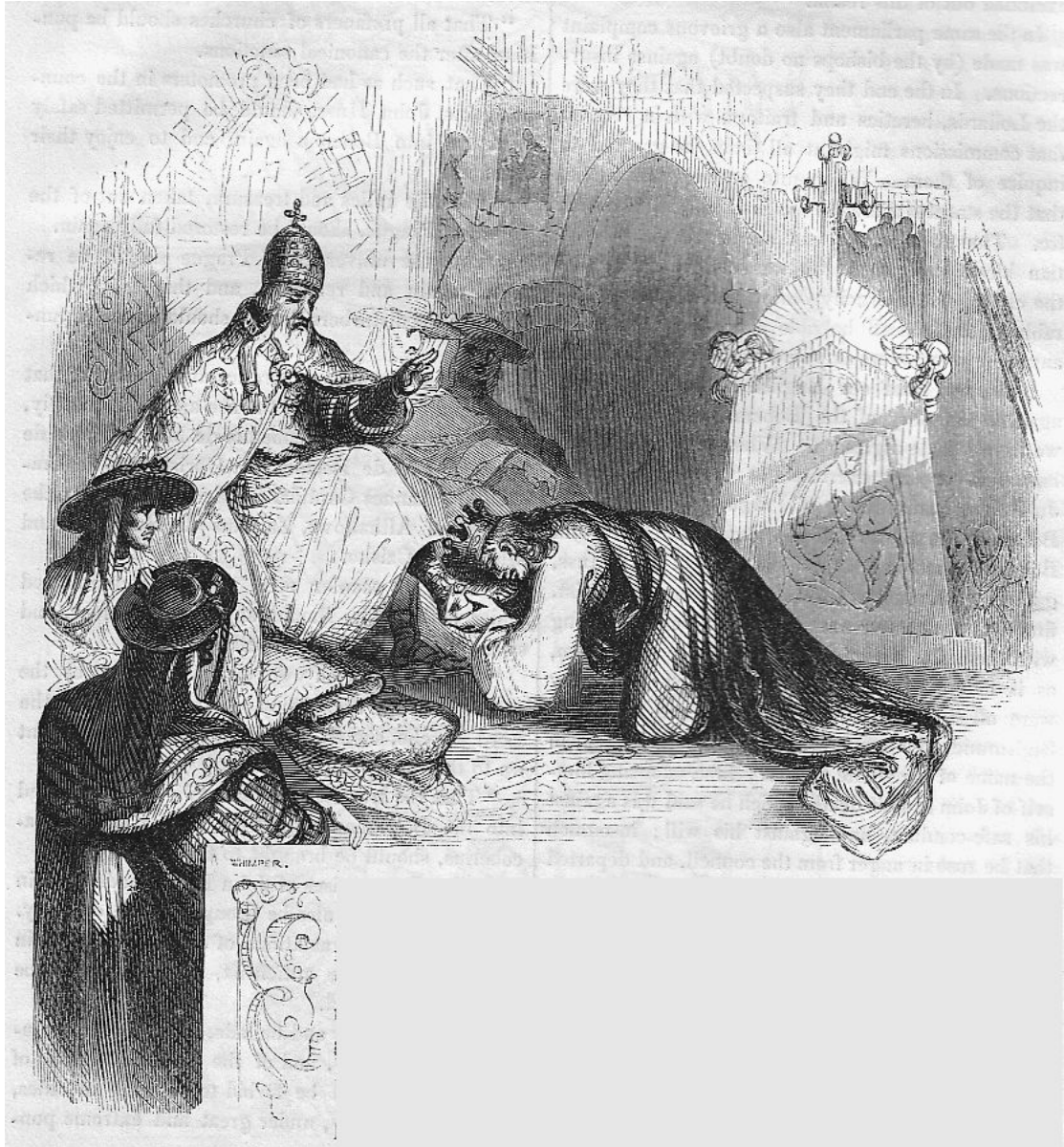
"That all songs and ballads, made to the prejudice of the council, and of the catholic persons of both states, should be forbid to be sung in cities, towns, and villages, under great and extreme punishment.

"That none should preach the word without the licence of the ordinary, or of the parson of that place.

"That all and singular, either spiritual or secular, that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintain the opinions and articles of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in this council condemned, and convicted of the same, shall be holden for heretics, and falling in relapse shall be burned," &c.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding these cruel articles, contemning the vain devices of these prelates and fathers of the council, ceased not to proceed in their league and purpose begun, joining themselves more strongly together.

In this mean time it happened, that during this council of Constance, after the deposing of Pope John, and spoiling of his goods, which came to seventy-five thousand pounds of gold and silver, as is reported in the story of St. Alban's, Pope Martin, upon the day of St. Martin, was elected. Concerning whose election great preparation was made before of the council, so that beside the cardinals, five other bishops of every nation should enter into the conclave, who there together should be kept with thin diet, till they had founded a pope. At last, when they were together, they agreed upon this man, and not tarrying for opening the door, like mad-men for haste, they burst open a hole in the wall, crying out, We have a Martin pope. The emperor hearing thereof, with the like haste came apace, and falling down kissed the new pope's feet. Then went they all to the church together, and sang *Te Deum*.



The Emperor Kissing Pope Martin's feet

The next day following, this Martin was made priest, (which before was but a cardinal deacon,) and the next day after was consecrated bishop, and sang his first mass, whereat was present one hundred and forty mitred bishops. After this, the next morrow the new holy pope ordained a general procession, where a certain clerk was appointed to stand with flax and fire; who setting this flax on fire, thus said, "Behold, holy father, thus fadeth the transitory glory of this world." Which done, the same day the holy father was brought up unto a high scaffold, (saith the story,) I will not say to a high mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the world, &c., there to be crowned for a triple king. This done, the same day, after dinner, the new-crowned pope was with great triumph brought through the midst of the city of Constance, where all the bishops and abbots followed with their mitres. The pope's horse was all trapped with red scarlet down to the ground. The cardinals' horses were all in white silk; the emperor on the right side, and prince elector on the left, (playing both the pope's footmen,) went on foot, leading the pope's horse by the bridle.

As this pageant thus with the great giant proceeded, and came to the market-place, there the Jews (according to the manner) offered to him their law and ceremonies.; which the pope receiving cast behind him, saying, Let old things pass, all things be made new, &c. This was A. D. 1417.

Thus the pope, being now confirmed in his kingdom, first beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians, wherein partly he moveth them to catholic obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, feigning that if it were not for the emperor's request, he would enter process against them. Thirdly and finally, he threateneth to attempt the uttermost against them, and with all force to invade them, as well with the apostolical, as also with the secular arm, if they did still persist as they began.

Albeit, these new threats of the new bishop did nothing move the constant hearts of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeal of Christ's word had before inflamed.

And although it had been to be wished such bloodshed and wars not to have followed, yet, to say the truth, how could these rabbins greatly blame them herein, whom their bloody tyranny had before provoked so unjustly, if now with their glosing letters they could not so easily appease them again?

Wherefore these aforesaid Bohemians, partly for the love of John Huss and Jerome their countrymen, partly for the hatred of their malignant papistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemn memorial of the death of John Huss and Jerome, decreeing the same to be holden and celebrated yearly. And afterward, by means of their friends, they obtained certain churches of the king, wherein they might freely preach and minister the sacraments unto the congregation. This done, they suppressed divers monasteries, pharisaical temples, and idolatrous fanes, beginning first with the great monastery of the Black Friars, eight miles from Prague, driving away the wicked and vicious priests and monks out of them, or compelling them unto a better order. And thus their number more and more increasing under the safe-conduct of a certain nobleman named Nicholas, they went again unto the king, requiring to have more and ampler churches granted unto them. The king seemed at the first willingly and gently to give ear unto the said Nicholas entreating for the people, and commanding them to come again the next day.

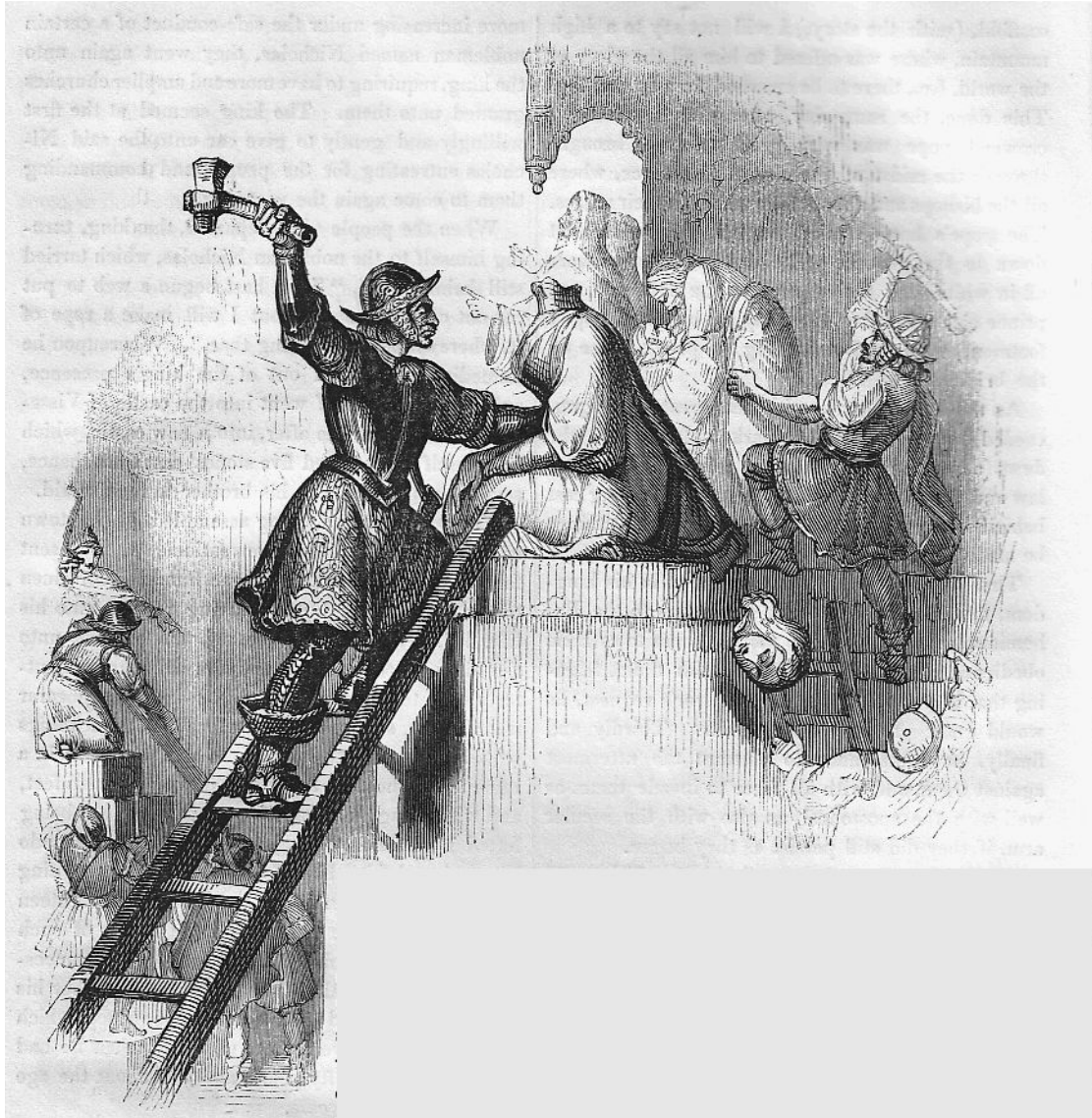
When the people were departed, the king, turning himself to the nobleman Nicholas, which tarried still behind, said, "Thou hast begun a web to put me out of my kingdom, but I will make a rope of it, wherewithal I will hang thee." Whereupon he immediately departed out of the king's presence, and the king himself went into the castle of Vissegrade, within a while after, into a new castle, which he himself had builded five stones' cast from thence, sending ambassadors to his brother to require aid.

These protestants being assembled in the town of Prague, holding their conventions, the king sent forth his chamberlain with three hundred horsemen to run upon them; but he having respect unto his life, fled. When news thereof was brought unto the king, all that were about him being amazed, utterly detested the fact; but the king's cupbearer standing by, said, "I knew before that these things would thus come to pass." Whom the king in a rage, taking hold of, threw him down before his feet, and with a dagger would have slain him; but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the king being taken with a palsy fell sick, and within eighteen days after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to be put to death, incessantly calling for aid of his brother,

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and other his friends, he departed this life before the princes which he had sent unto were come with aid, when he had reigned five and fifty years, and was about the age of seven and fifty years.

The story of Zisca.



Zisca Destroying the Images

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, there was a certain nobleman named Zisca, born at Trosnovia, which, from his youth upward was brought up in the king's court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battle, whereat he had valiantly borne himself. This man being sore grieved for the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, minding to revenge the injuries which the council had done, greatly to the dishonour of the kingdom of Bohemia, upon their accomplices and adherents; he gathered together a number of men of war, and subverted the monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the images and idols, driving away the priests and monks, which he said were kept up in their cloisters, like swine

in their sties, to be fatted. After this his army being increased, having gathered together about forty thousand men, he attempted to take the castle of Vissegrade, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Zisca, under the conduct of Coranda, went speedily unto Pilsen, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the town into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those which tarried behind, took the castle of Vissegrade.

Then the Queen Sophia, being very careful, sent letters and messengers unto the Emperor Sigismund, and other nobles adjoined unto her, requiring aid and help; but the emperor made preparation against the Turk, which had then lately won certain castles of him. Whereupon the queen, seeing all aid so far off, together with Zencho Warterberge, gathered an host with the king's treasure, and fortified the castle of Prague, and the lesser city which joineth unto the castle, making gates and towers of wood upon the bridge over the river Multaine, to stop that the protestants should have no passage that way. Then it happened that, at the Isle of St. Benedict, one Peter Steremberge fought an equal or indifferent battle with them.

In the mean time, the number of the protestants being increased in Prague, they fought for the bridge. In which battle many were slain on both parts, but at the length the Hussites won the bridge, and the nether part of lesser Prague, the queen's part flying into the upper part thereof; where they, turning again fiercely, renewed the battle, and fought continually day and night by the space of five days. Many were slain on both parts, and goodly buildings were razed, and the council-house, which was in a low place, was utterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate, the ambassadors of the Emperor Sigismund were come, which, taking upon them the rule and governance of the realm, made a truce, or league, with the city of Prague, under this condition, that the castle of Vissegrade being rendered, it should be lawful for them to send ambassadors to the Emperor Sigismund to treat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should render Pilsen and Piesta, with the other forts which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign protestants departed out of the city, and the senate of the city began to govern again according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the papists which were gone out of the town durst not return again, but still looked for the emperor, by whose presence they thought they should have been safe. But this their hope was frustrated, by means of certain letters which were sent from the emperor, wherein it was written, that he would shortly come and rule the kingdom, even after the same order and manner as his father, Charles, had done before him. Whereupon the protestants understood that their sect and religion should be utterly banished, which was not begun during the reign of the said Charles.

About Christmas the Emperor Sigismund came to Brunna, a city of Moravia, and there he pardoned the citizens of Prague, under condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the city, and receive his rulers and magistrates. Whereunto the whole city obeyed, and the magistrates thereof, lifting up their hands unto heaven, rejoiced at the coming of the new king. But the emperor turned another way, and went unto Uratislavia, the head city of Silesia, where a little before the commonalty of the city had slain, in an insurrection, the magistrates, which his brother Wenceslaus had set in authority, the principals whereof he beheaded. The news whereof, when they were reported at Prague, the citizens being feared by the examples of the Uratislavians, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and

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having obtained Zecho, on their part, which had the government of the castle of Prague, they sent letters into all the realm, that no man should suffer the emperor to enter, which was an enemy unto Bohemia, and sought nothing else but to destroy the kingdom; which also bound the ancient city of the Prutenians under order by pledges, and put the marquis of Brandenburg from the Bohemian crown; and had not only suffered John Huss and Jerome of Prague to be burnt at the council of Constance, but also procured the same, and, with all his endeavour, did impugn the doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whilst these things were thus done, Zisca, having given over Pilsen by composition, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but through policy he was always victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown, his enemies were on horseback, and all his soldiers on foot, neither could there be any battle fought but on foot. Whereupon, when his enemies were alighted from their horses, Zisca commanded the women which customably followed the host, to cast their kerchiefs upon the ground, wherein the horsemen, being entangled by their spurs, were slain before they could unloose their feet.

After this, he went unto Ausca, a town situate upon the river Lucinitius, out of which town Procopius and Ulricius, two brethren papists, had cast out many protestants. This town Zisca took, by force of arms, the first night of Lent, razed it, and set it on fire. He also took the castle of Litius, which was a mile off, whither Ulricius was fled, and put Ulricius and all his family to the sword, saving one only.

Then forasmuch as he had no walled or fenced town to inhabit, he chose out a certain place upon the same river, which was fenced by nature, about eight miles from the city of Ausca. This place he compassed in with walls, and commanded every man to build them houses, where they had pitched their tents, and named this city Tabor, and the inhabitants, his companions, Taborites, because their city by all like, was builded upon the top of some hill or mount. This city, albeit it was fenced with high rocks and cliffs, yet was it compassed with a wall and outwork, and the river of Lucinitius fenceth a great part of the town; the rest is compassed in with a great brook, the which running straight into the river Lucinitius, is stopped by a great rock, and driven back towards the right hand all the length of the city, and at the further end it joineth with the great river. The way unto it by land is scarce thirty foot broad, for it is almost an island. In this place there was a deep ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thickness, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall [was] full of towers and forts set in their convenient and meet places. Zisca was the first that builded the castle, and those that came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device. At that time the Taborites had no horsemen amongst them, until such time as Nicholas, master of the mint, (whom the emperor had sent into Bohemia with a thousand horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Taborites, lodging all night in a village named Vogize,) was surprised by Zisca coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armour, and setting fire upon the village. Then Zisca taught his soldiers to mount on horseback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to cast a ring, so that after this he never led army without his wings of horsemen.

In this mean time Sigismund, the emperor, gathering together the nobles of Silesia, entered into Bohemia, and went unto Grecium, and from thence with a great army unto Cuthna, alluring Zecho with many great and large promises to render up the castle of Prague unto him, and there placed him to annoy the town. This Zecho, infamed with double treason, returned home. The citizens of Prague sent for Zisca, who, speeding himself thither with the Taborites, received the city under his governance. In the Bohemians' host there were but only two barons, Hilco Crusina of

Lutemperg, and Hilco Waldestene, with a few other nobles. All the residue were of the common people. They went about first to subdue the castle, which was by nature very strongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than with famine; whereupon all the passages were stopped, that no victuals should be carried in. But the emperor opened the passages by dint of sword; and when he had given unto them which were besieged all things necessary, having sent for aid out of the empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the city. There were in the emperor's camp the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and his son-in-law Albert of Austria. The city was assaulted by the space of six weeks.. The Emperor Sigismund was crowned in the metropolitan house in the castle, Conradus the archbishop solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straitly besieged. In the mean time the captains, Rosenses and Chragery, which had taken the tents of the Taborites, being overcome in battle by Nicholas Huss, whom Zisca had sent with part of his power for that purpose, were driven out of their tents, and Grecium, the queen's city, was also taken.

There is also above the town of Prague a high hill, which is called Videchon. On this hill had Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possess it, with whom the marquis of Misnia skirmishing, lost a great part of his soldiers. For when the Misnians had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner, which was broken and steep, and fiercely set upon, when they could no longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slain, and some falling headlong from the hill were destroyed. Whereupon the Emperor Sigismund, raising his siege, departed into Cuthna, and Zisca with his company departed unto Thabor, and subdued many places; amongst which he subverted a town pertaining to the captain of Vissegrade. During this time the castle of Vissegrade was strongly besieged, where, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse-flesh. Last of all, except the emperor did aid them by a certain day, they promised to yield it up, but under this condition, that if the emperor did come, they within the castle should be no more molested.

The emperor was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entering into astrait underneath the castle, was suddenly set upon by the soldiers of Prague, where he had a great overthrow, and so leaving his purpose unperformed, returned back again. There were slain in that conflict fourteen noblemen of the Moravians, and of the Hungarians, and other a great number. The castle was delivered up unto them. Whilst these things were in doing, Zisca took Boslaus, a captain, which was surnamed Cigneus, by force, in a very strong town of his, and brought him unto his religion; who, a few years after, leading the protestants' host in Austria, was wounded before Rhetium, and died. There were in the territory of Pilsen many monasteries, of the which Zisca subverted and burned five. And forasmuch as the monastery of St. Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himself.

Thither also came the emperor with his army; but when Zisca brought forth his power against him, he most cowardly fled; and not long after, he departed and left Bohemia. Then Zisca went with his army unto Pilsen; but forasmuch as he saw the city so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to Commitavia, a famous city, the which he took by force, burning all the priests therein.

Afterward, when he lay before the town of Raby, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye, having but that one before to see withal. From thence he was carried to Prague by physicians, where he being cured of his

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wound, and his life saved, yet he lost his sight, and for all that he would not forsake his army, but still took the charge of them.

After this the garrisons of Prague went unto Verona, where there was a great garrison of the emperor's, and took it by force, many being slain of either part. They also took the town of Broda in Germany, and slew the garrison, and afterward took Cuthna and many other cities by composition. Further, when they led their army unto a town called Pons, which is inhabited of the Misnians, the Saxons meeting them by the way, because they durst not join battle, they returned back. After all this, the emperor appointed the princes electors a day, that at Bartholomewtide they should with their army invade the west part of Bohemia; and he with a host of Hungarians would enter into the east part. There came unto his aid the archbishop of Mentz, the county Palatine of Rhine, the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and many other bishops out of Almaine; all the rest sent their aids. They encamped before the town of Sozius, a strong and well-fenced place, which they could by no means subdue. The country was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued until the feast of St. Galle. Then it was broken up, because the emperor was not come at his day appointed: but he having gathered together a great army of the Hungarians, and west Moravians, about Christmas entered into Bohemia; and took certain towns by force, and Cuthna was yielded unto him. But when Zisca (although he was blind) came towards him, and set upon him, he, being afraid and many of his nobles slain, fled. But first he burned Cuthna, which the Taborites, by means of the silver mines, called the pouch of antichrist. Zisca pursuing the emperor a day's journey, got great and rich spoil, and taking the town of Broda by force, set it on fire; the which afterward, almost by the space of fourteen years, remained disinhabited. The emperor passed by a bridge over the river of Iglaria. And Piso, a Florentine, which had brought fifteen thousand horsemen out of Hungary to these wars, passed over the ice; the which by the multitude and number of his horsemen being broke, devoured and destroyed a great number. Zisca having obtained this victory, would not suffer any image or idol to be in the churches, neither thought it to be borne withal, that priests should minister with copes or vestments: for the which cause he was much the more envied amongst the states of Bohemia. And the consuls of Prague, being aggrieved at the insolency of John Premonstratensis, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction, into the council-house, as though they would confer with them as touching the commonwealth; and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home every man to his own house, thinking the city had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their servants, being not circumspect enough, washing down the court or yard, washed out also the blood of those that were slain, through the sinks or channels; the which being once seen, the people understood what was done. By and by there was a great tumult; the council-house was straightway overthrown, and eleven of the principal citizens, which were thought to be the authors thereof, were slain, and divers houses spoiled.

About the same time the castle of Purgell, wherein the emperor had left a small garrison, (whither also many papists, with their wives and children, were fled,) was through negligence burned, and those which escaped out of the fire went into Pelzina. After this, divers of the Bohemian captains, and the senate of Prague, sent ambassadors to Vitold, duke of Lituania, and made him their king: this did Zisca and his adherents gainsay. This Vitold sent Sigismund Coributus with two thousand horsemen into Bohemia, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of Prague.

At his coming they determined to lay siege unto a castle situate upon a hill, which was called Charles's Stone.

Here Sigismund had left for a garrison four centurions of soldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great slings threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcasses and other excrements, were cast in among those which were besieged; which thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out, or were all loose. Notwithstanding, they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight until the winter, having privily received medicine out of Prague, to fasten their teeth again.

In the mean time, Frederic the Elder, prince of Brandenburg, entering into Bohemia with a great power, caused them of Prague to raise the siege. And Vitold, at the request of Uladislaus, king of Poland, which had talked with the emperor in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus, his uncle, with his whole army, out of Bohemia: whereupon the emperor supposed that the protestants, being destitute of foreign aid, would the sooner do his commandment; but he was far deceived therein, for they, leading their armies out of Bohemia, subdued the borderers thereupon adjoining. It is also reported that Zisca went into Austria, and when the husbandmen of the country had carried away a great number of their cattle by water into an isle of the river called Danube, and by chance had left certain calves and swine in their villages behind them, Zisca drave them unto the river-side, and kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roar out and cry, until that the cattle, feeding in the island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the cattle on the other side the water, for the desire of their like did swim over the river, by the means whereof, he got and drave away a great booty.

About the same time the Emperor Sigismund gave unto his son-in-law Albert, duke of Austria, the country of Moravia, because it should not want a ruler. At the same time also Ericius, king of Denmark, and Peter Infant, brother to the king of Portugal, and father of James, cardinal of St. Eustachius, came unto the emperor, being both very expert men in the affairs of war, which did augment the emperor's host with their aid and power. Whereupon they straightway pitched their camp before Lutemperge, a town of Moravia, and continued the siege by the space of three months. There was at that time a certain knight at Prague, surnamed Aqua, which was very rich and of great authority. This man, forasmuch as he had no child of his own, adopted unto him his sister's son, named Procopius, whom, when he was of mean nature and age, he carried with him into France, Spain, and Italy, and unto Jerusalem, and at his return caused him to be made priest. This man, when the gospel began to flourish in Bohemia, took part with Zisca; and forasmuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painful, he was greatly esteemed.

This Procopius, for his valiant acts, was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the province of Moravia and the defence of the Lutemperges, who, receiving a great power, by force, maugre all the whole power which lay in the siege, carried victuals into the town which was so besieged, and so did frustrate the emperor's siege. The emperor, before this, had delivered unto the marquisses of Misnia the bridge and town of Ausca, upon the river Elbe, that they should fortify them with their garrisons. Whereupon Zisca besieged Ausca, and Frederic, the marquis of Misnia, with his brother, the landgrave of

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Thuringia, gathering together a great army out of Saxony, Thuringia, Misnia, and both the Lusaces, determined to rescue and aid those which were besieged.

There was a great battle fought before the city, and the victory depended long uncertain; but at last it fell on the protestants' part. There were slain in the battle the burgraves of Misnia or Chyrpogenses, the barons of Glychen, and many other nobles, beside nine thousand common soldiers, and the town of Ausca was taken and utterly razed.

At the last, dissension rising between Zisca and them of Prague, they of Prague prepared an army against him, wherewith he perceiving himself overmatched, fled unto the river Elbe, and was almost taken, but that he had passage through the town of Poggiebras; but they of Prague, pursuing the tail of the battle, slew many of his Taborites. At the length they came unto certain hills, where Zisca, going into the valley, knowing the straits of the place, that his enemies could not spread their army, he commanded his standard to stand still, and exhorting and encouraging his soldiers, he gave them battle.

This battle was very fierce and cruel; but Zisca, having the upper hand, slew three thousand of them of Prague and put the rest to flight, and straight-ways took the city of Cuthna by force (which they of Prague had repaired) and set it on fire; then with all speed he went with his army to besiege Prague, and encamped within a bow-shot of the town. There were many both in the city, and also in his host, which grudged sore at that siege; some accusing Zisca, other some them of Prague. There were great tumults in the camp, the soldiers saying that it was not reasonable, that the city should be suppressed, which was both the head of the kingdom, and did not dissent from them in opinion, saying that the Bohemians' power would soon decay, if their enemies should know that they were divided within themselves; also that they had sufficient wars against the emperor, and that it was but a foolish device to move wars amongst themselves. This talk came unto the ear of Zisca, who calling together his army, standing upon a place to be heard, spake in these words.

"Brethren, be ye not aggrieved against me, neither accuse him which hath sought your health and safeguard. The victories which ye have obtained under my conduct are yet fresh in memory, neither have I brought you at any time unto any place, from whence you have not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I for your sake have lost my sight, and dwell in darkness. Nothing have I gotten by all these fortunate battles, but only a vain name. For you have I fought, and for you have I vanquished; neither do I repent me of my travail, neither is my blindness grievous unto me, but only that I cannot provide for you according to my accustomed manner: neither do I persecute them of Prague for mine own cause, for it is your blood that they thirst and seek for, and not for mine. It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me, being now an old man and blind, it is your valiantness and stout stomachs which they fear. Either must you or they perish; who whilst they seem to lie in wait for me, do seek after your lives. You must rather fear civil wars than foreign, and civil sedition ought first to be avoided. We will subdue Prague, and banish the seditious citizens before the emperor shall have any news of this sedition. And then having but a few of his faction left, we may with the less fear look for it; better than if these doubtful citizens of Prague were still in our camp. But because ye shall accuse me no more, I give you free liberty to do what you will. If it please you to suffer them of Prague to live in quietness, I will not be against it, so that there be no treason wrought.

If you determine to have war, I am also ready. Look which part you will incline unto, Zisca will be your aid and helper."

When he had spoken these words, the soldiers' minds were changed, and wholly determined to make wars, so that they ran by and by to take up their armour and weapons, to run unto the walls, to provoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the city. Zisca in the mean time prepared all things ready for the assault. There is, a little from Pilsen, a certain village named Rochezana. In this place there was a child born of poor and base parentage, whose name was John; he came unto Prague, and got his living there by begging, and learned grammar and logic. When he came to man's state, he became the schoolmaster of a nobleman's child; and forasmuch as he was of excellent wit and ready tongue, he was received into the college of the poor: and last of all, being made priest, he began to preach the word of God to the citizens of Prague, and was named Johannes de Rochezana, by the name of the town where he was born. This man grew to be of great name and authority in the town of Prague. Whereupon when Zisca besieged Prague, he by the consent of the citizens went out into the camp, and reconciled Zisca again unto the city.

When the emperor perceived that all things came to pass according unto Zisca's will and mind, and that upon him alone the whole state of Bohemia did depend, he sought privy means to reconcile and get Zisca into his favour, promising him the governance of the whole kingdom, the guiding of all his hosts and armies, and great yearly revenues, if he would proclaim him king, and cause the cities to be sworn unto him. Upon which conditions, when Zisca for the performance of the covenants went unto the emperor, being in his journey, at the castle of Priscovia, he was stricken with sickness and died.

It is reported, that when he was demanded, being sick, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the skin to be pulled off from his dead carcass, and the flesh to be cast unto the fowls and beasts, and that a drum should be made of his skin which they should use in their battles; affirming, that as soon as their enemies should hear the sound of that drum, they would not abide but take their flight. The Taborites, despising all other images, yet set up the picture of Zisca over the gates of the city.

The Epitaph of John Zisca, the valiant captain of the Bohemians.

"I, John Zisca, not inferior to an emperor or captain in warlike policy, a severe punisher of the pride and avarice of the clergy, and a defender of my country, do lie here. That which Appius Claudius by giving good counsel, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantness, did for the Romans; the same I, being blind, have done for my Bohemians. I never slacked opportunity of battle, neither did fortune at any time fail me. I, being blind, did foresee all opportunity of well-ordering or doing my business. Eleven times in joining battle I went victor out of the field. I seemed to have worthily defended the cause of the miserable and hungry against the delicate, fat, and gluttonous priests, and for that cause to have received help at the hands of God. If their envy had not let it, without doubt I had deserved to be numbered amongst the most famous men. Notwithstanding, my bones lie here in this hallowed place, even in despite of the pope.

"John Zisca, a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and covetous priests, but with a godly zeal."

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And thus have you the acts and doings of this worthy Zisca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credit we have drawn out of Æneas Sylvius, only his railing terms excepted, which we have here suppressed.

All this while the emperor, with the whole power of the Germans, were not so busy on the one side, but Martin, the pope, was as much occupied on the other side; who, about the same time, directed down a terrible bull, full of all poison, to all bishops and archbishops, against all such as took any part or side with Wickliff, John Huss, Jerome, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copy of which bull, which I found in an old written monument, I wish the reader thoroughly to peruse, wherein he shall see the pope to pour out at once all his poison.

"Martin, bishop, the servant of God's servants, to our reverend brethren the archbishops of Salzburg, Gueznen, and Prague, and to the bishops of Olumitz, Luthomyzl, Bamberg, Misnen, Patavia, Uratislavia, Ratisbon, Cracow, Posnamen, and Nitrien, and also to our beloved children the inquisitors appointed of the prelates above recited, or where else soever, unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting, and apostolical benediction. Amongst all other pastoral cares wherewith we are oppressed, this chiefly and specially doth enforce us, that heretics, with their false doctrine and errors, being utterly expelled from amongst the company of Christian men, and rooted out, (so far forth as God will make us able to do,) the right and catholic faith may remain sound and undefiled; and that all Christian people, immovable and inviolate, may stand and abide in the sincerity of the same faith, the whole veil of obscurity being removed. But lately in divers places of the world, but especially in Bohemia, and the dukedom of Moravia, and in the straits adjoining thereunto, certain arch-heretics have risen and sprung up, not against one only, but against divers and sundry documents of the catholic faith, being landlopers, schismatics, and seditious persons, fraught with devilish pride and wolfish madness, deceived by the subtlety of Satan, and from one evil vanity brought to a worse. Who, although they rose up and sprang in divers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails as it were knit together, to wit, John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, of damnable memory, who drew with them no small number to miserable ruin and infidelity. For when those and such-like pestiferous persons did in the beginning of their poisoned doctrine obstinately sow and spread abroad perverse and false opinions, the prelates, who had the regiment and execution of the judicial power, like dumb dogs not able to bark, neither yet revenging speedily with the apostle all such disobedience, nor regarding corporally to cast out of the Lord's house (as they were enjoined by the canons) those subtle and pestilent arch-heretics, and their wolfish fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but suffering their false and pernicious doctrine negligently, by their over-long delays, to grow and wax strong; a great multitude of people, instead of true doctrine, received those things, which they did long, falsely, perniciously, and damnably sow among them, and giving credit unto them, fell from the right faith, and are entangled (the more pity) in the foul errors of paganism.

"Insomuch, that those arch-heretics, and such as spring of them, have infected the catholic flock of Christ in divers climates of the world, and parts bordering upon the same, and have caused them to putrefy in the filthy dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the general synod of Constance was compelled, with St. Augustine, to exclaim against so great and ruinous a plague of faithful men, and of the sound and true faith itself, saying, 'What shall the sovereign medicine of the church do, with motherly love seeking the health of her sheep, chasing, as it were, amongst a company

of men frantic, and having the disease of the lethargy? what! shall she desist and leave off her good purpose? No, not so. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be sharp to both these sorts, which are the grievous enemies of her womb. For the physician is sharp unto the man distraught and raging in his frenzy, and yet he is a father to his own rude and unmannerly son, in binding the one, in beating the other, by showing therein his great love unto them both. But if they be negligent, and suffer them to perish, (saith St. Augustine,) this mansuetude is rather to be supposed false cruelty.'

"And therefore the aforesaid synod, to the glory of Almighty God, and preservation of his catholic faith, and augmenting of Christian religion, and for the salvation of men's souls, hath corporally rejected and cast forth of the household of God, the aforesaid John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome; who amongst other things did believe, preach, teach, and maintain of the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments of the church, and articles of the faith, contrary to that the holy Church of Rome believeth, holdeth, preacheth, and teacheth, and have presumed obstinately to preach, teach, hold, and believe many other more, to the damnation of themselves and of others; and the said synod hath separated the same, as obstinate and malapert heretics, from the communion of the faithful people, and hath declared them to be spiritually thrown forth. And many other things, both wholesome and profitable, hath the same council, as touching the premises, stablished and decreed, whereby they, which by the means of those arch-heretics, and by their false doctrine, have spiritually departed from the Lord's house, may by the canonical rules be reduced to the straight path of truth and verity.

"And moreover, (as we to our great grief do hear,) not only in the kingdom of Bohemia, and dukedom of Moravia, and other places above recited, but also in certain parts and provinces near adjoining, and bordering upon the same, there be many other of the sectaries and followers of the aforesaid arch-heretics, and heretical opinions; casting behind their backs, as well the fear of God as the shame of the world, neither receiving fruit of conversion and repentance by the miserable destruction of the aforesaid John Huss and Jerome; but as men drowned in the dungeon of their sins, cease not to blaspheme the Lord God, taking his name in vain, (whose minds the father of lies hath damnably blinded,) and do read and study the aforesaid books or works, containing heresies and errors, being lately by the aforesaid synods. condemned to be burned; also to the peril of themselves and many other simple men, and against the statutes, decrees, and ordinances in the synod aforesaid, and the canonical sanctions, do presume to preach and teach the same, to the great peril of souls, and derogation of the catholic faith, and slander of many other besides: we, therefore, considering that error, where it is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed and liked; and having a desire to resist such evil and pernicious errors, and utterly root them out from amongst the company of faithful Christians, especially from the aforesaid places of Bohemia, Moravia, and other straits and islands joining and bordering upon the same, lest they should stretch out and enlarge their limits; we will and command your discretions by our letters apostolical, the holy council of Constance approving and allowing the same, that you that are archbishops, bishops, and other of the clergy, and every one of you by himself, or by any other or others, being grave and fit persons to have spiritual jurisdiction, do see that all and singular persons, of what dignity, office, pre-eminence, state, or condition soever they be, and by what name soever they are known, which shall presume otherwise to teach, preach, or observe, touching the most high and excellent, the most wholesome and superadmirable, sacrament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or else of the

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sacrament of baptism, confession of sins, penance for sins, and extreme unction, or else of any other sacraments of the church, and the articles of the faith, than that which the right holy and universal Church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach, and observe; or else that shall presume obstinately, by any ways or means, privily or apertly, to hold, believe, and teach the articles, books, or doctrine of the aforesaid arch-heretics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being by the aforesaid synod of Constance with their authors (as is said) damned and condemned, or dare presume publicly or privily to allow or commend in any wise the death and end of the said arch-heretics, or any other their receivers, aiders, and favourers, in the favour or supportation of the aforesaid errors, as also their believers and adherents; that then, as before, you see and cause them, and every one of them, to be most severely punished, and that you judge and give sentence upon them as heretics, and that as arrant heretics you leave them to the secular court or power. Let the receivers also, and favourers, and defenders of such most pestiferous persons, notwithstanding they neither believe, favour, nor have devotion towards their errors, but haply shall receive or entertain such pestiferous persons because of carnal affection or friendly love, besides the punishment due unto them by both laws, over and above the same punishment by competent judges, be so afflicted, and for so heinous acts of theirs with so severe pain and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to other, in like case offending, an example of terror; that, at the least, those whom the fear of God by no means may revoke from such evil doing, yet the severity of this our discipline may force and constrain.

"As touching the third sort, which shall be any manner of ways infected with this damnable sect, and shall, after competent admonition, repent and amend themselves of such errors and sects aforesaid, and will return again into the lap and unity of our holy mother the church, and fully acknowledge and confess the catholic faith; towards them let the severity of justice, as the quality of the fact shall require, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

"And furthermore, we will and command, that by this our authority apostolical ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the catholic faith, as emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquisses, earls, barons, knights, and other magistrates, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, shires, countries, and universities of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, their lands and other places, and all other executing temporal jurisdiction, according to the form and exigence of the law, that they expel out of their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, and lands, and other places, all and all manner of such heretics, according to the effect and tenor of the council of Lateran, beginning, *Sicut ait ecclesia*, &c.; that those whom publicly and manifestly, by the evidence of their deeds, shall be known to be such as, like sick and scabbed sheep, infect the Lord's flock, they expel and banish till such time as from us, or you, or else other ecclesiastical judges or inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy Church of Rome, they shall receive other order and countermand; and that they suffer no such within their shires and circuits, to preach or to keep either house or family, either yet to use any handicraft or occupations, or other trades of merchandise, or else to solace themselves any ways, or frequent the company of Christian men.

"And furthermore, if such public and known heretics shall chance to die, although not so denounced by the church, yet in this so great a crime let him and them want Christian burial, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance also, from the time of his death, according to the

canonical sanctions being confiscated, let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the ecclesiastical judges, having power and authority in this behalf, sentence upon that, his, or their crime of heresy be declared, and promulgated; and let such owners as be found suspected or noted with any such suspicion of heresy, before a competent and ecclesiastical judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspicion, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a judge, show and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion, as beseemeth in that behalf. And if in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he do fail, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take his oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation, then let him be condemned as a heretic. But such as through negligence or through slothfulness shall omit to show their said innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be excommunicated, and so long put out from the company of Christian men, till that they shall make condign satisfaction; so that if by the space of one whole year they shall remain in such excommunication, then let them as heretics be condemned.

"And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the aforesaid pestiferous doctrine of the arch-heretics aforesaid, or in any article thereof, whether it be by the report of the seditious, or else well disposed, let them yet be punished according to the canons. If only through infamy and suspicion of the aforesaid articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspected, and in his purgation canonical for this thing being interdicted, shall fail, let him be accounted as a man convicted, and as a convicted person by the canons let him be punished.

"And furthermore, we, invoking and putting in execution the canon of our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Boniface the Eighth, which beginneth thus, *Ut inquisitionis negotium*, &c., in exhorting-wise require, and also command all temporal potentates, lords, and judges, before recited, by whatsoever dignities, offices, and names they are known, that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithful members and children of the church, and do rejoice in the name of Christ, so in like wise, for defence of the same faith, they will obey, intend, give their aid and favourable help to you that are archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical men, inquisitors of all heretical pravity, and other judges and ecclesiastical persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed, holding the faith and communion of our holy mother the church, for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretics, their believers, their favourers, their receivers, and their defenders, whensoever they shall be thereunto of them required.

"And that they bring, and cause to be brought, all delay set apart, the aforesaid pestiferous persons, so seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe-keeping and prisons, as by you, the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed, or else unto such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their dominions, governments, and rectories, where they, by catholic men, that is, by you, the archbishops, bishops, the clergy, and inquisitors, or any other that shall be by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in safe-keeping, putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of iron, under most strait custody, for escaping away, till such time as all that business, which belongeth unto them, be, by the judgment of the church, finished and determined, and that of such heresy, by a competent ecclesiastical judge, which firmly holdeth the faith and communion of the aforesaid holy Church of Rome, they be condemned.

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"The residue let the aforesaid temporal lords, rectors, judges, or other their officers and pursuivants, take amongst them, with condign deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing lest to the prejudice and slander of the aforesaid catholic faith and religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein should be circumvented, or that any subtle and crafty men should, under the veil of frivolous excuse, cloak and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the convincing or apprehending of the aforesaid heretics, their receivers and defenders, favourers, believers, and adherents, and also of such as are suspected of heresy, and with suchlike perverse doctrine in any wise spotted, we might give more perfect instruction; therefore, as well to the kingdom of Bohemia and parts near adjoining to the same, as all other where this superstitious doctrine began to spread, we have thought it good to send the articles hereunder written concerning the sect of those arch-heretics, for the better direction of the aforesaid catholic faith.

"Touching which articles, by virtue of holy obedience, we charge and command you and all other archbishops and bishops, all manner of commissaries and inquisitors, that every of them within the diocese and limits of their jurisdiction, and also in the aforesaid kingdom, and dukedom, and places near adjoining, although the same places be beyond the same their jurisdiction, in the favour of the catholic faith, do give most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those errors, arch-heresies, and most pestiferous sect aforesaid; and also that they compel all defamed persons and suspected of so pestiferous a contagion, whether it be under the penalty of the crime confessed, or of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, or any other formidable pain canonical or legal, when and wheresoever it shall seem good unto them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an oath corporally taken either upon the holy evangelists, or upon the relics of saints, or upon the image of the crucifix, according to the observances of certain places, and according to the interrogatories, to make convenient answer to every article therein written. For we intend against all and singular archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical persons, or inquisitors, which shall show themselves negligent and remiss in the extirpation of the leaven of this heretical pravity, and purging their territories, diocese, and places to them appointed, of such evil and wicked men, to proceed and to cause to be proceeded unto the deprivation and deposition of their pontifical dignities, and shall substitute such other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the said heretical pravity, and proceed to further pains against such by the laws limited, and to other yet more grievous, if need require, we our selves will proceed, and cause to be proceeded, according as the party's fact, and filthiness of his crime committed, shall deserve. The tenor of those articles whereof we have made mention in this our own writting are in words as follow.

The articles of John Huss to be inquired upon.

"1. There is one only universal church, which is the university of the predestinate, as shall after be declared.

"2. The universal church is only one; as there is one university of those that are predestinate.

"3. Paul was never a member of the devil, although he did certain acts like unto the acts of the church malignant.

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"4. The reprobate are not parts of the church, for that no part of the same finally falleth from her, because that the charity of predestination, which bindeth the same church together, never faileth.

"5. The two natures, that is, the Divinity and the humanity, be one Christ.

"6. The reprobate, although he be sometime in grace, according to present justice, yet is he never a part of the church, and the predestinate is ever a member of the church, although sometime he fall from grace *adventitia*, but not from grace of predestination; ever taking the church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice. And after this sort the church is an article of our belief.

"7. Peter is not, nor ever was, the head of the holy catholic church.

"8. Priests living viciously do defile the authority of priesthood, and so, as unfaithful children, do unfaithfully believe of the seven sacraments, of the keys of the church, of offices, of censures, of ceremonies, of the worshipping of relics, indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the church.

"9. The papal dignity came and grew from the emperor; and his government and institution sprang from the emperor's government.

"10. No man can reasonably affirm, either of himself or other, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the bishop of Rome is the head of the Church of Rome.

"11. A man ought not to believe, that he which is bishop of Rome is the head of every particular church, unless God have predestinated him.

"12. None is the vicar of Christ, or else of Peter, unless he follow him in manners and conditions, seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive of God this power procuratory. For unto the office of a vicegerent of Christ, is required the conformity of manners and the authority of the institutor.

"13. The pope is not the manifest and true successor of Peter the prince of the apostles, if he live in manners contrary to St. Peter; and if he hunt after avarice, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot. And likewise the cardinals be not the true and manifest successors of the college of the other apostles of Christ, unless they live according to the manner of the apostles, keeping the commandments and counsels of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"14. The doctors alleging that a man, which will not be amended by the ecclesiastical censures, is to be delivered to the secular powers, do follow in this point the bishops, scribes, and Pharisees, that delivered Christ to the secular power, (saying, It is not lawful for us to kill any man,) because he would not obey them in all things; and that such be greater homicides than Pilate.

"15. The ecclesiastical obedience is such an obedience as the priests of the church have found out, besides the express authority of the Scripture. The immediate division of human works is, that they be either virtuous or vicious; and if a man be vicious, and doth any thing, then doth he it viciously; and if he be virtuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it virtuously. For like as vice, which is called a great offence or mortal sin, doth stain all the doings of a vicious man; so virtue doth quicken all the doings of a virtuous man.

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"16. A priest of God living after his law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended of the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magistrate, doth forbid a priest so disposed to preach, he ought not to be obedient unto him. For every one that taketh upon him the order of priesthood, receiveth in charge the office of a preacher; and of that burden ought he well to discharge himself, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

"17. By the censures ecclesiastical, as of excommunication, suspending, and interdict, the clergy, to their own advancement, cause the lay-people to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to antichrist. And it is an evident sign that such censures proceed from antichrist, which in their process they call *fulminationes*, that is, their thunderbolts wherewith the clergy principally proceed against those that declare the wickedness of antichrist, who so greatly, for his own commodity, hath abused them.

"18. If the pope be evil, especially if he be a reprobate, then is he with Judas a very devil, a thief, and the son of perdition, and is not the head of the holy church militant, nor any member of the same.

"19. The grace of predestination is the band wherewith the body of the church and every member of the same is indissolubly joined to their Head Christ.

"20. The pope or prelate that is evil and a reprobate, is a pastor in name and not in deed, yea, he is a thief and a robber in very deed.

"21. The pope ought not to be called the most holy one for his office sake, for then ought a king to be called by his office the most holy one; and hangmen, with other such officers also, were to be called holy, yea, the devil himself ought to be called holy, forasmuch as he is God's officer.

"22. If the pope live contrary unto Christ, although he climb up by the right and lawful election, according to the common custom of men; yet notwithstanding, should he otherwise climb than by Christ, yea, though we admit that he should enter by the election principally made by God. For Judas Iscariot was lawfully elect of God, Christ Jesus, to his bishopric, and yet came not he the same way he ought to do unto the sheepfold.

"23. The condemnation of forty-five articles of John Wickliff by the doctors made, is unreasonable, wicked, and naught, and the cause by them alleged is feigned, that is, that none of them are catholic, but every one of them heretical, erroneous, or slanderous.

"24. Not for that the electors or the most part of them have consented together with lively voice, according to the custom of men upon the person of any, therefore that person is lawfully elect, or therefore is the true and manifest successor and vicar of Peter the apostle, or of any other the apostles in the ecclesiastical office. Wherefore, whether the electors have either well or evil made their election, it behoveth us to believe the same by the works of him that is elected. For in that that every one worketh more meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath so much the more greater authority from God.

"25. There is not so much as one spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and governing the church in spiritual causes, which should always be conversant in the church militant; for Christ without any such monstrous heads, by his

true disciples sparsed through the whole world, could better, a great deal, rule his church.

"26. The apostles and faithful priests of God have right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation, governed the church before the pope's office took place, and so might they do again, by like possibility, until Christ came to judgment, if the office should fail.

"Let every one that is suspected in the aforesaid articles, or else otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in manner and form as followeth:

"Imprimis, Whether he knew John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them; whether that during the lives of them, or any of them, they had either been conversant with them, or found any friendship at their hands.

"2. Item, Whether he, knowing them, or any of them, to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them; esteeming and affirming the same their participation to be no sin.

"3. Item, Whether that after their deaths he ever prayed for them, or any of them, openly or privily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either saints, or else to be saved.

"4. Item, Whether he thought them, or any of them, to be saints, or whether that ever he spake such words, and whether ever he did exhibit any worship unto them as unto saints.

"5. Item, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that every general council, as also the council of Constance, doth represent the universal church.

"6. Item, Whether he doth believe, that that which the holy council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath and doth allow in the favour of the faith, and salvation of souls, is to be approved and allowed of all the faithful Christians; and that, whatsoever the same council hath condemned, and doth condemn, to be contrary both to the faith and to all good men, is to be believed, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not.

"7. Item, Whether he believeth that the condemnations of John Huss, John Wickliff, and Jerome of Prague, made, as well upon their persons, as their books and doctrine, by the holy general council of Constance, be rightly and justly made, and of every good catholic man are so to be holden and affirmed, or not.

"8. Item, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics or not, and for heretics to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their books and doctrines were and be perverse or not; for the which, together with their pertinacy, they were condemned by the holy sacred council of Constance for heretics.

"9. Item, Whether he have in his custody any treatises, small works, epistles, or other writings, in what language or tongue soever, set forth and translated by any of these heretics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, or any other of their false disciples and followers, that he may deliver them to the ordinaries of that place, or to the commissary, or to the inquisitors upon his oath. And if he say, that he hath no such writing about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you swear him to

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bring the same before his ordinary, or other aforesaid, within a certain time to him prefixed.

"10. Item, Whether he knoweth any that hath the treatises, works, epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in whatsoever tongue they are made or translated, and that he detect and manifest the same, for the purgation of their faith and execution of justice.

"11. Item, Especially let the learned be examined, whether he believeth that the sentence of the holy council of Constance, upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and the thirty articles of John Huss, be not catholic; which saith, that some of them are notorious and heretical, some erroneous, other some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensive to godly ears.

"12. Item, Whether he believeth and affirmeth that in no case it is lawful for a man to swear.

"13. Item, Whether he believeth, that at the commandment of a judge or any other it is lawful to take an oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but purging of infamy, or not.

"14. Item, Whether he believeth that perjury wittingly committed, upon what cause soever, whether it be for the safeguard of his own life, or of any other man's life, (yea, although it be in the cause and defence of the faith,) be a sin or not.

"15. Item, Whether a man contemning purposely the rites of the church, and the ceremonies of exorcism, of catechism, and the consecration of the water of baptism, be in deadly sin or not.

"16. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration of the priest, in the sacrament of the altar, under the figure of bread and wine, be no material bread and wine; but in all points the same very Christ, which was crucified upon the cross, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father.

"17. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration made by the priest, under the only form of bread, and besides the form of wine, be the very flesh of Christ and his blood, his soul and his Deity, and so whole Christ as he is; and in like wise, under the form of wine, without the form of bread, be the very flesh of Christ and his very blood his soul, and Deity, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely under every one of those kinds singularly.

"18. Item, Whether he doth believe, that the custom of houseling of the lay-people under the form of bread only, observed of the universal church, and allowed by the only council of Constance, be to be used, and not without the authority of the church at men's pleasures to be altered, and that they that obstinately affirm the contrary to this are to be punished as heretics, or not.

"19. Item, Whether he believe that those which condemn the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, or extreme unction, or else the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sin or not.

"20. Item, Whether he believe that a Christian man, over and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a convenient priest, is bound to confess himself only to a priest, and not to any layman, be he never so devout or good, upon the necessity of salvation.

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"21. Item, Whether he believe, that in the cases before put, a priest may absolve a sinner, confessing himself and being contrite, from all sins, and enjoin him penance for the same.

"22. Item, Whether he believe, that an evil priest, with due manner and form, with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily dispose all other sacraments even as the church doth.

"23. Item, Whether he believe that St. Peter was the vicar of Christ, having power to bind and to loose upon the earth.

"24. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, being canonically elect, which for the time shall be, by that name expressly be the successor of Peter or not, having supreme authority in the church of God.

"25. Item, Whether he believe that the authority or jurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop, or a bishop, in binding or loosing, be more than the authority of a simple priest or not, although he have charge of souls.

"26. Item, Whether he believe, that the pope may, upon a just and good cause, give indulgences and remission of sins to all Christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that go on pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds.

"27. Item, Whether he believe, that by such grant the pilgrims that visit those churches, and give them any thing, may obtain remission of sins or not.

"28. Item, Whether he believe that all bishops may grant unto their subjects, according as the holy canons do limit, such indulgences, or not.

"29. Item, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship images and the relics of saints, or not.

"30. Item, Whether he believe that those religions, which the church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy fathers, or. not.

"31. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, or any other prelate for the time being, or their vicars, may excommunicate their subject, ecclesiastical or secular, for disobedience or contumacy; so that such a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate, or not.

"32. Item, Whether he believe, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicate, increasing, the prelates or their vicars in spiritual things have power to aggravate and to reagravate, to put upon men the interdict and to call for the secular arm; and that the same secular arm or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their inferiors called for.

"33. Item, Whether he believe that the pope and other prelates, or else their vicars, have power, in spiritual things, to excommunicate priests and laymen that are stubborn and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the church, also to suspend them.

"34. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for ecclesiastical persons, without committing sin, to have any possessions and temporal goods; and whether he believe that it is not lawful for laymen to take away the same from them by their authority; but rather that such takers away and encroachers upon ecclesiastical goods are to be punished as committers of sacrilege, yea, although such ecclesiastical persons live naughtily that have such goods.

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"35. Item, Whether any such taking away or encroaching upon any priest rashly or violently made, although the priest be an evil liver, be sacrilege, or not.

"36. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for laymen of whether sex soever, that is, men and women, to preach the word of God, or not.

"37. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful to all priests freely to preach the word of God, wheresoever, whensoever, and to whomsoever it shall please them, although they be not sent at all.

"38. Item, Whether he believe that all mortal sins, and especially such as be manifest and public, are to be corrected and to be extirpated, or not.

"Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if any by secret information, by you or any other to be received, shall he found either infamed or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous sect, heresy, and doctrine of the most pestilent men, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, the arch-heretics aforesaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the aforesaid damned men whilst they lived on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that believeth their errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholic men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other ways, wherein they deserve to be suspected; that then they by you, or some of you, may be cited personally to appear before you, or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oath being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speak the plain and mere verity of the articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as case and circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you, or any of you, shall see expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise canonically, as you shall think good.

"Also that you do publish solemnly, and cause to be published, these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories herein contained, in the cities and other places of your diocese, where conveniently you may, under our authority, and there to denounce and cause to be denounced all and singular such heretics, with their abettors and favourers of their heresies and errors, of what sex or kind soever, that do hold and defend the said errors, or do participate any manner of way with heretics, privily or apertly; of what state, dignity, or condition soever he or they be, patriarch, archbishop, king, queen, duke, or of what other dignity either ecclesiastical or secular he be; also with their advocates and procurators whosoever, which are believers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of such heretics, or suspected to be believers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of them, to be excommunicate every Sunday and festival day, in the presence of the people.

"Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be inquired, by the said our authority, upon all and singular such persons, both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach such errors, or that be favourers, receivers, and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, state, pre-eminence, degree, order, or condition so-ever. And such as you shall find in the said your inquisition, either by their own confession, or by any other mean, to be defamed or otherwise infected with the spot of such heresy, or error, you through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and privation of their dignities, parsonages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fees which they hold of any church, monastery, and other ecclesiastical places, also honours and secular dignities and

degrees of sciences or other faculties, as also by other pains and censures of the church, or by ways and means whatsoever else shall seem to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning their bodies, and other corporal punishments wherewith heretics are punished, or are wont, and are commanded by canonical sanctions, to be used; and if they be clerks, by degradation, do correct and punish, and cause them to be corrected and punished with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise up stoutly and courageously against such heretics, and the goods as well of them, as of the laymen, according to the canonical sanction made against heretics and their followers, under the which we will and command them and their partakers to be subject. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premises, shall be bound to purge themselves at your arbitrement; but the other, which either by witnesses, or by their own confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be convicted of the aforesaid heresies or articles, or of any the premises, they shall be compelled to revoke and abjure publicly and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer condign penance and punishment, yea, even to perpetual imprisonment, (if need be,) for the same.

"And to the intent that they shall not nourish any kind of heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, or shall induce other either in word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, to believe the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety; who, if it so chance that they will not publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure their articles and errors, and take at your hands condign penance, though it be to perpetual or temporal punishment according to your discretion, neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold or nourish these errors and heresies, neither will induce other by word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour, to believe the same, that then you shall proceed against them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you see it so expedient, as against heretics, and as infected with heresy, by our authority, according to the canonical sanctions summarily, and simply and plainly, and of office, all appellation or appellations whatsoever ceasing, and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonical, yea, if need be, in leaving and committing them to the secular power; and against such as be superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesiastical excommunication, all appellation set aside, also invoking, if need shall require, aid of the secular arm; the constitution as well of our predecessor Pope Boniface the Eighth of blessed memory, wherein is decreed, that no man without his city or diocese, (except in certain cases,) or in places being one day's journey distant from thence where he inhabiteth, shall be called into judgment, and that no man do presume to depute judges from the see apostolic, without the city and diocese where they are deputed to proceed against any; and do presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one day's journey from out his diocese where he dwelleth, or at most two days' journey, if it be in a general council; as also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, touching as well judges delegate, as persons not to be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or else any other edict, indulgence, privilege, or exemption general or special, granted from the apostolic see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compass of certain limits, or else whatsoever thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your jurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any means to the contrary notwithstanding. Given at Constance, the first year of our popedom."

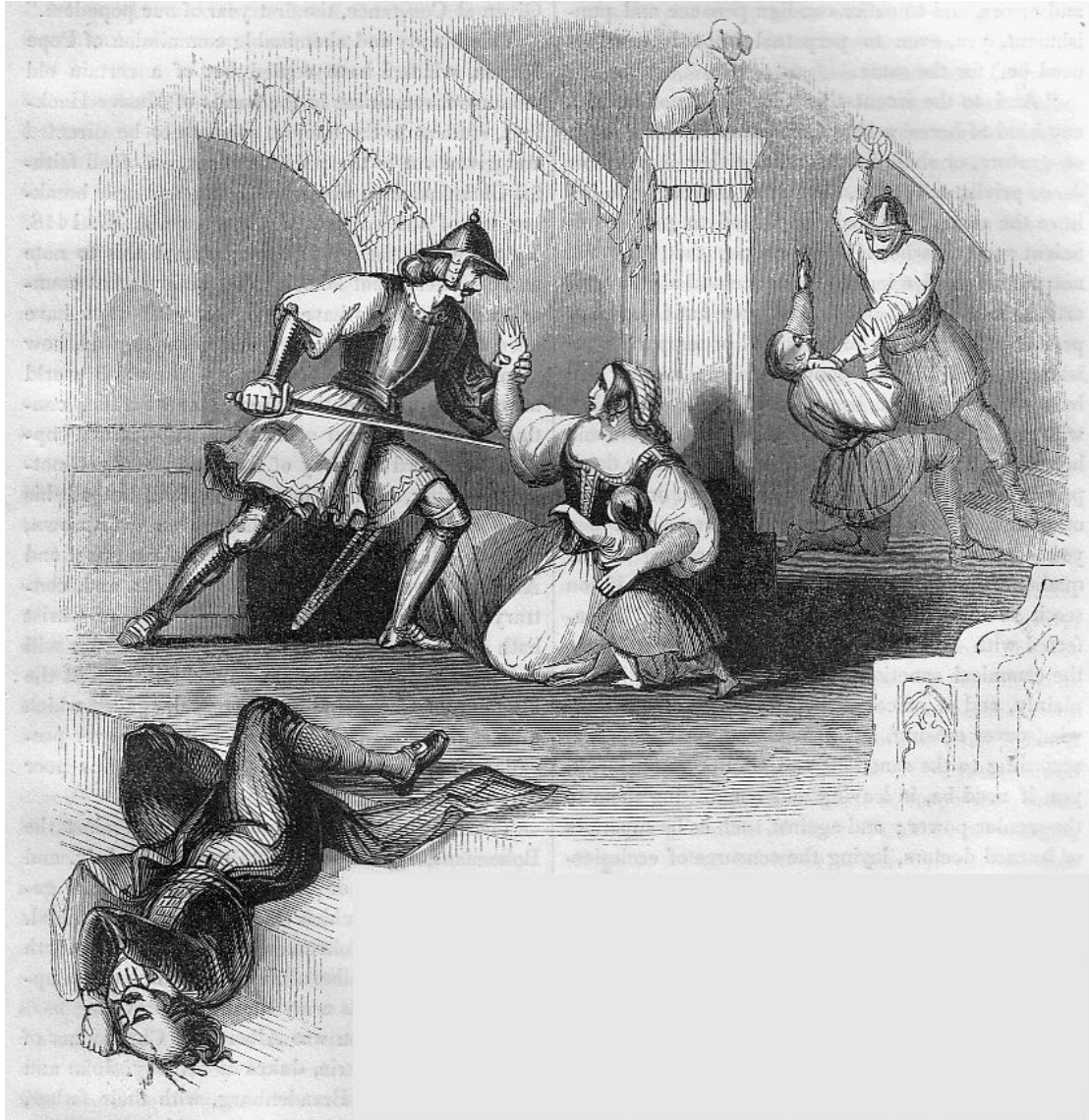
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This bloody and abominable commission of Pope Martin, which I have copied out of a certain old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hackluyt, student in the temple, seemeth to be directed and given out to the public destruction of all faithful Christian men, about the latter end and breaking up of the council of Constance, A. D. 1418. By the which the prudent reader hath this to note and consider, what labour, what policy, what counsel, and what laws have been set, what ways have been taken, what severity hath been showed, how men's power, wit, and authority of the whole world have conspired together from time to time, continually by all manner of means to subvert and supplant the word and way of the Lord; and yet, notwithstanding, man hath not prevailed, but all his force and devised policies have been overthrown, despatched, and, with the counsel of Achitophel and Ammon, have been brought to nought, and, contrary to the fury of the world, the gospel of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this will the pope cease to spurn and rebel still against the kingdom of Christ and of his gospel, against which neither he, nor yet the gates of hell, shall ever prevail. The Lord of hosts be merciful to his poor persecuted flock. Amen.

There was a new expedition decreed against the Bohemians, against the eighth calends of July, and Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, appointed general of that war, which should follow the cardinal. He entered into Bohemia by the way that leadeth unto Thopa, and Albert, prince of Austria, was appointed to bring his army through Moravia.

In this expedition was Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, and Frederic, dukes of Saxony, John and Albert, princes of Brandenburg, with their father, which was general of those wars. Also the bishops of Hyperbolis, Bamberge, and Eysten. Also the company of the Swevians, which they called the company of St. George, and the magistrates of the imperial cities, the bishop of Mentz, Trevers, and Cologne sent their aids, and with them the chieftains of their provinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen were above forty thousand, but their footmen were not full so many, for the Germans for the most part do use to fight their battles on horseback.

Also Rhenatus, prince of Loraine, promised to come to these wars; but being letted by his civil wars, forasmuch as he went about to vanquish the earl of Vandome, he could not keep his promise, and the county Palatine of Rhine, which did aid and succour the earl of Vandome, could not go against the Bohemians. The cardinal staying for them deferred his journey until the calends of August.



Massacre of Old People, Women and Children

In the mean time Albert leading his army out of Austria, understanding that the cardinal was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himself unable to encounter with the Bohemian power, he returned back again. After this the cardinal entered into Bohemia with a huge army, and destroyed many of the protestants' towns, killing men, women, and children, sparing neither old nor young; notwithstanding this his tyranny was exercised in the uttermost borders of Bohemia, for his captains feared to enter far into the land. The Bohemians, as soon as they had heard tell that their enemy was come, made ready, and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a tower called Stiltverge, and brought it under subjection. In the mean season; there fell such a marvellous sudden fear amongst all the papists, throughout the whole camp, that they began most shamefully to run away before any enemy came in sight. The Cardinal Julian marvelling at this most sudden fear, and what should move so great an army to fly, went about unto the captains, exhorting them to put on armour, to order their battles, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying, they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the possession of lands, but for their lives, and honour, and religion of Christ, and for the salvation of souls. "How ignominious a

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thing is it," saith he, "for the Germans to fly in battle, whose courage and valiantness all the world doth extol! It were much better to die, than to give place to any enemies before they were seene, for they can by no means live in safety within the walls, which give place unto their enemy in the field; for it is the weapon that defendeth a man, and not the walls, and except they would even presently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death." But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had put away all boldness; for the ensignes were snatched up, and, as though there had been no captain in the host, every man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his captain, but casting away their armour, with speedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The cardinal also, although it were against his will, was forced to do the like.

Thus the protestants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and courageous, pursued them through the woods, and had a great prey and spoil of them. Notwithstanding, Albert, when he heard tell that the cardinal was entered into Bohemia, with all speed came again out of Austria with his army, and besieged the strong town of Prezorabia; but when he understood how the cardinal was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through Moravia, which was not yet subject unto him, and destroyed above fifty towns with fire and sword, took many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murder and slaughter, and so afflicted them that they took upon them his yoke, and promised to be subject and obedient to him, under this condition, that, as touching religion, he would be bound to do that which the council of Basil should determine.

Then was there an embassage sent out of Bohemia unto Basil, where Sigismund held the council, who, during the time of the wars, had kept himself at Nuremberg. When he should take his journey unto Rome to be crowned emperor, he wrote letters unto the nobles of Bohemia, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian born, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his own, and that he went to Rome for none other cause but to be crowned, the which his honour should also be a renown to the Bohemians, whom to advance it hath been always his special care.

Also, how that through his endeavour the council was begun at Basil, exhorting all such as were desirous to be heard as touching religion, that they should come thither, and that they would not maintain any quarrel contrary to the holy mother the church; that the council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons, that they should only endeavour themselves to agree with the synod as touching religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable kingdom for him, against his return; neither should the Bohemians think to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and uncle had reigned over them, and that he would reign over them after no othermean or sort than other Christian kings used to do.

The council of Basil also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors which should show a reason of their faith, promising safe-conduct to go and come, and free liberty to speak what they would. The Bohemians in this point were of two opinions; for the protestants, and almost all the common people, said, it was not good to go, alleging the example of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, which, going unto Constance, under the safe-conduct of the emperor, were there openly burned. But the nobility, following the mind of Maynard, prince of the new house, said, that they ought to go unto the council, and that they are not to be

suffered which had invented those new and strange opinions of faith, and new kind of religion, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the universal church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion took place, and an embassage of three hundred horse was sent unto Basil. The chief whereof were William Cosca, a valiant knight, and Procopius, surnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, John Rhochezana, preacher of Prague, Nicholas Gallicus, minister of the Taborites, and one Peter, an Englishman, of excellent, prompt, and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the town, and many out of the synod and council, attending before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people; other some gathered together in great number into the streets where they should pass through. The matrons, maids, and children filled the windows and houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kind of apparel, and stout, courageous countenances, saying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them; notwithstanding, all men beheld Procopius, saying, "This is he which hath overthrown the papists in so many battles, which hath subverted so many towns, and slain so many men, whom both his enemies, and also his own soldiers, do fear and reverence;" also that he was a bold, valiant, and invincible captain, which could not be overcome with any terror, labour, or travail.

These Bohemian ambassadors were gently received. The next day after, Cardinal Julian, sending for them unto the council-house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent oration unto them, exhorting them to unity and peace, saying, that the church was the spouse of our Saviour Christ, and the mother of all faithful, that it hath the keys of binding and loosing, and also that it is white and fair, without spot or wrinkle, and cannot err in those points that are necessary to salvation, and that he which doth condemn the same church, is to be counted as a profane ethnic, and publican, neither can this church be represented better by any means than in this council. He exhorteth them also to receive decrees of the council, and to give no less credit unto the council than unto the gospel, by whose authority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the Bohemians, which call themselves the children of the church, ought to hear the voice of their mother, which is never unmindful of her children; how that now of late they have lived apart from their mother; albeit, said he, that is no new or strange thing, for there have been many in times past which have forsaken their mother, and yet, seeking after salvation have returned to her again; that in the time of Noah's flood, as many as were without the ark perished; that the Lord's passover was to be eaten in one house; that there is no salvation to be sought for out of the church, and that this is the garden and famous fountain of water, whereof whosoever shall drink, shall not thirst everlastingly; that the Bohemians have done as they ought, in that they have sought the fountains of this water at the council, and have determined now at length to give ear unto their mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all armour and weapon is to be laid apart, and all occasion of war utterly to be rejected. For the fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatsoever there they would say in their own cause or quarrel, requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred synod; whereunto not only the Bohemians, but also all other faithful Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they will be partakers of eternal life.

This oration of the cardinal was heard and very well allowed of the fathers. Whereunto the Bohemians answered in few words, that they neither had condemned the church nor the council; that the sentence given at Constance, against those which

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were unheard, doth diminish nothing of the Christian religion; that the authority of the fathers hath always remained amongst them inviolate; and that whatsoever thing the Bohemians have taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and gospel; and that they are now come to manifest their innocency before the whole church, and to require open audience, where the laity may also be present. Their request was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the Church of Rome, they propounded four articles.

First, they affirmed, that all such as would be saved, ought of necessity to receive the communion of the last supper under both kinds of bread and wine.

The second article, they affirmed all civil rule and dominion to be forbidden unto the clergy by the law of God.

The third article, that the preaching of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places. The fourth article, as touching open crimes and offences, which are in no wise to be suffered for the avoiding of greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the council in the name of the whole realm. Then another ambassador affirmed that he had heard of the Bohemians divers and sundry things offensive to Christian ears, amongst the which this was one point, that they should preach that the invention of the order of Begging Friars was diabolical.

Then Procopius rising up, said, "Neither is it untrue; for if neither Moses, neither before him the patriarchs, neither after him the prophets, neither, in the new law, Christ and his apostles did institute the order of Begging Friars, who doth doubt but that it was an invention of the devil, and a work of darkness."

This answer of Procopius was derided of them all. And Cardinal Julianus went about to prove that not only the decrees of the patriarchs and prophets, and those things which Christ and his apostles had instituted, were of God, but also that all such decrees as the church should ordain, being guided through the Holy Ghost, be the works of God. Albeit, as he said, the order of Begging Friars might seem to be taken out of some part of the Gospel. The Bohemians chose out four divines which should declare their articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrary part there were four appointed by the council. This disputation continued fifty days, where many things were alleged on either part, whereof, as place shall serve, more hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall be said, when we come to the time of that council.

In the mean season, while the Bohemians were thus in long conflicts with Sigismund the emperor, and the pope, fighting for their religion, unto whom, notwithstanding all the fulness of the pope's power was bent against them, God of his goodness had given such noble victories, as is above expressed, and ever did prosper them so long as they could agree among themselves; as these things, I say, were doing in Bohemia, King Henry the Fifth, fighting likewise in France, albeit for no like matters of religion, fell sick at Blois and died, after he had reigned nine years, five months, three weeks, and odd days from his coronation. This king, in life and in all his doings, was so devout and serviceable to the pope and all his chaplains, that he was called of many the prince of priests: who left behind him a son being yet an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by Queen Katherine, daughter to the French king, married to him about two or three years before. The name of which prince, succeeding after his father, was Henry the Sixth, left under the government and protection of his uncle named Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The names of the archbishops of Canterbury in this fifth book contained.

| | | |
|----|-------------------|----|
| 54 | Simon Islepe. | 17 |
| 56 | Simon Langham. | 2 |
| 57 | William Witlesey. | 5 |
| 58 | Simon Sudbury. | 6 |
| 59 | William Courtney. | 15 |
| 60 | Thomas Arundel. | 18 |
| 61 | Henry Chichesley. | 29 |

**THE SIXTH BOOK,
PERTAINING TO
THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE
LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.**

111. A Preface to the Reader.



ACCORDING to the five sundry diversities and alterations of the church, so have I divided hitherto the order of this present church story into five principal parts, every part containing three hundred years. So that now coming to the last three hundred years, that is, to the last times of the church, counting from the time of Wickliff: forasmuch as in the compass of the last three hundred years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the marvellous reformation of the same through the wondrous operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one book; I have therefore disposed the said latter three hundred years into divers books, beginning now with the sixth book at the reign of King Henry the Sixth. In which book, beside the grievous and sundry persecutions raised up by antichrist, to be noted, herein is also to be observed, that whereas it hath of long time been received and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally used hath sprung up and risen but of late, even by the space (as many do think) of twenty or thirty years, it may now manifestly appear, not only by the acts and monuments heretofore passed, but also by the histories hereafter following, how this profession of Christ's religion hath been spread abroad in England of old and ancient time, not only for the space of these two hundred late years, from the time of Wickliff, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never so perfectly burst out as they have done within these hundred years and more; as by these histories here collected and gathered out of registers, especially of the diocese of Norwich, shall manifestly appear: wherein may be seen what men, and how many both men and women, within the said diocese of Norwich, have been, which have defended the same cause of doctrine which now is received by us in the church. Which persons although then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarrel as of late years they have been, yet were they warriors in Christ's church, and fought to their power in the same cause. And although they gave back through tyranny, yet judge thou the best, good reader, and refer the cause thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

112. Further Persecutions of Wicliff's Followers

THE young prince Henry the Sixth, being under the age of one year, after the death of his father, succeeded in his reign and kingdom of England, A. D. 1422, and in the eighth year was crowned at Westminster; and the second year after was crowned also at Paris, Henry, bishop of Winchester, cardinal, being present at them both, and reigned thirty-eight years, and then was deposed by Edward the Fourth, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in his time. In the first year of his reign was burned the constant witness-bearer and testis of Christ's doctrine, William Taylor, a priest, under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury. Of this William Taylor I read, that in the days of Thomas Arundel he was first apprehended, and abjured. Afterward, in the days of Henry Chichesley, and about the year of our Lord 1421, which was a year before his burning, the said William Taylor appeared again in the convocation before the archbishop, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, being complained of to have taught at Bristol these articles following:

"First, That whosoever hangeth any Scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the devil.

"Secondly, That no human person is to be worshipped, but only God is to be adored.

"Thirdly, That the saints are not to be worshipped or invocated."

Upon these articles the said William Taylor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the same, especially upon the second and third articles, only in way of reasoning, and for argument sake. And to justify his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosom a paper or libel written, wherein were contained certain articles, with the testimonies .of the doctors alleged, and exhibited the same unto the archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the archbishop consulting together with the bishops and other prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto Master John Castle, and John Rikinghale, the two vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Lang-don, monk of Canterbury; who, advising with themselves and with other divines, about the articles and allegations, on the Monday following presented the said articles of William Taylor to the archbishops and prelates, as erroneous and heretical. Whereupon William Taylor, being called before them, in conclusion was contented to revoke the same, and for his penance was by them condemned to perpetual prison.

Notwithstanding, through favour they were contented that he should be released from his prison endurance, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the king's chancery, and swear that he shall never hold nor favour any such opinions hereafter. And thus the said William Taylor, appointed to appear the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the archbishop, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during the time from Thomas Arundel, appeared again before him; where he, laying aside his *arunlousa*, that is, his cloak, his cap, and stripped unto his doublet, kneeled at the feet of the archbishop; who then standing up, and having a rod in his hand, began the psalm *Miserere*, &c., his chaplains answering the second verse.

After that was said the collect, *Deus cuius proprium*, &c., with certain other prayers. And so taking an oath of him, the archbishop committed him to the custody of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority was permitted to release him, upon the conditions aforesaid. And thus was William Taylor for that time absolved, being enjoined, notwithstanding, to appear at the next convocation, whensoever it should be, before the said archbishop or his successor that should follow him.

In the mean time, while William Taylor was thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester, there passed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith, priest, at Bristol, in the which writings William Taylor replied against the said Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping of saints. Upon the occasion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the bishop of Worcester, William Taylor began anew to be troubled, and was brought again before the public convocation of the clergy by the said bishop of Worcester, to answer unto his writings. This was A. D. 1422, the eleventh day of February. Unto the which convocation the said William being presented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not, deny to be of his own hand-writing.

The tenor and effect of whose writing only tended to prove, that every petition and prayer for any supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit in this his writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any respect to pray to saints, (and bringeth for the same St. Thomas Aquinas,) but only in respect of that worship which is called *Cultus latriæ*. And further, so prosecuteth his mind herein, that he seemeth little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the papists, as most plainly appeareth by his own words, saying, *Nunquam tamen negavi, aut negare intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam viventium, tam vivis, quam marquis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari, vel proficere quia hoc est elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, et ex consona ratione, &c.* And moreover he inferreth the example of Moses, who prayed unto God, alleging the merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which were dead, &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimony of Jerome, and alleging the example of Stephen, saith, *Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus.* And at length he cometh to this conclusion, proving by St. Austin, in this manner: "And therefore, lest we run about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the Old Testament, and never come to the centre, it is wholesome and good counsel that we follow the mind of the apostle, saying, Let us resort with boldness unto the throne of his grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of opportune help," &c.

Thus much out of the aforesaid writing of William Taylor I have excerpted, to the intent that the indifferent reader, using his judgment herein, may see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the papists. And yet, notwithstanding, the same writing, being delivered by the archbishop to the four orders of friars of London, to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

"First, That every prayer which is a petition of some supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

"2. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.

"3. Item, To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry."

4. Also, another opinion there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth: so that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet to make up a number,

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every order of the four sorts of friars, thought to find out some matter to offer up to the archbishop against him, lest one order should seem more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more than could another; or else, perchance, lest any of them should seem to favour the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

When the Saturday was come, which was the twentieth day of February, upon the which day, the four orders were appointed to declare their censure upon the articles in the Chapter-house of Paul's, first appeareth Friar Tille, for the black friars, then Friar Winchelsey, then Friar Lowe, after Friar Ashwell, each friar for his order severally bringing his heresy, as is above specified.



A Martyr Prepared for Burning At The Stake

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Thus the verdict of these four orders being given up to the archbishop, and severally, each order coming in with his heresy, which was the twentieth day of February; hereupon cometh down a writ from the king, directed to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, dated the first day of March, the first year of his reign. The copy whereof remaineth in the records of the Tower. Whereupon the said William Taylor, condemned as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the secular power. Who then being had to Smithfield, the first day of March, with Christian constancy, after long imprisonment, there did consummate his martyrdom, 1422.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Huss before; for the papists use but one form for all men. First, degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and paten. From deaconship, by taking from them the Gospel Book and Tunicle. From subdeaconship, by taking- from them the Epistle Book and Tunicle. From acoluteship, by taking from them the cruet and candlestick. From an exorcist, by taking away the Book of Exorcisms or Gradual. From the sextonship, by taking away the church-door key and surplice. And likewise from Benet, in taking away the surplice, and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly martyr, before his burning.

John Florence, a turner.

John Florence, a turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocese of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these heresies hereunder written, (as they called them,) contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

"Imprimis, That the pope and cardinals have no power to make or constitute any laws.

"Item, That there is no day to be kept holy, but only the Sunday, which God hath hallowed.

"Item, That men ought to fast no other time, but of the *quatuor temporum*.

"Item, That images are not to be worshipped, neither that the people ought to set up any lights before them in the churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

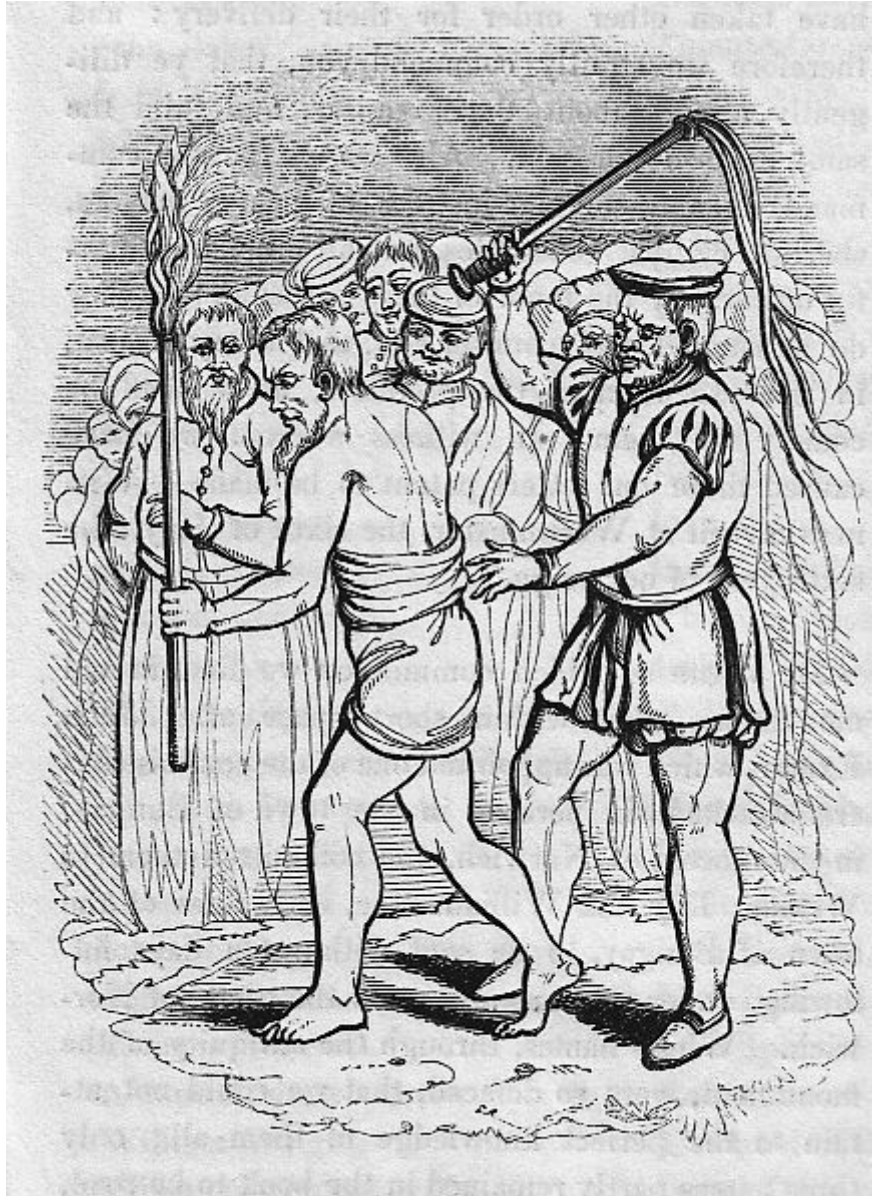
"Item, That curates should not take the tithes of their parishioners, but that such tithes should be divided amongst the poor parishioners.

"Item, That all such as swear by their life or power shall be damned, except they repent."

Upon Wednesday, being the second day of August, in the year of our Lord 1424, the said John Florence personally appeared before William Bernam, chancellor to William, bishop of Norwich, where he, proceeding against him, objected the first article touching the power of the pope and cardinals; to which article the said John Florence answered in this manner; "If the pope lived uprightly as Peter lived, he hath power to make laws; otherwise I believe he hath no power." But being afterward threatened by the judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the church, and was abjured, taking an oath, that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend, any error or heresy contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome; neither maintain, help, or aid any that shall teach or hold any such errors or heresies, either privily or apertly; and for his offence in this behalf done he was enjoined this penance following:

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Three Sundays in a solemn procession, in the cathedral church of Norwich, he should be disciplined before all the people. The like also should be done about his parish church of Shelton, three other several Sundays, he being bareheaded, barefooted, and barenecked, after the manner of a public penitentiary, his body being covered with a canvass shirt, and canvass breeches, carrying in his hand a taper of a pound weight; and that done he was dismissed.



A Martyr Flogged Through The Streets

Richard Reheard of Earsham, in the diocese of Norwich.

Richard Belward of Earsham, in the diocese of Norwich, was accused for holding and teaching these errors and opinions hereunder written, contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

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"Imprimis, That ecclesiastical ministers, and ordinaries, have no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate. And albeit that a bishop do excommunicate any man, God doth absolve him.

"Item, That he held the erroneous opinions and conclusions, that Sir John Oldcastle held when he was in prison, and affirmed that Sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without any reasonable cause.

"Item, That such as go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and stone, are excommunicate, because they ought to offer to the quick and not to the dead; and that the ecclesiastical ministers, that is to say, the curates, do sell God upon Easter-day, when they receive offerings of such as should communicate, before they do minister the sacrament unto them.

"Item, That he counselled divers women, that they should not offer in the church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

"Item, That he blamed divers of his neighbours that refused his doctrine, saying unto them, 'Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the doctrine of my sect, for your neighbours which are of my sect are able to confound and vanquish all other that are of your sect.'

"Item, That the saints which are in heaven ought in no case to be prayed unto, but only God.

"Item, That the said Richard keepeth schools of Lollardy in the English tongue, in the town of Ditchingham, and a certain parchment-maker bringeth him all the books containing that doctrine from London."

The fifth day of July, 1424, the said Richard Belward was brought before John, bishop of Norwich, sitting in place of judgment, where the aforesaid articles were objected against the said Richard, which he there denied; whereupon the bishop appointed him another day to purge himself, the Monday next after the feast of St. Margaret; upon which day, being the twenty-fourth of July, in the year aforesaid, he appeared again before the bishop, and brought with him nine of his neighbours, to purge him upon those articles, and there did solemnly purge himself. And afterward, forasmuch as the said bishop suspected the said Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there presently to swear upon the evangelists, that from that day forward he should not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or heresy, contrary to the Church of Rome, neither aid, assist, favour, or maintain, privily or apertly, any manner of person or persons that should hold or maintain the said errors or heresies. In the presence of Master William Bernam, John Wadden, Robert Serle, and J. Berne, esquire, and other of his neighbours which came unto his purgation.

In like manner John Goddesell, of Ditchingham, parchment-maker, was detected and accused upon the same articles, and thereupon brought before the bishop, where he, denying them, purged himself by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being sworn also in like manner as he was, and so was dismissed and set at liberty, until the year of our Lord 1428, when he was again apprehended, accused, and abjured, as shall be more at large declared in the history, when we come to that year. Sir Hugh Pie, also, chaplain of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the bishop of Norwich, the fifth day of July, A. D. 1424, for holding of these opinions following:

"That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

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"Item, That the people ought not to give alms, but only unto such as beg at their doors.

"Item, That the image of the cross, and other images, are not to be worshipped. And that the said Hugh had cast the cross of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate, of Ludney."

Which articles, as is aforesaid, being objected against him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three laymen and three priests: that so done, he was sworn, as the other before, and so dismissed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1428, King Henry the Sixth sent down most cruel letters of commission unto John Exeter and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White, priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth:

The copy of the king's letters, directed to John Exeter and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White, priest, and other (as they called them) Lollards.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved John Exeter, and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, health.

"Ye shall understand that we, fully trusting unto your fidelity and circumspections, have appointed you jointly and severally to take and arrest William White, priest, and Thomas, late chaplain of Setling, in the county of Norfolk, and William Northampton, priest, and all other, whatsoever they be, that are suspected of heresy or Lollardy, wheresoever they may be found, within the liberties or without, and straightway, being so taken, to send them unto our next gaol or prison, until such time as we shall have taken other order for their delivery: and therefore we straitly command you, that ye diligently attend about the premises, and fulfil the same in form aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our faithful officers, by the tenor of these presents, that they do assist, aid, and counsel you, and every of you, in the execution of the premises, as it shall be comely for them. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Westminster, the sixth of July, the sixth year of our reign."

By virtue of which commission we find in old monuments, that within short space after John Exeter, which was appointed one of the commissioners, attached six persons in the town of Bungay, in the diocese of Norwich, and committed them to William Day and William Roe, constables of the town of Bungay, to be sent within ten days following, under safe custody, unto the castle of Norwich. Whose names, through the antiquity of the monument, were so defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the book to be read, which were these:

John Wadden of Tenterden, in the county of Kent; Bartholomew, monk of Earsham, in the county of Norfolk, cornleader, a married man; William Scuts.

These three were in the custody of the duke of Norfolk, at his castle of Fremingham.

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Besides these, we also find in the said old monuments within the diocese of Norfolk and Suffolk, specially in the towns of Beccles, Earsham, 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 said diocese, called William, and his chancellor, William Bernham, John Exeter being the register therein: so that within the space of three or four years, that is, from the year 1428 unto the year 1431, about the number of a 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 of meats prohibited on vigil days, who, upon their purgation made, escaped more easily away, and with less punishment, whose names here follow subscribed.

The names of them that were taken and examined upon suspicion of heresy.

Robert Skirving of Harlstone.

William Skirving.

John Terry of Ersham.

John Abtre of Ersham.

John Middleton of Halvergate.

John Wayde of Ersham.

Richard Clarke of Sething.

Thomas White of Bedingham.

Master Robert Beete of Berry.

Richard Page of Clipsly.

The other were more cruelly handled, and some whom we do specially find mention made of these of them were put to death and burned, among I three:

Father Abraham of Colchester.

William White, priest.

John Wadden, priest.

The residue, for a great number of good men and women were forced to abjure sustaining such cruel penance as pleased then the said bishop and his chancellor to lay upon them. The names of which, both men and women, here follow together in this brief catalogue to be seen.

John Beverley.

Richard Fletcher of Beckles.

John Wardon.

Nicholas Belward.

John Baker.

Thomas Grenemere.

John Middleton.

John Clarke.

John Kynget.

William Bate.

Margery Backster.

William Scherming.

John Skilley.

William Scherming.

John Godhold.

William Osbourne.

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Thomas Albecke.
Iohn Rene of Beckles.
Iohn Pierce.
Baldwine Cooper of Beckles.
Nicholas Canon of Eye.
Iohn Pet. M. Moones servant
Thomas Pye.
Rob. Brigs.
Iohn Mendham.
Iohn Finch.
Iohn Middleton.
Iohn Wropham.
Thomas Chatris.
Thomas Moone.
Thomas Wade.
Isabel Chaplaine of Martham.
William Taylor.
William Marsh of Ersham.
Iohn Cuppet, vicar of Tunstall.
Iohn Goodwin of Ersham.
Sir Hugh Pye, priest.
Henry Latchcold of Ersham.
Bartholomew Tatcher.
Henry Broode of Ersham.
Thomas Iames.
Rich. Horne of Ersham.
Iohn Fouling.
Iohn Belward, senior, of Ersham.
Bertram Cornmonger.
Iohn Belward, junior, of Ersham.
Thomas Swerden.
Iohn Spire of Bungay.
Alanus Andrew.
Rob. Cole of Turming.
William Wright.
The herd of Shepemedow.
William Everden.
Isabel Davy of Costes.
William Taylor.
Sibyl, wife of Iohn Godesel o Dicham f
Avis the wife of Thomas Moone and her daughter.
Iohn Pyry of Bartham.
Iohn Baker.
Margery Wright.
Thomas Burrell and his wife.
Iohn Pert.
Edm. Archer.
The Clerk of Ludney.
Richard Clerke of Sething.
Katherine, the wife of William Wright.

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William Collin of Southereke.
Rich. King of Windeham.
Tho. Plowman.
John Fellis.
Tho. Love of Rokeland.
Richard Knobbing of Beckles.
Rich. Grace of Beckles.
John Eldon of Beckles.
William Hardy.
William Bate.
John Weston.
Katherine Hobs.
John Daw.
Rob. Grigs of Martham.
Wil. Calls, priest.
Tho. Pert. priest.
Katherine Davy.
Iacob Bodhome, and Margaret his wife.
John Manning of Marton.
John Culling of Beemster.
Rich. Fletcher of Beckles, and Matild his wife
Rob. Canel, priest.
William Hardy of Mundham.
Nich. Drey.
John Poleyne.
John Eldon of Beckles.

These forenamed persons and soldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those days, although they were constrained to relent and abjure, that is, to protest otherwise with their tongues than their hearts did think, partly through correction, and partly through infirmity, being as yet but new-trained soldiers in God's field, yet for their good will they bare unto the truth, although with their tongues they durst not express it, we have thought good that their names should not be suppressed, as well for other sundry causes, as specially for this, either to stop the mouths of malignant adversaries, or to answer to their ignorance, who, following rather blind affection than the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lack of knowledge blame that they know not, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God for novelty, and carping the teachers thereof for new-broached brethren; who, if they did as well foresee times past, as they be unwilling to follow times now present, they should understand, as well by these stories as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God, lacking no antiquity, hath, from time to time, continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath 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 down the same; as here, by these good men of Norfolk and Suffolk, may well appear. For if the knowledge and the good towardness of those good men had had the like liberty of time, with the help of like authority, as we have now, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelates, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would have been, which now they contemn and reject for the newness thereof; neither needed Bonner to have asked of Thomas Hawkes, and such other, where their church was for forty years ago, inasmuch as for

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forty years ago, and more, within the country of Norfolk and Suffolk, was then found such plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which we now profess. And thus much for the number and names of these persons.

Now as touching their articles which they did maintain and defend, first, this is to be considered, as I find it in the registers, such society and agreement of doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in their assertions and articles there was no difference; the doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other: what their articles were, partly it is showed in the leaf before, and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these articles, that many of them either were falsely objected against them, or not truly reported of the notaries, according as the common manner is of these adversaries, where the matter is good, there to make heresy, and of a little occasion to stir up great matter of slander, as they did before by the articles of John Wickliff and John Huss, and others more: so in like manner it seemeth they did in the articles of these men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptism and paying of tithes. For whereas they, 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, accounted them as no material thing in the holy institution of baptism, the notaries slanderously depraving this their assertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, so gave out the article, as though they should hold, that the sacrament of baptism used in the church by water is but a light matter and of small effect.

Again, in speaking against the christening the midwives use in private houses, against the opinion of such as think such children to be damned which depart before they come to their baptism, they are falsely reported, as though they should say, that Christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water, and that infants be sufficiently baptized if their parents be baptized before them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest word, that it is not to be thought any to be so ignorant of the gospel, that ever would or did affirm the same.

Moreover, they thought, or said peradventure, that in certain cases tithes might be withholden from wicked priests sometime, and be conferred to better uses, to the behoof 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 though it consisted only in the mutual consent betwixt the man and the woman, needing no other solemnizing in the public church, and all because (as it is like) 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 unto a priest, but unto God only; because no priest hath any power to absolve a sinner from his sin.

"Item, That no priest hath power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but that, after the sacramental words, there remaineth pure material bread as before.

"Item, That every true Christian man is a priest to God.

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"Item, That no man is bound under pain of damnation unto Lent, or any other days prohibited by the Church of Rome.

"Item, That the pope is antichrist, and his prelates the disciples of antichrist, and the pope hath no power to bind and loose upon earth.

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

"Item, That it is lawful for priests to have wives.

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

"Item, It is not lawful to swear in private cases.

"Item, That men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

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

"Item, 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.

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

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

"Item, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

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

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

"Item, That it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiastical precepts.

"Item, 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 whatsoever one did hold, all the other did maintain and hold the same. By the which their consent and doctrine it appeareth, that they all received it of some one instructor, who was William White; which being a scholar and follower of John Wickliff, resorted afterward into this country of Norfolk, there instructed these men in the light of the gospel. And now, as we have declared the names and articles o' these good men, so it remaineth somewhat to speak of their troubles, how they were handled, beginning first with William White.

William White, priest.

This William White, being a follower of John Wickliff, and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them, of whom the wise man speaketh, He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, &c. This man was well learned, upright, and a well-spoken priest. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan; notwithstanding he did not therefore cease to leave from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by

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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, in the year of our Lord 1424, there, for a certain space, stoutly and manly witnessed the truth which he had preached; but like as there he lost his courage and strength, so afterward he became again much more stout and strong in Jesus Christ, and confessed his own error and offence. For after this, he going into Norfolk with his said wife Joan, and there occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people unto 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 taken, 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 and his wife had his most abode with one Thomas Moone of Ludney. This man was of so devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them; insomuch 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 unto the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the bishop's servants struck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life, to the great dolour and grief of all the good men of Norfolk. Whose said wife Joan, following her husband's footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the said bishop.

About the same time also was burned Father Abraham of Colchester, and John Wadden, priest, for the like articles.

Concerning them which abjured, how, and by whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and manner of the penance enjoined them, here it might be set out at large; but for avoiding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better understanding may be given to the reader, after what manner and order all the other were treated.

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First, amongst them which were arrested and caused to abjure in this year aforesaid specified, 1428, were Thomas Pye and John Mendham, of Alburgh, who, being convicted upon divers of the articles before mentioned, were enjoined penance to be done in their own parish church, as by the bishop's letter directed to the dean of Redenhall, and the parish priest of Alburgh, doth more at large appear, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The copy of the bishop of Norwich's letter.

"William, by the sufferance of God bishop of Norwich, to our well-beloved sons in Christ, the dean of Redenhall of our diocese, and to the parish priest of the parish church of Alburgh of the same our diocese, health, grace, and benediction. Forasmuch as we, according to our office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the souls of Thomas Pye and John Mendham of Alburgh of the diocese aforesaid, because they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy Church of Rome, and the universal church and catholic faith, have enjoined the said Thomas and John, appearing before us personally, and confessing before us judicially that they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, this penance, hereunder written, for their offences, to be done and fulfilled in manner, form, and time hereunder written, according as justice doth require; that is to say, six fustigations or disciplinings about the parish church of Alburgh aforesaid, before a solemn procession, six several Sundays, and three disciplinings about the market-place of Harleston, of our said diocese, three principal market-days, barenecked, head, legs, and feet, their bodies being covered only with their shirts and breeches, either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the church, as about the market-place, in every of the aforesaid appointed days; which tapers, the last Sunday after the penance finished, we will' that the said John and Thomas do humbly and devoutly offer unto the high altar of the parish church of Alburgh, at the time of the offertory of the high mass, the same day; and that either of them, going about the market-place aforesaid, shall make four several pauses and stays, and at every of those same pauses humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three disciplinings. Therefore we straitly charge and command you, and either of you, jointly and severally, by virtue of your obedience, that every Sunday and market-day, after the receipt of our present commandment, you do effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pye and John Mendham, to begin and accomplish their said penance, and so successively to finish the same in manner and form before appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments, in this behalf, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you, or one of you, shall cite them peremptorily, that they, or either of them, appear before us, or our commissary, in the chapel of our palace at Norwich, the twelfth day after the citation so made, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they, or any of them, have any cause why they should not be excommunicated for their manifest offence in this behalf committed, according to the form and order of law, and further to receive such punishment as justice shall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the premises, whether the said Thomas, and John have obeyed your admonitions, and performed the same penance, or no, we will that you, or one of you, which have received our said commandment for the execution thereof, do distinctly certify us, between this and the last day of November next coming. Dated at our palace of Norwich, under our commissary's seal, the eighth day of October, A. D. 1428."

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This, gentle reader, was, for the most part, the order of their whole penance; howbeit, some were oftentimes more cruelly handled, and after their penance they were banished out of the diocese, and other some more straitly used by longer imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

John Beverley, alias Battild.

John Beverly, alias Battild, a labourer, was attached by the vicar of Southereke, the parish priest of Waterden, and a lawyer, and so delivered unto Master William Barnham, the bishop's commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich, there to be kept in irons; where, afterward he being brought before the commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath, that every year afterward he should confess his sins once a year to his curate, and receive the sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did; and for his offence was enjoined, that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast bread and water, and upon the Saturday to be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tombland, and by St. Michael's church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a wax candle of two pence, to offer to the image of the Trinity, after he had done his penance. And forasmuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon Easter day, and was not shriven in all Lent, nor received upon Easter day, the judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, in Whitsun week, having but one meal a day, of fish and other white meats; and after this penance so done, he should depart out of the diocese, and never come there any more.

John Skilley of Flixton, miller, and others.

John Skilley of Flixton, miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich, the fourteenth day of March, 1428, for holding and maintaining the articles above written, was thereupon convicted, and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration solemnly made, (which here, to avoid tediousness, we omit,) he had a most sharp sentence of penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this: "That forasmuch as the said Skilley was convicted, by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his house, as Sir William White, priest, and John Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, he was enjoined for penance seven years' imprisonment in the monastery of Langley, in the diocese of Norwich. And forasmuch as in times past he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoined to fast bread and water every Friday, by the space of that seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next, immediately after the seven years expired, every Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and every Maundy Thursday, he should appear before the bishop or his successor, or commissary for the time being, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Besides these there were divers other of the same company, which the same year were forced to like abjuration and penance. And so to proceed to the next year following, which was 1429, there ensueth a great number in the same register, which were examined, and did penance in like sort, to the number of sixteen or seventeen. In

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the number of whom was John Baker, otherwise called Usher Tostall, who, for having a book with the Paternoster, the Ave, and Creed in English, and for certain other articles of fasting, confession, and invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romish Church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abjure, and sustain such penance as the other before him had done.

The story of Margery Backster.

Another was Margery Backster, wife of William Backster, wright, in Martham, the same year accused; against whom one Joan, wife of Cliffeland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in form following.

"First, That the said Margery Backster did inform this deponent, that she should in no case swear, saying to her in English, 'Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting, and therefore take heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our Lady, neither by any other saint; and if ye do contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.'

"Item, This deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did every day at church, answered, that she kneeled down and said five Paternosters in worship of the crucifix, and as many Ave Marias in worship of our Lady; whom Margery rebuked, saying, 'You do evil to kneel or pray to such images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall come down out of heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted, and set under the cover of the font, will give light by night to those which are in the church; saying moreover in English, 'Lewd wrights, of stocks hew and form such crosses and images, and after that lewd painters glee them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true cross of Christ, I will show it you at home in your own house; 'which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, stretching out her arms abroad, said to this deponent, 'This is the true cross of Christ, and this cross thou oughtest and mayest every day behold and worship in thine own house, and therefore it is but vain to run to the church to worship dead crosses and images.'

"Item, This deponent, being demanded by the said Margery, how she believed touching the sacrament of the altar, said, that she believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very body of Christ in form of bread. To whom Margery said, 'Your belief is naught; for if every such sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of gods, because that a thousand priests and more do every day make a thousand such gods, and afterwards eat them, and void them out again by their hinder parts, filthily stinking under the hedges, where you may find a great many such gods if you will seek for them. And therefore know for certainty, that, by the grace of God, it shall never be my god, because it is falsely and deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry; for it is only material bread.'

"Moreover, the said Margery said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called St. Thomas, was a false traitor, and damned in hell, because he injuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised up many heresies in the church, which seduce the simple people; and therefore if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed; and those false priests that say that he suffered

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his death patiently before the altar, do lie; for as a cowardly traitor he was slain in the church door, as he was flying away.

"Moreover, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her that the cursed pope, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, and specially the bishop of Norwich and others that support and maintain heresies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them, than that cursed man Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false mammetries and laws, to extort money of the simple folk to sustain their pride, riot, and idleness. And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, which have most cruelly slain the children of God, Father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said Caiaphas, the bishop of Norwich and his ministers, which are members of the devil, before this time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had falsely obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church; which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

"Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that every faithful man or woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other days appointed for fasting by the church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times: and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the market to bring themselves in debt to buy fish; and that Pope Silvester made the Lent.

"Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsely condemned for a heretic, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a devil, one of Bishop Caiaphas's servants, struck him on the lips and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

"Item, This deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not go on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady at Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

"Also this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her that she, and Joan her maid, would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she should hear her husband read the law of Christ unto them, which law was written in a book that her husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

"Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joan West, and that the said woman is in a good way of salvation.

"Also that the said Margery said to this deponent, 'Joan, it appeareth, by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you;' and this deponent sware that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion. Then said Margery unto this deponent, 'If thou do accuse me unto the bishop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain friar, a Carmelite, of Yarmouth, which was the best learned friar in all the country.' Then this deponent desired to know what she had done to the friar. Unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said friar, rebuking him because he did beg, saying, that it was no alms

to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the plough, and so he should please God more, than following the life of some of those friars. Then the friar required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said Margery (as she affirmed to this deponent) declared to this friar the Gospels in English, and then the friar departed from her. After this the same friar accused the said Margery of heresy, and she, understanding that the friar had accused her, accused the friar again, that he would have known her carnally, and because she would not consent unto him, the friar had accused her of heresy. And moreover, she said, that her husband would have killed the friar therefore; and so the friar for fear held his peace, and went his way for shame.

"This Margery also said, that she had oftentimes been feignedly confessed to the dean of the fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life, and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. Then this deponent asked her, whether she had confessed her sins to a priest or not. And she answered, that she had never offended any priest, and therefore she would never confess herself to any priest, neither obey him, because they have no power to absolve any man from their sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men, and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no priest.

"Item, That the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship devils which fell from heaven with Lucifer, which devils, in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which stand in the churches, and have long lurked and dwelt in them; so that the people, worshipping those images, commit idolatry.

"Item, She said more to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicated which first ordained them.

"Moreover, That she should not be burned, although she were convicted of Lollardy, for that she had a charter of salvation in her body.

"Also the said deponent saith, that Agnes Berthem, her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ash Wednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a brass pot standing over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal seething in it, as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

"There were also, besides this deponent, divers others sworn and examined upon the said Margery, as John Grimley and Agnes Berthem, servants to William Clifland, which all together confirmed the former depositions."

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we have gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we find no mention made in the said registers, we are not able to declare.

The same year also were the like depositions made by one William Wright, against divers good men; as here followeth:

"First, This deponent saith, that William Taylor told John Piry of Ludney, in the house of John Bungay of Beghton, in the presence of John Bungay, Robert Grigges, wright, of Martham, and John Usher, that all the good men of Martham, which were favourers and helpers to that good man, William White, are evil troubled now-a-days, and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor, and that the best doctor after him was William Everden, which wrought with the said William

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Taylor of Ludney, by the space of one month, and that the first Sunday of the same month, the said William Everden did sit all day upon the table at work, saying to the said William Taylor, that he would not go to church to show himself a scribe or a Pharisee; and the second Sunday he put on gentleman's apparel, and went to Norwich to hearken how the bishop and his ministers used the poor Christians there in prison.

"Also the said William Wright deposed, that William Taylor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with Sir Hugh Pye, and had conversation oftentimes with Sir William White, having often conference upon the Lollards' doctrine.

"Item, That Anise, wife of Thomas Moone, is of the same sect, and favoured them, and receiveth them often; and also the daughter of Thomas Moone is partly of the same sect, and can read English.

"Item, That Richard Fletcher of Beccles, is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the Holy Scriptures, and hath a book of the new law in English, which was Sir Hugh Pye's first.

"Item, That Nicholas Belward, son of John Bel-ward, dwelling in the parish of Southelmham, is one of the same sect, and hath a New Testament which he bought in London for four marks and forty pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

"Item, That Thomas Gremner, turner, of Ditchingham, is perfect in that sect and law.

"John Clarke, the younger, of Bergh, had the bedding and apparel of William Everden in his custody, after the return of William White from Bergh, and is of the same sect.

"Item, William Bate, tailor, of Seething, and his wife, and his son, which can read English very well, are of the same sect.

"Item, William Skirving, of Seething, received Joan the wife of William White into his house, being brought thither by William Everden, after their departure from Martham.

"Item, William Osbourne of Seething, John Reeve, glover, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beccles, are of the same sect.

"Item, John Pert, late servant of Thomas Moone, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought Sir Hugh Pye into the company of the Lollards, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Moone, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

"Item, Sir Hugh Pye bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a New Testament, which they then called the Book of the New Law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

"John Parker, mercer, of a village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said, that Father Abraham, of Colchester, is a good man.

"Item, The said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed;

notwithstanding, at the length, the Lollards shall prevail and have the victory against all their enemies.

"Also he said, that Tuck knoweth all of that sect in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex."

Besides these, there were many other the same year troubled, whose names being before expressed in the table of Norfolk men, here for brevity's sake we omit further to treat of, passing over to the next year following, which was 1430.

John Burrell, servant to Thomas Moone of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresy the ninth day of September, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by Master William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, upon the articles before mentioned, and divers others hereafter following, objected against him.

"Imprimis, That the catholic church is the soul of every good Christian man.

"Item, That no man is bound to fast the Lent or other fasting days appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests; and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same days indifferently, according to his own will, and every Friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

"Item, That pilgrimage ought not to be made but only unto the poor.

"Item, That it is not lawful to swear, but in case of life and death.

"Item, That masses and prayers for the dead are but vain; for the souls of the dead are either in heaven or hell, and there is none other place of purgatory but this world."

Upon the which articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the other before had done.

Thomas Moone of Ludney was apprehended and attached for suspicion of heresy, against whom were objected by the bishop the articles before written, but especially this article, that he had familiarity and communication with divers heretics, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained divers of them, as Sir William White, Sir Hugh Pye, Thomas Pet, and William Callis, priests, with many more; upon the which articles he being convicted before the bishop was forced to abjure, and receive the like penance, in like manner as before.

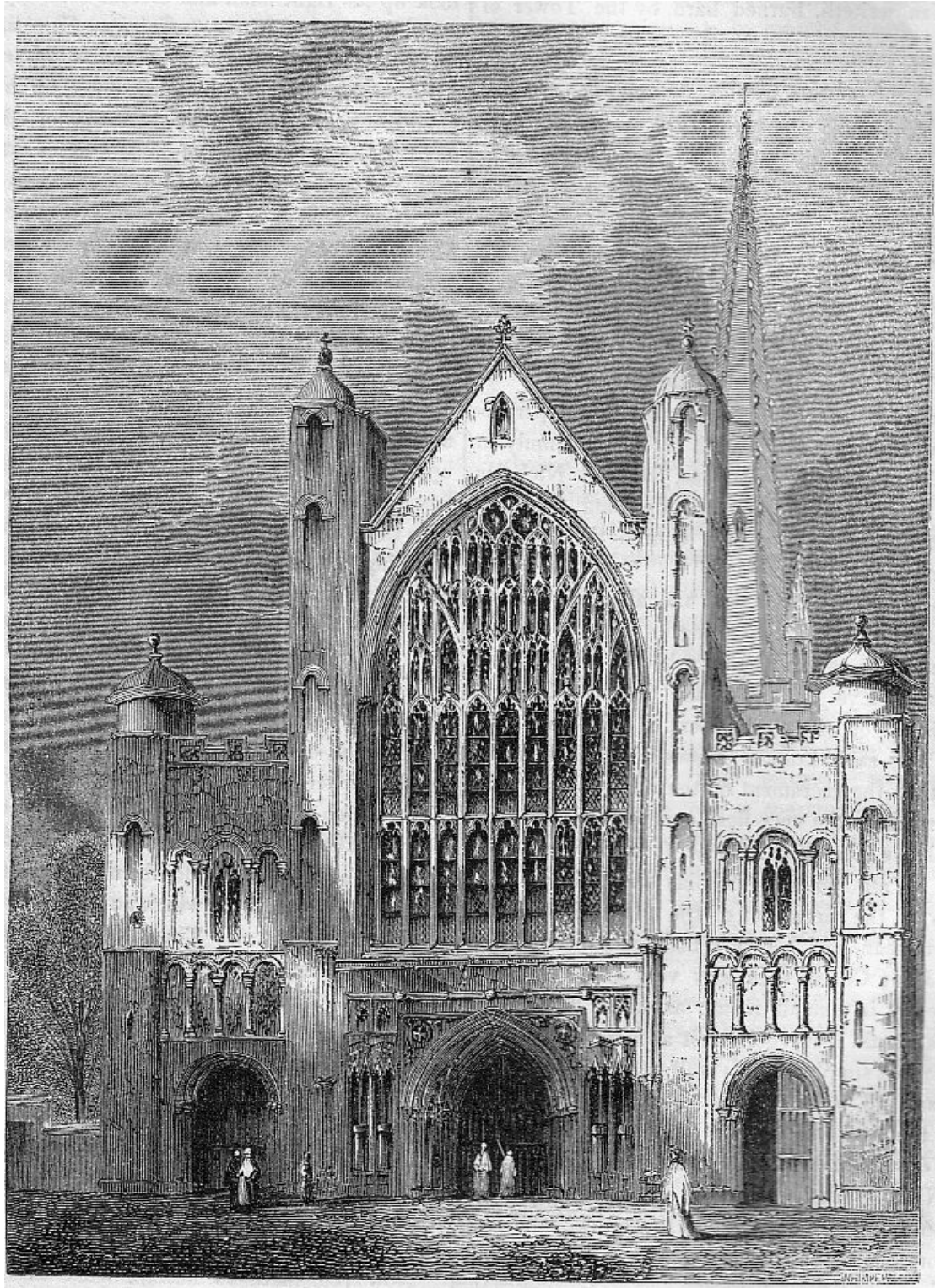
In like manner, Robert Griggs of Martham was brought before the bishop, the seventeenth day of February, in the year aforesaid, for holding and affirming the aforesaid articles, but specially these hereafter following:

"That the sacrament of confirmation, ministered by the bishop, did avail nothing to salvation.

"That it was no sin to withstand the ordinances of the Church of Rome.

"That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests made over them."

Upon which articles he being convicted was forced to abjure, and received penance in manner and form as the other had done before him.



Norwich cathedral

The like also (albeit somewhat more sharp) happened unto John Finch of Colchester, the twentieth day of September, who, albeit he was of the diocese of London, being suspected of heresy, was attached in Ipswich, in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he, being convicted of the like articles, as all the other before him, was enjoined penance, three disciplinings in solemn procession about the cathedral church of Norwich, three several Sundays,

and three disciplinings about the market-place of Norwich, three principal market-days, his head, and neck, and feet being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt, or vesture, having in his hands a taper of wax, of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity; and that for the space of three years after, every Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday, he should appear in the cathedral church of Norwich, before the bishop or his vicegerent, to do open penance amongst the other penitentiaries for his offences.

There were, besides these men which we have here rehearsed, divers and many others, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also for that their articles and punishments were all one, we have thought good at this time to pass over, especially forasmuch as their names be before recited in the catalogue.

About the same time, even the same year, 1430, shortly after the solemn coronation of King Henry the Sixth, a certain man, named Richard Hoveden, a wool-winder, and a citizen of London, received also the crown of martyrdom. Which man, when he could by no persuasions be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of Wickliff, he was by the rulers of the church condemned for heresy; and, as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the Tower of London.

Nicholas Canon, of Eye.

Now to proceed in our story of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one Nicholas Canon of Eye was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresy, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation; which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed in manner and form following:

"First, That on Easter-day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession."

This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

"Item, The said Nicholas asked of Master John Colman of Eye this question; Master Colman, what think you of the sacrament of the altar?' To whom the said Colman answered, 'Nicholas, I think that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the form of bread and wine.' Unto whom Nicholas in derision said, Truly, if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, then may very God and very man be put in a small room; as when it is in the priest's mouth, that receiveth it at mass. And why may not we simple men as well eat flesh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the priest to eat the flesh and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently?' The which article the said Nicholas denied that he spake unto Master Colman, but unto a monk of Hockesney; and furthermore he thought he had spoken well in that behalf.

"Item, That on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the

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sacrament." This article he also acknowledging, affirmed that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

"Item, When his mother would have the said Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, forasmuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand and crossed him, saying, *In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen*. Which so ended, the said Nicholas immediately, deriding his mother's blessing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his adversaries report of him." This article the said Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

"Item, That upon Allhallows-day, in the time of elevation of high mass, when many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicholas, carrying a torch, went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back, saying mass, at the time of the elevation he stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face toward the people, and would do no reverence unto the sacrament." This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. All which articles the bishop's commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent unto Master William Worsted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity, of the order of Begging Friars, that they might deliberate upon them, and show their minds between that and Thursday next following. Upon which Thursday, being the last of November, the year abovesaid, the said Nicholas was again examined, before Master Bernham, and divers other, upon two other articles which he had confessed unto J. Exetor, notary, and Thomas Gerusten, bachelor of divinity, and others. Whereof the first article was this: "That the said Nicholas Canon, being of perfect mind and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether in the sacrament of the altar were the very body of Christ or no." This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

"Item, That he, being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confess his sins to a priest." This article he also confessed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded upon the articles, whose answer unto the same was this:

First of all, as touching the first article, they said that the article, in the same terms as it was propounded, is not simply a heresy, but an error.

Item, As touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, As touching the third article, they affirm that it is a heresy.

Unto the fourth article, they answered as unto the first and second.

Item, The doctors affirm the fifth article to be a heresy.

Item, As touching the sixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the said Nicholas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the sacrament of the altar were the very perfect body of Christ or no, then the article is simply a heresy.

Whereupon the said commissary declared and pronounced the said Nicholas Canon, upon the determination of the said doctors, to be a heretic, and thereupon

forced the said Nicholas to abjure all the said articles. That done, he enjoined the said Nicholas penance for his offences, three disciplinings about the cloister of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a solemn procession, bareheaded and barefoot, carrying a taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a mere penitentiary; the which his penance the judge commanded should be respited until the coming of the bishop into his diocese, and that in the mean time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venom and poison of errors and heresies.

Thus have we briefly discoursed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in Norfolk and Suffolk by the space of those four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly for every year certain notable examples, sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, forasmuch as their opinions being nothing different, their penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise than by those particular examples may he plainly seen.

Thomas Bagley, priest.

And now to proceed as we have begun with our former stories, generally, we find in Fabian's chronicles, that in the same year of our Lord, 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, vicar of Monenden, beside Malden, being a valiant disciple, and adherent of Wickliff, was condemned by the bishops of heresy at London, about the midst of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

Paul Crow, a Bohemian.

The same year also was Paul Crow, a Bohemian, taken at St. Andrew's, by the Bishop Henry, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt, for holding contrary opinions unto the Church of Rome touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the worshipping of saints, auricular confession, with other of Wickliff's opinions.

The story of Thomas Rhedon, a Frenchman, and a Carmelite friar, burnt in Italy for the profession of Christ.

We have declared before, how this cruel storm of persecution, which first began with us in England, after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, brake out and passed into Bohemia, and after, within a short time, the fire of this persecution, increasing by little and little, invaded Scotland, and from thence now with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame hath entered Italy, and suffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murder and slaughter of most good and godly men. It happened about this time, that one Thomas Rhedon, a friar of that sect which taketh its name of the Mount of Carmel, by chance came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy. This man, although he was of that, sort and sect, which instead of Christians are called Carmelites, yet was he of a far other religion, and understood the word of God, judging that God ought not to be worshipped, neither in that mount, nor at Jerusalem only, but in spirit and truth. This man, being a true Carmelite, and savouring with his whole heart that new sweet wine of Jesus Christ, with earnest study and desire seeking after a Christian integrity of life, prepared himself first to go into Italy, trusting that he should find there, or else in no

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place, some, by whose good life and living he might be edified and instructed. For where ought more abundance of virtue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fort and fountain of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that, where so great holiness is professed, whereupon all men's eyes are bent as upon a stage, whereat St. Peter's seat is, and is thought to be the ruler and governor of all the church, all things should flourish and abound worthy of so great expectation in that place? This holy man having these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himself, forsook his own country and city, and went unto Rome, conceiving a firm and sure hope, that by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he should greatly profit in godliness and learning; but the success of the matter did utterly frustrate his hope, for all things were clean contrary. Whatsoever he saw was nothing else but mere dissimulation and hypocrisy. Instead of gold, he found nothing but coals; and to say the truth, he found nothing else there but gold and silver. Instead of heavenly gifts there reigned amongst them the pomp and pride of the world: in place of godliness, riot: instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of apostolic simplicity: that now there remained no more any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. Finally, all things were turned upside down, all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation wheresoever he went. But nothing so much offended this good man's mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in them, whom example of humility should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And albeit that he saw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the apostles; yet these things did so much pass all measure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue in so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, apparel, in their palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, in their horse and armour, and, finally, in all things pertaining unto them. Which things how much they did vary from the prescript rule of the gospel, so much the more was this good man forced to speak; albeit he did well understand how little he should prevail by speaking: for if admonition would profit any thing at all, the books of Wickliff and divers other were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, and their blood shed for the same, was yet present before their eyes: at whose most effectual exhortations, they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice more cruel than they were before. Yet all this could not fear this good man, but that in so necessary and wholesome an office he would spend his life, if need should be. So by this means, he which came to be a scholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher; and he which determined to follow other men's lives and manners, had now contrariwise set before them his life to be marked and followed. For he lived so amongst them, that his life might be a rule unto them all, and so taught, as he might also be their schoolmaster. For even as Paul had foreshowed unto such as desired to live godly in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of godliness, which they should follow: they again set upon his head the diadem of martyrdom. He showed them the way to salvation; and they for the benefit of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had been worthy for his great labours and travails, they with most extreme ignominy persecuted him even unto the fire. For when by continual preaching he had gotten great envy and hatred, the rulers began to consult together by what means they might circumvent this man's life. Here they had recourse to their accustomed remedies: for it was a peculiar and continual custom amongst the prelates of the church, that if any man did displease them, or that his talk

be not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful, or a hinderance to their lucre and gain, by and by they frame out articles of some heresy, which they charge him withal. And like as every living thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himself from harm, as nature hath armed the boar with his tusks, the hedgehog with his prickles, the lion is feared for his claws, the dog for his biting, the bull fighteth with his horns, neither doth the ass lack his hoofs to strike withal; even so this is the only armour of the bishops, to strangle a man with heresy, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition: which thing may be easily perceived and seen in this most holy man, beside a great number of other; who, when now he began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be suffered, what did they? straightways fly unto their old policies, and as they had done with Huss, and Jerome of Prague, even so went they about to practise against this man. They overwhelm him with suspicion, they seek to entangle him with questions, they examine him in judgment, they compile articles against him, and lay heresy unto his charge; they condemn him as a heretic, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godliness; this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites; whose religion was to wear no sword nor shield, notwithstanding, they did bear in their hearts malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by law, that none of these clergymen should fight with sword in the streets, when in judgment and accusations (whereas it is not lawful for a man to oppress his brother) there is no murderer which hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely esteem his brother's soul than they? They shed no blood themselves, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliver them over unto others to be slain. What difference is there, I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the ministers of the cruel fact? They kill no man as murderers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another mean.

The articles which they falsely gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:

"That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

"That infidels, Jews, Turks, and Moors shall be converted unto Christ in the latter days.

"That abominations are used at Rome.

"That the unjust excommunication of the pope is not to be feared; and those which do not observe the same do not sin or offend."

But yet there lacked a minister for these articles, albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, even men's souls; for this office and ministry there was no man thought more meet, than William of Rouen, cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount, vice-chancellor of the court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was pope, who had a little before succeeded Pope Martin above mentioned. Before the which Eugenius this godly Rhedonensis, the Frenchman, was brought, and from thence sent unto prison. And again, after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the judges. The wolf sat in judgment, the lamb was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring: but here need not many words. This good Thomas not being able to resist the malice of these mighty potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convicted and condemned to be burned, but in such sort, as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he

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had taken of priesthood. For it is counted an unlawful thing, that a priest should be punished with profane punishment, when, notwithstanding, it is lawful enough for priests to put any layman to death, be he never so guiltless.

How religiously and earnestly do they foresee, that the majesty of the priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt! But how little care have they, that their consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltless! Wherefore, before that he should come unto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and manner of this popish degrading is partly before touched in the story of William Taylor.

After that it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by after they deprived him of his life also, and burned him, four years after that he came to Rome, in the year of our Lord 1436.

And thus, through the cruelty of these most tyrannous prelates, this blessed martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loss of this body for a greater gain of salvation before the just judgment of God. Neither is it to be doubted, but that he liveth eternally under the altar with them whose blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too soon for some of them, whom the earth hath here so long holden unpunished.

As this Thomas abovesaid suffered at Rome, so were divers others, in other places about Germany, executed near about the same time, after the burning of John Huss; and Henry Grundfelder, priest, of Ratisbon, A. D. 1420; also Henry Radtgeber, priest, in the same city, A. D. 1423; John Draendorf of noble birth, and a priest, was burned at Worms, A. D. 1424; Peter Thoraw, at Spire, A. D. 1426; Matthew Hager also suffered at Berlin in Germany, not long after.

113. The Council of Basil

After the death of Pope Martin, who reigned fourteen years, succeeded Eugenius, the fourth of that name, about the year of our Lord 1431. Of whom Antonius thus writeth, That he was much given to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the Romans may declare; also the battles between the Venetians and the Florentines.

This pope began first to celebrate the council of Basil, which council, Martin, his predecessor, had before intended, according to the institution of the council of Constance. Notwithstanding, the said Eugenius, perceiving afterward this council of Basil not to favour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterward laboured by all subtle practice to dissolve and interrupt the said council, and from Basil to translate it first to Ferraria, then to Florentia, more near to his own see of Rome. Concerning the which council of Basil, forasmuch as we have begun here to make mention, it shall be no great digression out of the way, to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principal matters thereof shall seem sufficient or necessary to be known.

Here followeth the order and manner of the council of Basil, touching the principal matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged here in this present book.

In the thirty-ninth session of the council of Constance, as is before mentioned, it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of such general councils as should hereafter follow: The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth year after the said council of Constance: The second to be holden the seventh year after that; and so orderly all other to follow successively from ten years to ten years. Wherefore, according to this decree, followed a general council five years after the council of Constance, celebrate and holden at Sene, under Pope Martin, A. D. 1424, but it soon broke up. After the which council, the term of seven years being expired, another council was holden at Basil, in the year of our Lord 1431. The which council is noted to have been the most troublesome, and to have endured longer than any other council beforetime celebrate and holden in the church. This council continued almost the space of seventeen years; wherein it it was concluded, as before in the council of Constance, that the general councils were above the pope, and both of these two councils did attribute the chief authority in decreeing and determining unto the general council; which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authority of this present council.

When Pope Martin the Fifth had appointed Julian, cardinal and deacon of St. Angel, his legate, to celebrate and hold a general council at Basil, for the reformation of the church and rooting out of heresies, within short space after Pope Martin died, in whose seat Eugenius the Fourth succeeded, who confirmed unto the said Cardinal Julian the same authority which his predecessor before had given him. Unto this council of Basil, being begun, came the Emperor Sigismund, who during his lifetime, with his presence and authority, did protect and defend the said synod. After the emperor's death, Pope Eugenius, altering his former mind and purpose, would transport the council unto Bononia (that is, Bologna in Italy,) and thereby hindered the

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success of the council of Basil. And first he held a contrary council at Ferrara, and afterward at Florence. For, after the death of the Emperor Sigismund, there were no princes nor noblemen that had any care or regard of the council. Eugenius the pope pretended causes, as touching the Greeks which should come unto the council, and the uniting of the church unto the West Church, the which Greeks would in no wise pass the Alps: also as touching his own incommodity, that he could not come unto Basil, being so long a journey, and that all his men might have easy access unto Bononia, and that amongst the Germans, which in their own country are so intractable, nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinal Julian and the fathers of the council unto Bononia, under great penalty. They again cited the pope, that either he should come himself unto the council, or send ambassadors, under the like penalty. For this cause the ambassadors of Albert, king of the Romans, and of the other princes of Germany, assembled together first at Norenberge; and when they could determine nothing there, they assembled again at Frankfort to appease the dissension between the council and the pope; for it was thought that the electors of the empire might best assemble and meet in that place. In the mean time, the emperor's ambassadors and the ambassadors of the electors went into Basil, and having conference with the ambassadors of the other princes which were there, they did earnestly exhort the fathers of the council, that they would embrace and receive the unity which they would offer. The request of the princes was, that the fathers would transport the council, and go unto another place; the which only thing Pope Eugenius seemed always to seek and desire, that thereby he might either divide the fathers of the council, or take away their liberty.

Notwithstanding, this sacred synod thought good neither to deny the princes' request, nor to grant that which Pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the emperor's ambassadors, the bishops of Patavia and Augusta, being much required and stirred thereunto, appointed a noble and valiant baron, called Conrade Weinsperge, by the king's commandment, to be protector and defender of the council and the fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceived the emperor's mind to be alienate from the pope, so the fathers of the council understood his good will towards them, forasmuch as he would not have sent them a protector, if he had not judged it a lawful council; neither again would he have judged it a council in Basil, if he had given credit to Pope Eugenius. But by means of a great pestilence which began to grow, the assembly that should have been held at Frankfort was transported unto Mentz. The ambassadors of the princes also thought good to go thither, if they might find any means of unity, whereby they might unite and knit the pope again unto the council.

The assembly was very famous, for there were present the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Trevers, electors of the sacred empire, and all the ambassadors of the other electors. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Cologne was the chief favourer of the council in this assembly, who, with all his labour and diligence, went about to bring the matter unto a good end. Rabanus, the archbishop of Trevers, showed himself somewhat more rough. The sacred synod also thought good to send thither their ambassadors, and appointed out the patriarch of Aquileia, the bishop of Vicene, and the bishop of Argen: divines, John Segovius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with divers others. There was no man there present which would name himself the ambassador of Eugenius; albeit there were many of his favourers and friends come thither, both from the council, and also out of Florence, the which, albeit they had sworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more Eugenius than the council. But the chief Hercules of all the Eugenians was Nicholas Cusanus, a man singularly well learned,

and of great experience. After divers consultations had, the electors of the empire, and the ambassadors of the other princes of Germany, thought good to give out commandment throughout their whole nation and country, that the decrees of the council of Basil should be received and observed.

Whilst these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang a certain very doubtful question amongst the divines which remained at Basil, whether Eugenius might be called a heretic, which had so rebelliously contemned the commandments of the church. Hereupon they gathered themselves together, disputing long amongst themselves, some affirming, and other some holding the negative part. Upon this their disputation there arose three several opinions, some affirming that he was a heretic; other some, that he was not only a heretic, but also a relapse; the third sort would neither grant him to be a heretic nor a relapse. Amongst these divines, the chief and principal, both in learning and authority, was the bishop of Ebrun, ambassador of the king of Castile, and a certain Scottish abbot; which, as two most valiant champions, subdued all their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent unto their arguments, or gave place unto them, and so their determination took place, and Eugenius was pronounced both a heretic and relapse. Eight conclusions were there determined and allowed amongst the divines, which they called verities, the copy whereof they did divulgate throughout all Christendom.

When the ambassadors of the council were returned from Mentz, and that certain report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of the council thought good to discuss the conclusions of the divines more at large. Whereupon, by the commandment of the deputies, all the masters, and doctors, and clergy were called together, with all the residue of the prelates, into the chapter-house of the great church, there openly to dispute and discuss Eugenius's heresy. The which thing so grieved the bishop of Milan, fearing lest this disputation would work the deprivation of Eugenius, the which, as he said, he had always letted for fear of a schism. Wherefore he ceased not by all manner of ways to labour to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the last there was a great assembly in the chapter-house, some coming thither to dispute, and other some to hear. This disputation continued six days, both forenoon and afternoon, amongst whom Cardinal Ludovicus, Archbishop Arelatensis was appointed as judge and arbiter of the whole disputation; who, beside many other notable virtues, was both valiant and constant. Nicholas Amici, which was also a protector of the faith, a famous man amongst the divines of Paris, demanded of every man what their opinion was.

John Deinlefist, public notary, wrote every man's sentence and judgment. The conclusions of the divines, which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these here following:

"1. It is a verity of the catholic faith, that the sacred general council hath power over the pope, or any other prelate.

"2. The pope cannot, by his own authority, either dissolve, transport, or prorogue the general council, being lawfully congregated, without the whole consent of the council; and this is of like verity.

"3. He which doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted a heretic.

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"4. Pope Eugenius the Fourth hath resisted these verities, whereas at the first, by the fulness of his apostolic power, he attempted to dissolve or to transport the council of Basil.

"5. Eugenius, being admonished by the sacred council, did recant the errors repugnant to these verities.

"6. The dissolution or translation of the council, attempted the second time by Eugenius, is against the aforesaid verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touching the faith.

"7. Eugenius, in going about to dissolve and transport the council again, is fallen into his before revoked errors.

"8. Eugenius, being warned by the synod that he should revoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted, after that his contumacy was declared, persevering in his rebellion, and erecting a council at Ferraria, showed himself thereby obstinate."

These were the conclusions which were read in the chapter-house before the fathers of the council. Upon the which, when they were desired to speak their minds, they all in a manner confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, Panormitane, archbishop, disputed much against them. Likewise did the bishop of Burgos, the king of Arragon's almoner. Yet did they not gainsay the three first conclusions, but only those wherein Pope Eugenius was touched. This Panormitane, as he was subtle, so did he subtly dispute against the last conclusions, endeavouring himself to declare that Eugenius was not relapsed, and had great contention with the bishop of Argen, John Segovius, and Francis de Fure, divines. He divided the articles of the faith into three sorts; straitly, as in the creed; largely, as in the declarations made by the church; most largely of all, as in those things which rise of the premises; affirming that Eugenius did by no means violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the creed, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the pope cannot dissolve the councils; and that it seemeth not unto him to rise of the determinations before made, but rather of the decrees of the council of Constance. And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserved for the pope to be discussed, forasmuch as in the chapter beginning *Frequens*, it appeareth that the place where the council should be kept ought to be chosen by the pope, the council allowing the same, and nothing is thereof at all spoken. And if, peradventure, Eugenius had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding he ought to be holden excused, because he did it by the counsel of the cardinals, representing the Church of Rome, whose authority he said to be such, that the judgment thereof should be preferred before all the world. Neither had there been any sacred council found to have proceeded against Eugenius as a heretic; and that is an evident sign that the council hath not thought him to have swerved from the faith, neither to have any occasion that he should be called heretic for his errors revoked; and that he himself hath read the whole text, that the pope did not revoke the dissolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence: also that the last dissolution hath no such cause in it, forasmuch as likewise he had done it by the counsel of the cardinals, and for the uniting of the Greeks, that he might not be compelled in a criminal cause to answer by his procurator, when he, being letted by sickness, could not come personally. [And] forasmuch as in the first dissolution Eugenius hath fallen into no error of faith, he cannot be persuaded that he can be called a relapse, forasmuch as he neither in the first, neither yet in the second, dissolution did violate his faith.

This oration of Panormitane was more praised than allowed of men. Notwithstanding, this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapse was taken out of the conclusions, and instead thereof this word prolapse put in. Neither durst Panormitane himself altogether excuse Eugenius of heresy, but defended more the first dissolution, than the second; yet departed he not without answer, for John Segovius, an expert divine, rising up, answered him reverently, as was comely for such a prelate. He said, He granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the division of the articles of the faith into three points, because it made for this purpose. For if those things are to be holden for articles of faith, said he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the church, it were manifest that the conclusions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the church, that is to say, of the council of Constance; for if therein the pope be made subject unto the general council, who is it that will say that the pope hath power over the council which is above him; or that Eugenius ought to remain pope, because he could not dissolve the council, which is above him, without the consent thereof? The which article undoubtedly he hath violated and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this article was not violated, because there was no declaration made thereof, let him which so thinketh thus, understand, That the bishop of Rome ought not only to know the plain and manifest, but also the secret and hidden, things of the faith; for he being the vicar of Christ, and the head of all other, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he will not, then he shall be convicted for being head, because he continued long in the dissolution after the declaration of the council, neither did consent unto the determination of the church; and therefore if, peradventure, he did not err in the faith in dissolving of the council, yet did he err in persevering in the same, as it manifestly appeareth by the saying of Clement oftentimes alleged by Panormitane, wherein it is said, That he which liveth rebelliously, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and rather an infidel than a true believer; so that Eugenius by disobeying the church may worthily be called an infidel. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in the faith; forasmuch, as well in that answer which beginneth *Cogitanti*, as also in the answer which beginneth *Sperant*, made unto the pope's ambassadors, these words are manifest: this article concerneth faith, and we had rather die, than through cowardliness to give place. By the which saying it is evident, the synod to have sufficiently admonished the pope that he did against the faith, and therefore it seemed that afterward, when Eugenius revoked the dissolution, he also revoked the error of faith contained in the same. There are also divers offences sprung and risen through the error of faith: for some say that the pope is under the council, other some deny it, and this diversity of doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expressly against the authority of the council, that the pope did revoke the assertions made in their name.

And albeit in such revocations the style and order of judgments is not observed, notwithstanding, it doth suffice in such case when the council doth proceed against the pope, in which case only the truth is to be observed; neither is the council subject unto any positive law, that it ought to observe any terms or judicial orders. Also he said that he utterly contemned that singular gloss, which did prefer the pope before all the world, so that it might well be called singular, which decreed so foolish and fond things, and unworthy to be followed of any man; and that he did much marvel at Panormitane, and other doctors of those days, which whilst they went about to extol the authority of the glosses, do abase the same by adding a singularity thereto; for that gloss is singular which is alone. But who would not more esteem a gloss constantly written and agreeable in all places, than that which in any one place

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teacheth any thing which may seem to be an error; and that as touching the verity and truth? St. Jerome, a grave and ancient doctor, is contrary to this gloss, who doubteth nothing at all but that the world, as touching authority, is above the city itself, that is to say, Rome.

Segovius could scarcely finish this his oration without interruption; for Panormitane, oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this and now that reason. Whereupon the bishop of Argen rising up, a man not only eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled Panormitane in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose; yet they proceeded so far, that they passed the manner of disputation, and did not abstain from opprobrious taunts.

When the bishop of Argen chanced to say that the bishop of Rome ought to be the minister of the church, Panormitane could not suffer that: inasmuch that he so forgot himself that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was great) did so fail him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirm, that the pope was lord over the church. Whom Segovius answered, "Mark," saith he, "O Panormitane, what thou sayest; for this is the most honourable title of the bishop of Rome, wherein he calleth himself the servant of the servants of God. Which is gathered upon this point, when Christ said unto his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know he answered them, The princes of the people have rule and dominion over them, but amongst you it is not so, &c. Wherein he doth utterly prohibit lordship and dominion; and Peter, which was the first vicar of Christ, saith, Feed the flock of Christ which is committed unto you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly; and immediately after he said, not as lords over the clergy. For if Christ the Son of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to serve, how then can his vicar have any dominion, or be called lord, as you Panormitane will affirm? forasmuch as the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. And the Lord himself saith, Be ye not called masters, forasmuch as your only master is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you shall be your servant." Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the council brake up and departed.

The next day, there was a general congregation, and they returned all again unto the chapter-house after dinner, where the archbishop of Lyons, the king's orator, being required to speak his mind, after he had by divers and sundry reasons proved Eugenius to be a heretic, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignavy of those that had preferred such a man unto the papacy, and so moved all their hearts which were present, that they all together with him did bewail the calamities of the universal church.

Then the bishop of Burgos, the ambassador of Spain, divided the conclusions into two parts, some he called general, and other some personal, disputing very excellently as touching the three first conclusions, affirming that he did in no point doubt of them, but only that the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtful unto him. But upon this point he stayed much, to prove that the council was above the pope. The which, after he had sufficiently proved both by God's law and man's law, he taught it also by physical reason, alleging Aristotle for witness. He said, that in every well-ordered kingdom it ought specially to be desired, that the whole realm should be of more authority than the king; which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdom, but a tyranny: so likewise doth he think of the church, that it ought to be of more authority, than the prince thereof, that is to say, the

pope. The which his oration he uttered so eloquently, learnedly, and truly, that all men depended upon him, and desired rather to have him continue his oration, than to have an end thereof.

But when he entered into the other conclusions, he seemed to have forgotten himself, and to be no more the same man that he was; for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, neither gravity in oration, or cheerfulness of countenance; so that if he could have seen himself, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man might well see and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which ministered copy of matter unto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof; but when he began once to speak against her, she took away even his natural eloquence from him. Notwithstanding, Panormitane, and the bishop of Burgos, showed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confess or grant the last conclusions to be verities of faith; yet they would not that any man should follow or lean unto their opinion, which were but mean divines; but rather unto the opinions of the divines but the king of Arragon's almoner, being a subtle and crafty man, did not directly dispute upon the conclusions, but picking out here and there certain arguments, sought to let and hinder the council. Against whom an abbot of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much; and Thomas de Corcellis, a famous divine, alleged much against him out of the decrees of the sacred council, and with a certain modest shamefacedness, always beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the conclusions.

But now, to avoid tediousness, I will only proceed to declare arguments whereby the conclusions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to treat of the five last conclusions, which concern the person of Eugenius, but only upon the three first, whereunto I will adjoin several probable arguments, gathered out of the disputation of the fathers. In the first conclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed; touching the which, two things are to be required, and examined. The one, whether the general council have authority over the pope; the other, whether the catholic faith commandeth it to be believed. As touching that the pope is subject to the general council, it is excellently well proved by the reason before alleged by the bishop of Burgos. For the pope is in the church, as a king in his kingdom; and for a king to be of more authority than his kingdom, it were too absurd: ergo, neither ought the pope to be above the church. For like as oftentimes kings which do wickedly govern the commonwealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprived of their kingdoms; even so it is not to be doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the general council.

Neither do I herein allow them which attribute so ample and large authority unto kings, that they will not have them bound under any laws; for such as so do say, be but flatterers, which do talk otherwise than they think. For albeit that they do say that the moderation of the law is alway in the prince's power; that do I thus understand, that when reason shall persuade, he ought to digress from the rigour of the law; for he is called a king, which careth and provideth for the commonwealth, taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of his subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth: which if he do not, he is not to be counted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it is only to seek his own profit; for in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other only his own. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alleged wherefore kings were ordained.

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At the beginning, as Cicero in his Offices saith, it is certain, that there was a certain time when the people lived without kings. But afterward, when lands and possessions began to be divided according to the custom of every nation, then were kings ordained for no other cause but only to exercise justice. For when at the beginning the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and virtuous man, which should defend the poor from injury, and ordain laws whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when yet under the rule of kings the poor were oftentimes oppressed, laws were ordained and instituted, the which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich; whereby we do understand and know not only the people, but also the king, to be subject to the laws. For if we do see a king to contemn and despise the laws, violently rob and spoil his subjects, deflower virgins, dishonest matrons, and do all things licentiously and temerarily; do not the nobles of the kingdom assemble together, deposing him from his kingdom, set up another in his place, which shall swear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the laws? Verily as reason doth persuade, even so doth the use thereof also teach us. It seemeth also agreeable unto reason, that the same should be done in the church, that is to say, in the council, which is done in any kingdom. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we have before said, that the pope is subject unto the council.

But now to pass unto the arguments of divinity, the foundation of the matter which we do treat upon, are the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ in divers places, but specially where he speaketh unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Upon which words it seemeth good to begin this disputation, forasmuch as some were wont to allege these words, to extol the authority of the bishop of Rome. But (as it shall by and by appear) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning than divers of them do think, for he saith, And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Verily this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance; for what greater word could there have been spoken, than that the gates of hell should not prevail against the church? These gates of hell, as St. Jerome saith, do signify sins; wherefore, if sins cannot prevail against the church, neither can any malign spirits prevail against the same, which have no power at all over mankind, but only through sin. And for that cause, whereas it is said in Job, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign spirit, thereby it followeth that the power of the church is above all other power.

We may also, upon the same saying, reason after another sort; forasmuch as the gates of hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the church, the church thereby is declared to be without sin; the which cannot be spoken of the pope, which is a mortal man, forasmuch as it is written, Seven times in the day the just man doth offend. If the church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sin, who is it that will prefer a sinful man before an undefiled church? Neither let us give ear unto those which will not refer these words of Christ unto the church, whereas he saith, Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail thee. For, as St. Augustine saith in the expositions of the Psalms, Certain things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertain unto the apostle Peter, notwithstanding, they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the church, the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent. Whereupon in another place, in the questions of the New and Old Testament, upon the words, I have prayed for thee, Peter; what is doubted? did he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for James and John, beside the

rest? It is manifest that under the name of Peter all other are contained. For in another place of St. John, he saith, I pray for whom thou hast given me, and I will that wheresoever I am they shall be also with me. Whereupon we do oftentimes, by the name of Peter, understand the church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place; otherwise the truth could not consist, forasmuch as, within a while after, the faith of Peter failed for a time by the denial of Christ, but the faith of the church, whose person Peter did represent, did always persevere inviolate.

As touching the bishops of Rome, if time would suffer us, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either have been heretics, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant how that Marcellinus, at the emperor's commandment, did sacrifice unto idols, and that another, which is more horrible, did attain unto the papacy by devilish fraud and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimony of Paul unto the Hebrews shall suffice us at this time, who saith, that every bishop is compassed in with infirmity; that is to say, with wickedness and sin. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approve that the church remaineth always without sin; for in Matthew he saith, I am with you even unto the end of the world. The which words were not only spoken to the apostles, (for they continued not unto the end of the world,) but also unto their successors; neither would Christ then signify that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserve the holy church, consisting amongst his apostles and their successors, always immaculate and undefiled.

And again in another place; I, saith he, will pray, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but you shall know him, because he shall remain with you. The which words being spoke unto the disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so, consequently, unto the church. And if the Spirit of truth be continually in the church, no man can deny but that the church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the Spouse of the church, who seeth not but that the church is undefiled? For the husband and the wife, as the apostle saith, are two in one flesh, and, as he doth also add, no man hateth his own flesh; thereby it cometh to pass, that Christ cannot hate the church, forasmuch as she is his spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself: ergo, the church doth not sin; for if it did sin, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought, with the apostle, to confess that the church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he, writing unto Timothy, affirmeth the church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon, in this song to the spouse, it is said, My friend, thou art altogether fair and beautiful, neither is there any spot in thee. These words, peradventure, may abash some, that I do go about to prove the church to be without sin. For whereas the church doth contain all men which are called Christians, which also do agree and come together in one belief of faith, and participation of the sacraments, I do fear lest some men will think that I do affirm all men to be without sin, which is so far from my meaning, that I do verily think the contrary to be most true. For I suppose that there is no man in the church, being clothed in this mortal flesh, without sin. Neither do these things vary or dissent among themselves; for the church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sin. For there be always good men in the church, the which, albeit that they be subject unto human fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of

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sincere and pure virtue, that subduing all carnal desires and affections, they keep themselves a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice unto God. Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers, which affirm, that the Virgin Mary only persevered in faith at the Lord's passion. Whereupon divers have not been ashamed to say, that the faith might be so debilitated and weakened, that it should return to one only old woman; whose opinion, or rather madness, St. Paul seemeth openly to reject, writing thus unto the Romans: Do ye not know (saith he) what the Scripture writeth of Elias, how incessantly he called upon God against the children of Israel, (saying,) O Lord, they have slain thy prophets, and digged down thine altars, and I alone am left, and they seek after my soul? But what answer received he of God? I have left unto myself yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal. What other thing doth this answer of God declare, than that it is a foolish opinion of them which think the church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to believe the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant unto those men who affirm that the Virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus said unto his Father, O holy Father, save them in thy name, whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I have kept them that thou gayest unto me, and none of them perished, but only the son of perdition. And I do not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest preserve them from evil.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, and he so praying, without doubt, is heard; for he saith in another place, I know that thou hearest me. But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, swerved at the time of his passion? As for example, By what means did Christ, hanging upon the cross, commend his dearly beloved mother unto John, if so he she were either then swerved, or should by and by after have swerved from the faith? Moreover, did not the centurion by and by cry out, and say, Truly this is the Son of God? The Jews also which at that time were far distant from Jerusalem, might both be called faithful, and also saved by their faith: seeing that (as the apostle saith) men are bound unto the gospel, after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us judge that there hath been, and is, a great number of good men in the church, and by them, as by the more worthy part, let us name the church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the church is compared unto a net, which is cast into the sea, and gathered together all kind of fishes.

And again, it is compared unto a king, which made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call those which were bidden unto the wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could find. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the church; the which if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the church were. But forasmuch as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithful in the church; of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousness and avarice, yet some, notwithstanding, are clean from deadly sin. The which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the church, to be called most holy, which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our creed, one holy catholic and apostolic church; the which article, the synod of Constantinople added unto the rest: Wherefore, if the church be holy, it is also without sin. But to return to our former purpose, this word sanctum, which signifieth holy, (as

Macrobius, alleging Trebatius, affirmeth,) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for clean and uncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the church holy, as the apostle Peter calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous epistle of Clement.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by St. Paul, that Christ is the Head of the church; for if the church should wholly sin, she should not agree with her Head Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himself would signify unto us in Matthew, when he commendeth the house which was builded upon the strong Rock, against the which, neither the winds, neither the storms, could prevail. Is the house of God, saith the apostle, which is the church, builded upon the Rock, which Rock (as the said apostle declareth) is Christ? Who then is so unshamefaced, that he will affirm the church, which is founded upon Christ, to be subject to sin, and will not rather cry out with the prophet and say, O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house? Hereupon wrote John Chrysostom this golden sentence: The church never ceaseth to be assaulted, never ceaseth to be laid in wait for; but in the name of Christ it hath always the upper hand and overcome. And albeit that other do lie in wait for it, or that the floods do beat against it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the rock, is not shaken. St. Hilary also saith, that it is the property of the church to vanquish when it is hurt, to understand when it is reprov'd, to be in safety when it is forsaken, and to obtain victory when it seemeth almost overcome. Thus by many reasons and testimonies it is proved that the church doth not err, which is not spoken or affirmed of the bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the pope subject unto the church; for it is convenient, that the less perfect be subject unto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now somewhat more treat.

If authority be sought for, saith St. Jerome, (for I willingly occupy myself in his sentences, as in a most fertile field,) the world is greater than a city. What then, I pray you, Jerome? Is the pope mighty because he is the head of the Church of Rome? His authority is great, notwithstanding the universal church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one city, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the church be the mother of all faithful, then she hath the bishop of Rome for her son; otherwise, as St. Augustine saith, he can never have God for his Father which will not acknowledge the church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus understanding, called the universal church his mother, as the writers of the canons do know. And Calixtus saith, As a Son he came to do the will of his Father, so we do the will of our mother which is the church: whereby it appeareth, that how much the son is inferior to the mother, so much the church is superior or above the bishop of Rome.

Also we have said before that the church was the spouse of Christ, and the pope we know to be a vicar; but no man doth so ordain a vicar, that he maketh his spouse subject unto him, but that the spouse is always thought to be of more authority than the vicar; forasmuch as she is one body with her husband, but the vicar is not so. Neither will I here pass over the words of St. Paul unto the Romans, Let every soul, saith he, be subject unto the higher powers. Neither doth he herein except the pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it seemeth necessary that he should be subject to the church. Neither let him think himself hereby exempt, because it was said unto Peter by Christ, Whatsoever thou bindest, &c. In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the person of the church, for we find it spoken afterterward unto them, Whatsoever. ye shall bind upon earth, shall be also bound in heaven. And furthermore, if all power be given of Christ, as the apostle writeth unto

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the Corinthians, it is given for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction thereof; why then may not the church correct the pope, if he abuse the keys, and bring all things unto ruin?

Add hereunto also another argument. A man in this life is lesser than the angels; for we read in Matthew, of John Baptist, that he which is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. Notwithstanding, Christ saith in another place, that amongst the children of women there was not a greater than John Baptist. But to proceed; men are forced, by the example of Zacharias, to give credit unto angels, lest through their misbelief they be stricken blind as he was. What more? The bishop of Rome is a man; ergo, he is less than the angels, and is bound to give credit to the angels. But the angels learn of the church, and do reverently accord unto her doctrine, as the apostle writeth unto the Ephesians; ergo, the pope is bound to do the same, who is less than the angels, and less than the church, whose authority is such, that worthily it is compared by St. Augustine unto the sun, that, like as the sun by his light doth surmount all other lights, so the church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon St. Augustine writeth thus: I would not believe the gospel, saith he, if the authority of the church did not move me thereunto: the which is not in any place found to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who, representing the church, and being minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saviour Christ do specially prove the bishop of Rome to be subject to the church, as we will hereafter declare. For he, sending Peter to preach unto the church, said, Go, and say unto the church. To the confirmation of whose authority these words do also pertain, He that heareth you heareth me. The which words are not only spoken unto the apostles, but also unto their successors and unto the whole church.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the pope do not hearken and give ear unto the church, he doth not give ear unto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an ethnic and publican. For, as St. Augustine affirmeth, when the church doth excommunicate, he which is so excommunicate is bound in heaven, and when the church looseth, he is loosed. Likewise if he be a heretic which taketh away the supremacy of the Church of Rome, as the decrees of the council of Constance do determine, how much more is he to be counted a heretic which taketh away the authority from the universal church, wherein the Church of Rome and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our days, (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave authors,) that the pope is subject unto the universal church. But this is called into question, whether he ought also to be judged of the general council. For there are some, which, whether it be for desire of vain-glory, or that through their flattery they look for some great reward, have begun to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the bishop of Rome from the jurisdiction of the general council. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this present schism, but also all other schisms even unto this day have had their original. For as in times past the greedy desire and ambition of the papacy, brought in that pestiferous beast, which through Arius then first crept into the church; even so they specially nourish and maintain this present heresy which are not ashamed to beg. Of the which number some cry out and say, the works of the subjects ought to be judged by the pope, but the pope to be reserved only unto the judgment of God. Others said, that no man ought to judge the high and principal seat, and that it cannot be judged either by the emperor, either by the clergy, either by any king or people. Other affirm that the Lord hath reserved unto himself the depositions of the

chief bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirm, that the bishop of Rome, although he carry souls in never so great number unto hell, yet he is not subject unto any correction or rebuke.

And because these their words are easily resolved, they run straightways unto the gospel, and interpret the words of Christ; not according to the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, but according to their own will and disposition. They do greatly esteem and regard this which was spoken unto Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas: by the which word, they make him the head of the church. Also, I will give thee the keys of the kingdoms of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon the earth, &c. I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith should not fail. And again, Feed my sheep; Cast thy net into the deep; Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men. Also that Christ commanded Peter, as the prince of the apostles, to pay toll for them both; and that Peter drew the net unto the land full of great fishes; and that only Peter drew out his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the expositions of the fathers: the which if, as reason were, they would consider, they should manifestly perceive by the authorities aforesaid, that the pope is not above them, when they are gathered together in council, but when they are separate and divided.

But these things being passed over, forasmuch as answer shall appear by that which hereafter shall follow, we will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men upon this question. But first we would have it known, that all men which are of any name or estimation, do agree, that the pope is subject to the council, and for the proof thereof they repeat, in a manner, all those things which were before spoken of the church; for they suppose all that which is spoken of the church, to serve for the general council. And first of all they allege this saying of the gospel, Tell it unto the church. In the which place it is convenient to understand that Christ spake unto Peter, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. He saith, If thy brother offend or sin against thee, rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he give ear unto thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he do not give ear unto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not give ear unto thee, tell it unto the church.

What shall we understand by the church in that place? Shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful dispersed throughout the whole world? My yoke is pleasant, saith the Lord, and my burden is light. But how is it light, if Christ command us to do that which is impossible to be done? For how could Peter speak unto the church which was dispersed, or to seek out every Christian scattered in every town or city? But the meaning of these words is far otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted; for which cause it is necessary that we remember the double person which Peter represented, as the person of the high bishop, and a private man. The sense and meaning of his words are evident and plain enough of themselves, that they need no supplement or alteration. We must first mark and see what this word *ecclesia*, signifieth, the which we do find to be but only twice spoken of by Christ; once in this place, and again when he said to Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church. Wherefore the church signifieth the convocation or congregation of the multitude. *Dic ecclesiae*, Tell it unto the church; that is to say, Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful; the which, forasmuch as they are not accustomed to come together but in a general council, this interpretation shall seem very good, Tell it unto the church, that is to say, tell it unto the general council.

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In this case I would gladly hear if there be any man which doth think these words to be more properly expressed in any prelate, than in the council, when they must put one man for the multitude; which if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we shall from henceforth find no firm or stable thing therein? But if any man do marvel at this interpretation, let him search the old writers, and he shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy fathers and old doctors, which have first given light unto the church, as Pope Gregory witnesseth, (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holiness of his life, and his singular learning,) whose words are these, written in his register unto the bishop of Constantinople: "And we," said he, "against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldness, do observe and keep that which the truth doth command us, saying, *Si peccaverit in te frater*, that is, If thy brother do offend against thee," &c. And afterward he addeth more, "If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I do seek help of the church." The which words do manifestly declare the church here to be taken for the general council. Neither did Gregory say, that he would seek help of the church that is dispersed abroad in every place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, the general council; for that which is dispersed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Also Pope Nicholas, reproving Lotharius the king for adultery, said, "If thou dost not amend the same, take heed that we tell it not unto the holy church."

In the which saying, Pope Nicholas did not say, that he would go throughout the world to certify every one, man by man; but that he would call the church together, that is to say, the general council, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, that he which had contemned the pope's commandments, should fear the reverence of the general council. I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for that purpose, the which all tend unto one end: but this one testimony of the council of Constance shall suffice for them all; wherein it is said, that not only the pope in the correction of his brother is remitted unto the council when he cannot correct him of himself; but also when any thing is done as touching the correction of the pope himself, the matter ought to be referred to the council. Whereby it appeareth our interpretation to be most true, which doth expound the church to be in the general council. Hereupon in the Acts of the Apostles, the congregations which were then holden were called the church. Also in the council of Nice, and in other councils, when many should be excommunicated, always in manner, this sentence was adjoined, the catholic and apostolic church doth excommunicate this man. And hereupon that title is given unto the councils whereby we do say, that the general council doth represent the universal church.

Wherefore the laws and decrees of the council are called the laws of the church, for that the church doth not set forth any laws in any other place, but in the general council; except we will call the pope's constitutions the laws of the church, which cannot be properly said but of the council; whereas, albeit all these which are of the church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those which come, the whole power of the church doth consist. Whereupon we read in the Acts of the Apostles, It pleased the apostles and elders with all the church. For albeit that all the faithful were not there present, (because a great number of them remained at Antioch,) yet, notwithstanding, it was called the whole church, because the whole power of the church consisted in the council. Thus for this present it is sufficient that we understand by the church the general council.

And now to return unto our purpose, let us hear what our Saviour saith unto Peter, If thy brother do offend against thee, unto this text following, tell it unto the church; and let us understand the council by the church. Who is greater in this place, he which is sent unto the council, or the council whereunto Peter was sent? The verity doth remit the bishop of Rome unto the general council. And why so? verily because the bishop of Rome should not disdain to acknowledge some power in earth to be above him, the which he should consult withal in matters of importance, and agree unto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by another name, Simon; the which, as Rabanus in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew tongue, obedience, that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the bishop of Rome.

The authority of the council of Constance might suffice us in this point; but we think it good to stay a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adversaries, which, while they go about to maintain the insatiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they do stir up. Against the which, besides many other, Zacharias, bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strive. Who, in the great and sacred synod of Chalcedon, when the sentence of the bishop of Rome was objected unto him, that the canon of Pope Nicholas and other patriarchs was above the council, he replied against it. And Zosimus the pope saith thus, as touching the decrees of the general council, The authority of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth he here speak of the decrees of the fathers, which are dispersed abroad in cities or wilderness, for they do not bind the pope; but of them which are made and published by the fathers in the general council. For the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of Pope Leo, the most eloquent of all the bishops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto Anatholius, that the decrees of the council of Nice are in no part to be violated and broken; thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the high patriarch.

The authority also of Damasus upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto Arelius, the archbishop, as Isidorus declareth in the book of councils, whose worthy saying as touching the authority of the synod is this, That they which are not compelled of necessity, but of their own will either frowardly do any thing, either presume to do any thing, or wilfully consent unto those which would do any thing, contrary and against the sacred canons, they are worthily thought and judged to blaspheme the Holy Ghost. Of the which blasphemy whether Gabriel, which calleth himself Eugenius, be presently partaker, let them judge which have heard him say, That it is so far from his office and duty to obey the general councils, that he saith, he doth then best merit and deserve, when he contemneth the decrees of the council. Damasus addeth yet moreover: "For this purpose," saith he, "the rulers of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God, and the reverence of the whole world, are faithfully to be known and understood of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no means, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed, (which God forbid,) we do transgress against any of the decrees of the holy fathers." Notwithstanding we daily see in all the pope's bulls and letters, these words, *Non obstante*, that is to say, notwithstanding, which no other necessity hath brought in, than only insatiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

But now to return again unto Damasus, mention is made in the epistles of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, of a certain epistle, which is said to be written by

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Damasus, unto the judges deputed by the council of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter which hath been before the council. By the which saying, he doth manifestly reprove all those which affirm and say the bishop of Rome to be above the council. The which, if it were true, Damasus might have taken into his hands the cause of Bonosius, the bishop, to determine, which was before begun by the council; but forasmuch as the council is above the pope, Damasus knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilarius also acknowledging the synod to be above him, would have his decrees confirmed by the council. Also the famous doctor, St. Augustine, in his epistle which he did write unto Glorius and Eleusius, and Felix the grammarian, declareth the case. Cecilianus, the bishop, was accused by Donatus, with others. Melchiades the pope, with certain other bishops, absolved Cecilian, and confirmed him in his bishopric. They being moved with those doings, made a schism in the parts of Africa. St. Augustine reproveth them, which, having another remedy against the sentence of the pope, did raise a schism, and doth inveigh against them in this manner; Behold, let us think those bishops which gave judgment at Rome, not to have been good judges; there remained yet the judgment of the universal church, where the cause might have been pleaded even with the judges themselves, so that if they were convicted not to have given just judgment, their sentence might be broken.

Whereby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the pope alone, but also the pope with his bishops joined with him, might be made frustrate by the council; for the full judgment of the universal church is not found elsewhere but in the general council. Let not any man doubt, in that St. Augustine seemeth here only to speak of bishops, for if the text of his epistle be read over, he shall find the bishop of Rome to be comprehended amongst the other bishops. It was also prohibited by the councils of Africa, that the bishops of Rome should not receive or hear the appeals of any which did appeal from the council; which altogether declare the superiority of the council. And this appeareth more plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the apostles, because he went in to Cornelius, a heathen man, as if it had not been lawful for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the congregation, and yet it was said unto him, as well as others, Go and baptize. But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose which St. Paul writeth unto the Galatians, where he saith, he resisted Peter even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the gospel. Which words, if they be well understood, signify none other thing by the verity of the gospel, than the canon of the council decreed amongst the apostles; for the disciples, being gathered together, had so determined it. Whereupon St. Paul doth show that Peter ought to have obeyed the general council.

But now to finish this disputation, we will here adjoin the determination of the council of Constance, the which council aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certain order of living, declared, by a solemn decree, that all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred general councils. And although there be a certain restraint, where it is said, in such things as pertain unto the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church, as well in the head as in the members; notwithstanding this amplificative clause, which is adjoined, is to be noted, with all the appurtenances. The which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus unto his apostles, Go ye forth and teach all people. He did not say in three points only, but teach them to observe and keep all things whatsoever I have commanded

you. And in another place he saith, not this or that, but whatsoever ye shall bind, &c., which all together are alleged for the authority of the church and general councils. For the preferment whereof these things also come in place: He that heareth you, heareth me. And again, It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God. Also, Where two or three be gathered in my name, &c. Again, Whatsoever ye shall ask, &c. O holy Father, save them whom thou hast given me, &c. And, I will be with them even unto the end of the world. Also out of St. Paul these places are gathered: We are helpers of God, &c. Which hath made us apt ministers of the New Testament, &c. And he appointed some apostles and some prophets, &c. In all which places both Christ and the apostles spake of the authority of many, which all together are alleged for the authority of the universal church.

But forasmuch as that church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordain any thing, therefore, of necessity it is to be said, that the chief and principal authority of the church doth consist in the general councils, where they assemble together. And therefore it was observed in the primitive church, that hard and weighty matters were not treated upon, but only in the general councils and congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward; for when the churches were divided, general councils were holden. And in the council of Nice we do find the heresy of Arius condemned; in the council of Constantinople the heresy of Macedonius; in the council of Ephesus the heresy of Nestorius; in the council of Chalcedon the heresies of Eutychius were also condemned: forasmuch as they thought the judgment of the bishop of Rome not to suffice to so great and weighty matters; and also they thought the sentence of the council to be of greater force than the sentence of the pope, forasmuch as he might err as a man; but the council, wherein so many men were gathered together, being guided with the Holy Ghost, could not err. Also it is a very excellent saying of Martianus the emperor, which serveth for that purpose, whose words are these, "Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men, will stick to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of mere madness, at the noon-time and fair day-light, to seek for a feigned light; for he which, having found the truth, seeketh to discuss any thing further, seeketh but after vanities and lies.

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the bishop of Rome is under the council. Notwithstanding, some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the council or not: for albeit it be proved that he is under the council, yet for all that will they not grant that he may be also deposed by the council. Wherefore, it shall be no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say upon that matter: and first of all, to speak of these railers which are yet so earnest for the defence of the bishop of Rome, which, being vanquished in one battle, still renew another, and contend rather of obstinacy than of ignorance. They would have here recited again that which we have before spoken, as touching the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome, or the patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words than eloquent, they stay much of this point, where Christ said unto Peter, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; as though by those words he should be made head over the other. And again, they do amplify it by this, Feed my sheep; which they do not find to be spoken to any other of the apostles. And because it is said that Peter was the chief and the mouth of the apostles, therefore they judge it well spoken, that no man shall judge the chief and principal see; being all of this opinion with Boniface, which said, that the pope ought to be judged for no cause, except he be perceived or known to swerve

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from the faith, although he do carry innumerable people with him headlong into hell, there to be perpetually tormented: as though he could open the kingdom of heaven to others, if any other could shut it against him; that he could feed other, if he himself lacked pasture.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty. For St. Augustine, in the sermon of the nativity of Peter and Paul, saith in this wise, Our Lord Jesus Christ., before his passion, chose his disciples, as •ye do know, whom he called brethren. Amongst those, Peter alone almost in every place represented the person of the church, and therefore it was said unto him, Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. These keys did he not receive as one man, but as one he received them for the church. And in another place, where he writeth of the Christian agony, he saith, The keys of the kingdom of heaven were given unto the church, when they were given unto Peter. And when it was spoken unto him Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep; it was spoken unto them all. And St. Ambrose in the beginning of his Pastoral, saith, "Which sheep and which flock the blessed apostle St. Peter took no charge of alone, but together with us, and we all together with him." By which words the foundation and principal arguments of those flatterers are utterly subverted and overthrown. For if Peter represented the person of the church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words unto Peter, but unto the church. Neither do I see how that can stand which Boniface doth affirm, for it is far distant from the truth, except it be understood otherwise than it is spoken.

But it may, peradventure, seem a great thing unto some, that it is said the bishop of Rome to be the head of the militant church. For as in the body of man physicians do never give counsel to cut off the head for any manner of sickness and disease, although it be never so full of ulcers, or infected: so in this mystical body of the church the head ought always to be kept; and albeit it be never so wicked, yet is it to be suffered and borne withal. But now convert this argument: If it were possible in the body of man, when one head is taken away, to find another to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the church, should not heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diseases? Moreover, if we will thus reason, that the head of the church should be, in respect of his body, as the head of man in respect of the body of man; then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die, as is manifest in the body of man. So should it grow into an absurdity to confess, that the pope being dead, the church also should be dead: the which how far it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore whatsoever other men say, I am not of opinion with them, which affirm the bishop of Rome to be head of the church, except peradventure they do make him the ministerial head: for we do read that Christ is the Head of the church, and not the pope; and that he is the true Head, immutable, perpetual, and everlasting, and the church is his body, whereof the pope himself is also a member, and the vicar of Christ, not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore if he be found a damnable destroyer of the church, he may be deposed and cast out, be-cause he doth not that he was ordained to do: and we ought, as Pope Leo saith, to be mindful of the commandment given us in the gospel: that if our eye, our foot, or our right hand do offend us, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord saith in another place, Every tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire. And in another place also it is said unto us, Take away all evil and wickedness from among you. It is very just and true which is written in the epistle of Clement, unto James the brother of our Lord, that he which will be saved ought to be separated from them which will not be saved.

But for the more manifest declaration hereof, we must have recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the Gospel of John: I am the true vine, saith the Lord, and my Father is the husbandman, but ye are the branches; every branch thereof that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off: These words were spoken unto the apostles, amongst whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Also St. Jerome upon these words of Matthew, Unsavoury salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and trodden of swine. Whereupon in the person of Peter and Paul he saith thus, "It is no easy matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keep the chair of them which reign with Christ. This unsavoury salt, that is to say, a foolish prelate, unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, deposed, and to be trodden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty prelates, as their own flock and herd." Behold, this testimony of Jerome is plain and evident; "Let him be cast out," saith he. He expoundeth and speaketh it of the prelate which usurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the bishop of Rome, who, being unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be deposed (as Jerome affirmeth) from his degree and dignity. Neither, as some do dream, is he to be deposed for heresy only. Isidorus, in the Book of Councils, rehearseth a certain epistle of Clement, the successor of Peter, written unto James the apostle, where the said Clement, referring the words of Peter unto himself, saith thus, "If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thyself, and those which shall give ear unto thee; for thou canst not fully distribute unto every man those things which pertain unto salvation: whereby it shall come to pass that thou, as a man, for not teaching those things which pertain unto salvation, shalt be deposed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance." Notwithstanding, in another place, instead of this word deposed, it is found, Thou shalt be punished; which two words, if they be well understood, do not much differ, for deposition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment. But peradventure some will here object, that this epistle is not to be judged Clement's, because it is said to be written unto James, who, as the ecclesiastical history affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But Clement might think that James was alive when he wrote: which were far distant asunder, and messengers of the Christians came not often unto Rome. Moreover, there is mention made of this epistle in divers places of the decretals, as most true, and therefore it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same epistle: where he saith, that he which liveth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learn and to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and doth show himself rather to be an infidel than a faithful Christian. Upon which words, the gloss which Panormitane calleth singular, and is much allowed, saith, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, ergo, also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault deposed; otherwise he should be accused in vain.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the pope may be deposed. Notwithstanding, it is not yet evident whether he may be deposed by the council or no, which we now take in hand to discourse. And, first of all, the adversaries will grant this unto us; that the bishop of Rome may be deposed by the church, forasmuch as the pope being the vicar of the church, no man doubteth but that a lord may put out his vicar at his will and pleasure; neither is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the church, than of Christ. But if the church may depose the pope, ergo, the council also may do the same. Also the gloss,

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which Panormitane in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence; that the general council is judge over the pope in all cases. Likewise the most sacred synod of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the bishops of Rome to be under the judgment of the council; and the council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt thereof, because this word deposition is not mentioned; for it is said of every doubtful matter or question; for if the synod do judge of every doubt; ergo, it shall also judge whether the pope shall be deposed or not: for that may also come in doubt. And because we will not seek examples far off, John the Twenty-third, whom all the world did reverence, was deposed of his papacy by the council of Constance. Neither yet was he condemned for any heresy; but because he did offend the church by his manifold crimes, the sacred synod thought good to depose him: and ever since continually the church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirm that the pope cannot be deposed but only for heresy.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certain men do affirm the general councils to be of no effect, except the pope do call and appoint them, and his authority remain with them. Whereupon they said that Dioscorus did rebuke Paschasius the bishop of Sicily, and legate of Pope Leo, because that he did enterprise, without the authority of the apostolic see, to call a council at Ephesus. They also allege another testimony of the synod of Chalcedon; where, when mention was made of the council of Ephesus, all the bishops cried out, saying, "We ought not to call it a council, because it was neither gathered by the apostolic authority, neither rightly kept." By the which authorities, they which say that the councils cannot be holden without the consent of the pope, do think themselves marvellously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prevail as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruin and decay of the church. For what remedy shall we find, if that a wicked pope do disturb the whole church, destroy souls, seduce the people by his evil example, if finally he preach contrary unto the faith, and fill the people full of heresies? shall we provide no stay or stop for him? shall we suffer all things to run to ruin and decay with him? Who would think that the bishop of Rome would congregate a council for his own correction or deposition? for as men are prone unto sin, so would they also sin without punishment. But when I do peruse ancient histories, and the Acts of the Apostles, I do not find this order, that councils should be gathered only at the will of the pope; for the first council of all, after that Matthias was substitute in the place of Judas, was not congregate at the commandment of Peter, but at the commandment of Christ, who commanded the apostles that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but look for the promise of the Father.

The second council, as touching the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the twelve apostles; for it is written, The twelve apostles calling together the multitude, &c.

The third council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a general inspiration; for it is written, The apostles and elders came together, &c.

The fourth council, where certain things contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to be gathered by James, and so discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitive church, whereby it should appear that the authority of congregating of councils should pertain only unto bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of Constantine the Great, and other emperors, was the consent

of the bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of councils; and therefore it is written thus of the synod of Chalcedon, "The sacred and universal synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chief city of the province of Bethulia, according unto the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and Christian emperors Valentinian and Martian, doth not make any mention of the bishop of Rome, although his consent were there."

Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would have no council congregate, yet if the greater part of the church do judge it necessary to have a council, the council may be congregate whether the pope will or no. The council holden at Pisa was not congregate by the authority and consent of any pope, when Gregory did condemn it, and Benedict cursed it. The same also may be aid of the council of Constance, which was assembled the authority of Pope John, who in respect of the Spaniards was no true pope. And if the council of Pisa were no true council, Pope John was no true pope: whereupon his consent to the congregation of the council of Constance was of no effect. Moreover, it is more than folly to affirm, that when the pope hath once given his consent, if it should be called back, the council should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to revoke his consent. And of necessity he must be obedient unto the council, whereof he is a member, and give place unto the greater part; and if he separate himself from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the unity of the church, he maketh himself a schismatic.

Now, to come unto the second conclusion: if it be true, as it is indeed, that the pope is under the council, how can the pope then dissolve, alter, and transport the council, against the will of the same? For with what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power over the superior? How can the synod correct the pope, if the pope may dissolve the synod contrary to the will thereof? Admit that the pope be libidinous, covetous, a sower of war and discord, and a most mortal enemy unto the church and the name of Christ, how can the council reprove him, if he have authority to dissolve the council? For as soon as ever that the bishop of Rome shall understand, that in the council they do treat or talk of his correction or punishment, straightways he will seek remedy by dissolving the council. For, as Macrobius saith, He that hath liberty to do more than is fit or necessary, will oftentimes do more than is lawful. If so be that the bishop of Rome may exempt himself from correction by dissolving or transporting the council, it followeth that the council is not above him. Therefore we must either deny that which is aforesaid, that the pope is under the council, or else deny that the pope hath power to dissolve the council, contrary to the will and determination of the council.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are all other conclusions false, which seem to impugn the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the divines is also manifest, albeit that some do admit it in certain cases, and in other some exclude it again. For if we do admit, that for certain causes the pope may dissolve the council contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the pope judge of the council, it were clean contrary unto the first conclusion.

Now it is proved that the council is above the pope, and cannot be dissolved by the pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an article of our faith to believe it; which matter hath respect unto the third conclusion. For there have been many, which albeit they did confess those two conclusions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the catholic faith or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed. And we must see whether it be an article of faith that

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the pope be under the council. Which being proved, it shall also appear to be an article of faith, that the pope cannot dissolve the council without the consent thereof. Which consequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. First of all, therefore, we must inquire what faith is, that we may thereby the better understand what pertaineth thereunto.

Faith, as the divines do define it, is a firm and stedfast cleaving unto things, believed by the authority of him that speaketh. If then we believe, as is aforesaid, that the pope of Rome is under the council, some authority doth move us thereunto; so is it the faith of him which believeth it. But the question is not, whether it be an article of faith only, but whether it be an article of the catholic faith. Wherefore we must again inquire what the catholic faith is. This word catholic is a Greek word, and signifieth universal. The catholic faith, that is to say, the universal faith, is not so called because that every man holdeth it; but because every man ought to believe it. For all men do not believe that God is incarnate, but every man ought so to believe. And albeit that many be against this faith, yet doth it not cease to be universal. For what writeth the apostle unto the Romans? If some of them have not believed, doth their misbelief make the faith of God vain? God forbid. Verily God is true, but every man is a liar. Therefore to believe that the pope is under the council, is a point of catholic faith, although some think the contrary; for we are bound to believe it, forasmuch as it is taken out of the gospel. For we are not bound only to believe those things which are noted to us in the Creed, but also all those things which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, whereof we may not deny one jot. And those things which we allege for the superiority of the general council are gathered out of the sayings of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the epistles of St. Paul; *ergo*, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove that these things are taken out of the gospel, the council of Constance doth witness, the which groundeth his authority upon these words, *Dic ecclesiae*, that is to say, Tell it unto the church. And, Where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c. And, Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.; with other such-like texts.

Whereupon Pope Martin the Fourth, being yet at Constance, under the licence of the council, sent out his bulls, which do reckon up the articles whereupon they ought to be examined which had fallen into any heresy; amongst the which articles he putteth this article: "Whether he do believe the sacred general council to have power immediately from God, and that the ordinances thereof are to be received of all faithful Christians, which, if any man would deny, he should be counted a heretic." Wherefore, when the sacred synod of Constance doth set forth this verity, as touching the superiority of the general council, what should let, but that we also should confess the same to be a verity of the catholic faith? For the catholic church being congregated at Constance, received that faith, that is to say, believed it by the authority of him which spake it, that is, Christ and his saints.

To this purpose also serve very well the words of the synod of Chalcedon, written in this manner: "It is not lawful for him that is condemned by the whole synod to nominate any bishop. The determination pleaseth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary unto this, is a heretic." And again, it is a rule, that it is not lawful to appeal from the elect and chosen synod.

Mark the manifest witness of this most sacred synod, which said, that he is a heretic which holdeth any opinion contrary unto the council: But he is no heretic, except he refuse the catholic faith; *ergo*, it was the catholic faith to believe that it was not lawful to appeal from the sacred council. But how was the same any point of the

catholic faith? Verily forasmuch as the sacred synod, perusing over the Holy Scriptures, hath received this conclusion out of the words of Christ and other holy fathers, And like as the synod of Chalcedon took their conclusions out of the Holy Scriptures, so did the council of Constance; this we now reason upon. And like as the one is an article of the catholic faith, so is the other also. And he which holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is a heretic.

Furthermore, they seem unto me to dream and dote, which, confessing them to be verities, will not confess them to be verities of faith. For if they be verities, I pray you, whereof are they verities? Truly not of grammar, much less of logic; and from astronomy and physick they are far distant. Neither is there any other man but a divine, that will grant this verity, whom Scripture doth force unto it of necessity, if he do believe Christ, or his apostles. Therefore this is a verity of the catholic faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he which obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be judged a heretic, as the third conclusion doth affirm. Neither let any man think it hard or cruel, that he should be called a heretic, which goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of the general council, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities. Also Panormitane allegeth St. Jerome, saying, "He which understandeth the Scripture otherwise than the consent of the Holy Ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the church, may be called a heretic."

Whereupon it followeth, that he which upon the words of Christ, saying unto Peter, *Dic ecclesiae*, Tell it unto the church, doth not understand by the church the general council, understandeth it otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as a heretic. And to prove that the sense of the Holy Ghost is otherwise than he doth judge it, the council of Constance doth declare; the which interpreting those words, Tell it unto the church, spoken by the Holy Ghost, understandeth them to be spoken of the general council. By these and many other weightier reasons the three aforesaid conclusions seemed true unto the divines, and through them they also allowed the residue.

Now have we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised; neither do I think any man now to be in doubt of these three first conclusions. Now to return again unto our story, it is our purpose to declare those things which happened after the conclusions of the divines; for there are many things worthy of remembrance, which also may happily be profitable unto the posterity. When the disputation was ended, and a final conclusion of these matters even at hand, the archbishop of Milan, and Panormitane, with the residue of their fellow ambassadors of the king of Arragon, and duke of Milan, armed themselves with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomachs.

And first of all, as soon as the congregation was assembled together, the bishop of Burgos exhorted them to defer the conclusion, and to tarry for the ambassadors of other provinces, which would return from Mentz.

After him Panormitane, with a grave and rhetorical oration, spake (in a manner) as followeth I have, said he, had a commandment by the prophet, to cry without ceasing. Which prophet said, Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before he ought to have cried, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaring out, when the state of the universal church is treated upon, either to be preserved, or utterly overthrown: and that he hath

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cried so much in this matter, that he doubted not but the saying of David was fulfilled in him, where he saith, I have laboured, crying out, that my jaws are become hoarse.

Notwithstanding that he would, both now, and as often as need should require, without ceasing still cry out, and especially now in this most difficult and weighty matter; wherein he required the sacred council gently to hear both him, and the ambassadors of other princes: adding, moreover, four things to be considered in all requests made of any man; the which he also required the fathers now presently to mark and consider: Who it is that maketh the request. What is required. Why it should be required. And what effect would come by the request either granted or denied. As touching the first point, he said, the most noble kings and excellent princes with their prelates, to be of great power; and then he reckoned up the king of Castile, the king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the bishops of the same princes, rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said kings, and also of the duke of Milan. But when he came to make mention of the prelates, he could not refrain himself, but began to wax somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of prelates were on his part. For if the bishops and abbots were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greatest part of them would have this present matter deferred; and forasmuch as the whole power of the council doth consist in the bishops, it is not to be suffered, that, they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded which pleased the greater part of the inferiors. For the keys, said he, were given to the apostles, and to their successors, which are the bishops; also that there are three kinds of synods, episcopal, provincial, and general, and none of all these without bishops. Wherefore the manner and order of the present council seemed undecent, whereas things were not weighed according as men excel in dignity, but by most voices: notwithstanding, according to the most famous epistle of Clement, the bishops were the pillars and keys of heaven, and the inferiors had no determining voice, but only a consultative voice with them; wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalf, if a matter of faith should be determined without the bishops; in which matter not only the bishops, but also the secular princes, ought to be admitted. And forasmuch as they, in the name of their princes, desired to be admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was, that they should be contemned or despised.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed over to the second part of his oration, declaring what it was that he required; not gold, nor silver, neither precious stones, neither provinces nor kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done; but that only the delay of the sacred council was required, and that the fathers would stay in the process against the pope, in the conclusion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but only until the return of the ambassadors from Mentz, whom he knew well would return very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and needed but small entreaty, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seem injurious, not to tarry for the ambassadors of the princes which were then at Mentz, when they were not absent for their own private commodity, but about the affairs of the commonwealth, and the commodity of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence there should be nothing renewed concerning the matters of Eugenius.

Then immediately adjoining the third part of his oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private commodity of any one man, but for a commonwealth; not to cause any trouble or inquietness, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might pass with peace and quietness,

that the matter might be so much the more firm and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so he proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would consider, and weigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they should grant or deny this request; "for," saith he, "if ye shall deny this small petition of the princes, they all will be aggrieved therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your decrees. In vain shall ye make laws, except the princes do execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vain; yet would I think this to be borne withal, if I did not fear greater matters to ensue. What if they should join themselves with Eugenius, who desireth to spoil you not only of your livings, but also of your lives? Alas, what slaughter and murder do the eyes of my mind behold and see! Would God my opinion were but vain. But if you do grant and consent unto their petitions, they will think themselves bound unto you; they will receive and embrace your decrees and whatsoever you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your adversary, they will speak evil of him and abhor him; but you they will commend and praise, you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly submit themselves; and then shall follow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the church." And thus he required the matter to be respited on all parts. At the last he said, that except the ambassadors of the princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

When Panormitane had made an end of his oration, Ludovicus, the protonotary of Rome, rose up, a man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous men aforetime. Insomuch that he had always in memory whatsoever he had heard or read, and never forgot any thing that he had seen. This man, first commending Panormitane, said, That he came but the day before from the baths, and that it seemed unto him a strange thing which was now brought in question; wherein he desired to hear other men's minds, and also to be heard of others, and that those prelates which were at Mentz should be tarried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their princes, which prelates were men of great estimation, and the orators of most mighty princes.

He allowed also the saying of Panormitane, touching the voices of the inferiors, that it seemeth not to be against the truth, that only bishops should have a deciding or determining voice in councils. And albeit that some in this disputation do think that which is written in the 15th chapter of the Acts to be their force or defence; notwithstanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor took it to be of any effect, albeit it was said, it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost and to us; whereas both the apostles and the elders were gathered together; whereby it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marvelled at than to be followed; and that it doth not appear there, that the apostles called the elders of duty, but that it is only declared that they were there present; whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it seemed unto him, that the inferiors in the council of Basil were admitted to determine with the bishops but of grace and favour only, because the bishops may communicate their authority unto others. He alleged for testimony the bishop of Concen, a man of great authority, who would not suffer any incorporation, or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore neither any inferior, neither himself, which as yet was not made bishop, to have any decided voice in the council. Wherefore, forasmuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand,

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and that the bishops spake against it, he required the council that they would of necessity stay and tarry for the ambassadors of the princes coming from Mentz.

His oration was so much the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words, and specially in that point, that he said the apostles were not to be followed; for that all men did impugn as a blasphemy. But here a man may marvel, that a man of such excellency alleged no more or better matter. But in this point the memory of the man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly speak in this matter, and desired nothing so much as not to obtain that which he entreated for. After him many other spake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and defer the conclusion of these matters.

Then Ludovicus, the Cardinal Arelatensis, a man of marvellous constancy, and born for the governance of general councils, gathering together the words of all the orators, spake in this wise: "Most reverend fathers, this is no new or strange business, nor begun to-day or yesterday; for it is now many weeks ago since the conclusions were disputed upon amongst the divines, and sent unto Mentz, and to all other parts of the world. After this they were disputed upon six days continually, and fully discussed; and after that, not without great delay, approved by the deputies; and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publicly and openly. Neither can any man pretend ignorance, neither are the prelates or princes contemned; for we called all that were present at Basil, and exhorted all the rest to be present. And forasmuch as mention is made of the most noble king of Castile, who is it that is ignorant that the king's orators were there present? The bishop of Burgos and Ebrun, men of singular learning and eloquence, and you also, Panormitane, yourself, which here represent the person of the most famous king of Arragon, were twice present yourself in the chapter-house, and disputed twice most subtly, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What do you desire any more? Also out of the territory of the duke of Milan there was present the archbishop of Milan, who, albeit he be no ambassador, yet how famous a prelate he is, you are not ignorant." When he had spoken these words, the archbishop, being somewhat moved, said unto him, "My lord cardinal, you supply the place of a president no better than I do the place of a duke's orator;" and began to taunt him with many words. But the cardinal, as he was a man most patient, and would not be provoked to anger by any means, said, "This is it that I even now desired; for if the archbishop be an ambassador, then hath the duke no cause to complain, which had his orator present at the discussing of those matters.

"I pass over other princes, because they do not complain. Notwithstanding, the most Christian king of France had there the bishop of Lyons, a grave and sober man, his ambassador, at the disputation. As for other princes, I see no cause why they should be tarried for, which, knowing the council to be congregated for such matters as pertain unto faith, do not think it absurd that the doubtful matters of faith should be declared in the council; whereunto if they had been willing to come, they would have been present ere this.

"Why this matter should need so much discussing as some will have, I do not understand. For if I be well remembered, Panormitane, and also Ludovicus, have oftentimes affirmed in this place, even the very same thing which the conclusions signify. And if any of them now will go about to gainsay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto Didimus; to whom, when on a time he repugned against a certain history, as vain and frivolous, his own book was delivered unto him, wherein the same was written; so likewise these two men, (meaning Panormitane and Ludovicus the

protonotary,) although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their own writings. Besides this, there are synodal epistles and decrees of this council, which are full of such conclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficulty can be raised? What is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that again in doubt, which hath so often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (say they) the princes and ambassadors are absent, which are bishops, by whose presence the decrees should be of more authority. Well, they are not only absent which are gone to Mentz, but almost an infinite number of others, dispersed throughout the whole world; whom if we should tarry to look for, nothing at any time should be decreed. They are all called unto the council; they might have come if they would. To those that are present power is given, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they which are absent are about the affairs of the commonwealth; truly we sent them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the council, than with the consent thereof.

"And admit that they had been sent by the council, yet were not our power so much restrained but that we might reform the church, for otherwise there could never any thing be done in the council; forasmuch as always some are sent out by the council, and some are always to be looked and tarried for, and therefore we must either do nothing at all, or send out no prelates from the council. Whereas he said that prelates, and specially bishops, are contemned, that is most far from the truth, for they have the chief and first places. They speak first, and give their voices first of all unto all things; and if so be they do speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors, without any gainsaying, did soon follow their mind.

"Neither peradventure shall it be found untrue, that there was never any synod, which did more amplify the power and authority of bishops, than this. For what have the bishops been in our days, but only shadows? Might they not well have been called shepherds without the sheep? What had they more than their mitre and their staff, when they could determine nothing over their subjects? Verily in the primitive church the bishops had the greatest power and authority; but now was it come to that point that they exceeded the common sort of priests only in their habit and revenues. But we have restored them again to their old state; we have reduced the collation of benefices again unto them; we have restored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought again the causes of the subjects to be heard into their hands, and have made them bishops which were none before. What cause is there then, that the bishops should say they are contemned of the council? or what injurious thing have we at any time done unto them? But Panormitane saith, that forasmuch as most bishops are on his part, and few against him, the conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors; but let Panormitane remember himself, that this is no new kind of proceeding.

"This order of proceeding, the council ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time since. And this order, Panormitane, in times past hath pleased you well enough, when the multitude did follow your mind. But now, because they do not follow your mind, they do displease you. But the decrees of the council are not so mutable as the wills of men. Know ye, moreover, that the very same bishops which do consent with you in word, do not consent with you in mind, neither speak the same secretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their country, that except they would follow your mind they should displease the king. They fear the power of the prince. and to be spoiled of their temporalities; neither have they free liberty to speak as is requisite in councils. Albeit

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if they were true bishops, and true pastors of souls, they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their sheep, neither be afraid to shed their blood for their mother the church.

"But at this present (the more is the pity) it is too rare to find a prelate in this world, which doth not prefer his temporalities before his spiritualities, with the love whereof they are so withdrawn, that they study rather to please princes than God; and confess God in corners, but princes they will openly confess. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his gospel, Every one, saith he, that confesseth me before men, I will confess him before my Father which is in heaven. And contrariwise, the Lord will not confess him before his Father, which is afraid to confess the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitane saith, most bishops to be on his part; for here are many bishops' proctors whom he doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignity of the fathers to be respected in the council, as he saith, but only reason; nor any thing more to be looked for than the truth; neither will I for my part prefer a lie of any bishop, be he never so rich, before a verity or truth of a poor priest. Neither ought a bishop to disdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poor learned and eloquent priest should be preferred before his. For wisdom dwelleth oftener under a bare and ragged cloak, than in rich ornaments and apparel.

"Wherefore, I pray you, my lord bishops, do not so much contemn your inferiors; for the first which died for Christ, the which also opened unto all other the way of martyrdom, was no bishop, but only a Levite. As for that which Ludovicus and Panormitane do allege, touching the voices of bishops, I know not where they have it. Wherefore, I desire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old councils, we shall find that the inferiors were always present with the bishops. And albeit that Ludovicus do forbid us the examples of the apostles, I stay myself most upon their doings. For what is more comely for us to follow, than the doctrine and customs of the primitive church? It is said, therefore, in the 15th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us. The which word (to us) is referred unto them which are before named the apostles and the elders. Neither this word, (it seemed good,) signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth that other beside the bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the said Acts, when the apostles should treat upon a weighty matter, they durst not determine by themselves, but the twelve called together the multitude.

"Here Ludovicus saith, that it doth not appear that the apostles called other of necessity; but I say unto him, how knowest thou that they did not call them of necessity? But forasmuch as both parts are uncertain, nothing doth prohibit us to follow the apostles. For seeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the apostles would give us example, that in weighty matters we should admit our inferiors. And therefore in all councils which were celebrated and holden afterwards, we find that priests were also present; as in the council of Nice, which of all other was most famous, Athanasius being then but only a priest, withstood the Arians, and infringed their arguments, albeit there were also other priests. And albeit mention be made of three hundred twenty-two bishops, yet it is not denied but that the inferiors were there, whom I think to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable; for as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part is taken of the most worthy.

"In the synod of Chalcedon, (which was counted one of the four principal synods,) it is said that there were there present six hundred priests; the which name is common both unto bishops and priests. In other councils the name both of bishops and priests is omitted, and mention made only of fathers, which hath the same signification that this word elders hath in the Acts of the Apostles. We have also a testimony of the ecclesiastical history, how that there was a council gathered at Rome of sixty bishops, and as many priests and deacons, against the Novatians, which called themselves Cathari.

Also, when Paul the bishop of Antioch, in the time of Galienus the emperor, preached, that Christ was a man of common nature, the council assembled against him in Antioch; whereunto there came bishops out of Cesarea, Cappadocia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Jerusalem, and many other bishops, priests, and deacons; and it is said, that for that cause the council was often holden.

"And at the last in the same place, under Aurelius the emperor, Paul was condemned of all Christian churches which were under heaven: neither was there any man which did more confound the said Paul, then Malchion, a priest of Antioch, which taught rhetoric in Antioch. But to make no long digression from the matter, we have most evident testimonies for the defence of inferiors. For the chief and principal amongst all the divines, St. Austin, upon the words of Matthew, where Christ saith to Peter, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, saith, that by those words the judicial power was given not only unto Peter, but also to the other apostles, and to the whole church, the bishops and priests. If then priests have a judicial power in the church, what should let that they have not also a determining voice in the councils? The famous doctor St. Jerome doth also agree with St. Austin, whose words are these upon the Epistle of Paul unto Titus. Before that difference was made in religion by the instigation of the devil, or that it was spoken amongst the people, I hold of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the churches were governed by the common consent and council of the priests; for a priest is the very same that a bishop is. Wherefore all bishops ought to understand, that they are of greater power than priests, rather by custom, than by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the church together. And this we do also gather out of Paul unto Titus, which maketh so much concordance between bishops and priests, that oftentimes he calleth priests bishops: whereby it doth evidently appear, that priests are not to be excluded from the conventions of bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit, as St. Jerome writeth, that bishops only by custom are preferred before priests, it may be that a contrary custom may take away that custom. For if priests ought to rule the church together with the bishops, it is evident that it also pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the church.

"Wherefore the testimony of St. Paul is evident; for, as he, writing unto the Ephesians, saith, If Christ instituted his apostles, prophets, pastors, and teachers to the work of the ministry, for the edifying of his church, until such time as we should meet him, for this purpose, that there should be no doubt in the diversity of doctrine; who doubteth, then, but that the governance of the church is committed unto others together with the apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seem to be no wiser than they ought to be. The memorial of the council of Constance is yet fresh in memory, where divers of us were present, and I myself also, which was neither cardinal nor bishop, but only a doctor, where I did see, without any manner of doubt or difficulty, the inferiors to be admitted with the bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of

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that most sacred and great council, which also followed the examples of the council of Pisa, and the great council at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the priests did jointly judge together with the bishops.

"Moreover, if abbots, as we do see it observed in all councils, have a determining voice, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ; why should not priests have the same, whose order Christ ordained by his apostles? Hereupon also, if only bishops should have a determining voice, nothing should be done but what pleased the Italian nation, the which alone doth excel all other nations, or at the least is equal with them, in number of bishops. And howsoever it be, I judge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the inferiors should be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

"Behold, you do see the zeal, constancy, uprightness, and magnanimity of these inferiors. Where should the council now be, if only bishops and cardinals should have their voice? Where should the authority of the councils be? Where should the catholic faith be? Where should the decrees and reformation be? For all things have now a long time been under the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpose, except these inferiors, whom ye now contemn, had withstood him. These are they which have contemned the privation made by Eugenius. These, I say, are they which have not regarded his threatenings, spoil, and persecution. These are they which, being taken, imprisoned, and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the council; yea, even these are they, who, albeit they were by Eugenius delivered over for a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred council, and feared not to suffer war, famine, and most cruel pestilence; and finally, what thing is it that these men have not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the council? You might have heard this inferior sort, even in the midst of their tribulations, with a loud voice cry out and say, 'Albeit that all men become obedient unto that subverter of the church, Eugenius, and that every man do depart from the verity of the faith and constitutions of the fathers, consenting unto the commandments of Eugenius, yet we and our brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers:' the which indeed they have done. Neither could they be feared with threatenings or discouraged with any spoils, neither could any fear or hope turn them from their most blessed purpose. And, (to speak somewhat of mine own order,) whether any cardinals have done the like or no, that judge you.

"As for the bishops, whom Panormitane alone would have to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, and even they which are here present are not able by virtue to overcome iniquity, they fear the terrene power, and commit offence with their haste. Have ye not heard how they all said, they would consent unto the king's will and pleasure? But the inferiors are they which have had truth, righteousness, and God himself before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for showing themselves such men unto the church of God. But why do I defend the cause of these inferiors? when some will also exclude those bishops which are but bishops by name and title, and have no possession of the church, from our company, not understanding that whilst they go about to put back those men, they do condemn Peter, and the other apostles, who (as it is evident) were long without any great flock, neither was Rome unto Peter, nor Jerusalem unto James, at any time wholly obedient; for at that time no great number of people, but a small flock, believed in Christ.

"For, I pray you, what is that we should require of these bishops? They have no flock; but that is not their fault. They have no revenues; but money maketh not a bishop, and, as the Lord saith, Blessed are the poor in spirit. Neither was there any rich bishops in the primitive church, neither did the ancient church reject Dionysius, bishop of Milan, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, or Hilary, bishop of Pictavia, although they were never so poor, and banished without a flock. But if we will grant the truth, the poor are more apt to give judgment than the rich; because that riches bring fear, and their poverty causeth liberty. For the poor men do not fear tyranny as our rich men do, which being given over unto all kind of vanities, idleness, and sloth, will rather deny Christ than lack their accustomed pleasures; whom not their flock but their revenues make bishops, delighting so much in riches, that they judge all poor men unhappy. But, as Cicero saith, 'Nothing can happen better unto a wise man, than mediocrity of substance.' Whereupon it is written in the Gospel, It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

"But now, to return to a more full declaration of Panormitane's words, I determine to pass over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his oration, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cause they make their petition. We grant that they are great men, and men of power, and (as he doth affirm) that they have deserved good of the church; neither do I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon which he spake of, it is now to be inquired. A delay, saith he, is required; a delay for a few days. A small matter; a matter of no importance; a matter easy to be granted. Notwithstanding, let Panormitane here mark well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are already declared; they be already discussed and determined. If now there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay; for oftentimes the delay of one moment is the loss of a whole year; hereof we have many examples. Hannibal, when he had obtained his victory at Cannæ, if he had gone straight unto Rome, by all men's judgments he had taken the city. But forasmuch as he did defer it until the next day, the Romans having recovered their force again, he was shut out, and deserved to hear this opprobry:

Hannibal, thou knowest victory to get,
But how to use it thou know'st not yet.'

"Likewise the Frenchmen, after they had taken Rome and besieged the capitol, whilst that they greedily sought to have great sums of money, and delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus, coming upon them, did most shamefully drive them out again. But what need I to rehearse old stories, when our own examples are sufficient for us? Ye know yourselves how often these delays have been hurtful unto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath grown to a long tract of time. For now this is the eighth year that you have spent in delays, and you have seen, that always of one delay another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore I do require that Panormitane should consider, that the conclusion being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to pass hereafter again or no; many impediments or lets may rise. Neither doth Panormitane say, that this delay, being obtained, he would afterward consent with his fellows unto the conclusions, for he denieth that he hath any commandment thereunto; and, which is more to be considered, he saith, that the ambassadors, at their return from Mentz, may bring such news, whereby these conclusions may be omitted; as though any thing were more excellent than the truth.

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"The which thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seek delays for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugn the conclusions the more strongly. Neither do I agree with Panormitane, as touching the effects which he said should rise, either of the denial or granting of the requests; for I see no cause why the princes should so greatly require any delay. There are no letters of any prince come unto us as touching such request, neither is there any man lately come from them, neither is it greatly material unto them, but that the matters of faith should be determined. But this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of those most godly princes; where he saith, if we do please them, they will take our part; if contrariwise, they will decline unto Eugenius, and wholly resist and rebel against us. This is a marvellous word, and a wonderful conclusion, altogether unworthy to be spoken of such a man. The decrees of the council of Constance are, that all manner of men, of what state or condition soever they be, are bound to the ordinances and decrees of the general councils. But Panormitane's words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the princes obedient unto the council, but the council to be obedient unto the princes.

"Alas, most reverend fathers, alas, what times and days, what manners and conditions, are these! Into what misery are we now brought! How shall we at any time bring to pass, that the pope, being Christ's vicar, and (as they say) another Christ in earth, should be subject unto the council of the Christians, if the council itself ought to obey worldly princes? But I pray you, look for no such things at the princes' hands. Do not believe that they will forsake their mother the church. Do not think them so far alienated from the truth, that they would have justice suppressed.

"The conclusions, whereupon the controversy is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the princes do refuse them, they do not resist against us, but against the Holy Scriptures, yea, and against Christ himself; which you ought neither to believe, neither was it comely for Panormitane so to say. Panormitane, (by your licence be it spoken,) you have uttered most cruel words, neither do you seem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and fear into the minds of the fathers; for you have rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit ourselves unto the princes.

"But you, most reverend fathers, shall not be afraid of them that kill the body, the soul they cannot kill; neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same. Neither ought we to be any whit more slack in the quarrel of our mother the church, and the catholic faith, than those most holy martyrs, which have established the church with their blood. For why should it be any grievous matter unto us to suffer for Christ, which for our sakes hath suffered so cruel and grievous death? who, when he was an immortal God, void of all passions, took upon him the shape of a mortal man, and feared not for our redemption to suffer torments upon the cross. Set before your eyes the prince of the apostles, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, and Bartholomew, and (not to speak only of bishops) mark what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian, and Fabian did. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some stoned to death, other some burned, and others tormented with most cruel and grievous torments suffered for Christ's sake. I pray you, for God's sake, let us follow the example of these men. If we will be bishops and succeed in honour, let us not fear martyrdom. Alas, what effeminate hearts have we! Alas, what faint-hearted people are we! They in times past, by the contempt of death, converted the whole world, which was full of Gentility and idolatry; and we, through our sluggishness and desire of life, do bring the Christian religion out of the whole world into one corner; and I fear greatly, lest

the little also which is left we shall lose through our cowardliness, if that, by following Panormitane's mind, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the church unto the princes. But now play the stout and valiant men in this time of tribulation, and fear not to suffer death for the church, which Curtius feared not to do for the city of Rome; which Mencotheus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly took upon them.

"Not only the martyrs, but also the Gentiles, might move and stir us to cast off all the fear of death. What is to be said of Theremeus the Athenian? with how joyful heart and mind, and pleasant countenance, did he drink the poison! What say you unto Socrates, that most excellent philosopher? did he either weep or sigh when he supped up the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certain of; not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better.

"Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many examples, instructed with so great learning, yea, and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so greatly to fear death.

"Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which have cheerfully and courageously gone unto those places, from whence they knew they should not return. With like courage did the Lacedemonians give themselves to death at Thermopolis, of whom Symonides writeth thus:

'Report thou, stranger, the Spartans here to lie,
Whiles that their country laws they obeyed willingly.'

"Neither judge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went even of purpose unto death; unto whom their captain Leonidas said, 'O ye Lacedemonians, go forward courageously, for this day we shall sup together with the infernal gods.' But I, most reverend fathers, do not invite you unto the infernals, as he did his Lacedemonians, but unto the celestial and everlasting joys of paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truth's sake, and patiently abide the threatenings of these princes, if there be any threatenings at all. I call you unto that eternal glory, where there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good and perpetual things do abound; where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man banisheth, no man murdereth, and finally, no man dieth. Where all men are blessed and happy, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortal, all are of like estate; and that all men have, every man hath, and that every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well consider, we shall truly answer Panormitane, as Theodorus Cyrenensis is said to have answered Lysimachus the king, when he threatened to hang him, who said, 'I pray you, threaten these horrible things unto your courtiers; as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground or under the ground.' So likewise let us answer unto the princes, if there be any that do threaten us, and let us not fear their torments.

"What doth a longer life prevail to help us? No man hath lived too short a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of virtue. And if the death which a man suffereth in the quarrel of his country, seemeth not only to be glorious amongst the rhetoricians, but also happy and blessed, what shall we say for these deaths which are sustained for the country of all countries, the church? Truly, most reverend fathers, it is too much that our adversaries do persuade themselves of you, for they judge you fearful, sluggish, and faint-hearted; and therefore they do object princes unto you, because they think that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, exile, in the quarrel and defence of the church. But I think you will esteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining

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of ever-lasting life, to do the same which shipmen do for the obtaining of transitory riches, to put themselves in danger of the sea and wind, and suffer most cruel storms.

"The hunters lie abroad in the nights in the snow, in the hills and woods, and are tormented with cold; yet have they none other reward, but some wild beast of no value or price. I pray you, what ought you then to do whose reward shall be paradise? I am ashamed of your ignavy, when I read that women, yea, even young maidens, have violently obtained heaven through their martyrdom, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This river of Rhine, which runneth along by the city, in times past hath carried eleven thousand virgins unto martyrdom. In India (as Cicero writeth) when any man was dead, his wives (for there they had many wives) came into contention who should be burned with him; and she whom he loved best having vanquished the other (all the rest joyfully following her) was cast into the fire with the dead carcass of her husband, and burnt. The other which were overcome, departed full of heaviness and sorrow, wishing rather to have died than live.

"The which courage we now taking upon us for Christ's sake, will answer Panormitane even as the Lacedemonians answered Philip, who, when by his letters he threatened them, that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him, whether he would also let them to die. Therefore, as you are excellent men, so use your virtue, which is always free, and remaineth always invincible. For you do know that power is given of the Lord, and strength from the Most High; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts, unto whom ye should be careful to render a good account, judging rightly and keeping the law of righteousness, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

"And whereas the ambassadors of Eugenius do openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the bishop of Rome above the universal church, to the end that ignorant souls be not snared, ye shall not cease or leave to publish the three first conclusions, following the example of the apostle Paul, which would in no point give place unto Peter when he walked not according to the gospel. As for the other matters which do respect only the person of Eugenius, because Panormitane and the other ambassadors of the princes shall not say that we do pass our bounds, ye shall defer them for this present."

When Cardinal Arelatensis had made an end of this oration, there was a great noise, crying out and brawling every where. The president's commandments were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order observed; for sometimes they spake unto Panormitane, sometimes unto Ludovicus; no man was suffered to speak, but in haste the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiors with their fellows. All was full of contention and debate; which even as Ludovicus the patriarch of Aquileia perceived, a man of no less courage and stomach than of nobility and birth, being also a duke, for the zeal that he bare unto the universal church, turning himself unto Panormitane and Ludovicus the protonotary, he said, "Do not think the matter shall so pass, you know not yet the manners of the Germans, for if you go forward on this fashion, it will not be lawful for you to depart out of this country with whole heads." With which words Panormitane, Ludovicus, and the archbishop of Milan being stricken, as it were with lightning from heaven, rose up, and said, "Is our liberty thus taken from us? What meaneth it that the patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads should be broken? "And turning themselves unto John, earl of Diernstein, who then supplied the protector's place, they demanded of him whether he would defend the council, and preserve all men in their liberty, or no?

The citizens also and senators were present to provide and foresee that no offence should rise, for the citizens observed always this order, that they would be present in all affairs, which they supposed would breed dissension, foreseeing specially that no tumults should rise, otherwise than with words. They used always such a marvellous foresight and providence, that no man unto this day could have any cause against them, to complain for violating their promise. Wherefore if at any time any citizens have deserved well at the hands of the church, surely this praise is to be given unto the Basilians. These men, together with John, earl of Diernstein, being present in the assembly of the fathers, gave a sign of preservation of their liberty. The earl (albeit he was moved at the strangeness of the matter, for he would not have thought so great contentions could have risen amongst wise men) answered by his interpreter, that they all should be of good cheer; for the emperor's safe-conduct should be observed and kept even to the uttermost; neither should the patriarch nor any other once violate the liberty or take away the assurance granted by the emperor. Notwithstanding he desired the patriarch that he would call back his words again, and not to speak any more in such sort. But that famous father, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed his whole mind unto John Bacheisteine, auditor of the chamber, a man both grave and eloquent, to be declared; who affirmed that the patriarch's mind was not to threaten any man, or disturb the liberty of the council, but to move the fathers unto constancy, that they should be mindful of the reformation which they had promised unto the whole world, and not to say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow; for if they would so do, it were to be feared lest the laity, seeing themselves deluded, and despairing of reformation, should rise against the clergy.

Therefore he admonisheth the fathers to foresee and provide for the peril, that they should not depart from the council, nothing being determined or done; and finally he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the council, Panormitane, or any other man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly said, that humility is the sister of nobility; both which did very excellently appear in this man. Yet for all this could not the humility of the patriarch stop or stay their noise or cries; for as often as mention was made of reading the *concordatum*, great noise and rumours were still made to stop the same. Then Amodeus, archbishop of Lyons, and primate of all France, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with the zeal of faith, which he saw there to be stopped and suppressed, said, "Most reverend fathers, I have now a great occasion to speak; for it is now seven years or more that I have been amongst you, yet have I never seen the matter at that point which it is now at, most like unto a miracle; for even presently I do behold most wonderful signs of miracles: for it is no small matter that the lame do walk, the dumb do speak, and that poor men preach the gospel. Whereupon, I pray you, cometh this sudden change? How happeneth it that those which lie lurking at home, are now suddenly started up? Who hath given hearing to the deaf, and speech to the dumb? Who hath taught the poor man to preach the gospel? I do see here a new sort of prelates come in, which unto this present have kept silence, and now begin to speak. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugn justice.

"But this is more to be marvelled at than any miracle, that I do see the best learned men of all impugn our conclusions which are most certain and true; and they which now reprove them in times past allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Ludovicus, the protonotary, preached these verities at Louvaine and at Cologne, and brought them from thence confirmed with the authorities of the universities.

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Wherefore, albeit that he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And therefore I desire you and beseech you all, that ye will not give ear unto these men, which albeit they are most excellently learned, yet have they no constancy in them, which doth adorn all other virtues."

When he had ended his oration, Ludovicus the protonotary rising up, said, "It is most true that I brought those verities, but you do call them verities of faith, which addition seemeth very doubtful unto me." When he had spoken these words, Cardinal Arelatensis required that the concordatum of the twelve men should be read, and many whispered him in the ear, that he should go forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then Panormitane, as soon as the concordatum began to be read, rising up with his companions and other Arragons, cried out with a loud voice, saying, "You fathers do contemn our requests, you contemn kings and princes, and despise prelates; but take heed lest whilst that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greatest part of prelates, we make the council, and it is our part to conclude; and I in the name of all other prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed." With this word there sprang such a noise and rumour in the council, as is accustomed to be in battle, with the sound of trumpets and noise of horsemen, when two armies join; some cursing that which Panormitane went about, other some allowing the same; so that diversity of minds made divers contentions.

Then Nicholas Amici, a divine of Paris, according unto his office, said, "Panormitane, I appeal from this your conclusion to the judgment of the council here present; neither do I affirm any thing to be ratified which you have done, as I am ready to prove, if it shall seem good. The contrary part seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it seen how they could conclude amongst so great cries and uproars. Notwithstanding, amongst all this troublous noise, John Segovius, a singular divine of the university of Salamanca, lacked not audience; for the whole council was desirous to hear him: wherefore all men, as soon as he rose up, kept silence, and he, perceiving that they were desirous to hear him speak, began in this sort:

"Most reverend fathers, the zeal and love of the house of God forceth me now to speak, and I would to God that I had been either blind this day, not to have seen those things which have happened, or that I had been deaf, that I should not have heard those words which have been spoken. Who is it that is so stony or hard-hearted, which can abstain from tears, when the authority of the church is so spoiled, liberty taken away both from us and the council, and that there is no place given unto the verity. O sweet Jesus, why hast thou forsaken thy spouse? Behold and look upon thy people, and help us if our requests are just.

"We come hither to provide for the necessity of the church, we require nothing for ourselves, and our desire is only that truth might appear. We trusted now to have concluded upon the verities which were sometimes allowed in the sacred deputations. The orators of the princes are present, and require the conclusions to be deferred. But we be not unmindful of those things which Ambrose wrote unto Valentinian the emperor in this manner: If we shall treat upon the order of the Holy Scripture and ancient times past, who is it that will deny but that in case of faith (I say, in case of faith) the bishops ought to judge upon Christian emperors, and not emperors upon bishops? Neither do we admit their petition but upon most urgent causes.

Notwithstanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilst that they did speak even so long as they would.

"But now if any of our part would speak, by and by he is interrupted, troubled, and letted. What honesty is this? what modesty or gravity? is it lawful so to do in the council? where is the decree of the council of Toulouse now become? (where are our decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also all small babblings and talk?) They say, it is because we contemn them; but they are they which not only contemn the council, but also resist the same. The patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no evil intent or purpose, and by and by they complained that their liberty was broken; but they, when they do enforce the council, when they forbid the president to speak, and will not suffer the ordinances to be read, do not judge that they do any thing contrary to the liberty of the council. They say, they are the council themselves, and yet they entreat the council. These things do not I understand; for if they be the council, why do they entreat themselves? If they be not the council, why do they not suffer the council to speak? Why do they not look for an answer of him to whom they make their petitions?

Truly this is too much violence, and certes our patience is also too much, to suffer such excess even in the face of the church. But this doth most of all grieve me, and this do I most marvel at, that Panormitane, a man of singular wit and doctrine, did conclude without any discussing or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the twelve men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eyes had beheld and seen, I would scarcely believe if any other man should report it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I may sufficiently credit myself, the matter seemeth so horrible: for I do not see by what authority his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the authority of his king, who he saith will have it so. But you, most reverend fathers, take heed that ye bring in no such custom; for so it shall come to pass, that in all matters, a few froward prelates shall have one to conclude for them.

"And albeit Panormitane hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet, notwithstanding, I do require you, most reverend fathers, to follow the example of the apostle, who (as Arelatensis hath very well declared) would not give one hour's respite unto Peter, when he swerved from the truth of the gospel. The faith is speedily to be relieved and holpen; neither doth any thing sustain more danger by delays, than faith doth. For heresies, except they be rooted out at the first, when they are once grown, are hardly taken away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to help and aid. Hoist up your sails, and launch out your oars. What should we tarry looking for either the prelates or the princes? You are now in conflict: I only desire that you would hasten unto the victory. Regard not the threatenings of those princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons: For you are blessed, saith the Lord, when men curse you and persecute you, speaking all evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. What is it, I pray you, that the princes do so much object against us? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the furnace of hot burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of those princes? I beseech you, most reverend fathers and loving brethren, have no less hope in Jesus Christ, than Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego had, which feared not that old king Nabuchodonosor: and let the people know, that the Most High ruleth over the kingdoms of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaseth. God beholdeth all things from above; he is (I say) in the midst amongst us; wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and show yourselves as a strong wall for the church of God; suffer not

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the faith to perish under your hands. The Almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Fear not them which seek only to kill the body. Do justice and equity, and be assured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the backbiter and slanderer. Again, I say unto you, show yourselves valiant and stout: defend your mother the church. And unto thee, O thou president, I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God than man; for if thou depart thence without a final conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait judgment of God." And thus without any more words he sat down in his place.

In the mean time many grave and ancient men had exhorted Panormitane that he should give over his conclusion. The bishop of Burgos was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make unity and concord amongst the fathers, and went about to make a unity with all men. But neither the fathers of the council were determined to depart without a conclusion; neither was Panormitane minded to alter his intent and purpose. All things were disturbed, neither did the prelates sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as every man's affection led him. Some went to the Cardinal Arelatensis, some unto Panormitane, and exhorted them, as if they had been princes or rulers of armies. Then Arelatensis, knowing the matter to be in danger, and that there was no ready way to make a conclusion, thought to use some policy to appease the tumult.

"Most reverend fathers," said he, "we have received now letters out of France, which declare unto me marvellous things; that there are incredible news sprung up there, which, if you will give me willing audience, I will declare unto you." By this means there was a sudden silence throughout the whole council, and by this marvellous policy he made all men attentive to hear. When he saw he had free liberty to speak, without either fable or history of any letters sent, he opened the whole order of the matter, and, as it is requisite in an orator, came by little and little to the principal point, saying, that "Eugenius's messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the authority of the bishop of Rome above the general council; against whom, except speedy remedy were found, it would come to pass that many would give credit unto them, and therefore the sacred council ought of necessity to provide remedy, and of necessity to conclude upon the verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the Eugenians might be repressed; which verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the fathers' intent to conclude upon them all, but only the three first: even as I also," saith he, "here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

When he had finished his oration, with a cheerful and merry countenance, rising up, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that being a Frenchman born, had that day vanquished the Italians, which were men of great policy. Howbeit this was all men's opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the Holy Ghost, than by the cardinal's own power. The other of the contrary faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another; so that their countenances declared unto every man that they were overcome. Something more also is reported of Panormitane, that when he came to his lodging, and was gone unto his chamber, he complained with himself upon his king, which had compelled him to strive against the truth, and put both his soul and good name in danger of losing; and that in the midst of his tears and complaints he fell asleep, and did eat no

meat until late in the evening, for very sorrow, for that he had neither ignorantly, neither unwillingly, impugned the truth.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians, what were best to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leave the council, other some thought it meet to tarry, and withal endeavour to resist that nothing should further be done against the Eugenians; and this opinion remained amongst them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of April, the archbishop of Lyons, and the bishop of Burgos, calling together the prelates in the chapter-house of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The bishop of Burgos persuaded, that there should be deputations appointed that day, unto whom the archbishop of Lyons should give power to make an agreement. Unto whom answer was made, as they thought, very roughly, but, as other judged, gently, but notwithstanding justly and truly; for they said there could be no unity of concord made before the adversaries confessed their fault, and asked pardon therefore.

The day following, the said bishop of Burgos, with the other Lombards and Castilians, went unto the Germans, and from thence unto the senate of the city, speaking much as touching the prohibiting of schisms. The Germans referred themselves to those things which the deputation should determine. The senate of the city (as they were great men in wisdom, which would do nothing without diligent advice and deliberation) answered, that the matter pertained not unto them, but unto the council: the fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the Christian faith; and if there were any danger toward, it should be declared unto the council, and not to the senate. For they believe that the elders of the council, if they were premonished, would foresee that there should no hurt happen: as for the senate of the city, it was their duty only to defend the fathers, and to preserve the promise of the city. With this answer the bishop of Burgos departed.

In the mean time the fathers of the council had drawn out a form of a decree upon the former conclusions, and had approved the same in the sacred deputations. By this time the princes' orators were returned from the assembly at Mentz, and holding a council amongst themselves, they had determined to let the decree. The ninth day of May, there was a general convocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part putting forth himself unto the conflict.

The princes' ambassadors were called by the bishop of Lubeck and Conrad de Winsperge the protector into the choir, and there kept, where they treated of a unity, and by what means it might be had, and there they tarried longer than some thought to do; the which matter gave occasion to bring things well to pass, beyond all expectation, for the only form of the decree was appointed to be concluded that day. Whereupon, as soon as Cardinal Arelatensis perceived the congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with silence, he thought good not to delay it for fear of tumult, but commanded by and by the public concordances to be read, wherein this was also contained, that the Cardinal Arelatensis might appoint a session whensoever he would. Which being read, he, being desired by the promoters, concluded according as the manner and custom is. The ambassadors of the princes being yet in the choir, as soon as they understood how the matter passed, being very much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talk, imputing all things to the bishop of Lubeck, which of purpose had kept them in the choir, and protracted the time. Whereupon they, entering into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

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First of all, the orator of Lubeck complained both in his own name and the name of the proctor, as touching the conclusion, and required that the council would revoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to entreat a peace, and to be a proctor between the council and the ambassadors of the princes. But the archbishop of Turnon said, that it seemed unto him, every man to have free liberty to speak against that law which should be promulgated unto the session, when the canons should be consecrated and receive their force; when the bishops, in their pontificalibus, after the reading of the decree in the session, should answer that it pleased them; otherwise the demand which was made by the promoters in the session, to be but vain; and for that the conclusions were not yet allowed in the session, therefore he said that he might without rebuke speak somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in such a short time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but even now; notwithstanding that he, being an archbishop, ought to have known the matter, that at his return home he might inform the king, and also instruct those which were under him; and that he and his fellows, before any session should be, would both hear and be heard of others. Neither doth it seem good unto him that the session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the ambassadors of the princes had done at Mentz, which would peradventure be such as might alter and change the minds of the fathers. Then the bishop of Concen, ambassador of the king of Castile, which was also lately returned from Mentz, a man of great understanding, but lacking utterance, grievously complained that the prelates were contemned. "Neither had it been," said he, "any great matter if they had been tarried for, which not without great danger and expenses went to Mentz, not for their pleasure, but of necessity." And afterward, as it were, smiling, he said, "How mad am I, that would have the prelates to be tarried for, until they return from Mentz, when they are not tarried for whilst they came out of the choir of the church! Do therefore as ye list: if there rise any offence or mischief hereupon, neither are we, the ambassadors of Castile, to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our most noble king."

Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed against the Cardinal Arelatensis; but especially the bishop of Milan railed most cruelly upon him, saying that he fostered and maintained a rabble of sophisters and schoolmasters, and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them; calling him also another Catiline, unto whom all desperate and naughty persons had refuge, that he was their prince, and ruled the church with them; and that he would not give ear unto the ambassadors of the most noble princes, or to the most famous prelates in this most weighty matter. Albiganensis, a bishop, and a man of great nobility, descended of the emperor's blood, albeit he had never alienated his mind before from the council, yet, lest he should seem to dissent from other ambassadors of the princes, he made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the prelates. After this it came unto Panormitane to speak, who, as he had a greater vehemency in speaking, so also he did declare a more angry stomach and mind; for in the beginning of his oration he seemeth not to go about, according to the precept of the orators, to get the good-will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he said that our Saviour showed four signs in the gospel, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate; For he which is of God, saith he, heareth the words of God, but ye hear not the words of God, because ye are not of God. And again, He that doeth evil hateth the light. And in another place also, By their fruits ye shall know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.

All which sayings he wrested against the fathers of the council, because they would not hear the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace which the ambassadors had spoken; because they fled from the light in the absence of the ambassadors, privily concluding; and because in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy day, but had concluded thereupon; also because they had the upper hand in the aforesaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he said, that the fathers themselves should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselves were not good; and that he did see another council at hand, where he feared lest these conclusions should be revoked, as the fruit of an evil tree; and therefore they ought not so suddenly to proceed in so weighty matters; and that he would be yet more fully heard before the session, as well in his own name, because he was an archbishop, as in the name of his prince, which reigned not over one kingdom alone, but over many. Also he said, that he, heretofore, by his words, deeds, and writings, hath extolled the authority of the council; and that he feared, lest by these means the authority thereof should be subverted. At the last he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the council, forasmuch as very sorrow and grief forced him to speak so.

The abbot of Virgilia would have made answer to those things which Panormitane had touched, concerning his deputation, but Arelatensis thought good that all the contrary part should speak first, among whom, last of all, Ludovicus the protonotary, the Homer of lawyers, rose up: and albeit that he spake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refrain his words. And while he went about to seem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He said that the council ought to take heed, that they treated of no matter of faith against the prelates, lest any offence should follow; for that some would say it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Christ chose twelve apostles and seventy disciples, notwithstanding in the setting forth of the creed only the apostles were present, thereby, as it were, giving example that the matters of faith did pertain only unto the apostles, and so consequently unto bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceed in matters of faith, which ought to be clearly distinct, forasmuch as Peter affirmeth the trial of faith to be much more precious than gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the bishops be contemned, which are called the pillars and keys of heaven, the faith cannot seem to be well proved or examined. But at length he confessed that the inferiors might determine with the bishops, but denied that the least part of the bishops with the most part of the inferiors might determine any thing. From thence he, passing to the matter of faith, said, that those verities whereupon question was now had, are articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And forasmuch as every man should be found to believe those, therefore he would be better instructed and taught in that matter which he should believe as an article of faith. Neither should it be comely for the council to deny him his request; which, according to the rule of the apostle, ought to be ready to give account unto every man which shall require it, touching the faith which it holdeth.

After every man had made an end of speaking, the Cardinal Arelatensis, calling his spirits together, made an oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And first of all he commended the desires of the imperial ambassadors, which offered to treat of a peace and unity; but neither necessity nor honesty (he said) would suffer those things which are concluded to be revoked. He answered also, that the petition of the ambassadors of France is most just, in that they required to be instructed touching the faith; and that the council would grant their request, and send

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unto them certain divines, which should instruct them at home at their lodgings, but the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought in question; that the session was only holden, rather to beautify the matter, than to confirm the same. And as touching that which the bishop of Concen so greatly complaineth of, he doth not much marvel; for he could not know the process of the matter, when he was absent; who being better instructed, he supposed would speak no more any such words, forasmuch as a just man would require no unjust thing. Also that his protestation had no evil sense or meaning, in that he would not; have it imputed either unto him, or unto his king, if any offence should rise upon the conclusions. Notwithstanding, it is not to be feared, that any evil should spring of good works. But unto the bishop of Milan he would answer nothing, because he saw him so moved and troubled, for fear of multiplying of more grievous and heinous words. As for Panormitane, he reserved unto the last. But unto Ludovicus the protonotary, which desired to be instructed, he said, he willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken unto the bishop of Turnon.

Notwithstanding, he left not this untouched which Ludovicus had spoken concerning the Apostles' Creed. For albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed the apostles be only named, yet it doth not follow (saith he) that they only were present at the setting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes, that princes are commended and praised as chief authors and doers of things, when, notwithstanding, they have other helpers; as it appeareth in battles, which, although they are fought with the force of all the soldiers, yet the victory thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in these our days they do ascribe all things which the army doth, either fortunately or wisely, unto Nicholas Picenius, that most valiant captain, which hath obtained so many famous victories; albeit that oftentimes other have been the inventors of the policy, and workers of the feat. And therefore Ludovicus ought to know and understand, that they are not only articles of faith, which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the councils as touching the faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some articles of the Creed which we now use in the church, that were not put to by the apostles, but afterward by general councils; as that part wherein mention is made of the Holy Ghost, which the council of Lyons did add; in which council also it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiors did judge together with the bishops. But forasmuch as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would stay no longer thereupon. But coming unto Panormitane, he rehearsed his words, He that is of God, heareth God's word; which is very well taken out of the Gospel, but not well applied unto the council, (said he,) for he firmly believed, that his predecessors have judged the Holy Ghost to be in the midst of the councils, and therefore the words of the councils to be the words of the Holy Ghost, which if any man do reject, he denieth himself to be of God. Neither doth the council hate the light, which doth all things publicly and openly, whose congregations are evident unto all men, neither doth it, as the conventicles of the adversaries, admit some, and exclude other some. Moreover, the thing which is now in hand was begun to be treated of for two months ago, and first the conclusions were largely disputed upon in the divinity schools, and afterward sent unto Mentz and other places of the world.

After all this the fathers were called into the chapter-house of the great church, to the number of a hundred and twenty; amongst whom Panormitane, which now complaineth, was also present, and, according to his manner, did learnedly and subtly dispute, and had liberty to speak what he would. Likewise in the disputations

every man spake his mind freely, and in the deputation where Panormitane was, the matter was three days discussed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the general congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there been at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly and also without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputation did sit upon a holy day, there is no hurt in that, neither is it any new or strange thing, forasmuch as they have often holden their session upon festival days, when the matter hath had haste, and specially for that the matter of faith hath no holy days. And further, he said, that he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the congregation, as Panormitane hath reported, but publicly and openly at the request of the promoters: neither hath any man any just cause to complain upon him, forasmuch as when he was made president, he was sworn that always when three or four of the deputations did agree, he should conclude thereupon. And forasmuch as he had already concluded, in divers causes, touching the pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in the matter of faith, for that he was a cardinal, and did wear his red hat for this purpose, that he should shed his blood in the defence of the faith. Neither hath he done any thing now against the pope, for that, omitting the five conclusions touching Eugenius, he had concluded but only the general conclusions; which except he had done, the fathers should have had just cause to complain against him, in that they, trusting in his fidelity and faithfulness, had chosen him president, if by him they should now be forsaken in this most necessary cause of faith. And, turning himself unto the people, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, forasmuch as he would never forsake them, yea, although he should suffer death; for he had given his faith and fidelity unto the council, which he should observe and keep; neither should any man's flattery or threatenings put him from his purpose, that he would be always ready to do whatsoever the council should command him, and never leave the commandments of the deputies by any means unperformed.

As touching that Panormitane had extolled the authority of the council, he said that he was greatly to be thanked: but yet he ought to understand and know the authority of the council to be such as cannot be augmented or increased by any man's praise or commendation, or be diminished by any opprobry or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the form of the decree to be read. Then Panormitane, and those which took his part, would needs have a certain protestation to be first read. There was great contention on every side. Notwithstanding, at the last Arelatensis prevailed, and the form of the decree was read unto this word, *Decernimus*, that is to say, We decree. Then Panormitane, rising up, would not suffer it to be heard any further: and the bishop of Catania cried out, saying, that it was uncomely that Arelatensis, with a few other bishops by name, should conclude the matter. The like did also all those which favoured Panormitane. The cardinal of Terragona also (which until that time had holden his peace) did grievously rebuke his partakers, that as men being asleep, or in a dream, they did not read the protestation, and commanded by and by one of his familiars to read it. But like as the adversaries before did perturb the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the council now give place to the reading of the protestation. Which, when Albigensis did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought unto him, and as he begun to speak, suddenly Arelatensis rose up, with a great number of the fathers, to depart; which thing pleased the cardinal of Terraconia and Panormitane very well, for that they hoped that they alone, with their adherents, should remain in the church. They exhorted Arelatensis to revoke the conclusion and to make another.

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There was in that congregation in his place, George, the protonotary of Bardaxina, sitting somewhat beneath his uncle, the cardinal of Terragona, a man but young of age, but grave in wisdom, and noble in humanity; who, as soon as he saw the Cardinal Arelatensis rise, he determined also to depart, and when his uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he said, "God forbid, father, that I should tarry in your congregation, or do any thing contrary to the oath which I have taken." By which words he declared his excellent virtue and nobility, and admonished our men which remained, of those things which they had to do. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghost, and words more necessary than could be thought. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the council had peradventure departed, and gone their way, and the other remaining in the church had made another conclusion, which they would have affirmed to have been of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be received. But many, being warned by the words of the protonotary, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other councils before, called back again the multitude which were departing, and cried upon the cardinal and the patriarch to sit down again, and that they should not leave the church void and quiet for their adversaries. Whereupon suddenly all the whole multitude sat down, and the gates were shut again. In the mean time Mattheus Albiganensis, a bishop, read the protestation to none else but to himself alone, for it could not be heard for noise; which being ended, the Lombards and the Cathelanes confirmed the protestation. When the cardinal of Terraconia said that he did agree to that dissension, they marvelled at that saying. And when some smiled and laughed at him, "What," said he, "ye fools, do ye mock me? do not the ambassadors of my king dissent from you? What do you marvel then if I do say, I consent unto their dissension?" And with these words he and almost all the Arragons, Lombards, and Cathelanes departed; all the other tarried still. And albeit it was somewhat late, (for it was past two at afternoon,) Arelatensis, seeing the congregation quiet, commanded the affairs of private persons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded also the public affairs to be read, and willed the conclusions and the form of the decree to be read again. There remained in the congregation, the ambassadors of the empire of France, talking together of their affairs. Notwithstanding, the bishop of Turnon heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himself to the bishop of Lubeck, said, "Lo, the matters of faith are now in hand again, let us go hence, I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not said to dissent from the other ambassadors." To whom the bishop of Lubeck answered, "Tarry, father, tarry here; are not the conclusions most true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth?" These words were not heard of many, for they spake them softly between themselves. Notwithstanding, I heard it, for I, sitting at their feet, did diligently observe what they said. Arelatensis, after all things were read which he thought necessary, at the request of the deputies concluded, and so making an end, dismissed the congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficulty Arelatensis concluded, forasmuch as neither the matter nor the form could be concluded without dissension: and the conclusions were miraculous, and past all men's hope, but were obtained by the industry of Arelatensis, or rather by the special gift of the Holy Ghost.

After this it was determined between the Lombards and Arragons to abstain from the deputations for a certain time, which they did not long observe; notwithstanding, the deputations were holden very quietly for a certain space, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance until the fifteenth day of May; during which time, all means possible were sought to set a concord between the fathers, but would not be. Then Nicholas Amici, promoter of the faith, was called into

the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the days before, and declared how that Arelatensis might appoint a session. Wherefore, forasmuch as delay in matters of faith was dangerous, he required that a session should be appointed against the morrow after, requiring the cardinal for his dignities' sake, in that he was called the principal of the church, and the other bishops, that (as they had promised in their consecration) they would not now shrink from the church in these weighty affairs, and suffer the faith to be oppressed; but the other inferiors he required, upon their oath which they had taken, to show themselves faithful and constant herein. Then again there fell a great contention upon these words; for Arelatensis, as he was required, did appoint a session, and exhorted all men to be there present in their robes. The bishop of Lubeck rising up made a protestation in his own name, and also in the name of his protector, that he would not consent that there should be any session, if it should in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz. Gregory Miles also, his fellow ambassador, consented to this protestation. When the protector of the council, appointed by the emperor, understood himself to be named by the bishop of Lubeck, he marvelled awhile what the matter should be. But being certified by an interpreter, he answered that he would in no case consent unto the protestation of the bishop of Lubeck, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz; also that he was sent by the emperor to the sacred council, and hath his charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto. After whom the bishop of Concen, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation, and after him also followed Panormitane. Whose words before I will repeat, I desire that no man would marvel that I make mention so often of Panormitane; for it is necessary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

It happened in these matters even as it doth in warlike affairs: for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and do most worthy feats, obtain most fame, as in the battle of Troy, Achilles and Hector; so in these spiritual wars and contentions, those which most excel in learning and eloquence, and do more than others, should be most renowned and: named: for on the one part, Panormitane was prince and captain; on the other, Arelatensis: but his own will made not the one captain, but only necessity; for it behoved him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding, he was not ignorant of the truth and verity, neither did he resist willingly against it; for I have seen him oftentimes in his library complain of his prince, that he followed other men's counsel. When his time came to speak, he said, that he did not a little marvel why the protector of the faith should require the prelates to have a session, which was nothing pertaining to his office, and that he ought not to usurp the president's place. And again, he complained touching the contempt of the prelates, for the matter did presently touch the state of the apostolic see, and for that cause the see ought to be heard before any session be holden. Neither is it to be regarded, said he, that the council of Constance seemeth to have decreed, that it should now be spoken of, forasmuch as Pope John was not heard at Constance, neither any man else, to speak for the see; by which words he seemed both to contemn and bring in doubt all the decrees of that most great and sacred synod of Constance: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying, that the synod of Constance is holy, and the authority thereof ought to be inviolate. But he, being still instant, with a stout and haughty courage affirmed, that the matter could not be finished without the ambassadors of the princes, and that the princes ought to be heard in a matter of faith. And again, that the ambassadors themselves cannot consent, forasmuch as in the colloquy holden at Mentz, they had promised, during the treaty of peace by them begun, they would receive and allow nothing that the pope should either do against the council, or the

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council against the pope; and that he doubted not, but that the three first conclusions declared Eugenius a heretic, insomuch that it was evident that Eugenius did vehemently resist the two first. And therefore, forasmuch as the session was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man before that session to speak what he will, he desired and required them most instantly that there might be no session as yet holden. Unto whom Arelatensis answered, that it was not to be doubted but that the promoter of the faith, by his office, might call the prelates to determine a matter of faith, and specially forasmuch as the deputation of the faith and the whole council had so given him in commandment.

As touching the prelates, he saith, that albeit without all doubt bishops have chief authority, yet, notwithstanding, it is accustomed in councils not to make any conclusion in the name of the bishops, but in the name of the whole council: and the universal church hath decreed certain laws in this council which should remain inviolate. Neither let the bishops think the presence of the inferiors grievous unto them, when oftentimes under a bare and torn coat wisdom lieth hid, and under rich vestures and ornaments folly lurketh. Bishops ought also to be mindful of the saying of Domitius, which, as St Jerome reporteth, said, Why should I esteem thee as a prince, if thou dost not regard me as a senator? For the bishops ought to esteem priests as priests, if they will have reverence done unto them as bishops. Neither ought the princes to be looked for to the deciding of this matter, forasmuch as the church is not congregated in the name of the princes, but in the name of Christ, which hath not received his power from princes, but immediately from God; to the defence whereof he should perceive the inferiors to be no less encouraged than the bishops, for that he did well understand and know, that they would not only spend their temporal goods, but also their lives, for the defence thereof. As for some bishops, rather than they will lose any part of their temporalties, they will sell the liberty of the church unto the princes; and make them judges and lords over the council. As touching the acts at Mentz, he doth not regard them, forasmuch as, it is said, they counted without their host; for he saith, he doth not understand how this can be, that they had decreed neither to obey the pope nor the council. The one or the other they must needs be obedient unto; for there is no third tribunal whereunto any obedience is due in these matters, which concern the faith and salvation of souls. And finally, that the church would not suffer that their affairs and matters of faith should be determined by the judgment of princes; for the Holy Ghost is not subject unto princes, but princes unto him; and upon this conclusion he would not fear either the loss of his goods, or any death or martyrdom. And whereas Panormitane doth now show himself so great a defender of Eugenius; he saith, that he doth not a little marvel at it, for that in times past no man hath more published Eugenius's errors than he: by whose special labour and council, both a decree monitory, and also the suspension, was admitted and set out against Eugenius. And now, whereupon this sudden change should come, he saith that he was utterly ignorant, forasmuch as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the church continue in such a schism. Wherefore he desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not; for, saith he, the conclusions which now shall be decreed, are most general; neither is there any mention in them of the pope; and, moreover, the verity of faith is contained in them; against the which if Eugenius did contend, it were more meet that the pope should be corrected, than the verity omitted. And thus he maketh an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the session. The protector also desired the sacred council, that none should be suffered to bring any weapon to the session; forasmuch as he was

ready to observe the safe-conduct of the emperor, and, together with the senate of the city, to prohibit all quarrels for doing of injury.

When the sixteenth day of May was come, all they whom the session contented and pleased assembled at the hour. The ambassadors also of the princes were come together into the choir of the church, to attempt further what they could do; and sending the bishop of Lubeck and Concen, and the dean of Turnon, an excellent learned man, they offered themselves to be present at the session, if that the deposition of Eugenius might yet be deferred four months. Who, when they had received a gentle answer of Arelatensis and the other principals, returning again unto the ambassadors, they would only have the first conclusion decreed, and thereupon sent again unto Arelatensis; unto whom answer was made, that the chief force did consist in the two other conclusions, and that the council would specially determine upon them. If the ambassadors would not be present, they should understand, that the concord was broken by them, which would not observe that which they had offered. With which answer they departed, and the session began to be celebrated. There was no prelate of Arragon present at it, neither out of Spain, nor out of Italy, only the bishop of Grosseto, and the abbot of Dona, which for their constancy and stedfast good-will toward the universal church, could not be changed from their purpose; but of doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Arragons, and almost all the inferiors of Spain and Italy, (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the bishops did,) and then the worthy stoutness of the Arragons and Cathelanes appeared in the inferior sort, which would not shrink away in the necessity of the church. Of the two other nations there were only present twenty bishops. The residue lurked in their lodgings, professing the faith in their hearts, but not in their mouths. Arelatensis, considering before what would come to pass, caused prayers to be made; and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with tears and lamentation, that he would send them his Holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many bishops present, yet all the seats were filled with the bishops' proctors, archdeacons, presidents, priors, priests, and doctors of both laws, which I judged to be about the number of four hundred or more; amongst whom was no noise, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the faith, and there appeared a full and whole consent of them all to defend the church. The bishop of Massilia, a noble man, read the decree, which was attentively hearkened unto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, *Te Deum laudamus* was sung with great joy and gladness, and so the session dissolved, which was in number the thirty-third session, and amongst all the first the most quiet and peaceable.

The day following, being the twenty-second of May, the princes' ambassadors, without all men's expectation, came unto the general congregation, by that their doing at the least giving their assent unto the session before passed. In celebrating whereof, if the fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the princes and ambassadors to have holden the council with those fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and even now to detest and abhor that which they had done; as it was not hidden to the ambassadors of the empire and France. For the bishop of Lubeck said, that the cause of his absence was, for that he was appointed by the emperor's commandment to treat a peace. Wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any business, whereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace should be treated. Notwithstanding, he did much commend the session before

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holden, and believed the decree therein promulgated to be most good and holy, and the verities therein contained to be undoubted; and said, that he would stick thereunto both now and ever, even to the death. But the bishop of Turnon, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his fellows, said, that he heard how that they were evil spoken of amongst some, in that they had not honoured their king in that most sacred session, whom it becomed especially to exalt and defend the faith; which also for that cause above all other kings was named most Christian; notwithstanding, he said that they had a lawful excuse, in that it was convenient that they, which were sent to treat peace, should do nothing whereby their embassage should be stopped or letted. Also there are two kinds of injustice (said he) whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should be done are not done. The first doth not always bind, because it is convenient to have respect of time, place, and person. But the last doth always bind, wherein he said they were not culpable. But as touching the first point, they might seem unto some to have erred, because they were not present at the session; but yet in this point they had sufficient to answer, forasmuch as if they had been present at that session, they should have been unmeet to have treated of any peace with Eugenius. And therefore, albeit they were wanting at so holy a business, in that point they followed the example of Paul, which, albeit he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, yet, for the further profit and advancement of the church, it was deferred. So likewise, he said, that they had now done; for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions, (which they judged to be most true and holy, and whereunto they would stick even unto the death,) but because they would not be unmeet for the treaty of peace for which they came: and yet, that which they had not done in their own persons, they had fulfilled, said he, by their servants and household, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that session. I would that I had been then in the place of some great prelate; surely they should not have gone unpunished, which thought to have played bo-peep. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treaty of peace? Or, if it do hurt, why is he not accounted as great an offender, which consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What shall we need any further testimony? For now the ambassadors of the princes have declared Eugenius to be an enemy unto the truth. But to pass over these things, it is sufficient that Eugenius wrote afterward unto the king of France, that he did understand the bishop of Turnon to become his enemy.

After that the bishop of Tournon had made an end, Cardinal Arelatensis gave thanks unto God, which had so defended his church, and after great storms and clouds had sent fair and clear weather: and commending the good-will of the emperor and the king of France toward the church, he also praised the bishops of Lubeck and Turnon, for that oftentimes in the council, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the council. But specially he commended this their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestered themselves from the faith of the church.

Afterward he, entering into the declaration of the matter, said, that he was at Pisa and at Constance, and never saw a more quiet and devout session than this; affirming that this decree was most necessary, to repress the ambition of the bishops of Rome, which, exalting themselves above the universal church, thought it lawful for them to do all things after their own pleasure; and that no one man from henceforth should transport the council from one place to another, as Eugenius attempted to do, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, then again to Bononia, after to Ferrara, and after that again to Florentia; and that hereafter the bishops should withdraw their minds

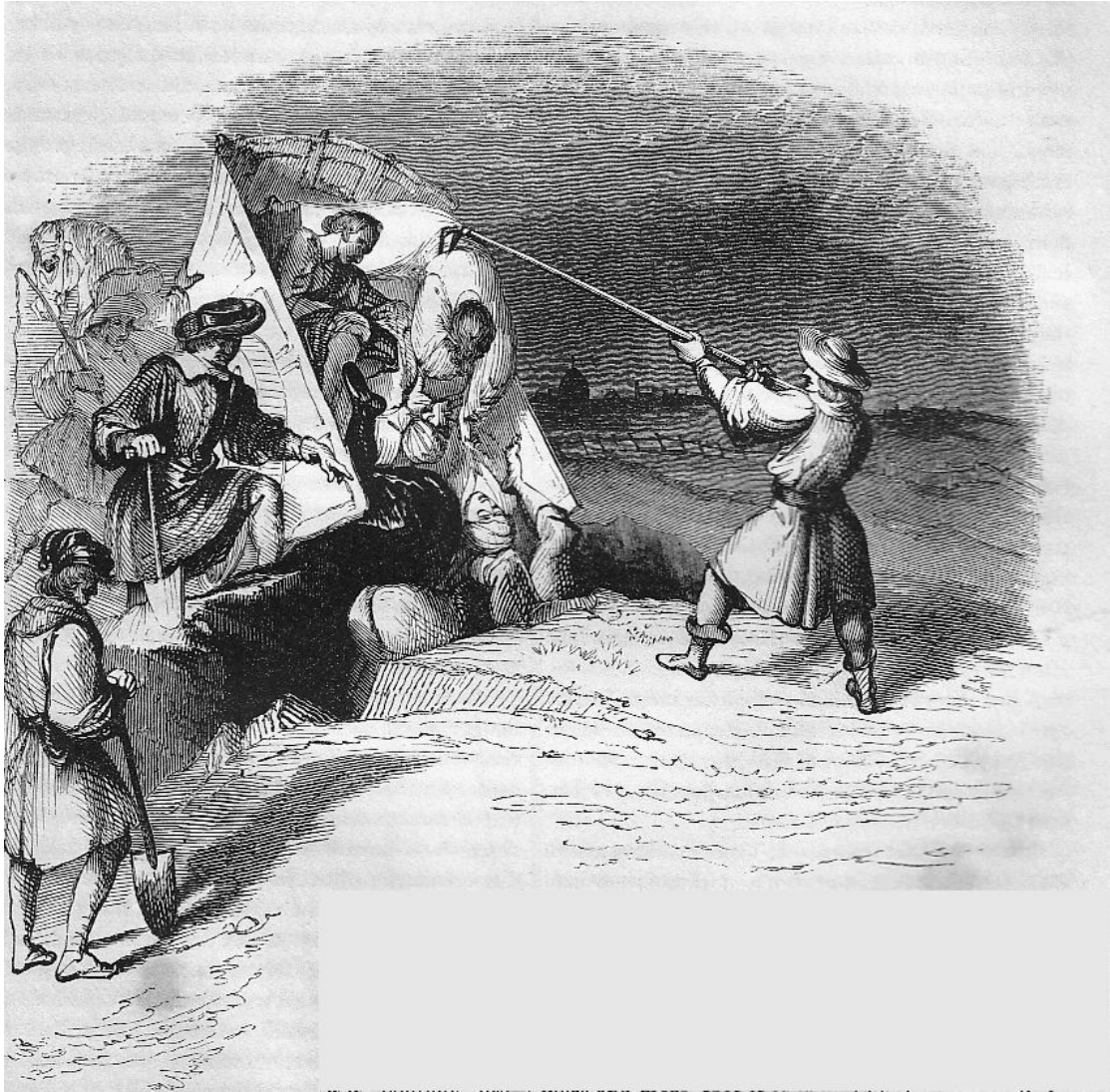
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

from the carefulness of temporal goods, which (as he himself did see) had no mind at all on spiritual matters; and therefore by how much this session was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the ambassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the fathers. These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the congregation was dissolved.

114. The Election of Pope Felix V.

Now after that Gabriel Condulmarius was deposed from the bishopric of Rome, the principal fathers of the council, being called together in the chapter-house of the great church, consulted together, whether it were expedient that a new bishop should be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election should be done with speed, showed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head; also what a pestiferous sickness was in all the city, which not only consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers unto the poor of the city, and so infected the rich, and now was come unto the fathers of the council: amplifying moreover and increasing the terror thereof, and making the thing worse than it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the decree, said they, any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided that there should be delay of sixty days after the see is void; for that is to be understood when the see is void, at such time as there is no council holden; neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, lest the princes, being persuaded by Gabriel, should resist; unto whom the deposition of Gabriel, and the election of some other, is to be certified all under one message. The other, which thought good that there should be a delay, said, that the council did lack no head, forasmuch as Christ was the Head thereof; neither did lack a ruler, forasmuch as it was governed by the presidents and other officers; and that no mention should be made of any pestilence in such case, seeing that, unto stout and strong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or fear them which contend for the Christian faith. As for that pestilence which doth now increase and grow in the city, forasmuch as judgment is now given, it is to be hoped that it will assuage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of justice. Also that in so doubtful a matter they ought rather to use the princes against their will, than to neglect them, and that it is not to be feared but that, in this case, God will help those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there were as many minds as there were men,) yet it seemed unto them all, that it was most profitable to choose the bishop by and by, but most honest to defer it.

Hereupon John Segovius, a man of excellent learning, said, "Most reverend fathers, I am diversely drawn, by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come to a speedy election it seemeth good, to speak after man's judgment; but to delay it for two months, to speak after God's judgment, it seemeth much better. I do judge that not only the words, but also the meaning, of our decree ought to be observed. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather dangerous honesty, than secure utility; albeit that indeed utility cannot be discerned from honesty." This opinion of delay took place among the fathers, and they determined to stay for the space of two months. In the mean time messengers were sent unto the princes, to declare the deposition of Eugenius by the synod, and publish it abroad.



Burial of Plague Victims

During this time the corrupt air was nothing at all purged, but the mortality daily increasing, many died and were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the fathers. Neither were they sufficiently advised what they might do; for they thought it not to be without danger either to depart or to tarry. Notwithstanding, they thought it good to tarry, and also they caused others to tarry; that since they had overcome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they would not seem to shrink for the persecution of any plague or sickness. But forasmuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politicly provided, that the council should not seem to be dissolved for any man's departure. And for the more establishment of the matter, there were certain things read before the fathers, which they called *De stabilimento*, whose authority continued long time after. When the dog-days were come, and that all herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to see the corpses hourly carried through the streets, when on every side there was weeping, wailing, and sighing. There was no house void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place, but matrons bewailing their husbands, and the husbands their wives. Men and women went through the streets, and durst not speak one to another. Some tarried at home, and other some, that went abroad, had perfumes to smell unto, to preserve them against the plague.

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The common people died without number; and like as in the cold autumn the leaves of the trees do fall, even so did the youth of the city consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should have met a man merry in the street now, and within ten hours heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead corpses was such also, that they lacked place to bury them in; insomuch that all the churchyards were digged up, and filled with dead corpses, and great holes made in the parish churches, where a great number of corpses being thrust in together, they covered them over with earth. For which cause the fathers were so afraid that there appeared no blood in their faces; and specially the sudden death of Ludovicus the protonotary did make all men afraid, who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both laws; whom the same envious and raging sickness took away in a few hours. By and by after died Ludovicus the patriarch of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought up always in troubles and adversity, neither could he see the day of the pope's election, which he had long wished for. Notwithstanding, he took partly a consolation in that he had seen Gabriel deposed before his death. This man's death was grievous unto all the fathers, for now they said that two pillars of the council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the protonotary and the patriarch, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the council.

About the same time also died the king of Arragon's almoner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Liege. The abbot of Vergilia died at Spire, and John, the bishop of Lubeck, between Vienna and Buda.

These two last rehearsed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When they perceived the hour of their death approach, calling unto them certain grave and wise men, said, All you that be here present, pray to God that he will convert such as acknowledge Gabriel for high bishop, for in that state they cannot be saved; and professing themselves that they would die in the faith of the council of Basil, they departed in the Lord. In Bohemia also departed the bishop of Constance, which was ambassador for the council. There was great fear and trembling throughout all the council.

There had been also in the council, by a long time, the abbot of Dona, of the diocese of Cumana, a man poor unto the world, but rich unto God, whom neither flattering nor threatenings could turn away from his good purpose and intent, choosing rather to beg in the truth of the fathers, than to abound in riches with the false flattering adversaries.

Whereupon, after the lords were departed which gave him his living, he, remaining still, was stricken with the plague and died. Likewise a great number of the registers and doctors died; and such as fell into that disease, few or none escaped. One amongst all the rest, Æneas Sylvius, being stricken with this disease, by God's help escaped. This man lay three days even at the point of death, all men being in despair of him; notwithstanding, it pleased God to grant him longer life. When the pestilence was most fervent and hot, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great entreaty made unto Cardinal Arelatensis, that he would go to some other town or village near hand; for these were the words of all his friends and household, "What do you, most reverend father? At the least, void this wane of the moon, and save yourself; who being safe, all we shall also be safe; if you die, we all perish. If the plague oppress you, unto whom shall we fly? Who shall rule us? or who shall be the guide of this most faithful flock? The infection hath already invaded your chamber.

Your secretary and chamberlain are already dead. Consider the great danger, and save both yourself and us." But neither the entreaty of his household, neither the corpses of those which were dead, could move him, willing rather to preserve the council with peril of his life, than to save his life with peril of the council; for he did know, that if he should depart, few would have tarried behind, and that deceit should have been wrought in his absence.

Wherefore, like as in wars, the soldiers fear no danger when they see their captain in the midst of their enemies; so the fathers of the council were ashamed to fly from this pestilence, seeing their president to remain with them in the midst of all dangers. Which their doings did utterly subvert the opinion of them, which babbled abroad, that the fathers tarried in Basil to seek their own profit and commodity, and not the verity of the faith; for there is no commodity upon earth which men would change for their lives; for that all such as do serve the world, do prefer it before all other things. But these our fathers, showing themselves an invincible strong wall for the house of God, vanquishing all the crafty deceits which Gabriel used, and overcoming all difficulties, which this most cruel and pestiferous year brought upon them, at the length all desire of life also being set apart, they have overcome all dangers. and have not doubted with most constant minds to defend the verity of the council, even unto this present.

The time of the decree being passed, after the deposition of Gabriel, it seemed good unto the fathers, to proceed to the election of another bishop. And first of all they nominated those that, together with the cardinals, should elect the pope. The first and principal of the electors was the Cardinal Arelatensis, a man of invincible constancy, and incomparable wisdom; unto whose virtue I may justly ascribe whatsoever was done in the council; for without him, the prelates had not persevered in their purpose, neither could the shadow of any prince have so defended them. This man came not to the election by any favour or denomination, but by his own proper right. The rest of the electors were chosen out of the Italian, French, German, and Spanish nations, and their cells and chambers appointed to them by lots without respect of dignity or person, and as the lots fell, so were they placed; whereby it chanced a doctor to have the highest place, and a bishop the last. Wherein the distribution of lots was very strange, or rather a Divine dispensation, reproving the devices of man, whereas the prelates had determined to have the best chambers appointed for themselves, and had earnestly contended before to have their chambers appointed according to their dignity.

The next day after, there was a session holden, wherein Marcus, a famous divine, made an oration unto the electors, wherein he reckoned up the manifold crimes of Gabriel, which was deposed. He endeavoured to persuade the electors to choose such a man, which should in all points be contrary unto Gabriel, and eschew all his vices; that as he, through his manifold reproaches, was hurtful unto all men, so he which should be chosen should show himself acceptable unto all men, through justice; and as Gabriel was covetous and full of rapine, so this man should show himself continent.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the church, neither in the streets, any man could pass. There was present, John, earl of Diernstein, who supplied the place of the emperor's protector; also the senators of the city, with many other noblemen, to behold the same, whereof you shall hear (Christ willing) more largely hereafter. The citizens were without in

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armour, to take care that there should be no uproar made. The electors received the communion together, and afterwards they received their oath, and the Cardinal Arelatensis, opening the book of decrees, read the form of the oath in the audience of all men, and first of all, he, taking the oath himself, began in this manner:

"Most reverend fathers, I promise, swear, and vow, before my Lord Jesus Christ, (whose most blessed body I, unworthy sinner, have received, unto whom, in the last judgment, I shall give account of all my deeds,) that in this business of election, whereunto now, by the will of the council, we are sent, I will seek nothing else, but only the salvation of the Christian people, and the profit of the universal church. This shall be my whole care and study, that the authority of the general councils be not contemned, that the catholic faith be not impugned, and that the fathers which remain in the council be not oppressed. This will I seek for, this shall be my care; unto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend myself; neither will I respect any thing in this point, either for mine own cause, or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart, will I take mine oath before the council."

His words were lively and fearful. After him all the other electors, in their order, did swear and take their oath. Then they went with great solemnity unto the conclave, where they remained seven days. The manner of their election was in this sort: before the cardinal's seat was set a desk, whereupon there stood a basin of silver, into the which basin all the electors did cast their schedules, which the cardinal receiving, read one by one, and four other of the electors wrote as he read them.

The tenor of the schedules was in this manner: I George, bishop of Vicenza, do choose such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome, and peradventure named one or two: every one of the electors subscribed his name unto the schedule, that he might thereby know his own, and say nay, if it were contrary to that which was spoken; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The first scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacy, yet none had sufficient voices; for that day there were seventeen of divers nations nominated. Notwithstanding, Amedeus, duke of Savoy, a man of singular virtue, surmounted them all, for in the first scrutiny he had the voice of sixteen electors, which judged him worthy to govern the church.

After this, there was diligent inquisition had in the council touching those which were named of the electors, and as every man's opinion served him, he did either praise or discommend those which were nominated. Notwithstanding, there was such report made of Amedeus, that in the next scrutiny, which was holden in the Nones of November, the said Amedeus had twenty-one voices, and likewise in the third and fourth scrutiny, twenty-one voices. And forasmuch as there was none found in all the scrutiny to have two parts, all the other schedules were burnt. And forasmuch as there lacked but only one voice to the election of the high bishop, they fell unto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds to unity and concord, worthily to elect and choose him which should take the charge over the flock of God. Forasmuch as Amedeus seemed to be nearer unto the papacy than all other, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and disposition. Some said that a layman ought not so suddenly to be chosen; for it would seem a strange thing for a secular prince to be called unto the bishopric of Rome; which would also too much derogate from the ecclesiastical state, as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Other some said, that a man which

was married and had children was unmeet for such a charge. Other some again affirmed, that the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned-man.

When these words were spoken, other some rising up spake far otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forasmuch as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and study, and had sought not the name, but even the ground of learning. Then said another, "If ye be desirous to be instructed further of this prince's life, I pray you give ear unto me, which do know him thoroughly. Truly this man from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, hath lived more religiously than secularly, being always obedient to his parents and masters, and being always endued with the fear of God, never given to any vanity or wantonness; neither hath there at any time been any child of the house of Savoy, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardness; whereby all those which did behold and know this man, judged and foresaw some great matter in him; neither were they deceived. For if ye desire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath been, first know ye this, that this man hath reigned, since his father's decease, about forty years.

"During whose time, justice, the lady and queen of all other virtues, hath always flourished: for he, hearing his subjects himself, would never suffer the poor to be oppressed, or the weak to be deceived. He was the defender of the fatherless, the advocate of the widows, and protector of the poor. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poor and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burdenous to his subjects, or importune against strangers throughout all his country; there were no grievous exactions of money throughout all his dominion. He thought himself rich enough, if the inhabitants of his dominions did abound and were rich; knowing that it is the point of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, and not to devour them. In this also was his chief study and care, that his subjects might live in peace, and such as bordered upon him might have no occasion of grudge.

"By which policies he did not only quietly govern his father's dominion, but also augmented the same by others, which willingly submitted themselves unto him. He never made war upon any, but resisting against such as made war upon him, he studied rather to make peace, than to seek any revenge, desiring rather to overcome his enemies with benefits than with the sword. He married only one wife; which was a noble virgin, and of singular beauty and chastity. He would have all his family to keep their hands and eyes chaste and continent, and throughout all his house, honesty and integrity of manners were observed. When his wife had changed her life, and that he perceived his duchy to be established, and that it should come without any controversy unto his posterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious, and devoted unto God, and showed what will and affection he had long borne in his heart. For he, contemning the pomp and state of this world, calling unto him his dear friends, departed and went into a wilderness; where building a goodly abbey he addicted himself wholly to the service of God, and taking his cross upon him, followed Christ. In which place he being conversant by the space of many years, showed forth great examples of holiness, wearing no other garments but such as could withstand the cold, neither using any kind of dainty fare, but only to resist hunger, watching and praying the most part of the night. Wherefore, this prince is not newly come unto the church, (as some do suppose,) but being a Christian born of progenitors a thousand years and more being Christians, doth now serve God in a monastery.

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"But as touching that also which is spoken concerning a wife, I do not regard it; when not only he which hath had a wife, but he also which hath a wife, may be elect and chosen pope: but why do the doctors dispute, whether a married man chosen pope ought to perform his duty towards his wife, but only because a married man might be received and chosen? For, as you know well enough, there were many popes that had wives; and Peter also was not without a wife. But what do we stand about this? For peradventure it had been better that more priests had been married; for many should be saved through marriage, which are now damned through their single life. But hereof we will," saith he, "speak in another place. But this seemeth unto me rather to be laughed at, than worthy any answer, which is objected touching his children: for in what can children (specially being of great age) be impediment or let unto the father, being a bishop? Doth not the Scripture say, Woe be unto him that is alone! for if he fall, he hath none to help him up again? This cannot be imputed unto the prince; for he hath two sons, both comely and wise; whereof the one is prince of Piedmont, the other earl of the Genoese: these men will rule the country of Savoy in the absence of their father, and will help him if he have need; for they have already learned to rule over that people. I pray you, what hurt is it for a bishop of Rome to have valiant children, which may help their father against tyrants? O most reverend fathers, the more I do behold the storm of this most perverse and froward time, the more I do consider the vexations and troubles which the church is now tormented withal, I do so much the more think it profitable, yea, and necessary, that this man should be chosen prince and head: I will think that God hath showed his mercy upon us, if I may see him have the governance over this ship. I pray you, consider into what straits we are now driven, with what perils we are now vexed and tossed. What prince is it that is obedient unto this council? For some will not confess that the council is here, neither receive our decrees; other some confess it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at Florence. For albeit that by their words and letters they do not deny that the church is here, yet do they procure promotions at the hands of Gabriel which is deposed. This is the state of the church, with these storms and tempests the ship is shaken and bruised; wicked children have risen up against their mother, which being unmindful of their mother's labours and kindness towards them, despise her, contemn her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we choose a bare man, which shall rather be derided of our princes, than had in reverence? The days are not now, that men have respect only unto virtue; for (as the satirical poet writeth) virtue is praised, but is coldly followed. A poor man speaketh, and they ask what he is. Truly virtue is good; but for our purpose, it must be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a rich man, or a poor man; you must choose a governor which may rule the ship not only by counsel, but by power also. The wind is great; wherefore, except the counsel be good, and the power strong, the ship shall be broken, and all put in danger. The memorial is yet fresh before our eyes, that the princes do neglect the authority which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantness showed in this point, in that you, fearing no peril or danger, either of life or goods, have so long contended for the truth of Christ? But the most mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will resist this their pride. I have often consented unto their opinion, which said it was expedient that the temporal dominions should be divided from the ecclesiastical state; for I did think that the priests should thereby be made more apt to the Divine ministry, and secular princes more obedient to the clergy. But forasmuch as at this present the churches of the world are possessed partly by Eugenius, and partly by other tyrants, we must provide that we choose such a one, which may recover again the patrimony of the church, and in whom the office of Christ's vicar may not be contemned; through the

shield of whose power their contumacy may be suppressed, which contemn both verity and reason. Whereunto no man seemeth unto me more apt or meet than Amedeus, duke of Savoy, which holdeth the one part of his possessions in Italy, and the other in France; unto whom all Christian princes are allied either by consanguinity, or joined by amity and friendship, and whose virtue, how famous it is, I have already declared. Why do we then stay or doubt to choose him, than whom Gabriel feareth no man more? Let him therefore perish with the sword wherewithal he hath stricken. There is no man which can more pacify the church than he. Do you require devotion in a bishop? there is no man more devout than he. Do you require prudence? Now ye understand by his former life what manner of man he is. If ye seek for justice, his people are a witness thereof; so that whether you seek for virtue or power, all are here present before you. Whereupon do ye stay? Go to, I pray you, choose this man. He will augment the faith, he will reform manners, and preserve the authority of the church. Have ye not heard these troubles of the church to have been before spoken of, and that the time now present should be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard that about this time there should a pope be chosen, which should comfort Sion, and set all things in peace? And who, I pray you, should he be that could fulfil these things, except we choose this man? Believe me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds thereunto. Notwithstanding, do whatsoever you shall think most good and holy."

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the electors seemed to consent unto him, and his words took such effect, that in the next scrutiny the matter was finished and ended, and when the scrutiny was opened, it was found that Amedeus, the most devout duke of Savoy, according to the decree of the council, was chosen pope. Wherefore suddenly there was great joy and gladness amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then the Cardinal Arelatensis published unto them the name of the elect bishop. After this all the prelates in their robes and mitres, and all the clergy of the city, coming unto the conclave, the electors being likewise adorned, they brought him unto the great church, where, after great thanks given unto God, and the election again declared unto the people, a hymn being sung for joy, the congregation was dissolved.

This Amedeus aforesaid, was a man of reverend age, of comely stature, of grave and discreet behaviour, also before married. Who thus being elected for pope about November, was called Felix the Fifth, and was crowned in the city of Basil, in the month of July. There was present at his coronation, Lewis, duke of Savoy; Philip, Earl Gebenensis; Lewis, marquis of Salutz; the marquis of Rotelen; Conrad of Winsperge, chamberlain of the empire; the earl of Diernstein; the ambassadors of the cities of Strasburgh, Berne, Friburg, Solatorne, with a great multitude of other beside, to the view of fifty thousand persons. At this coronation, the pope's two sons did serve and minister to their father. Lewis, cardinal of Hostia, did set on his head the pontifical diadem, which was esteemed at thirty thousand crowns. It were long here to recite the whole order and solemnity of the procession, or the pope's riding about the city. First proceeded the pope, under his canopy of cloth of gold, having on his head a triple crown, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the marquis of Rotelen, and Conrad of Winsperge, leading his horse by the bridle. The procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted four full hours, being excessively sumptuous; where the pope's two sons were butlers to his cup; the marquis of Salutz was the steward.

Of this Felix thus writeth Volateran, in his third book, "that he, being desired of certain of the ambassadors, if he had any dogs or hounds to show them, he willed

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them the next day to repair unto him, and he would show unto them such as he had. When the ambassadors, according to the appointment, were come, he showeth unto them a great number of poor people and beggars sitting at his tables at meat, declaring that those were his hounds, which he every day used to feed, hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of heaven to come."

And thus you have heard the state of this council hitherto, which council endured a long season, the space of seventeen years.

About the sixth year of the council, Sigismund the emperor died, leaving but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdoms, whom he had married to Albert, the second duke of Austria, which first succeeded in the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, being a sore adversary to the Bohemians; and afterward was made emperor, A. D. 1438, and reigned emperor but two years, leaving his wife, which was Sigismund's daughter, great with child. After which Albert succeeded his brother Frederic, the third duke of Austria, in the empire, &c., whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter.

In the mean time, Eugenius, hearing of the death of Sigismund, above recited, began to work the dissolution of the council of Basil, and to transfer it to Ferraria, pretending the coming of the Grecians. Notwithstanding, the council of Basil, through the disposition of God, and the worthiness of Cardinal Arelatensis, constantly endured. Albeit in the said council were many stops and practices to impeach the same, beside the sore plague of pestilence which fell in the city, during the said council. In the which plague time, besides the death of many worthy men, Æneas Sylvius also, himself, the writer and compiler of the whole history of that council, sitting at the feet of the bishops of Turnon and Lubeck, lay sore sick three days of the same, as is above touched, and never thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring men to pray to God, that he would convert the hearts of them that stuck to Eugenius as pope, against that council, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated again for the better marking. Arelatensis, being most instantly exhorted by his friends to fly that danger, could by no means be entreated to avoid, fearing more the danger of the church, than of his own life.

Beside these so great difficulties and obstacles to stay and hinder this council, strange it was to behold the mutation of men's minds. Of whom such as first seemed to favour the council afterwards did impugn it, and such as before were against it, in the end showed themselves most friends unto the same. The chief cardinals and prelates, the more they had to lose, the sooner they slipped away, or else lurked in houses or towns near, and absented themselves for fear; so that the stay of the council most rested upon their proctors, doctors, archdeacons, deans, provosts, priors, and such other of the inferior sort. Whereof Æneas Sylvius, in his 183rd epistle, maketh this relation, where one Caspar Schlicke, the emperor's chancellor, writeth to Cardinal Julian in these words: "Those cardinals," saith he, "who so long time magnified so highly the authority of the church, and of general councils, seeming as though they were ready to spend their lives for the same, now at the sight of one letter from their king, (wherein yet no death was threatened, but only loss of their promotions,) slipped away from Basil." And in the same epistle deridingly commendeth them, as "wise men, that had rather lose their faith than their flock. Albeit," saith he, "they departed not far away, but remained about Solatorne, waiting for other commandments from their prince. Whereby it may appear, how they did shrink away not willingly, but the

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burse," quoth he, "bindeth faster than true honour. What matter maketh the name of a man, so his money be safe? "

Moreover, in one of the sessions of the said council, the worthy Cardinal Arelatensis is said thus to have reported, that "Christ was sold for thirty pence, but I," said he, "was sold much more dear; for Gabriel, otherwise called Eugenius, pope, offered threescore thousand crowns, whoso would take me, and present me unto him." And they that took the said cardinal, afterward excused their fact by another colour, pretending the cause, for that the cardinal's brother, what time the Armiaques wasted Alsace, had brought great damage to the inhabitants there, and therefore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay hands upon a Frenchman, wheresoever they might take him. At length, by the bishop of Strasburgh, Rupert, and the said city, the matter was taken up, and he rescued. Wherein no doubt appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the pope his adversary.

115. The Bohemians and the Council of Basil

And thus far having proceeded in the matters of this aforesaid council, until the election of Amedeus, called Pope Felix the Fifth, before we prosecute the rest that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withal the residue pertaining to the matters concluded between this council and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumstances of the embassage, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had first in the said council, then in their own country with the council's ambassadors; also with their petitions and answers unto the same.

Touching the story of the Bohemians, how they, being sent for, came up to the council of Basil, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath been expressed. Now, as leisure serveth from other matters, to return again unto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so far as both brevity may be observed, and yet the reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthy in the same to be noted and known.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) having always the upper hand, albeit they were accused by the new bishop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they should be called unto Basil, where the council was appointed. Whereupon Cardinal Julian sent thither before John Pullumiar, doctor of the law, and John de Ragusio, a divine. Who coming unto Basil in the month of August, A. D. 1431, called by their letters unto the council, John, abbot of Mulbrun, and John Gelhusius, monk of the same cloister; which men, for dexterity of their wit, and experience, and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessary for embassages.

Within a few days after, Julian also came thither as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gelhusius, and Hammon Offenbourg, a senator of Basil, first unto the Emperor Sigismund, being at Feldkirch, and afterward unto Frederic, duke of Austria, for the appeasing of the wars between him and Philip, duke of Burgundy. This was done to the intent that, peace being had, not only the ecclesiastical prelates, but also the merchants might have safe access unto Basil, and so bring in all things necessary for sustentation.

They going on this embassage, received letters from the synod to be delivered unto the Emperor Sigismund, whereby the Bohemians and Moravians were called unto the council. These letters he by and by caused to be carried unto Bohemia; but forasmuch as he himself went into Italy, to receive the imperial crown of the bishop, he left William, duke of Bavaria, as his deputy to be protector unto the council. Furthermore, when the synod understood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their most shameful flight, they sent John Niderus, a divine, and John Gelhusius, to comfort the people which joined upon Bohemia, and earnestly to move the Moravians and Bohemians, who were before called, to come unto the council.

They, departing from Basil about the end of October, took their journey toward Monacum, a town of Bavaria; where, after they had saluted William, duke of Bavaria, and his brother Ernest, and Albert the son of Ernest, and had declared the

commission of their embassy, and had showed unto Duke William, how that as soon as he should come unto Basil, the protection of the council should be committed unto him by the emperor; they exhorted Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, the senate of Nuremberg, and other princes and lords, partly by the letters of the council, and partly by words of mouth, that they should by no means take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtful unto the church, and said they should have aid out of hand. They desired them also, in the name of the council, that if the Bohemians would send their ambassadors unto Basil, they would guide them, every man through his country in safety, which they promised to do. It is incredible how all men rejoiced that the Bohemians were sent for.

After this, when they counselled with the senate of Nuremberg, touching the sending of the council's letters unto Bohemia, it seemed best, first of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemians had made any answer to the former letters of the council which they had sent. The rulers of Egra, being advertised by these letters, sent him which carried the council's letters into Bohemia, unto Nuremberg. He reported how reverently the council of the greater city of Prague received the letters, and how he was rewarded.

Whereupon they conceived great hope of the good success of the embassy. Therefore the ambassadors, using the council of the senate of Nuremberg, and divers others, sent the messenger back again unto Egra, with their own private letters, and with letters of the council: for there was no better means to send the letters to Bohemia. Much travail was taken by them of Egra, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, in this matter; for that they were very desirous that peace might be had amongst Christians. The copy of those letters, whereby the synod did call the Bohemians unto the council, and other letters exhortatory of the ambassadors, and the Bohemians' answer unto the same, for brevity's cause we have here pretermitted. The Bohemians, not in all points trusting unto the ambassadors, required by their letters that the council's ambassadors, with the other princes, would come unto Egra, where their ambassadors should also be present, to treat upon the safe-conduct and other matters.

The day appointed for the meeting was, the Sunday after Easter, which was the twenty-seventh day of April. Then came the ambassadors of the council unto Egra, with the noble princes, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, with other nobles, almost to the number of two hundred and fifty-two horse. But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsina and the Lord Swamberg had not sent their safe-conduct. When they understood this by their letters, they brought it to pass that the ambassadors of the Bohemians, Nicholas Humpelz, secretary of the greater city of Prague, and Matthew Clumpezane, president of Piesta, should be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Elenbogenses, and so they came unto Egra with nineteen horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Togye received the Bohemian ambassadors before the marquis with an eloquent oration, taking this part of the gospel for his theme, Peace be with you. Then they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was some hope that they should be heard.

After this they conferred as touching the safe-conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the common sort, but princes and nobles. Which thing, forasmuch as it did not content the ambassadors, and that the matter should so

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be put off, the common people of Egra began to cry out, that for a long time a concord had not been made with the Bohemians by the ecclesiastical princes. Then Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, bound themselves of their own good will. The like also did William, duke of Bavaria, at the request of the council. Likewise also did the council and the Emperor Sigismund. Furthermore, promise was made, that all the princes and cities should do the like, through whose dominion they should come, and the city of Basil also. The copy of which safe-conduct was afterward sent unto Prague. This also was required by the Bohemians, that, if it were possible, the emperor should be present at the council.

This convention at Egra continued twenty-one days. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the council's ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they chose out two ambassadors, Nicholas Humgolizius, and John Zaczenses, which should go to Basil, and diligently inquire out all things. These men, Conrad, bishop of Ratisbon, and Conrad Seglaver, dean of Estein, brought into Cattelspurge, where the marquis dwelt, being sent out by the synod a little before, to inquire whether the Bohemian ambassadors would come or not. When they were come to Biberack, one being over-curious, inquired of one of the Bohemian ambassadors, of what country he was. He answered that he was a Zaczen. "There," said he, "are most execrable heretics and naughty men," &c. Who for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to prison, and there should have suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian ambassadors, and the abbot of Ebera, had not entreated for him. When they came unto Basil, they were honourably received with wine and fish. They tarried there five days and a half. The tenth day of October they came unto the synod, which was assembled at the Friars Augustines.

These ambassadors, when they were returned home with the charter of the synod, and declared those things which they had seen, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or deceit; there were ambassadors chosen to be sent unto the council, both for the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisdom of Moravia, which, coming unto Tusca, were brought from thence with thirty-two horse, and divers noblemen, unto Chambia. From thence they came to Swenkendorph, and so unto Nuremberg, where, beside their entertainment of wine and fish, twenty-two horsemen accompanied them unto Ulmes; from thence they of Ulmes brought them unto Biberack and Sulgotia; there James Tunches, a knight, receiving them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bands of the duke of Bavaria brought them unto Schaffhausen. There they taking ship the fourth day of January, came unto Basil the ninth day of the same month. What were the names of these ambassadors of the Bohemians, which were brought up with three hundred horse, and how they were received at Basil, mention is made before. When they came unto the synod, Cardinal Julian made an oration, that whatsoever was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authority of the council, forasmuch as all men are bound to submit themselves to the judgment of the holy church, which the general council doth represent. Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

Then Rochezanus made an oration, requiring to have a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the sixteenth day of the same month. Upon which day John Rochezanus, having made his preface, began to propound the first article, touching the communion to be ministered under both kinds, and disputed upon the same by the space of three days always before noon. Then Wenceslaus the Taborite disputed upon the second article, touching the correction and punishing of sin, by the space of two days. After whom Ulderic, priest of the Orphanes,

propounded and disputed upon the third article by the space of two days, touching the free preaching of the word of God.

Last of all, Peter Paine, an Englishman, disputed three days upon the fourth article, touching the civil dominion of the clergy, and afterward gave copies of their disputations in writing unto the council, with hearty thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inveigh against the council, condemning John Huss and John Wickliff for their doctrine. Whereupon John de Ragusso, a divine, rising up, desired that he might have leave to answer in his own name to the first article of the Bohemians. The council consented thereunto; so that by the space of eight days in the forenoon he disputed thereupon. But before he began to answer, John, the abbot of Sistertia, made an oration unto the Bohemians, that they should submit themselves to the determination of the holy church, which this council, said he, doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Ragusinus, a divine, after scholar's fashion, in his answer, spake often of heresies and heretics. Procopius could not suffer it, but rising up with angry stomach complained openly to the council of this injury: "This our countryman," saith he, "doth us great injury, calling us oftentimes heretics." Whereunto Ragusinus answered, "Forasmuch as I am your countryman both by tongue and nation, I do the more desire to reduce you again unto the church." He was a Dalmatian born, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians, going into Bohemia, took their name by their country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence the Bohemians would depart from Basil, and could scarcely be appeased. Certain of the Bohemians would not hear Ragusinus finish his disputation.

After him a famous divine, one Egidius Carlerius, dean of the church of Cambray, answered unto the second article, by the space of four days. To the third article answered one Henricus, surnamed Frigidum Ferrum, three days together. Last of all, one Johannes Polomarius, master of the requests of the palace, answered unto the fourth article likewise by the space of three days; so that the long time which they used in disputations seemed tedious unto the Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answer, the Bohemians still defended their articles, and especially the first, insomuch as John Roehezanus did strongly impugn Ragusinus' answer by the space of six days. But forasmuch as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceived how that by this means any concord could be made; the Prince William, duke of Bavaria, protector of the council, attempted another remedy, that all disputations being set apart the matter should be friendly debated.

There were certain appointed on either part to treat upon the concord; who coming together the eleventh day of March, those which were appointed for the council were demanded to say their minds. It seemed good, said they, if these men would be united unto us, and be made one body with us, that this body might then accord, declare and determine all manner of diversities of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them.

The Bohemians, when they had a while paused, said, this way seemed not apt enough, except first of all the four articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with us; for otherwise it would be but a frivolous matter, if they, being now united, again disagree in the deciding of the articles. Here answer was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly united, and the aid of the Holy Ghost called for, they should not err in the deciding of the matter, forasmuch as every Christian ought to believe that determination; which if they would do, it would breed a most firm and strong concord and amity on either part. But this answer

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satisfied them not, insomuch that the other three rose up, and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time Cardinal Julian, president of the council, made this oration unto the Bohemian ambassadors.

"This sacred synod," saith he, "hath now, by the space of ten days, patiently heard the propositions of your four articles:" and afterward he annexed: "You have propounded," saith he, "four articles, but we understand that, beside these four, you have many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from us. Wherefore it is necessary, if a perfect unity and fraternity shall follow between us, that all these things be declared in the council, to the end that by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who is the author of peace and truth, due provision may be made therein. For we have not gathered these things of light conjectures, but have heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present which have seen them with their own eyes in Bohemia, and partly we do gather it by your own report. For Master Nicholas, which was the second that did propound, amongst other things, alleged that John Wickliff was an evangelical doctor. If ye believe him to be a true doctor, it followeth, that you must repute his works as authentic. If ye do not so think, it is reason that it should be opened unto us.

"Wherefore we desire you, that you will certify us upon these and certain other points, what you do believe, or what credit you do give unto them. But we do not require that you should now declare your reasons, but it shall satisfy us, if you will answer unto every article by this word, We believe, or believe not; which if you will do, as we trust you will, then we shall manifestly perceive that you desire that we should conceive a good estimation of you. If there be any thing whereof you would be certified by us, ask it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand; for we are ready, according to the doctrine of St. Peter, to render account unto every man which shall require it, touching the faith which we hold." Hereunto the Bohemian ambassadors answered in few words, that they came only to propound those four articles, not in their own name, but in the name of the whole kingdom of Bohemia, and speak no more. Whereupon, William, the noble protector of the council, calling upon him four men on either part, entreated touching the pacifying of the matter, by whose advice the council decreed to send a famous embassage, with the Bohemian ambassadors, unto Prague, where the people should assemble upon Sunday. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, but made haste to depart. Whereupon, the fourteenth day of April, there were ten chosen out of the council, to go with the Bohemian ambassadors unto Prague.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done unto these ambassadors all the way in their journey, and specially when they came unto Bohemia, by the citizens of Prague, when a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prague at the day appointed, both of the clergy, nobility, and common people.

After the coming of those ambassadors, much contention began to rise between the parties. First began John Rochezanus, who speaking in the public person of the commonalty, laboured to commend and prefer the four verities of the Bohemians before propounded; charging also the prelates and priests for their slanderous obtractions and undeserved contumelies, wherewith they did infame the noble kingdom of Bohemia, complaining also that they would not receive those Christian verities, left and allowed by their king Wenceslaus now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalf of the whole nation, that they would leave off hereafter to oppress them in such sort, that they would restore to them again their Joseph's

vesture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enemies, had spoiled them, &c.

To this Polomar maketh answer again, with a long and curious oration, exhorting them to peace and unity of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments, said he, should be soon removed; promising also that this their vesture of honour and fame should be amply restored again; and that afterward, if there were any doubtful matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, unless they might first have a declaration of their four articles, which if they might obtain, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. Which peace, said they, began first to be broken by themselves, in that the council of Constance, by their unjust condemnation, burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and also by their cruel bulls and censures, raised up first excommunication, then war against the whole kingdom of Bohemia.

Hereunto Polomar, reclaiming again, began to advance and magnify the honour and dignity of general councils. To conclude, as much as the said Polomar did extol the authority of the councils, so much did the answer of the Bohemians extenuate the same, saying, that the latter councils, which are not expressed in the law of God, have erred, and might err, not only in faith, but also in manners. For that which hath chanced to the green wood, may also chance unto the dry. But of other, the most strong pillars of the militant church, the apostles I mean, seem all to have erred, and the catholic faith to have remained three days sound and incorrupt only in the Virgin Mary. No Christian man therefore ought to be compelled to stand to the determination of the pope or the council, except it be in that which is plainly expressed in the law of God. For it is evident that all the general councils which have been of long time, have reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace, and manners of the church, but have always, both in their life and decrees, notoriously swerved, and have not established themselves upon the foundation, which is Christ. Wherefore the said Bohemians protested, that they would not, simply and plainly. God being their good Lord. yield themselves to their doctrine, nor to such rash and hasty decrees: lest, through their hasty and uncircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life contrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Jesus. In short, in no case they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their four articles, which they counted for evangelical verities, were first accepted and approved. Which being obtained, said they, if they would condescend with them in the verity of the gospel, so would they join together, and be made one with them in the Lord.

When the ambassadors saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to pass, they required to have those articles delivered unto them in a certain form, which they sent unto the council by three Bohemian ambassadors.

Afterward the council sent a declaration into Bohemia to be published unto the people in the common assemblies of the kingdom, by the ambassadors, which were commanded to report unto the Bohemians, in the name of the council, that if they would receive the declaration of those three articles, and the unity of the church, there should be a mean found whereby the matter touching the first article. of the communion under both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietness.

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They propounded in Prague, in an open assembly of the nobles and commons, the declarations of the three articles in form following:

"Forasmuch as touching the doctrine of the verity we ought to proceed soberly and warily, that the truth may be declared with words being so orderly conceived and uttered, that there be no offence given to any man, whereby he should fall to take occasion of error, and, to use the words of Isidore, that nothing by obscurity be left doubtful; whereas you have propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sin in these words; 'All mortal sins, and specially open offences, ought to be rooted out, punished, and inhibited, by them whose duty it is so to do, reasonably and according to the law of God.' here it is to be marked and understood, that these words, 'whose duty it is,' are too general, and may be an offence; and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling-stock before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed up, that our neighbour's ox do not fall therein; all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore we say, that according to the meaning of the Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, it is thus universally to be holden; That all mortal sins, especially public offences, are to be rooted out, corrected, and inhibited, as reasonably as may be, according to the law of God and the institutions of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders doth not pertain unto any private person, but only unto them which have jurisdiction of the law over them, the distinction of law and justice being orderly observed.

"As touching the preaching of the word of God, which article you have alleged in this form, 'That the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt ministers of the Lord;' lest by this word, 'freely,' occasion might be taken of disordered liberty, (which, as you have often said, you do not mean,) the circumstance thereof is to be understood; and we say, that (according to the meaning of the Holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus universally to be believed; That the word of God ought freely, but not every where, but faithfully and orderly to be preached by the priests and Levites of the Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors unto whom that office appertaineth, the authority of the bishop always reserved, who is the provider of all things according to the institution of the holy fathers.

"As concerning the last article, expressed under these words; 'It is not lawful for the Christian clergy, in the time of the law of grace, to have dominion over temporal goods; we remember that in the solemn disputation holden in the sacred council, he which was appointed by the council to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort:

"First, that such of the clergy as were not religious, and had not bound themselves thereunto by a vow, might lawfully have and possess any temporal goods; as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left unto him, or any other goods justly gotten by means of any gift, or other lawful contract, or else some lawful art.

"The second conclusion, The church may lawfully have and possess temporal goods, movable and unmovable, houses, lands, towns and villages, castles and cities, and in them a private and civil dominion. Your ambassador which disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying that they did not impugn the sense of this article being well understood, forasmuch as he understandeth this article of civil dominion formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understood, that those words, 'to have secular dominion,' expressed in the aforesaid article, seemeth to be referred to some special manner or kind of dominion. But forasmuch as

the doctrine of the church is not to be treated upon by any ambiguous or doubtful words, but fully and plainly; therefore we have thought good more plainly to express that which, according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, is universally to be believed, that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, that the clergy ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the church, whose administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy fathers; and that the usurpation of the administration of the church goods, done by any other than by them, unto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacrilege.

"Thus the sacred council," said they, "hath diligently gone about, according to the verity of the gospel, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three aforesaid articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remain any doubt, according to the information which we have received in the sacred council, we are ready by God's help (who is the principal verity) to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the said three articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the Holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, simple, and perfect unity, touching the liberty of the communion under both kinds, which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully have without the licence of holy church; we have authority from the general council, by certain means to treat and conclude with you, trusting that you will show yourselves as you will continue."

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said that they would give no answer unto the premises, before they understood what should be offered them as touching the communion. Wherefore, it shall be necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following:

"In the name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, upon the sacrament of whose most blessed last supper we shall treat, that he which hath instituted this most blessed sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchsafe to work this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the said Lord Jesus, our Head, and that he will subvert all the subtleties of the devil, who, through his envious craftiness, hath made the sacrament of peace and unity an occasion of war and discord; that whilst Christians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the communion. Whereupon St. Augustine, in his sermon upon infants, saith thus, 'So the Lord Jesus Christ certified us, and willed that we should appertain unto him, and consecrate the mystery of our peace and unity upon the table. He that receiveth the mystery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a mystery for himself, but a testimony against himself.' This we thought good above all things to be premised, that the general custom of the church, which your fathers, and you also, in times past have observed, hath a long time had and still useth, that they which do not consecrate, communicate only under the kind of bread. Which custom being lawfully brought in by the church and holy fathers, and now a long time observed, it is not lawful to reject, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the church. Therefore to change the custom of the church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy church, is altogether unlawful. For holy church, upon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty unto the people to communicate under both kinds. And every communion, which, being attempted without the authority and licence of the church, should be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy church, shall be lawful, if other things let it not; because, as the apostle saith, He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.

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"Whereupon St. Isidore, of the second Distinction upon the Consecration, writeth thus, 'They which live wickedly, and cease not daily to communicate in the church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sins.' And St. Augustine in the same Distinction saith, 'Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are salvation, but unto the evil damnation.' There are besides these many other authorities. The apostle Judas was amongst them which did first communicate, but forasmuch as he received unworthily, having that sin of treason in his heart, it did profit him nothing, but the devil by and by exercised the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reason; Which of you is it, that if you should receive your lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care study to make clean and adorn his house, that he may receive the lord honestly? Much more he that shall receive the Lord and Saviour into the house of his soul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his soul, to cleanse it by the sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely, and truly confessing his sins, and receiving due satisfaction and penance, to adorn and deck the same with the purple or rich array of devotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with fervent desire, he may come to that most holy sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world unto him.

"Wherefore the most sacred synod admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should use all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that most blessed sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, lest that which is received for the salvation of the soul, redound to the condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof.

"Moreover, doctors do say, that the custom of communicating unto the people only under the kind of bread, was reasonably introduced by the church and holy fathers for reasonable causes, especially for the avoiding of two perils, of error and irreverence. Of error, as to think that the one part of Christ's body were in the bread, and the other part in the cup, which were a great error. Of unreverence, forasmuch as many things may happen, as well on the part of the minister, as on the part of the receiver; as it is said that it happened when a certain priest carried the sacrament of the cup unto a sick man, when he should have ministered, he found nothing in the cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such-like chances. We have heard, moreover, that it hath often happened, that the sacrament consecrated in the cup hath not been sufficient for the number of communicants, whereby a new consecration must be made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers, and also, that oftentimes they do minister wine unconsecrated for consecrated wine, which is a great peril. By this means then it shall be brought to pass, that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the church in all other things, besides the use of the communion under both kinds, conforming yourselves to the faith and order of the universal church, you that hate that use and custom shall communicate still by the authority of the church under both kinds, and this article shall be discussed fully in the sacred council, where you shall see what, as touching this article, is to be holden as a universal verity, and is to be done for the profit and salvation of the Christian people; and all things being thus thoroughly handled, then, if you persevere in your desire, and that your ambassadors do require it, the sacred council will grant licence in the Lord unto your ministers, to communicate unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, to such as be of lawful years and discretion, and shall reverently and devoutly require the same; this always observed, that the ministers shall say unto those which

shall communicate, that they ought firmly to believe not the flesh only to be contained under the form of bread, and the blood only under the wine, but under each kind to be whole and perfect Christ."

Thus, hitherto, we have declared the decree of the council. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterward moved by the masters and prelates of Bohemia, the ambassadors of the council answered thus:



First they said, that it was not the meaning of the sacred council, to suffer the communion under both kinds by toleration, or as the libel of divorcement was permitted to the Jews; forasmuch as the council, intending even to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity unto the Bohemians and Moravians, doth not mean to suffer it with such kind of sufferance, which should not exclude sin; but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his true spouse the church, it may be

lawful, profitable, and healthful unto those who worthily receive the same. Also, as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes stirreth up the hearts of private persons to the correcting and punishing of sins, and so it should seem lawful unto the inferiors to correct and punish their superiors; they answered, alleging the text of St. Augustine in the three and thirtieth decree: "He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the minister of God: but he which without any public administration or office murdereth or maimeth any wicked thief, sacrilegious, adulterous, or perjured person, or any other offender, shall he judged as a homicide, and so much the more sharply, in that he feared not to abuse and usurp the power not granted him of God; and truly this city would take it much more grievously, if any private man should attempt to punish an offender, and set up a gallows in the street, and there hang him, than if one man should kill another in brawl or quarrel." They alleged also other texts of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome agreeable to the same. They said, that no man doubteth that the law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simply written, Thou shalt not steal. And, notwithstanding, by the commandment of God the children of Israel carried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of them. Also in the same law it is plainly written, Thou shalt do no murder. Whereupon St. Augustine in his first book proveth, that it is not lawful for any man to kill himself; and when he maketh example of Samson, he answereth with these words: "When God commandeth and doth affirm himself to command without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sin? or who will accuse the obedience to God? "

Here in this proposition you have the words of St. Augustine for answer. But let every man well foresee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumstances, and let him prove the spirits whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there should easily rise occasion to make sedition, and for the inferiors to rise against the superiors; for when any man had stolen any thing, or killed any man, he would say that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifest proof thereof, he should be punished.

Again, they said that there were certain cases wherein the laity had power over the clergy. It was answered, that there were certain cases in the law, wherein the laity

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had power over the clergy, and oftentimes over cardinals. For if, the pope being dead, the cardinals would not enter the conclave to elect a new pope, the king, prince, or other lord or secular power may compel them; but in these cases he is now no private person, but useth his jurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be understood of all other cases expressed in the law.

They said further, that no common law hath any right or justice, except God's law do allow the same.

It was answered, that no common law hath right or justice, if it be against the law of God; because the law of God is the rule of all other laws. But there is great cunning and knowledge in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule, for oftentimes it seemeth that there is diversity in the thing made by the rule, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, because the rule is not duly applied to the thing made by it.

As touching the article of preaching the word of God, it was moved, that oftentimes some prelates, through their own envy and malice, without any reasonable cause, do inhibit a good and meet preacher that preacheth catholicly and well.

Answer was made, how that they understood well enough that the abuse of certain prelates, which did inordinately behave themselves, gave a great occasion of those troubles. Also that they never heard of any such complaints in those parts, but that the prelates do favour good preachers, and stir them up to preach, by entreaty, favour, and promotion. In all such cases there are remedies already provided by the law; for when any man is so prohibited to use his right, he hath remedy to appeal; and if he do trust his appeal to be just, he may use his right, all violence both of the spiritual and secular power set apart; for the end of the matter shall declare if he had just cause to appeal. Then shall it be declared that the superior hath done evil in prohibiting, and the plaintiff justly in doing, and the superior for his unjust prohibition shall be punished. But if he be justly prohibited, and that through his temerity he do contemn the just commandment of his superior, he is worthy to be punished with condign punishment.

Where it was moved concerning the third article, whether it were lawful for the ecclesiastical prelates to exercise, in their proper person, the acts of secular dominion. Hereunto it was answered, that if by this word, acts of secular dominion, are understood acts which a secular lord may do or exercise, then it is to be said, that a prelate may lawfully exercise some such acts in his proper person, as to sell, pawn, or pledge, to infeoff by manner and form ordained by law; but there are some acts, which it is not lawful for them to exercise in their proper person, but ought to have afterward a vicegerent or proctor to do the same.

It was also moved, whether that coercive power, which ought to be exercised by a steward, &c., be in the hands of an ecclesiastical prelate.

Whereupon John Polomar answered, that this question presupposeth another; whereof there are divers opinions amongst the doctors, in whose power the dominion of the church should be; and, furthermore, whether the actions be in the person of the tutor or proctor, or if they be not in their person, notwithstanding by the constitution of any actor or proctor, (whose exercising of those actions doth give authority unto the actor or proctor,) they be; with other difficulties, whereof it is not needful to speak at this present. But forasmuch as he was urged to say his opinion, he said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would

be contented to give the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of church matters should be in the power of Christ: and the prelates, with the other clergy, are but canonical administrators in manner of tutors; but they have more power and administration than tutors, and by constituting a steward or vicegerent, &c., their constitution being made, the steward or vicegerent hath the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Also as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it is agreed that these words, "justly gotten," alleged therein, determine all things contained in the same.

Also as touching the second conclusion, whereas the sacred canons and holy doctors speak thus, "The goods of the church, the substance of the church, and the possessions of the church, and divers other opinions there be amongst the doctors, in whose power the rule thereof should be," they do not intend to constrain any man to any of those opinions, neither to exclude any of them, but that every man should have liberty probably to maintain which of them he thinketh best.

Moreover the Bohemians said, that they did believe that the clergy are but administrators of the temporalities of the church, and not lords thereof, according to the manner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy doctors, and canons. Also the Bohemians said, that in all occasions, which shall hereafter rise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the judge, agreed upon in Egra, with one consent. In this manner did the ambassadors make answer unto the Bohemians. At the last, after much communication had to and fro, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting to their hands. The Bohemians promised to receive the peace and unity of the church, and the declaration of the three articles. This was done A. D. 1438. About the feast of St. Martin, it was afterward agreed, both by the ambassadors of that council and of Bohemia, that whatsoever remained should be determined and agreed upon, first at Ratisbon, afterward at Bruna, in the diocese of Olmutz, then at Alba in Hungary, before the Emperor Sigismund, but the matter could not be ended in any place.

At the last the concord was confirmed by writing with their seals at Inglatia, a city of Moravia, the fifth day of July, in the presence of the emperor.

Certain petitions, which the Bohemians put up last of all in the sacred council of Basil, A. D. 1438, in the month of November.

"Unto the most reverend fathers in Christ, and our most gracious lords. We, the ambassadors of the kingdom of Bohemia, do most humbly and heartily require you, that for the perpetual preservation of peace and concord, and for the firm preservation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your clemency to give and grant unto us all and singular our requests, hereunder written, with effectual execution of the same.

"First, and above all things, we desire and require you, for the extirpation of divers dissensions and controversies, which will undoubtedly follow amongst our people, under the diversity of the communion, and for the abolishing of infinite evils which we are not able to express as we have conceived them, that you will gently vouchsafe of your goodness and liberality to give, grant, and command, unto our kingdom of Bohemia, and marquidom of Moravia, one uniform order of the communion unto all men, under both kinds, that is to say, unto the archbishop of

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Prague, the bishop of Luthonus, Olmutz, and other prelates of the kingdom and marquisdom, having charge of souls, and to their vicars, and also to their flocks and subjects, and that according to those things which are contained in the bull of the ambassadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole council, where it is thus said, 'And all other things shall be done, which shall be meet and necessary for the preservation of the peace and unity.' For this done, by your benefit the whole kingdom shall be comforted above measure, and established in brotherly love; whereby a uniform subjection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed unto the holy church.

"Item, we require and desire, as before, that for the avoiding of all false suspicion and doubtfulness of many, which suppose that the sacred council hath granted the said communion under both kinds unto us but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libel of divorcement, that you will vouchsafe, according to this chapter alleged in the compositions, 'First they said, that it was not the intent of the sacred council,' &c., wholesomely and speedily to provide for our safety, and with your grant in this behalf, and with the bulls of your letters, to confirm that chapter, together with the other pertaining to the office of your ambassadors.

"Item, we beseech you, as before, that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the clergy, and for the final defence and observation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in spiritualities, ye will vouchsafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawful pastor, archbishops and bishops, which shall seem unto us most meet and acceptable for our kingdom, to execute those offices and duties.

"Item, We require you, as aforesaid, that your fatherly reverences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kingdom and marquisdom, to declare and show our innocency, in that they have communicated, do, and hereafter shall communicate under both kinds; to give out, ordain, and direct the letters of the sacred council, in manner and form most apt and meet for such declaration, unto all princes, as well secular as spiritual, cities and commonalties, according to the compositions, and as the lords the ambassadors are bound unto us to do.

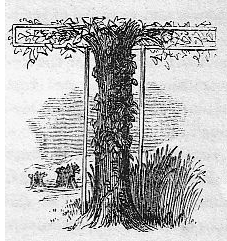
"Item, We desire you, that in the discussing of the matter for the communion under both kinds, and of the commandment thereof given unto all faithful, ye will not proceed otherwise than according to the concordatum agreed upon in Egra; that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ, and his apostles, the general councils, and the minds of the holy doctors, truly grounded upon the law of God.

"Item, We desire that your fatherly reverences, considering the great affection of our people, will give us the desired liberty to communicate unto the younger sort the sacrament of the supper. For if this use of communicating should be taken away, which our kingdom being godly, moved by the writings of most great and holy doctors, and brought in by examples, hath received as catholic, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise up an intolerable offence amongst the people, and their minds would be grievously vexed and troubled.

"Item, We require you, as before, that for like causes your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to permit, at the least the Gospels, Epistles, and Creed to be sung and read in the church in our vulgar tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our Sclavonic language it hath been used of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdom.

"Item, We require you in the name of the said kingdom, and of the famous university of Prague, that your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to show such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that university, that, according to the manner and form of other universities reformed by the church, prebends and collations of certain benefices of cathedral and parish churches may be annexed and incorporated unto the said university, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

"Item, We desire you, as before, as heartily as we may, and also (saving always your fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former compositions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole minds and endeavours, and with all care and study, your reverences will watch and seek for that long desired and most necessary reformation of the church and Christian religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all public evils, as well in the head as in the members, as you have often promised to do in our kingdom, in the compositions, and as our fourth article, touching the avoiding of all public evils, doth exact and require."



here were certain answers provided by the council, to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not delivered unto them, but kept back, for what purpose and intent we know not. Wherefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to avoid prolixity, we have judged it meet at this present to omit them. Thus have ye heard compendiously the chief and principal matters treated and done in this famous council of Basil. And here, to conclude withal, we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people, (which judge many things to be of longer time and continuance than indeed they be, and thereupon have established a great part of their opinions,) how that, toward the latter end of this council, that is to say, in the thirty-seventh session of the same, holden the seventeenth of September, A. D. 1439, the feast of the conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly. In like case also in the forty-fourth session of the same council, holden the first day of July, A. D. 1441, it was ordained that the feast of the visitation of our Lady should be celebrated and holden yearly in the month of July. We have also thought it good, before we do end this story, to annex hereunto certain degrees, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the said council, against the inordinate giving of the ecclesiastical benefices and livings by the pope, with certain other constitutions also, fruitful for the behalf and edification of the church.

During the time that the general council at Basil was so diligent and careful about the reformation of the church, this one thing seemed good unto them to be prosecuted and followed with an earnest care and diligence, that through every church apt and meet ministers might be appointed, which might shine in virtue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ and the healthful edifying of the Christian people; whereunto the multitude of expectative graces hath been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers disorders, and many dangers upon the ecclesiastical state. For hereby oftentimes, scarcely apt or meet ministers have been appointed for the churches, which are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of void benefices (as the old laws do witness) doth give occasion to desire another man's death, which is greatly prejudicial unto salvation; besides that, innumerable quarrels and contentions are moved amongst the servants of God; rancour and malice nourished; the ambition and greedy desire of

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pluralities of benefices maintained; and the riches and substance of kingdoms and provinces marvellously consumed. Poor men suffer innumerable vexations by running unto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues; and having spent their patrimony and substance left them by their parents, they are constrained to live in extreme poverty. Many do challenge benefices, which, without any just title, (yea, such indeed as ought not to have them,) obtain and get the same; such, I say, as have most craft and subtlety to deceive their neighbour, or have greatest substance to contend in the law. It happeneth oftentimes that under the intrication of these prerogatives, antelations, and such other as do associate these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also, oftentimes the ministry is taken away from young men by their ordinary givers, whilst that by the troubles of those contentions, and divers discourses, running to and fro by means of those graces, they are vexed and troubled; the ecclesiastical order is confounded, while every man's authority and jurisdiction is not preserved; and the bishops of Rome also, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiors, are withdrawn from more weighty and fruitful matters, neither do they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the public utility doth require. All which things do bring a great confusion unto the clergy and ecclesiastical state, to the great prejudice and hinderance of God's true worship, and public salvation.

In the same council also divers other constitutions were made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certain abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the bishop of Rome, as touching causes not to be brought up and translated to the court of Rome; wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controversies should be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond four days' journey distant from the said court of Rome, a few principal matters only excepted. Also, that no frivolous appeals should be made to the pope hereafter. It was, moreover, in the same council decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of four and twenty, besides them that were already, and that they should be freely taken out of all countries; and that they should not be of kin to the bishop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for annats, or first-fruits, or half-fruits, it was there provided that no such annats, or confirmation of elections, or collation of benefices, should be paid or reserved any more to the pope, for the first year's voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles the Seventh, with the full consent of his prelates, in his high court of parliament in Bourges, and there called Pragmatica Sanctio, A. D. 1438, whereupon great utility ensued afterward to the kingdom of France. Albeit, in process of time, divers friars there were which wrote against the same.

Amongst many decrees of the said council of Basil, in the nineteenth session there was also a decree made, touching the converting of Jews and young novices in religion unto the Christian faith.

Also that all ordinaries should yearly, at appointed times, provide certain men well learned in the Holy Scriptures, in such places where Jews and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the catholic faith, that they, acknowledging their error, might forsake the same; unto the which preaching the said ministers should compel them to resort, and to hear, under pain of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the said diocesans and preachers should behave

themselves towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Christ, not only by the declaring of the verity, but also in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitful, and that the preachers might be the better instructed in the tongues, it was also in the same council provided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the council of Vienna, for learning the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek tongues, should by all means be observed and kept, and ordinary stipends provided for them that should teach the same tongues.

Another decree moreover in the twentieth session was enacted, that whosoever was known or publicly noted to be a keeper of concubines, should be sequestered from all fruits of his benefices for the space of three months, which fruits should be converted by the ordinary to the reparations, or some other utility of the church; and if he did not so amend, it was by the synod decreed, that he should be clearly deposed from all his benefices.

Furthermore, the said synod did greatly inveigh against them, which, having the jurisdiction of the church, did not shame to suffer such offenders, for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthiness, &c.

By these decrees of the council above specified, it is to be seen, what corruption had been then frequented in the church of God, through the bishop and court of Rome. For the more express declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Æneas Sylvius, touching and noting the said corruptions; the tenor of whose epistle here ensueth.

"Unto the reverend father, the Lord Æneas, cardinal of Sienna; Martin Meyre, chancellor to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

"I have understood by certain of my friend's letters, that you are created cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you have received so worthy rewards for your virtues. I rejoice also for mine own part, that my friend hath attained unto such a dignity wherein he may in time to come both help me and my friends: but this is a grief unto me, that you have happened upon those days, which seem to be troublesome unto the apostolic see. For there are many complaints made unto my lord the archbishop upon the pope, that he will neither keep the decrees of the council of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himself bound to the covenants of his predecessors, and seemeth utterly to contemn our nation, and to seek the utter ruin thereof. For it is evident that the election of prelates is every where rejected; benefices and dignities, of what sort soever they be, are reserved for the cardinals and chief notaries; and you yourself have obtained the reservation of three provinces of Germany, under such a form as hath not been accustomed or heard of. Advowsons or gifts of benefices are granted without number; yearly stipends and half the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted than is due. The regiments of churches are not committed unto such as best deserve them, but unto such as offer most money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape and gather together money. Tithes are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our prelates, for the Turkish war; and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the apostolic see of Rome. A thousand ways are invented and devised, how the see of Rome may, by subtlety and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from us, even as it were of the Turks or

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barbarians; whereby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood conquered the Roman empire, and was once the lady and queen of all the world, now being brought unto poverty, is made a handmaid, and become tributary, and, being now in extreme misery, hath of long time bewailed her cruel fortune and poverty. But now our nobles, being (as it were) wakened out of their sleep, hath begun to consider and devise with themselves, by what means they might withstand this calamity, and utterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themselves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no small loss unto the court of Rome, if the princes of Germany bring to pass that which they have devised. Wherefore, as much as I do rejoice of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moved and grieved that these things happen in your days. But peradventure God's determination is otherwise, and his will shall surely take place. You, in the mean time, be of good cheer, and devise according to your wisdom, by what means the vehemency of these floods may be stayed. Thus fare ye well.

"From Hasthaffenberge, the last day of August."

Concerning the authority of this general council of Basil, what is to be esteemed of it, by the acts and fruits thereof may be understood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the pope agreed and consented unto it. But after the pope began to draw back, many others followed, especially of the richer sort of prelates which had any thing to lose; whereof sufficiently hath been said by Aretensis the cardinal before. In the number of those unconstant prelates, besides many others, was, first, Cardinal Julian, the first collector of this council and vicegerent of the pope, as by his fervent and vehement letter, written to Pope Eugenius in defence of this council, may well appear. Wherein he most earnestly doth expostulate with the aforesaid Pope Eugenius, for seeking to dissolve the council, and declareth in the same many causes, why he should rather rejoice, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement between the council and the Bohemians, and so exhorteth him, with manifold persuasions, to resort to the council himself; and not to seek the dissolution of the same.

In like manner Æneas Sylvius also, with his own hand and writing, not only gave testimony to the authority of this council, but also bestowed his labour and travail in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding, the same Sylvius afterward, being made pope, with his new honour did alter and change his old sentence. The Epistle of which Æneas, touching the commendation of the said council, because it is but short, and will occupy but little room, I thought hereunder, for the more satisfying of the reader's mind, to insert.

"To a Christian man which will be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than that the sincerity and pureness of faith, given to us of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate; and if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the gospel, the people ought with one consent to provide lawful remedy, and every man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire; neither must we fear how we be hated or envied, so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walk not directly by the truth of the Gospel. Which thing I am glad, and so we are all, to hear that your university hath done in this council of Basil. For a certain treatise of yours is brought hither unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness, of such, which do deny the bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgment, to be subject unto the general council; and that the supreme tribunal seat of judgment

standeth in the church, and in no one bishop. Such men as deny this you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery eels, neither to cavil or bring any objection against you." These be the words of Sylvius.

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the aforesaid council, this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigismund the emperor no man resisted this council. Also, continuing the time of Charles the Seventh, the French king, the said council of Basil was fully and wholly received through all France. But after the death of Sigismund, when Eugenius was deposed, and Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope, great discords arose, and much practice was wrought, but especially on Eugenius's part; who being now excommunicated by the council of Basil, to make his part more strong, made eighteen new cardinals. Then he sent his orators unto the Germans, labouring by all persuasions to dissolve the council of Basil. The Germans at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with Felix and the council of Basil; other some, with Eugenius and the council of Ferrara; and some were neuters. After this, the French king being dead, which was Charles the Seventh, about the year of our Lord 1444, the pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of Rome, to excite, as is supposed, the Dauphin of France by force of arms to dissipate that council collected against him. Who, leading an army of fifteen thousand men into Alsatia, did cruelly waste and spoil the country; after that, laid siege unto Basil, to expel and drive out the prelates of the council. But the Helvetians, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight; like as the Lacedemonians with three hundred only did suppress and scatter all the mighty army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ.

Although Basil was by the valiantness of the Helvetians thus defended, yet notwithstanding, the council, through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the princes' ambassadors, which shrunk away and would not tarry. So that at length Eugenius brought to pass, partly through the help of Frederic, being not yet emperor, but labouring for the empire, partly by his orators, in the number of whom was Æneas Sylvius above mentioned amongst the Germans, that they were content to give over both the council of Basil and their neutrality.

This Frederic of Austria, being not yet emperor, but towards the empire, brought also to pass, that Felix, which was chosen of the council of Basil to be pope, was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas the Fifth, successor to Eugenius, of the which Nicholas the said Frederic was confirmed at Rome to be emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451.

As these things were doing at Basil, in the mean season Pope Eugenius brought to pass in his convocation at Florence, that the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, with the rest of the Grecians there present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the Church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost; also to receive the communion in unleavened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding the other churches of Grecia would in no wise assent at their coming home; insomuch that with a public execration they did condemn afterward all those legates which had consented to these articles, that none of them should be buried in Christian burial; which was A. D. 1439.

And thus endeth the story, both of the council of Basil, and of the council of Florence, also of the Emperor Sigismund, and of the schism between Pope Eugenius

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and Pope Felix, and also of the Bohemians. The which Bohemians, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults abovesaid, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length, through discord, partly between the two preachers of the old and new city of Prague, partly also through the discord of the messengers and captains taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong and enfeebled themselves. Albeit afterward, in process of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the bishop of Rome could never yet to this day remove the Taborites and city of Prague from the communion of both kinds, nor could ever cause them to keep the conditions, which in the beginning of the council was enjoined their priests to observe, as testifieth Cochleus, lib. 8. Hist. Huss. With whom also recordeth Antoninus, who in 3. part. Hist. saith, That the doctrine of the Bohemians, which he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take so deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterward neither by fire nor sword it could be extinct.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly and in a general sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they, in their own defence, and in the quarrel of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, provoked by their catholic adversaries to war, fighting under Zisca their captain, had eleven battles with the pope's side, and ever went away victors. Moreover in the history of Fencer it is testified, that Pope Martin the Fifth, sending for the bishop of Winchester, then cardinal, had levied three main armies, intending to overrun all the Bohemians; one army of the Saxons under the prince elector; the second of the Francones, under the marquis of Brandenburg; the third of Rhenates, Bavarians and Switzers, under Octo archbishop of Treves. With these, Sigismund also the emperor, and Cardinal Julian the pope's legate, (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) joined all their force. These joining together five times (saith the story) with five sundry battles, assailed and invaded the Bohemians; at every which battle, five times the said adversaries, stricken and daunted with a sudden fear, ran away out of the field, leaving their tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was given, whereby it may appear that the holy angels of God do fight for them which embrace the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel.

Thus the Bohemians, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of Zisca, and also of Procopius, till at length, through discord growing between them and their captains, Procopius and Mainardus, they were subdued unto their enemies.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel fact of Mainardus, who, after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realm of Bohemia of those chief and principal soldiers, which had been long expert and trained up in wars, found means for a proclamation made, as though he would war against other countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to train all them which were disposed to take wages, into certain barns or hovels prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the doors upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers thousands, and so brought the rest by that means under subjection to the emperor during his lifetime; which after that continued not long. The which soldiers, if they had fought so much for the catholic liberties of the pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is marvel if the pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruel deceit of Mainardus is worthy of all men to be detested.



The burning of the Hussite Soldiers

116. Events in England 1431-1450

During this business among the bishops beyond the sea, in the mean time our bishops here also in England were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the country that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the clergy do draw with them a more insensible untowardness in God's religion, hard it is to say; this is manifest to all them which will read and mark our stories from time to time, that in England is more burning and slaying for religion and for all other matters, more bloodshed among us, than in any other land or nation in Christendom besides. After the burning of Richard Hoveden, and Nicholas Canon, and of Thomas Bagley, priest, above recorded, whom the bishops condemned to death, A. D. 1431, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1439, which was the eighteenth of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, they had another poor man by the back, named Richard Wiche, priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English Chronicle borrowed of one Permyngier. What his opinions were they do not express. This they record, that this Richard Wiche first was degraded, then burned at the Tower-hill for heresy. Some do affirm, that he before his death revolted; but that seemeth by his burning not to be true.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake, (as prophesying,) that the postern of the Tower should sink; which also afterward came, as he saith, to pass; wherefore, of many of the people he was counted for a holy man; insomuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and reared a great heap of stones, and set up a cross there by night; so that by this means a great clamour ran upon the churchmen, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumour, the king gave commandment to punish such as went thither on pilgrimage. The copy whereof is here to be seen as followeth.

"Rex vicecomitibus London. et Midd. salutem. Albeit Richard Wiche, late clerk, who heretofore long sithence heretically did hold, teach, and publicly preach certain heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realm of England, and for the same many years now past being judicially convicted, did before a judge in that behalf sufficiently abjure all heresy generally, and afterward, as a dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, and publicly preach his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adjudged a relapse. And again, being impeached for the same before the reverend father in God, Robert, bishop of London, his lawful ordinary, was called forth to judgment, and being before him, did judicially confess his errors and heresies; for the which cause the said reverend father, upon mature deliberation by him the said reverend father first had, with the advice of the learned in the law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did by his sentence definitive pronounce and adjudge him to be a relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all priestly ornaments, and deprived him of all priestly function and privilege, (according to justice,) and last of all turned him over to the secular power as the manner is; and afterwards you, by our princely commandment and warrant, did, according to the law of our realm, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a relapse convict, and degraded as a notorious traitor, not only against God, but also against us,

and our crown and dignity; all which notwithstanding, certain our subjects, (as we have been sundry times informed,) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising of all likelihood not only sedition, but also idolatry within our realm, are not afraid publicly to affirm, that the said Richard was altogether innocent of heretical pravity. Nay, rather, they do most shamefully with their vain devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died, a good, just, and a holy man, and that he doth many miracles (whereas, indeed, no such miracles be done by him). Which disorderly persons we may well, and upon probable causes, repute and deem culpable not only of heretical pravity, but also of high treason, and as rebels to our person, majesty, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our realm, as withal breakers and trespassers against the sacred canons of the church, who dare so presumptuously adventure to worship the said Richard as a saint, whereas it is not lawful to worship any manner of person, be he never so holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the bishop of Rome. We, therefore, being very careful for the good preservation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out all the coasts of the same all manner of idolatry, do charge and command you, that in certain places within your liberties, where you shall think most convenient, you cause forthwith proclamations to be made on our behalf, straitly charging, that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said Richard was executed under colour of a pilgrim, or for any other cause of devotion whatsoever, nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, or adjudge, esteem, repute, name, or talk of him as otherwise justified or innocent, than such as the said reverend father by his definitive sentence hath pronounced him to be, upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for a heretic, or a favourer of heretics, and to receive condign punishment provided for heretics. And that you arrest all and every person whom ye shall find to do any thing contrary to this our proclamation, and the same so arrested commit to our prison, there to remain until we shall think good to send countermand for their deliverance. Witness the king at his manor of Easthampsted, the fifteenth day of July, in the eighteenth year of his reign."

Like writs, and to the same effect, were directed to all the sheriffs through all the realm, bearing all one and the same date. By the virtue of which letter, the mayor and sheriffs did use such diligence, that shortly after that concourse and seeking of the people was left off.

After the burning of this man, which was about the month of June, in the same year, about November, a convocation was called by Hemy, archbishop of Canterbury, wherein was propounded among the clergy, to consult with themselves what way were best to be taken for the removing away the law of *Præmuniri facias*; for so were the hearts then of the temporally set against the ecclesiastical sort, that where any advantage might be given them by the law, they did nothing spare; by reason whereof the churchmen at that time were greatly molested by the said law of *Præmuniri*, and by the king's writs, and other indictments, to their no small annoyance. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken, that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented to the king, for the abolishing of the aforesaid law of *Præmuniri facias*, and also for the restraining of other briefs, writs, and indictments, which seemed then to lie heavy upon the clergy. This bill or supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the archbishop of Canterbury and of York, unto the king standing in need the same time of a subsidy to be collected of the clergy; this answer was given to their supplication on the king's behalf: That forasmuch as the time of Christmas then drew near, whereby he had as yet no

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sufficient leisure to advise upon the matter, he would take therein a further pause. In the mean time, as one tendering their quiet, he would send to all his officers and ministers within his realm, that no such brief of Præmuniri should pass against them, or any of them, from the said time of Christmas, till the next parliament, A. D. 1439.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments, so hastily rushed up at that present, in such shortness of time, as in the said book thou mayest see (gentle reader) declared and signified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, and of Sir Roger Onley, knight, (priest, it should have been printed,) which two persons, about the year of our Lord 1440, or the next year following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetual prison. Of this little short matter, Master Cope, the pope's scout, lying in privy wait to spy faults in all men's works wheresoever any may appear, taketh pepper in the nose, and falleth again unto this old barking against me, for placing these fore-said persons in my Book of Martyrs; but especially he thinketh to have great advantage against me, for that in the same story I do join withal one Margaret Jourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned also with them the same time, and burned for practising the king's death by an image of wax, &c. To answer hereunto, first, I say (as I before said) that I profess no such title to write of martyrs, but in general to write of acts and monuments passed in the church and realm of England. Wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walk of a story writer, more than other that have gone before me?

Secondly, touching my commendation of Sir Roger Onley and the Lady Eleanor, if Master Alane he therewith offended, I answer, that I commended them for savouring and favouring of the truth of Christ's doctrine; for the fact, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine own head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as well believe John Bale, as Master Alane believe Master Fabian? Especially seeing I do know, and was privy, that the said John, in recognising his centuries, followed altogether the history of Leland de Catalogo Virorum Illustrium; which book, being borrowed of Master Cheeke, I myself did see in the hands of the aforesaid John Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble lady, duchess of Richmond. Wherefore if he think me so lewd to speak without mine authors, he is deceived. And if he think mine authors not to be believed, then let this jolly dictator come forth and prescribe us a law, what authors he would have us to take, and what to refuse. For else why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian and Edward Hall; especially seeing they had seen his books and works left behind him, whereupon they might better judge, and so did never these?

Thirdly, for the name of Roger Onley, if Cope deny that there was any such name in stories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke, &c., hereby it may appear, that either his prompter out of England deceived him, or else that he, going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect sycophant. And admit the said name of Onley could not be found in those writers, yet were it not impossible for a man to have two names, especially if he were a religious man, to bear the name of the town where he was born, beside his own proper surname. But now what if I, Master Cope, can avouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Onley out of sufficient record, which you seem not to have yet read? Have ye not then done well and properly, think you, so bitterly to fly in my face, and to bark so eagerly all this while at moon-shine in the water,

having no more cause almost against me, than against the man in the moon? And now, lest you should think me so unprovided of unjust authority for my defence, as I see you unprovided of modesty and patience; write you to your prompter or suborner, wheresoever he lurketh here in England, to send you over unto Louvain the book of John Harding, a chronicler, more ancient than either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of Richard Grafton, A. D. 1513, where turn to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19, and there shall you find and read these words:

"Again, the church and the king cursedly,
By help of one Master Roger Onley," &c.

By the which words ye must necessarily confess Roger Onley to be the name of the man, or else must ye needs deny the author. For otherwise, that Master Roger Bolingbroke was the only helper to the duchess in that fact, by no wise it can stand with the story of these authors, which say, that four other besides him were condemned for the same crime, &c. And moreover, though the said Sir Roger Onley was no knight, (as I have said in my former edition,) yet this ye cannot deny, by the testimony of them that have seen his works, but that he was a priest, which you will grant to be a knight's fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Master Roger Onley.

Fourthly, as concerning Margaret Jourdeman, whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say, that I make here a martyr which was a witch; whereas I here profess, confess, and ascertain both you and all Englishmen, both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Jourdeman I never spake of, never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your book yourself. So far is it off, that I, either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her.

Furthermore, I profess and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any just or congruous occasion in my book so to judge, much less to rail on me. For where, in express words, I do speak of the mother of the Lady Young, what occasion have you thereby to slander me and my book with Margaret Jourdeman? Which Margaret, whether she was a witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I mean of her now. But because I couple her in the same story, you say. To this I say, Because she was the mother of a lady, I thought to join her with another lady in the same story, as in one pew together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet, notwithstanding, I do so couple the said mother with the duchess, in such distinct difference of years, that you, Master Cope, might easily have understood, or beside you no man else would have thought the contrary, but that Margaret Jourdeman was neither here in my book, nor yet in my *memento*. For the words of my story are plain, where the condemnation of the Lady Eleanor, and of the mother of Lady Young, being referred to the year of our Lord 1441, I do also, in the same story, (through the occasion of that lady,) infer mention of the mother of the Lady Young, declaring in express words, that she followed certain years after, and in the end of that chapter do name also the year of her burning to be 1490, which was fifty years after the death of Onley, and Margaret Jourdeman; by the computation of which years, it is plain, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the Lady Young's mother.

But Master Cope, continuing still in his wrangling mood, objecteth again, for that in my calendar the said Lady Young's mother hath the next day in the catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, which day pertaineth properly to Margaret

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Jourdeman, which was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the lady's mother, &c.

What order was taken in placing the names and days, what is that to me? If he which had the disposing of the catalogue, did place them so in months, as he saw them joined in chapters, not perusing, peradventure, nor advising the chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth clear itself in distinguishing them rightly in names and also in years, as is before declared.

Fifthly and lastly, having thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times, Master Cope, I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the lady duchess, and to the rest; with this protestation before premised unto the reader, that if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the reader then so to take me, as though I did not deal here withal, nor speak of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and dispunged the same. But, forasmuch as the deed and offence laid and given forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of evil will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore I do but only move a question by way of history, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the question, whether it is to be judged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged; and so having briefly propounded certain conjectural suspicions or supposals concerning that matter, I will pass it over, neither meddling on the one side nor on the other.

The first conjecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason, laid to the charge of the duchess and Roger Onley, against the king, may be untrue, is this; That the said Onley (otherwise named Bolingbroke) took it upon his death, that they never intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

The second conjecture; For that the Lady Eleanor and Onley seemed then to favour and savour of that religion set forth by Wickliff; and therefore it is like enough that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practices of papists can do, it is not unknown.

The third conjecture; For that the said Master Roger Onley, falsely noted and accused of necromancy, wrote a book in purgation of himself, entitled, *De Innocentia Sua*. Also another book, entitled, *Contra Vulgi Superstitiones*. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was overtaken with that filth of necromancy himself.

The fourth conjecture; Because this accusation against the duchess of Gloucester, Duke Humphrey's wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled between the cardinal of Winchester and Duke Humphrey her husband.

Another conjecture may be hereof, For that if the duchess had intended any such heinous treason against the king's life, as by burning of a wax candle to consume him, it is not like (neither was there any such need) that she would have made so many privy to such a pernicious counsel, as the witch of Eye, Master Roger Bolingbroke, Master Thomas Southwell, and John Hume.

Sixthly, It is not to be supposed, if any such high treason had been wrought or pretended against the king's person by these, that either the duchess should so escape with bearing a taper and banishment; or that John Hume should be pardoned his life; the fact being so heinous, that neither any durst ask this pardon, nor if it had been asked, had it been like to be granted.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

To these we may also add another supposal, rising upon the words and form of their accusation, as it standeth in Harding, Polychronicon, and other more, wherein they were accused for working sorcery and enchantments against the church and the king. Now what sorcery can be wrought against the church, that is, the whole multitude of Christians, let the reader judge; and by the truth of this, consider also the truth of the other, which was against the king. Furthermore, if by this church is meant the cardinal of Winchester, as like it is; then it may be conjectured, that all this matter rose of that cardinal, who was then a mortal enemy to the house of Gloucester, &c.

Eighthly, And that all this was done and wrought by the said cardinal of Winchester, the witch of Eye maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that town of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was near beside Winchester, and see of that bishop.

Moreover, forasmuch as Polydore Virgil, among other story authors, being a man, as may be supposed, rather favouring the cardinal's part than the duke's, made no mention at all touching this treason, his silence therefore may minister matter not only to muse, but also to conjecture, that he had found something which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is unlike that he would have so mewed up the matter, and passed it over without some mention.

Finally, and briefly, The frequent practices and examples of other times may make this also more doubtful, considering how many subtle pretences after the like sort have been sought, and wrongful accusations brought against many innocent persons. For (not to repeat the like forgeries against the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, &c.) why may not this accusation of the duchess and Onley be as false, as that, in the time of King Edward the Fifth, which was laid to the charge of the queen and Shore's wife by the protector, for enchanting and bewitching of his withered arm? Which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarrel made only to oppress the life of the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley, &c.

Although these, with many more conjectures, may be alleged in some part of defence of this duchess, and of her chaplains and priests, yet because it may not be impossible, again, the matter laid against them to be true, I leave it therefore at large as I find it, saying as I said before, that if it be true which the stories say in this matter, think, I beseech thee, gentle reader, that I have said nothing hereof. Only, because the matter may be disputable, and not impossible to be false, I have but moved thereof a question, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgment hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if Master Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Acts and Monuments I durst name the Lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Onley; let him take this for a short answer, because my leisure serveth not to make long brawls with him, that if I had thought no imperfections to have passed in my former edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to sponge away such motes as I thought would seem great stumbling-blocks in such men's walks, which walk with no charity to edify, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amiss in others, neither tarrying while other men reform themselves, and finally, finding quarrels where no great cause is justly given. And here an end with Master Cope for this time.

Forasmuch as in the process before, mention was touched concerning the grudge between the cardinal, called the rich cardinal of Winchester, and the good Duke Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle and protector of the realm, order of story now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large. Wherein



Winchester

this first is to be understood, that long before great flames of grudge and discord did burst out between these two. For as the noble heart of the duke could not abide the proud doings of the cardinal, so much again the cardinal in like manner sore envied and disdained at the rule of the duke of Gloucester. Notwithstanding that, by the means of the duke of Bedford, the bursting out between them was before appeased and cured; yet not so, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred, as sparkles under the embers, did still remain; so that the cardinal, joining with the archbishop of York, attempted many things of their own presumption, contrary to the consent, not only of the king, (being then under age,) but also of the protector and governor of the realm. Wherewith the duke (like a true-hearted prince) being not without just cause offended, declared in writing to the king, certain complaints contained in twenty-one articles, wherein the cardinal and archbishop had transgressed both against the king and his laws. The tenor whereof more at large is in other stories expressed, the brief abstract thereof followeth in a short summary here to be seen.

"1. Complained to his sovereign prince his right redoubted lord Duke Humphrey, his uncle and protector of the realm, that the bishop of Winchester, in the days of his father, King Henry the Fifth, took upon him the state of a cardinal, being denied by the king, saying, that he had as lief set his own crown beside him, as to see him wear a cardinal's hat; and that in parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a bishop among the spiritual persons, presumed above his order; which the said duke desired to be redressed.

"2. Item, Whereas he, being made a cardinal, was voided of his bishopric of Winchester, he procured from Rome the pope's bull, unknowing to the king, whereby he took again his bishopric, contrary to the common law of this realm, incurring thereby the case of provision, and forfeiting all his goods to the king, by the law of *Præmuniri facias*.

"3. Item, He complained, that the said cardinal, with the archbishop of York, intruded themselves to have the governance of the king, and the doing under the king of temporal matters, excluding the king's uncle, and other temporal lords of the king's kin, from having knowledge of any great matter.

"4. Item, Whereas the king had borrowed of the cardinal four thousand pounds, upon certain jewels, and afterward had his money ready at the day to quit his jewels; the cardinal caused the treasurer to convert that money to the payment of another army, to keep the jewels still to his own use and gain.

"5. Item, He being then bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, delivered the king of Scots upon his own authority, contrary to the act of parliament, wedding his niece afterward to the said king. Also, where the said king of Scots should have paid to the king forty thousand pounds, the cardinal procured ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

"6. Item, The said cardinal, for lending notable sums to the king, had the profit of the port of Hampton, where he, setting his servants to be the customers, wool and other merchandise was, under that cloak, exported, not so much to his singular advantage, being the chief merchant, as to the great prejudice of the king, and detriment to his subjects.

"7. Item, The cardinal, in lending out great sums to the king, yet so deferred and delayed the loan thereof, that coming out of season the same did the king little pleasure, but rather hinclerance.

"8. Item, Where jewels and plate were prized at eleven thousand pounds in weight of the said cardinal forfeited to the king, the cardinal, for loan of a little piece, gat him a restorement thereof, to the king's great damage, who better might have spared the commons, if the sum had remained to him clear.

"9. Item, Where the king's father had given Elizabeth Beauchampe three hundred marks of livelihood, with this condition, if she wedded within a year; the cardinal, notwithstanding she was married two or three years after, yet gave her the same, to the king's great hurt, and diminishing of his inheritance.

"10. Item, The cardinal, having no authority nor interest in the crown, presumed, notwithstanding, to call before him like a king, to the king's high derogation.

"11. Item, That the cardinal sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all dismes due to the king, by the church of Winchester, giving thereby example to the

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clergy, to withdraw their dismes likewise, and lay all the charge only upon the temporalty and poor commons.

"12, 13. Item, By the procuring of the said cardinal and archbishop of York, great goods of the king's were lost and dispended upon needless embassies, first to Arras, then to Calais.

"14. Item, It was laid to the charge of the said cardinal and archbishop, that by their means, going to Calais, the two enemies of the king, the duke of Orleans and duke of Burgundy, were deduced together in accord and alliance; who, being at war before between themselves, and now confederated together again, joined both together against the king's towns and countries over the sea, to the great danger of Normandy and destruction of the king's people.

"15. Item, by the archbishop of York, and the cardinal, persuasions were moved openly in the king's presence, with allurements and inducements, that the king should leave his right, his title, and honour of his crown, in nominating him king of France, during certain years, and that he should utterly abstain, and be content only in writing with *Rex Angliæ*, to the great note and infamy of the king, and all his progenitors.

"16, 17. Item, Through the sleight and subtlety of the said cardinal and his mate, a new convention was intended between the king and certain adversaries of France; also the deliverance of the duke of Orleans was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dishonour and inconvenience was like to fall, rather of the king's side, than of the other.

"18. Item, That the cardinal had purchased great lands and livelihoods of the king, the duke being on the other side the sea, occupied in wars, which redounded little to the worship and profit of the king, and moreover he had the king bound to make him as sure estate of all those lands by Easter next, as could be devised by any learned counsel, or else the said cardinal to have and enjoy to him and his heirs for ever, the lands of the duchy of Lancaster in Norfolk to the value of seven or eight hundred marks by the year.

"19. Item, Where the duke, the king's uncle, had often offered his service for the defence of the realm of France, and the duchy of Normandy, the cardinal ever laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after his singular affection, whereby a great part of Normandy hath been lost.

"20. Item, Seeing the cardinal was risen to such riches and treasure, which could grow to him, neither by his church, nor by inheritance, which he then had, it was of necessity to be thought, that it came by his great deceits, in deceiving both the king and his subjects, in selling offices, preferments, livelihoods, captainships, both here and in the realm of France, and in Normandy; so that what hath been there lost, he hath been the greatest causer thereof.

"21. Furthermore, when the said cardinal had forfeited all his goods by the statute of provision, he having the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realm, purchased from the pope a charter of pardon, not only to the defeating of the laws of the realm, but also to the defrauding of the king, who otherwise might and should have had wherewith to sustain his wars, without any tallage of his poor people," &c.

When the king heard these accusations, he committed the hearing thereof to his council, whereof the most part were spiritual persons. So, what for fear, and what

for favour, the matter was winked at, and dallied out, and nothing said thereunto, and a fair countenance was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had been taken, nor malice borne in these spiritual stomachs. But shortly after, the smoke hereof, not able to keep in any longer within the spiritual breasts of these charitable churchmen, burst out in flames of mischief. For upon the neck of this matter, as witnesseth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall, which followeth Polychronicon, first ensued the condemnation of Lady Eleanor, the duchess, and her chaplains, as ye have heard before. Whereby it may appear, the said duchess, more of malice than of any just cause, thus to have been troubled. Also within six years after followed the lamentable destruction of the duke himself, as hereafter more is to be declared.

About which time, or not long after, A. D. 1443, the steeple of Paul's was set on fire by lightning, and at last by diligent labour of helpers the fire was quenched.

And after the condemnation of Lady Eleanor, the duchess aforesaid, within few years, A. D. 1445, followed the death of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom she was condemned in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, for penance, to bear a taper through Cheapside three sundry times, and afterward outlawed to the Isle of Man, under the custody of Sir John Stanley, knight. This Henry Chichesley builded in his time two colleges in the university of Oxford, the one called All-souls' College, the other named Barnard College.

Proceeding now to the year, wherein suffered Humphrey that good duke of Gloucester, which was the year of our Lord 1447, first we will begin in few words to treat of his life and conversation; then of the manner and cause of his death. As touching the offspring and descent of this duke, first, he was the son of Henry the Fourth, brother to King Henry the Fifth, and uncle to King Henry the Sixth, assigned to be the governor and protector of his person. Of manners he seemed meek and gentle, loving the commonwealth, a supporter of the poor commons, of wit and wisdom discreet and studious, well affected to religion, and a friend to verity, and no less enemy to pride and ambition, especially in haughty prelates, which was his undoing in this present evil world. And, which is seldom and rare in such princes of that calling, he was both learned himself, and no less given to study, and also a singular favourer and patron to them which were studious and learned.

Furthermore, as the learning of this prince was rare and memorable, so was the discreet wisdom and singular prudence in him no less to be considered; as for the more manifest proof thereof I thought here good, amongst many other .his godly doings, to recite one example, reported as well by the pen of Sir Thomas Moore, as also by Master William Tindall, the true apostle of these our latter days, to the intent to see and note, not only the crafty working of false miracles in the clergy, but also that the prudent discretion of this high and mighty prince, the aforesaid Duke Humphrey, may give us the better to understand what man he was. The story lieth thus:

In the young days of this King Henry the Sixth, being yet under the governance of this Duke Humphrey his protector, there came to St. Alban's a certain beggar with his wife, and there was walking about the town begging, five or six days before the king's coming thither, saying, that he was born blind, and never saw in his life, and was warned in his dream, that he should come out of Berwick, where he said he had ever dwelled, to seek St. Alban, and that he had been at his shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place; for he had heard some say, since he came, that St. Alban's body should be at Cologne, and

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indeed such a contention hath there been. But of truth, as I am surely informed, he lieth here, at St. Alban's, saving some relics of him which they there show shrined. But to tell you forth my tale, when the king was come, and the town full, suddenly this blind man at St. Alban's shrine had his sight again, and a miracle solemnly rung, and *Te Deum* sung, so that nothing was talked of in all the town, but this miracle. So happened it then, that Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, a man also no less wise than well learned, having great joy to see such a miracle, called the poor man unto him; and first showing himself joyous of God's glory so showed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meekness, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himself, nor to be proud of the people's praise, which would call him a good and godly man thereby; at last, he looked well upon his eyes, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himself affirmed falsely, No, then he looked advisedly upon his eyes again, and said, I believe you very well, for methinketh ye cannot see well yet. Yea, sir, quoth he, I thank God and his holy martyr, I can see now as well as any man. You can, quoth the duke, what colour is my gown? Then anon the beggar told him. What colour, quoth he, is this man's gown? He told him also, and so forth, without any sticking, he told him the names of all the colours that could be showed him. And when the duke saw that, he bade him walk traitor, and made him to be set openly in the stocks; for though he could have seen suddenly by miracle the difference between divers colours, yet could he not by the sight so suddenly tell the names of all these colours, except he had known them before, no more than the names of all the men that he should suddenly see.

By this may it be seen how Duke Humphrey had not only a head to discern and dissever truth from forged and feigned hypocrisy, but study also and diligence likewise was in him to reform that which was amiss.

And thus much hitherto for the noble prowess and virtues, joined with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, shining in this princely duke; for the which as he was both loved of the poor commons, and well spoken of of all men, and no less deserving the same, being called the good duke of Gloucester; so neither yet wanted he his enemies and privy enviers, whether it was through the fatal and unfortunate luck of the name of that house, which is but a vain and frivolous observation of Polydore and Hall which followeth him, bringing in the examples of Hugh Spenser, of Thomas of Woodstock, son of King Edward the Third, of this Duke Humphrey, and after of King Richard the Third, duke likewise of Gloucester; or whether it was that the nature of true virtue commonly is such, that as the flame ever beareth his smoke, and the body his shadow, so the brightness of virtue never blazeth, but hath some disdain or envy waiting upon it; or else, whether it was rather for some divorcement from his wife, or for some other vice or trespass done, as seemeth most like truth, which God as well in dukes' houses correcteth, as in other inferior persons, especially where he loveth. But howsoever the cause is to us unknown, this good duke of Gloucester, albeit being both the king's sole uncle, and having so many well-willers through the whole realm, yet lacked not his Satan, lacked not his secret maligners. Of whom specially was Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England; who, of long time disdainng and envying the rule and authority of this duke, first had disposed and appointed himself to remove the king's person from Eltham unto Windsor, out of the duke's hands, and there to put in such governors as him listed. After that, intending the duke's death, he set men of arms and archers at the end of London bridge, and fore-barring the highway with a draw-chain, set men in chambers, cellars, and windows with bows and arrows, and other weapons, to the

purposed destruction both of the duke and his retinue, if God had not so disposed to turn his journey another way. Besides other manifold injuries and molestations, the ambitious cardinal, seeking by all means to be pope, procured such trouble against him, that great division was thereby in the whole realm; insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut in, for fear of the favourers of these two great personages; for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the duke of Quember, called the prince of Portugal, rode seven times in one day between those two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, and all by the excitation of this unquiet cardinal.

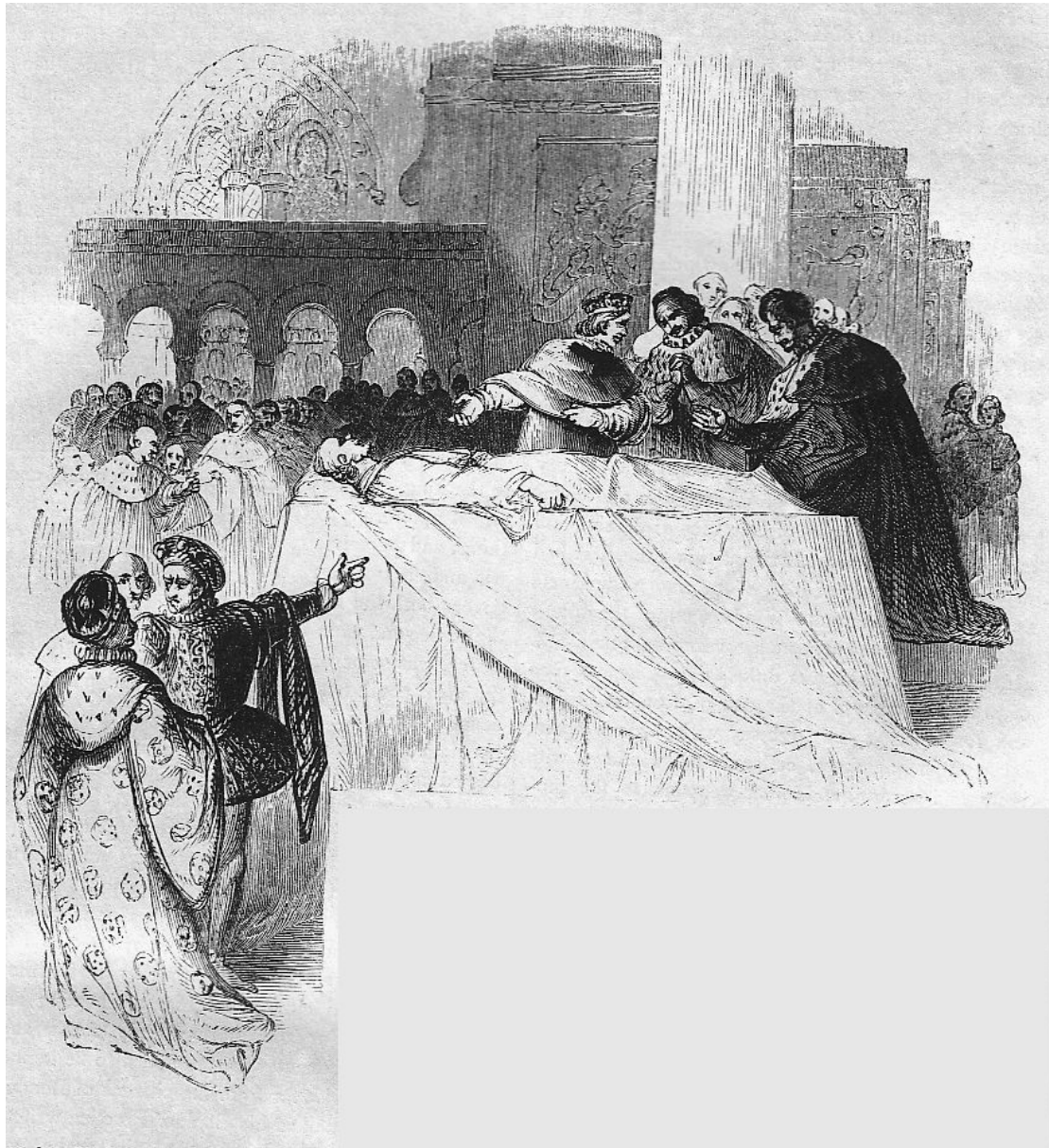
Over and beside this cardinal aforementioned, another capital enemy to the said duke was William de la Pole, first earl, then marquis, at last duke, of Suffolk, a man very ill reported of in stories, to be not only the organ and instrument of this good man's death, but also to be the annoyance of the commonwealth, and ruin of the realm. For by him, and his only device, was first concluded the unprofitable and unhonourable marriage between the king and Lady Margaret, daughter of the duke of Anjou; whereas the king had concluded and contracted a marriage before with the daughter of the earl of Arminik, upon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a prince to marry a wife with riches and friends, than to take a maid with nothing, and disinherit himself and his realm of old rights and ancient inheritance; which so came to pass. And all this the good duke did well foresee, and declared no less; but his counsel would not be taken. Whereupon followed, first the giving away the duchy of Anjou, and the city of Maine, with the whole country of Maine, to Reiner duke of Anjou and father of the damsel, called then king of Sicily and of Jerusalem, having thereof no penny profit, but only a vain name to play withal.

Another sore enemy and mortal plague to this duke was the queen herself, lately before married to the king. Who being of haughty stomach, and all set upon glory, of wit and wiliness lacking nothing, and perceiving her husband to be simple of wit, and easy to be ruled, took upon her to rule and govern both the king and kingdom. And because the advice and counsel of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was somewhat a stay, that her authority and regiment could not so fully proceed, and partly because the said duke before did disagree from that marriage, this manly woman and courageous queen ceased not by all imaginations and practices possible to set forward his destruction, having also for her helper herein the duke of Buckingham, &c.

These being his principal enemies and mortal foes, fearing lest some commotion might arise, if such a prince, so near the king's blood, and so dear to the people, and of all men so beloved, should be openly executed and put to death, they devised how to trap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided. For the more speedy furtherance whereof a parliament was summoned to be kept at Bury, A. D. 1447, far from the citizens of London, as William Tindall in his Book of Practice writeth, where resorted all the peers of the realm, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester, thinking no harm to any man, and less to himself. Who on the second day of the session was by the Lord Beaumont, high constable then of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put inward, and upon the same, all his servants discharged and put from him, of whom thirty-two of the principal, being also under arrest, were dispersed into divers prisons, to the great murmuring and grievance of the people. After this arrest thus done, and

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the duke put into ward, the night after, saith Hall, (six nights after, saith Fabian and Polychron.) he was found dead in his bed, the twenty-fourth of February, and his body showed to the lords and commons, as though he had been taken naturally with some sudden disease. And although no wound in his body could be seen, yet to all indifferent persons it might well be judged that he died of no natural pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled; some, that a whole spit was privily forced into his body; some affirm that he was stifled between two featherbeds. After the death of this duke, and his body being interred at St. Alban's, after he had politicly by the space of twenty-five years governed this realm, five of his household, to wit, one knight, three esquires, and a yeoman, were arraigned, and convicted to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Who being hanged and cut down half alive, the marquis of Suffolk there present showed the charter of the king's pardon, and so they were delivered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying, that the saving of the servants was no amends for the murdering of the master.



Duke Humphrey's Body

In this cruel fact of these persons, which did so conspire and consent to the death of this nobleman, and which thought thereby to work their own safety, the marvellous work of God's judgment appeareth herein to be noted, who, as in all other like cruel policies of man, so in this also turned all their policies clean contrary. So that where the queen thought most to preserve her husband in honour, and herself in state, thereby both she lost her husband, her husband lost his realm, the realm lost Anjou, Normandy, the duchy of Aquitaine, with all her parts beyond the sea, Calais only except, as in the sequel of the matter, whoso will read the stories, shall right well understand.

The next year following it followed also that the cardinal, who was the principal artificer and ringleader of all this mischief, was suffered of God no longer to live. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in Edward Hall, I omit here to speak. What he himself spake on his death-bed for example to other, I thought not less to premit. Who hearing that he should die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and grudged, wherefore he should die, having so much riches, saying, that if the whole realm would save his life, he was able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it; adding and saying, moreover, "Fie," quoth he, "will not death be hired? will money do nothing? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought myself half up the wheel, but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester deceased, then I thought myself able to be equal with kings, and so thought to increase my treasure, in hope to have worn the triple crown," &c. And thus is the rich bishop of Winchester, with all his pomp and riches, gone; with the which riches he was able not only to build schools, colleges, and universities, but also was able to sustain the king's armies in war, (as is specified in stories,) without any taxing of the commons.

In whose seat next succeeded William Wanflet, preferred to the bishopric of Winchester, who, though he had less substance, yet having a mind more godly disposed, did found and erect the college of Mary Magdalene in Oxford. For the which foundation as there have been and be yet many students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, so I must needs confess myself to be one, except I will be unkind.

Among the other mischievous adversaries which sought and wrought the death of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, next to the cardinal of Winchester, (who, as is said, died the next year following,) was William de la Pole, marquis of Suffolk, who also lived not long after, nor long escaped unpunished. For although he was highly exalted, by the means of the queen, (whose marriage he only procured,) unto the favour of the king, and was made duke of Suffolk, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole sway in the realm, whose acts and facts his vain-glorious head caused also by the assent of the commons to be recorded, and substantially to be registered in the rolls of the parliament, for a perpetual renown to him and all his posterity for ever; yet, notwithstanding, the hand of God's judgment still hanging over him, he enjoyed not long this his triumphant victory. For within three years after the death and ruin of the cardinal, the voices of the whole commons of England were utterly turned against him, accusing him in the parliament at the Black Friars for delivery of the duchy of Anjou, and the earldom of Maine; also for the death of the noble Prince Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. They imputed moreover to him the loss of all Normandy, laying unto him that he was a swallower up and consumer of the king's treasure, the expeller of all good and virtuous counsellors from the king, and advancer of vicious persons, apparent adversaries to the public wealth; so that he was called in every man's mouth a traitor, a murderer, and a robber of the king's treasure.

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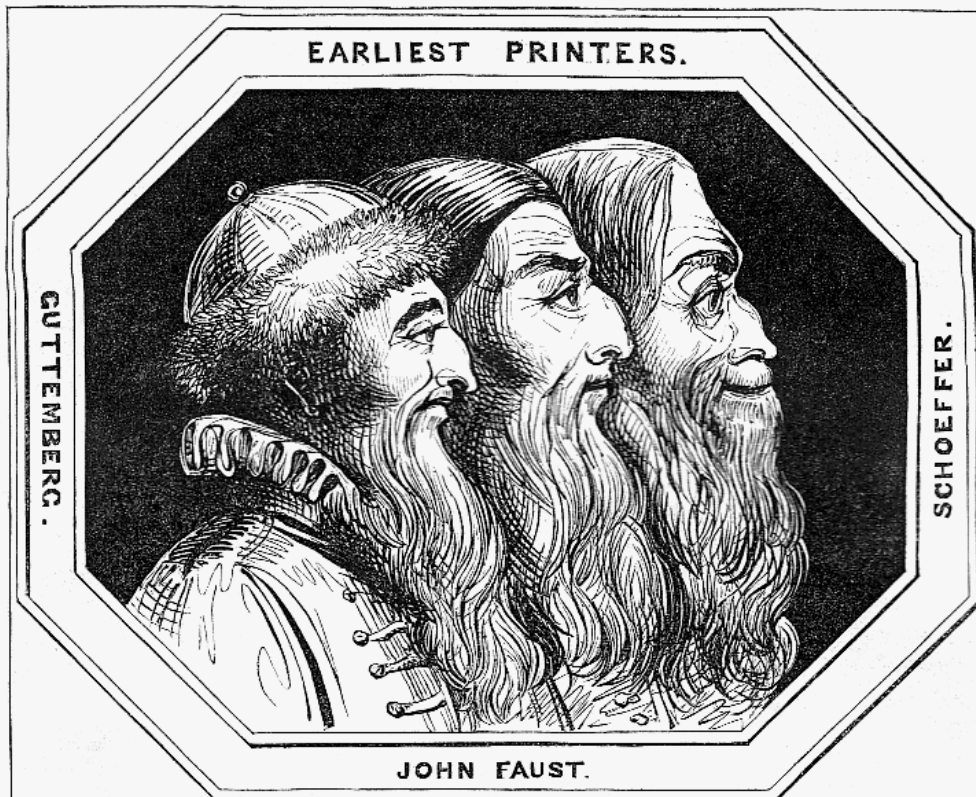
The queen, albeit she tenderly loved the duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower, where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired he was delivered and restored again unto his old place and former favour with the king, whereat the people more grudged than before. It happened by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Bluebeard, that the parliament was for that time adjourned to Leicester, the queen thinking by force and rigour of law to repress there the malice and evil will conceived against the duke. But at that place few of the nobility would appear. Wherefore it was again re-adjourned unto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the king and queen, and with them the duke of Suffolk, as chief counsellor. The commons, not forgetting the old grudge, renewed again their former articles and accusations against the said duke, against the bishop of Salisbury and Sir James Finies, Lord Say, and others. When the king perceived that no glossing nor dissimulation would serve to appease the continual clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first he sequestered from him the Lord Say, treasurer of England, and other the duke's adherents, from their offices. Then he put in exile the duke of Suffolk for the term of five years, supposing by that space the furious rage of the people would assuage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltless blood of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, to be unrevenged, or the flagitious person further to continue. For when he was shipped in Suffolk, intending to be transported into France, he was encountered with a ship of war belonging to the Tower; whereby he was taken, and brought into Dover road, and there, on the side of a ship boat, one struck off his head; which was about the year of our Lord 1450.

And thus have ye heard the full story and discourse of Duke Humphrey, and of all his adversaries; also of God's condign punishment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the said story of the aforesaid duke, and of the proud cardinal his enemy, I will here by the way annex a certain instrument, by the king and advice of his council made against the said cardinal, taking upon him to enter into this realm as legate from the pope, contrary to the old laws and customs of this realm, as by the words of the said instrument here in Latin may well appear.

The sum and effect whereof in English is this, "That in the year of our Lord 1428, as the king with Duke Humphrey, lord protector, and the rest of the council, were in the duke's house in the parish of St. Benet's by Paul's wharf, one Richard Candray, procurator, in the king's name and behalf, did protest and denounce by this public instrument, that whereas the king and all his progenitors, kings before him of this realm of England, have been heretofore possessed, time out of mind, with special privilege and custom used and observed in this realm from time to time, that no legate from the apostolic see should enter into this land or any of the king's dominions, without the calling, petition, request, invitement, or desire of the king; and forasmuch as Henry, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal of St. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as legate from the pope, being neither called, sent for, required, or desired by the king; therefore the said Richard Candray, in the king's name doth protest by this instrument, that it standeth not with the king's mind or intent, by the advice of his council, to admit, approve, or ratify the coming of the said legate in any wise, in derogation of the right, customs, and laws of this his realm; or to recognise or assent to any exercise of this his authority legatine, or to any acts, attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect, contrary to the aforesaid laws, rights, customs, and liberties of this realm, by these presents," &c.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

And thus much as an appendix, annexed to the story of Duke Humphrey, and the cardinal of Winchester, extract out of an old written volume, remaining in the hands of Master William Bowyer.



Printers and Printing

117. The Invention and Benefit of Printing.

In following the course and order of years, we find this aforesaid year of our Lord, 1450, to be famous and memorable for the divine and miraculous inventing of printing. Nauclerus, and Wymselingus following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. In Paralip. Abbatis Ursi. it is recorded this faculty to be found, A. D. 1446. Aventinus and Zieglerus do say, A. D. 1450. The first inventor thereof, as most agree, is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Argentoratum, afterward citizen of Mentz, named J. Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal; who, then laying black ink upon the metal, gave the form of letters in paper. The man, being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which, when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain other of his council, one J. Guttemberg, and P. Schafferd, binding them by their oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years John Guttemberg, copartner with Faustus, began then first to broach the matter at Strasburgh. The art, being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom J. Mentell, J. Prus, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latin called Gallus, first brought it to Rome.

Notwithstanding, what man soever was the instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise than he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues; for like as God then spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turn the Jews; so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the gospel.

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, who so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of man, this is to be marked, that when the bishop of Rome, with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, doctors, provosts, deans, archdeacons, assembled together in the council of Constance, had condemned poor John Huss and Jerome of Prague to death for heresy, notwithstanding they were no heretics, and after they had subdued the Bohemians and all the whole world under the supreme authority of the Romish see, and had made all Christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having, as one would say, all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past not only the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recovered; in this very time, so dangerous and desperate, where man's power could do no more, there the blessed wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his church, not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading, to convince darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So that, by this means of printing, the secret operation

of God hath heaped upon that proud kingdom a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Huss before, and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacy, nor yet his popish mass, but said mass and heard mass themselves; neither spake against his purgatory, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pride, his unchristian, or rather antichristian, abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickedness only of life to be touched, but made it heresy, or at least matter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God, of his secret judgment, seeing time to help his church, hath found a way by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, laws, and institutions, most detestable in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his doctrine, standing as it doth, no man is so blind but he may see, that either the pope is antichrist, or else that antichrist is near cousin to the pope; and all this doth and will hereafter more and more appear by printing.

The reason whereof is this, for that hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all, as I said, through the benefit of printing. Wherefore, I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over; for else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. But the pope, and all his college of cardinals, must this understand, that through the light of printing the world beginneth now to have eyes to see and heads to judge: he cannot walk so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, instead of John Huss and others, God hath opened the press to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop, with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven, and what God revealeth to one man is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation is opened to all.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand that printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the stream it availeth not. What the pope hath lost, since printing and the press began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was given to all friars and monks in the world! And who seeth not that the pen of Luther, following after Erasmus, and set forward by writing, hath set the triple crown so awry on the pope's head, that it is like never to be set straight again?

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet, by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against him, having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many block-houses there be against the high castle of St. Angel; so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will root him out. For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing of the pope, thus he may repute with himself, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians; so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacy so

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much, as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgment, that is to say, the fruit of printing; whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (by the Lord's blessing) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of men daily (no doubt) be instructed through the benefit of printing. And though the pope, both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession; yet, neither must he think that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forasmuch as in those former days books then were scarce, and also of such excessive price, that few could attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof; which books now by the means of this art, are made easy unto all men. Ye heard before, how Nicholas Belward bought a New Testament in those days for four marks and forty pence, whereas now the same price will well serve forty persons with so many books.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how, for defect of books and good authors, both universities were decayed and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friars, scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped up all books that could be gotten into their own libraries, where either they did not diligently apply them, or did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them. In this then so great rarity and also dearth of good books, when neither they which could have books would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvel if the greediness of a few prelates did abuse the blindness of those days, to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore, Almighty God of his merciful providence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedy the same, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the world. First, the price of all books is diminished. Secondly, the speedy help of reading more furthered. And thirdly, the plenty of all good authors enlarged; according as Aprutinus doth truly report:

"The press in one day will do in printing,
That none in one year can do in writing."

By reason whereof, as printing of books ministered matter of reading; so reading brought learning, learning showed light, by the brightness whereof blind ignorance was suppressed, error detected, and finally, God's glory with truth of his word advanced. This faculty of printing was after the invention of guns the space of one hundred and thirty years; which invention was also found in Germany, A. D. 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of printing.

118. The Lamentable Losing of Constantinople.



Constantinople

A. D. 1453, Constantinus Paleologus being emperor of Constantinople, the 29th day of May, the great city of Constantinople was taken by the Turk Mahomet, after the siege of fifty-four days, which siege began in the beginning of April. Within the city, beside the citizens, were but only six thousand rescuers of the Greeks, and three thousand of the Venetians and Genoese. Against these, Mahomet brought an army of four hundred thousand, collected out of the countries and places adjoining near about, as out of Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulgaria, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Sicily, and such other; which places had the name yet of Christians. Thus one neighbour for lucre sake helped to destroy another.

The city was compassed of the Turks both by the sea and land. Mahomet the Turk divided his army into three sundry parts, which in three parts of the city so beat the walls and brake them down, that they attempted by the breaches thereof to enter the city. But the valiantness of the Christians therein won much commendation; whose duke was called John Justinianus, of Genoa. But forasmuch as the assaults were great, and the number of the Christian soldiers daily decreased, fighting both at the walls and at the haven against such a multitude of the Turks, they were not able long to hold out. Beside the armies which lay battering at the walls, the Turk had upon the sea his navy of two hundred and fifty sail, laying upon the haven of the city, reaching from the one side of the haven's mouth unto the other, as if a bridge should

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be made from the one bank to the other. Which haven by the citizens was barred with iron chains, whereby the Turks were kept out a certain space. Against which navy seven ships there were of Genoa within the haven, and three of Crete, and certain of Chios, which stood against them. Also the soldiers issuing out of the city, as occasion would serve, did manfully gainsay them, and with wild-fire set their ships on fire, that a certain space they could serve to no use. At length the chains being burst, and a way made, the Turk's navy entered the haven, and assaulted the city; whereby the Turk began to conceive great hope, and was in forwardness to obtain the city. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, Mahomet the tyrant stood by upon a hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out unto them to scale the walls and enter the town; otherwise, if any rebelled, he threatened to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his soldiers, in their repulse and retire, were slain by the Turk's men, being sent by his commandment to slay them; and so they were justly served, and well paid their hire.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold out of the city the Turk's retinue so consumed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after, by rage of war, it happened Justinian, the duke above named, to be hurt; who, notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by Paleologus the emperor, not to leave his tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous; yet could he not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing, and his fort disfurnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this doughty duke, hurt more with his false heart than with force of weapon, gave over and fled to Chios, where shortly after for sorrow, rather than for soreness of his wound, he died. Many of his soldiers, seeing their captain flee, followed after, leaving their fort utterly destitute without defence. The Turks, understanding that vantage, soon burst into the city. The Emperor Paleologus, seeing no other way but to fly, making toward the gate, either was slain, or else trodden down with the multitude. In the which gate eight hundred dead men's bodies were found and taken up.

The city of Constantinople thus being got, the Turks sacking and ranging about the streets, houses, and corners, did put to the sword most unmercifully whomsoever they found, both aged and young, matrons, virgins, children, and infants, sparing none; the noble matrons and virgins were horribly ravished, the goods of the city, the treasuries in houses, the ornaments in churches, were all sacked and spoiled, the pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havoc of the city lasted three days together, while the barbarous soldiers murdered and rifled what them listed.

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days Mahomet the Turk entereth into the city, and first calling for the heads and ancients of the city, such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also (saith my author) reported, that in the feasts of the Turks, honest matrons and virgins, and such as were of the king's stock, after other contumelies, were hewn and cut in pieces for their disport.

And this was the end of that princely and famous city of Constantinople, beginning first by Constantinus, and ending also with Constantinus, which for the princely royalty thereof was named and ever honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the city of Rome, and called also by the name thereof new Rome, and so continued the space of eleven hundred and twenty years. I pray God that old Rome may learn of new Rome, to take heed and beware betime.

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This terrible destruction of the city of Constantinople, the queen of cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the barbarous cruelty of these merciless murderers, as specially for this, that we, being admonished by the doleful ruin and misery of those equally christened with ourselves, may call to mind the plagues and miseries deserved, which seem to hang no less over our own heads; and thereby may learn betime to invoke and call more earnestly upon the name of our terrible and merciful God, that he, for his Son's sake, will keep us, and preserve his church among us, and mitigate those plagues and sorrows, which we no less have deserved, than these above minded have done before us. Christ grant it, Amen.

119. Reynold Pecocke

After the death of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, next succeeded John Stafford, A. D. 1445, who continued eight years. After him came John Kemp, A. D. 1453, who sat but three years. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of which archbishop, fell the trouble of Reynold Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the pope's prelates for his faith and profession of the gospel. Of this bishop, Hall also, in his chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthwart judgment, as he termeth it, was given by the fathers of the spirituality against him. "This man," saith he, "began to move questions not privately, but openly in the universities, concerning the annats, Peter pence, and other jurisdictions and authorities, pertaining to the see of Rome, and not only put forth the questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same; wherefore he was for this cause abjured at Paul's cross." Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This bishop, first of St. Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as Duke Humphrey lived, by whom he was promoted and much made of, was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) divers books and treatises. But after that good duke was thus (as ye have heard) made away, this good man, lacking his back-stay, was open to his enemies, and matter soon found against him. Whereupon he, being complained of, and accused by privy and malignant promoters unto the archbishop, letters first were directed down from the archbishop, to cite all men to appear that could say any thing against him. The form of which citation here ensueth:

"Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to all and singular, parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks, and learned men, whatsoever they be, constituted and ordained in any place throughout our province of Canterbury, health, grace, and benediction.

"We have received a grievous complaint of our reverend fellow brother, Reynold Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, containing in it, that albeit our said reverend fellow brother, the bishop, delivered unto us certain books written by him in the English tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, corrected, reformed, and allowed; notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the said books depending and remaining before us undiscussed) have openly preached and taught at Paul's cross in London, and in divers other places of our province of Canterbury, that our said fellow brother, the bishop, hath propounded, made, and written, or caused to be written in the said books, certain conclusions repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same. By the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the state and good name and fame of the Lord Reynold, the bishop, are grievously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marvellously burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and severally apart do command you, firmly enjoining you, that openly and generally you do warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular such persons, which will object any thing contrary and against the conclusions of our said reverend fellow brother, the bishop, had or contained in his books or writings; that the twentieth day after such monition or warning had, they do

freely, of their own accord, appear before us and our commissaries in this behalf appointed, wheresoever we shall then be in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to speak, propound, or allege, and affirm fully and sufficiently in writing, whatsoever heretical or erroneous matter they will speak, propound, or object against the said conclusions contained in his said books; and both to satisfy and receive whatsoever shall seem meet and right, in this behalf, by the holy institution and ordinances.

"And forasmuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and undiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed; we charge you, that by this, our authority, you inhibit and forbid all and every one so to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom also we, by the tenor of these presents, do likewise forbid, that during the examination of the conclusions and books aforesaid, depending before us and our commissaries undiscussed, they do not presume by any means, without good advice and judgment, to preach, judge, and affirm any thing to the prejudice or offence of the said Lord Reynold, the bishop: and if so be you do find any in this behalf gainsaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite, or cause them peremptorily to be cited, to appear before us or our commissaries, in this behalf appointed, the tenth day after their citation, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, wheresoever we shall then be, in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to make further declaration by form of law of the cause of their disobedience, and to receive such punishment as justice and equity shall determine in their behalf; and that by your letters you do duly certify us or our commissaries, what you have done in the premises, at the day and place aforesaid; or that he which hath so executed our commandment, do so certify us by his letters. Dated at our manor of Lambeth, the twenty-second day of October, A. D. 1457, and in the fourth year of our translation."

This citation being directed, the bishop, upon the summons thereof, was brought, or rather came, before the judges and bishops unto Lambeth, where the aforesaid Thomas the archbishop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbishop's court. In which convention also the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the bishops of Rochester and of Lincoln. What were the opinions and articles against him objected, after in his revocation shall be specified. In his answering for himself, in such a company of the pope's friends, albeit he could not prevail; notwithstanding he, stoutly defending himself, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could have prevailed.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and travail extended themselves, either to reduce him, or else to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terror and threatening, so also many fair flattering words and gentle persuasions were admixed withal. Briefly, to make a short narration of a long and busy traverse, here was no stone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to entreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrify his mind, till at length he, being vanquished and overcome by the bishops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by a recantation was put unto him by the bishops, which he should declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth.

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N the name of God, Amen. Before you the most reverend father in Christ and lord, the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, I, Reynold Pecocke, unworthy bishop of Chichester, do purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confess and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twenty years last past and more, have otherwise conceived, holden, taught, and written, as touching the sacraments, and the articles of the faith, than the holy Church of Rome, and universal church; and also that I have made, written, published, and set forth many and divers pernicious doctrines, hooks, works, writings, heresies, contrary and against the true catholic and apostolic faith, containing in them errors contrary to the catholic faith, and especially these errors and heresies hereunder written.

"1. First of all, That we are not bound, by the necessity of faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ after his death descended into hell.

"2. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholic church.

"3. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe the communion of saints.

"4. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the body material in the sacrament.

"5. Item, That the universal church may err in matters which pertain unto faith.

"6. Item, That it is not necessary unto salvation to believe that that which every general council doth universally ordain, approve, or determine, should necessarily, for the help of our faith and the salvation of souls, be approved and holden of all faithful Christians.

"Wherefore, I, Reynold Pecocke, wretched sinner, which have long walked in darkness, and now, by the merciful disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and restored unto the unity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forsake all errors and heresies aforesaid."

Notwithstanding, godly reader, it is not to be believed that Pecocke did so give over these opinions, howsoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the bishops, that when they do subdue or overcome any man, they carry him whither their list, as it were a young steer by the nose, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a parrot, that he should speak unto the people, not according to his own will, but after their lust and fantasy. Neither is it to be doubted but that this bishop repented him afterward of his recantation; which may easily be judged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppressed with privy and secret tyranny, and there obtained the crown of martyrdom, or no.

The dictionary of Thomas Gascoigne I have not in my hands at present. But if credit be to be given to such as have to us alleged the book, this we may find in the eighth century of John Bale, chap. xix., that the said Thomas Gascoigne, in his third part of his dictionary, writing of Reynold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his articles containing in them matters of sore heresy. "First," saith he, "Reynold Pecocke at Paul's Cross preached openly, that the office of a Christian prelate, chiefly above all

other things, is to preach the word of God. That man's reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. That the use of the sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature. That bishops which buy their admissions of the bishop of Rome, do sin. That no man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the Church of Rome. Also, that the riches of bishops by inheritance, are the goods of the poor. Item, that the apostles themselves personally were not the makers of the Creed; and that in the same Creed once was not the article, he went down to hell. Item, that the four senses of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gave little estimation, in some points, to the authority of the old doctors. Item, that he condemned the wilful begging of the friars, as a thing idle and needless." This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also, adding this moreover, saith, that he, not contented to follow the catholic sentence of the church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think soundly (as he judged it) of the holy eucharist.

At length, for these and such other articles, the said Reynold Pecocke was condemned for a heretic, by the archbishops and bishops of Roffe, Lincoln, and Winchester, with other divines more. Whereupon he, being driven to his recantation, was, notwithstanding, detained still in prison. Where, some say, that he was privily made away by death.

Hall addeth, "that some say his opinions to be, that spiritual persons by God's law ought to have no temporal possessions." Other write, that he said that personal tithes were not due by God's law. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at Paul's Cross to abjure, and all his books burnt, and he himself kept in his own house during his natural life. I marvel that Polydore, of this extremity of the bishop's handling, and of his articles, in his history maketh no memorial. Belike it made but little for the honesty of his great master the pope.

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120. The Papacy, 1449-1492

From persecution and burning in England now out of the way to digress a little, to speak of foreign matters of the Church of Rome: you remember before, in the latter end of the council of Basil, how Eugenius was deposed. Of whose conditions and martial affairs, how he made war against Sfortia, a famous captain of Italy, and what other wars he raised beside, not only in Italy but also in Germany, against the city and council of Basil, I shall not need to make any long rehearsal. After his deposition ye heard also how Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope. Whereupon another great schism followed in the church during all the life of Eugenius.

After his death, his next successor was Pope Nicholas the Fifth, who (as you before have heard) brought so to pass with the Emperor Frederic the Third, that Felix was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas, and was, therefore, of him afterward received to the room of cardinal for his submission; and Frederic for his working was confirmed at Rome to be full emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451. For emperors, before they be confirmed and crowned by the pope, are no emperors, but only called kings of Romans.

This Pope Nicholas here mentioned, to get and gather great sums of money, appointed a jubilee in the year of our Lord 1450, at which time there resorted a greater number of people unto Rome, than hath at any time before been seen. At which time we read, in the story of Platina, that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people resorting up to the mount Vatican to behold the image of our Saviour, which there they had to show to pilgrims, the people being thick going to and fro between the mount and the city, by chance a certain mule of the cardinals of St. Mark came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to avoid the way, one or two falling upon the mule, there was such a press and throng upon that occasion on the bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of men and three horses were there strangled, and on each side of the bridge many besides fell over into the water, and were drowned.

By means of which occasion the pope afterward caused the small houses to be plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by idolatry.

In the time of this pope, one Matthew Palmerius wrote a book *De Angelis*, for defending whereof he was condemned by the pope, and burned at Corna, A. D. 1448.

After him succeeded Calixtus the Third, who, amongst divers other things, ordained, both at noon and at evening, the bell to toll the AVes, as it was used in the popish time, to help the soldiers that fought against the Turks, for the which cause also he ordained the feast of the transfiguration of the Lord, solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences as was *Corpus Christi* day.

Also this pope, proceeding contrary to the councils of Constance and Basil, decreed that no man should appeal from the pope to any council. By whom also St. Edmund of Canterbury, with divers other, were made saints.

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Next after this Calixtus succeeded Pius Secundus, otherwise called Æneas Sylvius, who wrote the two books of Commentaries upon the Council of Basil, before mentioned. This Æneas, at the time of the writing of those his books, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tolerable judgment and doctrine, from the which he afterward, being pope, seemed to decline and swerve, seeking, by all means possible, how to deface and abolish the books which heretofore he had written.

Sentences attributed unto this Pope Pius II.

"The Divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by faith, than by disputation.

"Christian faith is to be considered, not by what reason it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

"Neither can a covetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

"Learning ought to be to poor men instead of silver, to noblemen instead of gold, and to princes instead of precious stones.

"An artificial oration moveth fools, but not wise men.

"Suitors in the law be as birds, the court is the bait, the judges be the nets, and the lawyers be the fowlers.

"Men are to be given to dignities, and not dignities to men.

"The office of a bishop is heavy, but it is blessed to him that doth well bear it.

"A bishop without learning may be likened to an ass.

"An evil physician destroyeth bodies, but an unlearned priest destroyeth souls.

"Marriage was taken from priests not without great reason, but with much greater reason it ought to be restored again."

The like sentence to this he uttereth in his Second Book of the Council of Basil, before specified, saying, peradventure it were not the worst, that "the most part of priests had their wives, for many should be saved in priestly marriage, which now in unmarried priesthood are damned." The same Pius also, as Celius reporteth, dissolved certain orders of nuns, of the orders of St. Bridget and St. Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burn no more, nor cover a harlot under the vesture of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought so much piety and godliness as he brought learning unto his popedom, had excelled many popes that went before him.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Æneas, called Pius the Pope, writeth, touching the peace of the church, unto Gasper Schlick, the emperor's chancellor, in his 54th epistle.

"All men do abhor and detest schism. The way to remedy this evil, Charles, the French king, hath showed us both safe and brief, which is, that princes or their orators should convent and assemble together in some common place, where they may conclude upon matters amongst themselves. To bring this to pass, it were needful writings to be sent again to all kings and princes, to send their orators to Strasburgh, or to Constance, with their full authority there to treat of matters appertaining to the

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peace of the church. Neither would it require so great expenses, forasmuch as we see the year before 300 gilders to be sufficient. Constantine the emperor bestowed not much more in the congregation of the council of Nice. And this way could not be stopped; neither could the pope or the council withstand it, or make excuse, as though this might not easily be done without them. For why? the secular princes may convent and assemble together, will they, nill they; and yet, notwithstanding, unity may there be concluded; for he shall be an undoubted pope, whom all princes would obey. Neither do I see any of the clergy so constant to death, which will suffer martyrdom, either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold, which, if they would worship idols, we would also do the same, and deny not only the pope, but God also, if the secular power strain us thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. Howsoever it be, let us all desire and seek for peace; the which peace, whether it come by a council, or by assembly of princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we stand not upon the term, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you give it me to assuage my hunger. Whether you call it a council, or a conventicle, or an assembly, or a congregation, or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schism may be excluded, and peace established."

Thus much out of the epistle of Pius.

By this it may appear, of what sentence and mind this Pius was in the time of the council of Basil, before he was made pope. But as our common proverb saith, Honours change manners; so it happened with this Pius, who after he came once to be pope, was much altered from what he was before. For whereas before he preferred general councils before the pope, now, being pope, he did decree, that no man should appeal from the high bishop of Rome to any general council.

And likewise for priests' marriage, whereas before he thought it best to have their wives restored, yet afterward he altered his mind otherwise; insomuch that in his book treating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of Augsburg, by occasion he inveighed against a certain epistle of Hulderick, once bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests. Whereby it appeareth how the mind of this Pius was altered from that it was before. This epistle of Hulderick is before expressed at large.

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Æneas Sylvius and Diotherus, archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred up in Germany upon the same, between Frederick the Palatine and the duke of Wittenberge, with others; by the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the city of Mentz, which was free, lost her freedom and became servile.

The causes of the discord betwixt Pope Pius and Diotherus were these:

First, because that Diotherus would not consent unto him in the imposition of certain tallages and taxes within his country.

Secondly, for that Diotherus would not be bound unto him, requiring that the said Diotherus, being prince elector, should not call the other electors together without his licence, that is, without the licence of the bishop of Rome.

And thirdly, because Diotherus would not permit to the pope's legates, to convocate his clergy together after their own lust. This Pope Pius began his see about the year of our Lord 1458.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

After this Pius the Second succeeded Paulus the Second, a pope wholly set upon his belly and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. This Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, and because he saw her to be had in reproach, for that she was gotten in fornication, he began (as the stories report) to repent him of the law of the single life of priests, and went about to reform the same, had not death prevented him.

After this Paulus came Sixtus the Fourth, which builded up in Rome a stews of both kinds, getting thereby no small revenues and rents unto the Church of Rome. This pope, amongst his other acts, reduced the year of jubilee from the fiftieth unto the twenty-fifth. He also instituted the feast of the Conception, and the presentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and Joseph. Also he canonized Bonaventure and Saint Francis for saints.

By this Sixtus also beads were brought in, and instituted to make our Lady's Psalter, through the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptista maketh mention of in this verse, "These men putting their beads upon a string, number their prayers." This Sixtus the pope made two and thirty cardinals in his time, of whom Petrus Ruerius was the first, who for that time that he was cardinal, which was but two years, spent in luxurious riot, wasted and consumed two hundred thousand florins, and was left sixty thousand in debt. Wesellus Groningensis, in a certain treatise of his writing of this Pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the request of the aforesaid Peter, cardinal, and of Jerome his brother, the said Pope Sixtus permitted and granted unto the whole family of the cardinal of St. Lucy, in the three hot months of summer, June, July, and August, (a horrible thing to be spoken,) free leave and liberty to use sodomitery, with this clause, Be it as it is asked.

Next after this Sixtus came Innocentius the Eighth, as rude, and as far from all learning, as his predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble facts of this pope this was one, that in the town of Polus apud Equicolas, he caused eight men and six women, with the lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for heretics, because they said that none of them was the vicar of Christ which come after Peter, but they only which followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of heresy, George, the king of Bohemia, and deprived him of his dignity and also of his kingdom, and procured his whole stock to be utterly rejected and put down, giving his kingdom to Matthias king of Pannonia.

121. The Wars of the Roses

Now from the popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the emperors incident to this time, which matters and grievances of the Germans, and also of other princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home pertaining to the overthrow of this King Henry and his seat, now following to be showed. And briefly to contract long process of much tumult and business into a short narration, here is to be remembered, which partly before was signified, how, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the king and his realm. For after the giving away of Anjou and Maine to the Frenchmen, by the unfortunate marriage of Queen Margaret above mentioned, the said Frenchmen, perceiving now, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the stay and pillar of this commonwealth to be decayed, and seeing, moreover, the hearts of the nobility among themselves to be divided, foreslacked no time, having such an open way into Normandy, and in short time they recovered the same, and also got Gascony, so that no more now remained to England of all the parts beyond the sea, but only Calais. Neither yet did all the calamity of the realm only rest in this; for the king now having lost his friendly uncle, as the stay and staff of his age, which had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more imboldened to set upon him; as appeared, first by Jack Cade the Kentish captain, who, encamping first on Blackheath, afterward aspired to London, and had the spoil thereof, the king being driven into Warwickshire. After the suppressing of Cade ensued not long after the duke of York, who, being accompanied with three earls, set upon the king near to St. Alban's, where the king was taken in the field captive, and the duke of York was by parliament declared protector, which was in the year of our Lord 1453. After this followed long division and mortal war between the two houses of Lancaster and York, continuing many years. At length, about the year of our Lord 1459, the duke of York was slain in battle by the queen near to the town of Wakefield, and with him also his son, earl of Rutland. By the which queen also shortly after, in the same year, were discomfited the earl of Warwick and duke of Norfolk, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the duke of York, and so the queen again delivered her husband.

After this victory obtained, the northern men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoil and rob churches, and religious houses, and villages, but also were fully intended, partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their lords and captains, to sack, waste, and utterly to subvert the city of London, and to take the spoil thereof; "and no doubt," saith my history, "would have proceeded in their conceived intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy." For as these mischiefs were in brewing, suddenly cometh the noble Prince Edward unto London with a mighty army, the seven and twentieth day of February, who was the son and heir to the duke of York above mentioned, accompanied with the earl of Warwick, and divers more. King Henry in the mean time, with his victory, went up to York; when Edward, being at London, caused there to be proclaimed certain articles concerning his title to the crown of England, which was the second day of March.

Whereupon, the next day following, the lords both temporal and spiritual being assembled together, the said articles were propounded, and also well approved. The fourth day of the said month of March, after a solemn general procession, (according to the blind superstition of those days,) the bishop of Exeter made a sermon at Paul's Cross, wherein he commended and proved by manifold evidences, the title of Prince Edward to be just and lawful, answering the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

This matter being thus discussed, Prince Edward, accompanied with the lords spiritual and temporal, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to Westminster Hall, and there, by the full consent, as well of the lords, as also by the voice of all the commons, took his possession of the crown, and was called King Edward the Fourth.

These things thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of money sufficiently being administered of the people and commons, with most ready and willing minds, for the necessary furniture of his wars; he, with the duke of Norfolk, and earl of Warwick, and Lord Falconbridge, in all speedy wise took his journey toward King Henry; who now being at York, and forsaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge only reposed in the northern men.

When King Edward with his army had passed over the river of Trent, and was come near to Ferry-bridge, where also the host of King Henry was not far off, upon Palm Sunday, between Ferrybridge and Tadcaster, both the armies of the southern and northern men joined together in battle. And although at the first beginning divers horsemen of King Edward's side turned their backs, and spoiled the king of carriage and victuals; yet the courageous prince, with his captains, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries. The which battle on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, beside men of name, thirty thousand of the poor commons. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on King Edward's part, so that King Henry having lost all, was forced to fly into Scotland, where also he gave up to the Scots the town of Berwick, after he had reigned eight and thirty years and a half.

The claim and title of the duke of York, and after him of Edward his son, put up to the lords and commons, whereby they challenged the crown to the house of York, is thus in the story of Scala Mundi, word for word, as here-under is contained.

The title of the house of York to the crown of England.

Edward the Third, right king of England, had issue, first, Prince Edward; second, William Hatfield; third, Lionel; fourth, John of Gaunt, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the Second, which died without issue, William Hatfield died without issue, Lionel, duke of Clarence, had issue lawfully begot, Philippa, his only daughter and heiress; who was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and had issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and heir; which Roger had issue Edmund, earl of March, Roger, Anne, and Eleanor; Edmund and Eleanor died without issue, and the said Anne by lawful matrimony was coupled unto Richard, earl of Cambridge, the son of Edmund of Langley, who had issue and lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet, now duke of York; John of Gaunt gat Henry; which unrightfully treated King Richard, then being alive Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, son of the said Philippa, daughter to Lionel. To the which Richard, duke of York, and son to Anne,

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daughter to Roger Mortimer, earl of March, son and heir to the said Philippa, daughter and heir to the said Lionel, the third son of Edward the Third, the right and dignity of the crown appertained and belonged, before any issue of the said John of Gaunt. Notwithstanding the said title of dignity of the said Richard of York, the said Richard, desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that King Henry the Sixth, should be had and taken for king of England during his natural life, from this time, without hurt of his title.

"Wherefore the king understanding the said title of the said duke to be just, lawful, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament, and by the authority of the same parliament, declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for just, good, lawful, and true, and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty; and over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard of York, very true and rightful heir to the crown of England and France; and that all other statutes and acts made by any of the late Henries, contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and consented that the said duke and his heirs should after his natural life enjoy the crown, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the duke of York shall be high treason, and all acts of parliaments contrary to this principal act be void and of none effect."

And thus much for the reign of King Henry the Sixth, who now lacked his uncle and protector, duke of Gloucester, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

In the time of this king was builded the house in London called Leadenhall, founded by one Simon Eyre, mayor once of the said city of London, A. D. 1445.

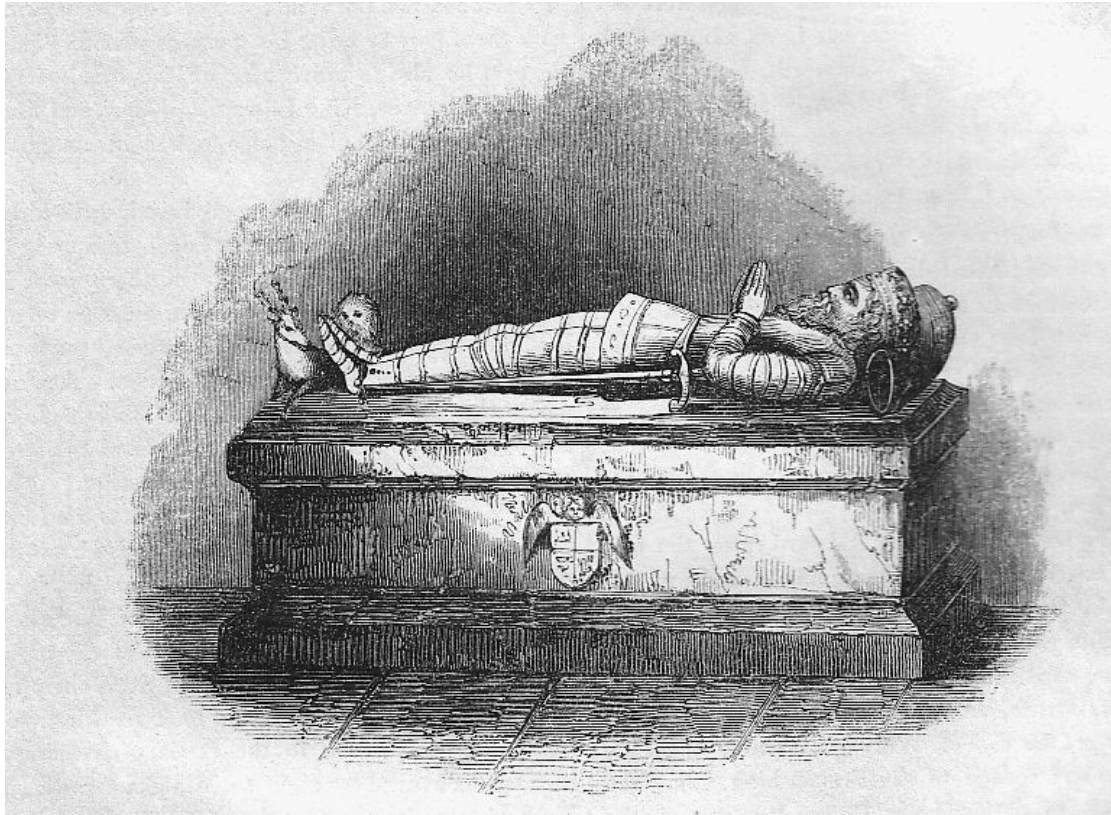
Also the standard in Cheap, builded by John Wells, A. D. 1442; the conduit in Fleet Street, by William Castfield, A. D. 1438. Item, Newgate, builded by the goods of Richard Whittington, A. D. 1422.

Moreover the said Henry the Sixth founded the college of Eton, and another house, having then the title of St. Nicholas, in Cambridge, now called the King's College.

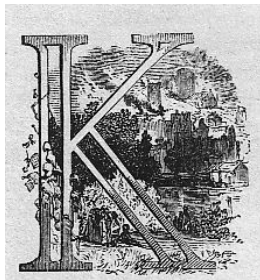
In the reign of this Henry the Sixth, it is not to be passed over in silence which we find noted in the parliament rolls, how that Louis, archbishop of Rouen, after the death of the late bishop of Ely, had granted unto him by the pope's bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said bishopric, by the name of the administrator of the said bishopric. Louis, the aforesaid archbishop, showeth his bulls to the king, who utterly rejected his bulls. Notwithstanding, for his service done in France, the king granted to him the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents, at the petition of the said Louis, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were bishop, touching profits, liberties, and ability.

Neither again is here to be overpast a certain tragical act done betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, of a false Briton, A. D. 1427, which murdered a good widow in her bed, (who had brought him up of alms, without Aldgate, in the suburbs of London,) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he took succour of holy church at St. George's in Southwark; but at the last he took the cross and forswore the king's land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and women of the same parish came out with stones and channel dung, and there made an end of him in the high street, so that he went no

farther, notwithstanding the constables and other men also which had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.



Tomb of Henry VI



King Edward, after his conquest and victory achieved against King Henry, returned again to London, where, upon the vigil of St. Peter and Paul, being on Sunday, he was crowned king of England, and reigned twenty-two years, albeit not without great disquietness, and much perturbation in his reign.

Queen Margaret, hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also fain to fly the land, and went to her father, duke of Anjou; from whence, the next year following, she returned again to renew war against King Edward, with small succour and less luck. For being encountered by the earl of Warwick, about November, she was driven to the seas again, and by tempest of weather she was driven into Scotland.

In this year we read that King Edward, in the cause of a certain widow for rape, sat in his own person in Westminster Hall upon his own bench, discussing her cause.

The year following, King Henry, issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the north country to recover the crown, unto whom the Lord Ralph Percy, and Lord Ralph Gray, flying from King Edward, did adjoin themselves; but the Lord so disposing, King Henry with his power was repulsed in battle at Exham by the Lord Moutecute, having then the rule of the north;

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where the duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, Lord Ross, with certain other were taken. The Lord Ralph Percy was slain, the residue fled. Albeit the history of Scala Mundi referreth this battle to the year 1464, the fifteenth day of May. In the which month of May, were beheaded the duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, Lord Ross, Lord Philip Wentworth, Lord Thomas Hussy, Lord Thomas Findern, beside twenty-one other belonging to the retinue and household of King Henry the Sixth. Queen Margaret, finding no resting-place here in England, took her progress again from whence she came, learning in her own country to drink that drink, which she herself had brewed here in England.

And not long after, the next year, A. D. 1465, on the day of St. Peter and Paul, King Henry, being found and known in a wood by one Cantlow, as they say, was arrested by the earl of Warwick, and at last, of a king made prisoner in the Tower of London.

In this mean time, King Edward (after the motion of marriage for him being made, and first the Lady Margaret, sister to James the Fourth, king of Scots, thought upon; but that motion taking no effect, afterward the Lady Elizabeth, sister to Henry, king of Castile, being intended; but she, being under age, the earl of Warwick, turning then his legation and voyage to the French king, Louis the Eleventh, to obtain Lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to Carlot, the French queen, and obtained the same) had cast favour unto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of Sir John Grey, knight, slain before in the battle of St. Alban's, daughter to the duchess of Bedford, and Lord Rivers, and first went about to have her to his concubine. But she, as being unworthy, as she said, to be the wife of such a high personage, so thinking herself to be too good to be his concubine, in such sort won the king's heart, that incontinent, before the return of the earl of Warwick, he married her; at the which marriage were no more than only the duchess of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the priest and clerk. Upon this so hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the king, much bloodshed to the realm, undoing almost to all her kindred, and finally, confusion to King Edward's two sons, which both were declared afterward to be bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the earl of Warwick, who had been the faithful friend and chief maintainer before of the king, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his mind, that he never after sought any thing more, than how to work displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathful mood, till he might spy a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last, finding occasion somewhat serving to his mind, he breaketh his heart to his two brethren, to wit, the marquis Mountacute, and the archbishop of York, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to prove afar off the mind of the duke of Clarence, King Edward's brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his daughter in marriage.

This matter being thus prepared against the king, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the north country. Where the northern men, in short space gathering themselves in an open rebellion, and finding captains of their wicked purpose, came down from York toward London. Against whom was appointed by the king, William Lord Herbert, earl of Pembroke, with the Lord Stafford, and certain other captains to encounter. The Yorkshiremen giving the overthrow first to the Lord Stafford, then to the earl of Pembroke, and his company of Welchmen at Banbury Field, at last joining together with the army of the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night secretly stealing on the king's field at Wolney by

Warwick, killed the watch, and took the king prisoner, who first being in the castle of Warwick, then was conveyed by night to Middleham castle, in Yorkshire, under the custody of the archbishop of York, where he, having loose keeping, and liberty to go on hunting, meeting with Sir William Standley, Sir Thomas of Borough, and other his friends, was too good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to York, where he was well received; from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the Lord Hasting, his chamberlain, well accompanied, by whose help he came safe to London.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to perfect peace and unity, although much labour was made by the nobility, the earl of Warwick raiseth up a new war in Lincolnshire, the captain whereof was Sir Robert Wells, knight, who shortly after, being taken in battle with his father, and Sir Thomas Dunocke, were beheaded, the residue casting away their coats, ran away and fled, giving the name of the field, called Losecoat Field. The earl of Warwick, after this, put out of comfort and hope to prevail at home, fled out of England, A. D. 1470, first to Calais, then to Louis the French king, accompanied with the duke of Clarence. The fame of the earl of Warwick, and of his famous acts, was at that time in great admiration above measure, and so highly favoured, that both in England and France all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the coming of this earl, and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little grateful to the French king, and no less opportune to Queen Margaret, King Henry's wife, and Prince Edward, her son, who also came to the French court to meet and confer together touching their affairs, where a league between them was concluded, and moreover a marriage between Edward, prince of Wales, and Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the earl's part, beside the large offers and great promises made by the French king, on the best manner to set forward their purpose, the earl having also intelligence, by letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sore for his presence, so that there lacked now but only haste with all speed possible to return; he, with the duke of Clarence, well fortified with the French navy, set forward toward England; for so was it between them before decreed, that they two should prove the first venture, and then Queen Margaret, with Prince Edward her son, should follow after. The arrival of the earl was not so soon heard of at Dartmouth in Devonshire, but great concourse of people by thousands went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him: who immediately made proclamation in the name of King Henry the Sixth, charging all men, able to bear armour, to prepare themselves to fight against Edward, duke of York, usurper of the crown. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for such a matter.

When King Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seeking how either to have stopped his landing, or else straightways to have encountered with him, before the gathering of his friends, but passing forth the time in hunting, in hawking, in all pleasure and dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly more repaired and more daily about the earl and the duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when it was too late; who, trusting too much to his friends and fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially here of England, whose nature is never to be content long with the present state, but always delighting in news, seeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the wind, and wavering with the reed, did well appear in the course of this king's story. For he, through the favour

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of the people when he was down, was exalted; now, being exalted, of the same was forsaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firm and stable; so there is no trust nor assurance to be made, but only in the favour of God, and in the promises of his word, only in Christ his Son, whose only kingdom shall never have end, nor is subject to any mutation.

These things thus passing on in England on the earl's side against King Edward, he, accompanied with the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the Lord Hastings, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister, and yet was never untrue to the king his master, and the Lord Scales, brother to the queen, sent abroad to all his trusty friends for furniture of able soldiers for defence of his person, to withstand his enemies. When little rescue and few in effect would come, the king himself, so destitute, departed to Lincolnshire, where he, perceiving his enemies daily to increase upon him, and all the countries about to be in a roar, making fires, and singing songs, crying, King Henry, King Henry, a Warwick, a Warwick, and hearing moreover his enemies the Lancasterians to be within half a days' journey of him, was advised by his friends to flee over the sea to the duke of Burgundy, which not long before had married King Edward's sister.

Here might be thought, by the common judgment and policy of man, peradventure that King Edward, as he had in his hands the life of King Henry, of his queen and prince, so if he had despatched them out of the way, when he might, he had not fallen into this misery; but because he took not the vantage, which time rather than godly reason gave him, therefore that sparing pity of his turned. now to his confusion and ruin. And certes I suppose no less, but if the same case had fallen in these our pitiless days, in which charity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is almost forgotten, the occasion of such a time should not be so neglected. But let us here note and learn, how godly simplicity always in the end of things gaineth more than man's policy, forasmuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

And so far it is off, that event and success of things be governed by man's advised policy, or unadvised affection in this world, that that is judged to be weaker which flourisheth in man, than that which is cast down in the Lord; as in the double case of both these kings may well appear. And first, let us consider the case of King Edward, who, being so beset and compassed with evils and distresses on every side, first was compelled to take the Washes between Lincolnshire and Lynn (which was no less dangerous to his life, than it was unseemly for his state). Being come to Lynn, in what peril was he there, through the doubtful mutability of the townsmen, if he had been known to his enemies? And how could he be but known, if he had tarried any space? But though men and friends forsook him, yet the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of him which showed mercy unto other, so provided, that at the same present there was an English ship, and two hulks of Holland, ready to their journey. Thus King Edward, without provision, without bag or baggage, without cloth-sack or mail, without store of money, without raiment, save only apparel for war, also without all friends, except only his brother, duke of Gloucester, the Lord Scales, and Lord Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the number of seven or eight hundred persons, took shipping toward Holland; at which time he was in no less jeopardy almost on the sea, than he was on the land. For certain Easterlings having many ships of war, which lay roving the same time on the sea, and had done much damage the year before, as well to the English merchants as to the French nation, spying the king's ship, with seven or eight gallant ships, made sail after the king and his company. The king's ship was good of sail, and got some ground, albeit not much, of the Easterlings,

that she came, to the coast of Holland before Alquemare, and there cast anchor; for otherwise, being an ebbing water, they could not enter the haven. The Easterlings with their great ships approached as near as they could possibly come for the low water, purposing at the flood to obtain their prey, and so were like to do, if the Lord had not there also provided Monsieur de Grounture, governor for Duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the town of Alquemare, who, hearing of the jeopardy of the king being there at anchor, prohibited the Easterlings, on pain of death, to meddle with any Englishmen, which were the duke's friends and allies.

Thus King Edward, well chastised of God for his wantonness, both by sea and land, but not utterly given over from his protection, escaping so many hard chances, was set on land with his company; who, there well refreshed and new apparelled, were conducted to Hague.

Duke Charles, at the hearing of the unprosperous case and condition of King Edward his brother-in-law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in himself, much casting and doubting what he should do. For being then in war with the French king, he could not well provoke the English nation against him, without his manifest grievance and decay; neither yet could he, without great shame and obloquy, leave the king his brother in that necessity. Notwithstanding, so he demeaned himself through fair speech, pretending to the Englishmen to join part with the house of Lancaster, being himself partly descended of the same family by his grandmother's side; that he both was his own friend openly, and the king's friend covertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tidings was spread in England of King Edward's flying, innumerable people of all hands resorted to the earl of Warwick, to take his part against King Edward, a few only except of his constant friends, which took sanctuary. Among whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who, despairing almost of all comfort, took also sanctuary at Westminster, where she, in great penury forsaken, was delivered of a fair son called Edward, which without all pomp was baptized like another poor woman's child, the godfathers being the abbot and prior of Westminster, the godmother was Lady Scroope.

To make the story short, the earl of Warwick having now brought all things to his appetite, upon the twelfth day of October rode to the Tower, which was then delivered to him, and there took King Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the king's lodging. The five and twentieth day of the same month, the duke of Clarence, accompanied with the earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and the Lord Stanley, with a great company, brought him in a long gown of blue velvet through the high streets of London, first to Paul's church to offer, then to the bishop's palace of London, and there he resumed again the crown royal, A. D. 1471, which he did not long enjoy.

After this followed a parliament, in the which King Edward with all his partakers were judged traitors. Queen Margaret, with her son Prince Edward, all this while was tarrying for a fair wind, thinking long belike till she came to an evil bargain, as it proved after. For King Edward, within six months after his departure out of England unto the duke of Burgundy, whether by letters from his friends solicited, or whether by his adventurous courage incited, made instant suit to Duke Charles his brother, to rescue him with such power as he would bestow upon him; for he was fully resolved to defer the matter, and to protract the time no longer.

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The duke camped in double fear in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding, overcome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be delivered to him fifty thousand florins, and further caused four great ships to be appointed for him in a haven in Zealand, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same duke had for him hired fourteen ships of the Fastenings well appointed, taking bond of them to serve him truly till he were landed in England, and fifteen days after.

Thus King Edward, being furnished but only with two thousand men of war, with more luck than hope to speed, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Ravenspur, in the coast of Yorkshire. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of soldiers to do any good, yet, to use policy where strength did lack, first he sent forth certain light horsemen to prove the country on every side, with persuasions, to see whether the uplandish people would be stirred to take King Edward's part. Perceiving that it would not be, king Edward flieth to his shifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claim the crown and kingdom, but only to claim the duchy of York, which was his own title, and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more but only his just patrimony and lineal inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compassion towards him, either to favour him or not to resist him, and so, journeying toward York, he came to Beverley. The Marquis Mountacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, was then at Pomfret, to whom the earl had sent straight charge, with all expedition to set upon him, or else to stop his passage; and likewise to the citizens of York, and all Yorkshire, to shut their gates and take armour against him. King Edward, being in these straits, proceeded notwithstanding near to York without resistance, where he required of the citizens to be admitted into their city. But so stood the case then, that they durst not grant unto him, but, on the contrary, sent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own safeguard. The desolate king was here driven to a narrow strait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the country and loss of his cause; neither could go farther, for the present danger of the city. Wherefore, using the same policy as before, with lovely words and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare unto the citizens, that his coming was not to demand the realm of England, or the title of the same, but only the duchy of York, his old inheritance; and therefore determined to set forward, neither with armynor weapon. The messengers were not so soon within the gates, but he was at the gates in a manner as soon as they.

The citizens, hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the king, nor of the realm, were something mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the walls, willing him to withdraw his power to some other place, and they should be the more ready to aid him, at least he should have no damage by them.

Notwithstanding, he again used such lowly language, and delivered so fair speech unto them, entreating them so courteously, and saluting the aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his own town, whereof he had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talk and debating upon the matter, partly also enticed with fair and large promises, fell to this convention, that if he would swear to be true to King Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receive him into the city.

This being concluded, the next morning, at the entering of the gate, a priest was ready to say mass, in the which, after the receiving of the sacrament, the king received a solemn oath to observe the two articles before agreed. By reason of which

oath, so rashly made, and as shortly broken, and not long after punished, as it may well be thought, in his posterity, he obtained the city of York. Where he, in short time forgetting his oath, to make all sure, set in garrisons of armed soldiers. Furthermore, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no stir to be made against him, he thought to neglect no opportunity of time, and so made forward toward London, leaving by the way the Marquis Mountacute, which lay then with his army at Pomfret, on the right hand, not fully four miles distant from his camp; and so returning to the high-way, he went forward without any stirring to the town of Nottingham, where came to him Sir William Parre, Sir Thomas of Borough, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and divers else of his assured friends, with their aids, which caused him by a proclamation to stand to his own title of King Edward the Fourth, saying, that they would serve no man but a king: at the fame hereof being blown abroad, as the citizens of York were not a little offended, and that worthily, so from other towns and cities lords and noblemen began to fall unto him, thinking with themselves that the Marquis Mountacute either favoured his cause, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Howsoever it was, King Edward, being now more fully furnished at all points, came to the town of Leicester, and there, hearing that the earl of Warwick, accompanied with the earl of Oxford, were together at Warwick with a great power, minding to set on the earl, he removed from thence his army, hoping to give him battle. The duke of Clarence, in the mean time, about London had levied a great host, coming toward the earl of Warwick, as he was by the earl appointed. But when the earl saw the duke to linger the time, he began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his brethren's part. The king, advancing forward his host, came to Warwick, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward Coventry, where the earl was; unto whom, the next day after, he boldly offered battle. But the earl, expecting the duke of Clarence's coming, kept him within the walls. All this made for the king; for he, hearing that his brother, the duke of Clarence, was not far off, coming toward him with a great army, raised his camp, and made toward him, either to treat or else to encounter with his brother. When each host was in sight of the other, Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as arbiter between them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertain. But hereby both the brethren, laying all army and weapon aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joined together. And that fraternal amity by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspicion.

Then was it agreed between the three brethren to attempt the earl of Warwick, if he likewise would be reconciled; but he, crying out shame upon the duke of Clarence, stood at utter defiance. From thence King Edward, so strongly furnished and daily increasing, taketh his way to London; where, after it was known that the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much fear fell upon the Londoners, casting with themselves what was best to do. The suddenness of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London the same time the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Somerset, with other of King Henry's council, to whom the earl had sent in commandment a little before, knowing the weakness of the city, that they should keep the city from their enemies two or three days, and he would follow with all possible speed with a puissant army, who, according to their commandment, defended the city with all their power, but yet to little purpose. For the citizens consulting with themselves for their own most indemnity, having no walls to defend them, thought best to take that way which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with King Edward. This was not so soon known abroad, but the commonalty ran out by heaps to meet King Edward, and to salute him

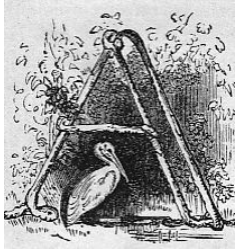
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as their king. Whereupon the duke of Somerset, with other of King Henry's council, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the world, to shift for themselves, fled away and left there King Henry alone. Who, the same day being caused by the archbishop of York to ride about London like a king, was before night made captive, and reduced again to the Tower.

It was not long after these things thus done at London, but the coming of the earl of Warwick was heard of; who, thinking to prevent mischiefs with making speed, came a little too late and missed of his purpose. In the earl's army were John, duke of Exeter, Edmund, earl of Somerset, John, earl of Oxford, and Marquis Mountacute, the earl's brother. The earl had now passed a great part of his journey, when he, hearing news of the world so changed, and of the captivity of King Henry, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind; wherefore he stayed with his army at St. Alban's, to see what way further to take. And forasmuch as there was no other remedy, but either he must yield, or one conflict must finish the matter, he removed to Barnet, ten miles from St. Alban's.

Against him set forth King Edward, well appointed with a strong army of picked and able persons, with artillery, engines, and instruments meet for the purpose; bringing with him also King Henry. On Easter-even he came to Barnet, and there he embattled himself. In the morning upon Easter-day the battle began, and fiercely continued almost till noon, with murder on each side, much doubtful, till both parts were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then desirous to see an end, off or on, with a great crew of new fresh soldiers set upon his wearied enemies. Where the earl's men, encouraged with words of their captain, stoutly fought, but they, sore wounded and wearied, could not long hold out. The earl, rushing into the midst of his enemies, ventured so far that he could not be rescued; where he was stricken down and slain, and there lay he. Marquis Mountacute, thinking to succour his brother, whom he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise overthrown and slain. After that Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick, and his brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them which were in this field slain, are judged about ten thousand, as Polydore Virgil reciteth. Fabian numbereth of them that were slain but fifteen hundred. The duke of Somerset and earl of Oxford, thinking to fly to Scotland, returned to Jasper, earl of Pembroke, in Wales. The duke of Exeter hardly escaped to Westminster, and there took sanctuary. For the death of the earl of Warwick the king was not so glad, as he was sorry for the Marquis Mountacute, whom he took to be his friend. The corpses of these two were brought to the church of Paul's, where they lay open in two coffins two days, and then were interred.

In the narration of this history, Polydore Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth some deal differ from Robert Fabian. Neither do I doubt but both these had their authors by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this, I marvel that Polydore, writing of so many things which he never saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite unto us those writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I marvel, or rather lament, if it be true that I have heard, that he not only nameth no author unto us, but also burned a heap of our English stories unknown, after the finishing of his, in the days of King Henry the Eighth. But now to our text again.



Il this while yet Queen Margaret, with young Prince Edward her son, was scarce come over, being long let with contrary winds; who at length in the month of April arrived at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, and hearing the sorrowful tidings of these things lately happened to her husband, and to the earl of Warwick and his brother, and of the prosperous success of King Edward, was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things, contrary to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with herself, lamenting her husband,, bewailing her son, cursing her coming, and crying out of Fortune, as though blind Fortune were she that governeth times and tides, (rewarding just punishments to unjust deservings of men,) and not the secret power and terrible justice of Almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that queen, being not able to bear the vehemency of her passion, (who rather should have sorrowed the dolorous death of Duke Humphrey, whom before she neglected, but now she lacked,) that her senses failed, her spirits were taken, her speech decayed, and, life almost gone, she fell to the ground, as one that would rather die than live. In this desolate case Queen Margaret, learning now to know her friends from her foes, when it was too late, fraught full of heaviness, without solace or hope of remedy, she with her son and her company departed for the next refuge, to a monastery of monks called Beaulieu in Hampshire, there to take sanctuary and privilege of the house.

Yet all hearts were not sound nor subdued in England, especially Edmund, duke of Somerset, with Lord John his brother, Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonshire, Jasper, earl of Pembroke, Lord Wenlock, John Longscrother, being prior of the knights of Rhodes, in St. John's. These, hearing of the queen's return, with speed resorted to her; by whom she being somewhat quickened in her spirits, and animated to war, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsel; which was, in all the hot haste, to renew war against King Edward, being now unprovided, by reason his army was now dispersed, and chiefest of his soldiers wasted. Here great hope of victory was showed, great promises made. Although the queen's mind was, being more careful for the young prince than for herself, to send him over into France, before some proof or trial made; yet following the contrary counsel of them, and partly cut off by shortness of time which required haste, she began with all expedition to gather power. Likewise Jasper, earl of Pembroke, posted into Wales to do the same.

King Edward, having intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certain light horsemen, to espy abroad through the west parts what ways his enemies did take. In the mean time he, using all celerity to meet them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as he could make about London, and first cometh to Abingdon, from thence to Marlebridge, hearing that the queen was at Bath, thinking to encounter with them, before they diverted into Wales to the earl of Pembroke, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the queen, understanding the king to be so nigh, removeth from Bath to Bristol, sending word in the mean while to the citizens of Gloucester, that they would grant her leave safely to pass by their city. Which when it could not be obtained, with her army she departed from Bristol to Tewkesbury; where the duke of Somerset, knowing King Edward to be at hand at his very back, willed the queen there to stay, and in no wise to fly backward for certain doubts that might be cast. Although this counsel was against the consent of many other captains, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the earl of Pembroke with his army were with them associate; yet the mind of the duke prevailed, the place was prefixed, the field pitched, the time of battle came, the king

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was looked for; who being within one mile of Tewkesbury, with like industry and policy, as his enemies had done, disposed his army likewise in their array. The celerity of the king, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwise, if he had deferred till he had conjoined with the earl of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Of this battle Hall thus reporteth, adding more than Polydore, that the duke of Somerset, although he was strongly intrenched, yet, through the occasion or policy of the duke of Gloucester, which had the fore ward of the king's part, a little recoiling back, followed the chase, supposing that the Lord Wenlock, who had the middle ward, would have followed hard at his back. The duke of Gloucester, whether for shame rather than of policy, espying his advantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was eftsoons discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separated from their company. The duke of Somerset, not a little aggrieved at this so unfortunate a case, returneth to the middle ward, where he seeing the Lord Wenlock abiding still, revileth him, and calleth him traitor, and with his axe striketh the brains out of his head.

Thus much addeth Hall besides Polydore; but showeth not his author where he had it. Polydore, writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that the queen's army being overset with the number and multitude of their enemies, and she having no fresh soldiers to furnish the field, was at last overmatched, and for the most part slain or taken. In which battle were named to be slain, the earl of Devonshire, the Lord Wenlock, Lord John, duke of Somerset's brother, besides other. Among them that were taken was Queen Margaret, found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow, Prince Edward, Edmund, duke of Somerset, John, prior of St. John's, with twenty other knights; all which were beheaded within two days after, the queen only and the young prince excepted. Which Prince Edward being then brought to the king's presence, it was demanded of him how he durst be so bold to stand in battle against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith, that after the field was finished the king made proclamation, that whosoever would bring Prince Edward to him, should have annuity of a hundred pounds during his life, and the prince's life should be saved. Whereupon Sir Richard Croftes, not mistrusting the king's promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the prince, as is said, how he durst so presumptuously enter this realm with his banner displayed against him; he answered, saying, that he came to recover his father's kingdom and inheritance, from his grandfather and father to him descending; whereat (said Polydore) the king with his hand disdainfully thrust him from him. Other say that the king struck him on the face with his gauntlet.

At the speaking of these words were present George, duke of Clarence, Richard, duke of Gloucester, and the earl Lord William Hastings; who upon the same, uncourteously falling upon the prince, did slay him. Queen Margaret, being brought prisoner to London, was afterward ransomed of her father, duke of Anjou, for a great sum of money, which he borrowed of the French king, and for the payment thereof was fain to yield unto him the title of the kingdom of Sicily, and Naples, &c. King Edward for these prosperous wars rendered to God his hearty thanks, and caused publicly through his realm solemn processions to be kept three days together. And thus much, and too much, touching the wars of King Edward the Fourth, which was done, A. D. 1471.

The same year, and about the same time, upon the Ascension even, King Henry, being prisoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all thirty-eight years and six months. Polydore, and Hall following him, affirm that he was slain with a dagger by Richard, duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, for the more quiet and safeguard of the king his brother. In the history entitled *Scala Mundi*, I find these words, that King Henry being in the Tower, upon the Ascension even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boat to the abbey of Chertsey, and there buried.

Polydore, after he hath described the virtues of this king, recordeth that King Henry the Seventh did afterward translate the corpse of him from Chertsey to Windsor, and addeth, moreover, that by him certain miracles were wrought. "For the which cause the said King Henry the Seventh," saith he, "laboured with Pope Julius, to have him canonized for a saint, but the death of the king was the let why that matter proceeded not." Edward Hall, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause why King Henry's sainting went not forward to be this; for that the fees of canonizing of a king were of so great a quantity at Rome, (more than of another, bishop or prelate,) that the said king thought it better to keep the money in his chests, than with the impoverishing of the realm to buy so dear and pay so much for a new holy-day of St. Henry in the calendar, &c. Which if it be true, it might be replied then to Pope Julius, that if popes be higher than kings in the earth, and especially in heaven, why then is a pope-saint so cheap in the marketplace of Rome, and a king-saint so dear? Again, if the valuation of things in all markets and burses be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought; what reason is it, seeing the sainting of a king beareth a bigger sale than the sainting of any pope in heaven, but that kings should be above popes also upon the earth? As I do not doubt but that King Henry was a good and a quiet prince, if he had not otherwise been abused by some; so touching the ruin of his house, I think not contrary, but it came not without the just appointment of the Lord, either for that the Henries of Lancaster's house were such enemies to God's people, and for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other; or else for the unjust displacing of King Richard the Second; or else, thirdly, for the cruel slaughter of Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester, his uncle, whereof sufficiently hath been said before.

During the time of these doings, being about the year of our Lord 1465, there was here in England a certain Friar Carmelite, who, about the term of Michael the archangel, preached at Paul's, in London, that our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present world, was in poverty, and did beg. To whose opinion and doctrine the provincial of that order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other doctors more and brethren of the same order; unto whom also adjoined certain of the Jacobites, and stiffly did take their parts. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both in their public lectures and preaching, to the uttermost of their cunning did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the defendant part was driven for a while to keep silence. Much like to those times I might well resemble these our days now present, with our tumultuous contention of forms and fashions of garments. But I put myself here in Pythagoras's school, and keep silence with these friars. In the story, moreover, it followeth, that this beggarly question of the Begging Friars, whether Christ did beg or no, went so far, that at length it came to the pope's ears, Paulus the Second, who was no beggar ye may be sure. After that the fame of this doctrine, mounting over the Alps, came flying to the

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court of Rome, which was about the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the year next following, A. D. 1465, it brought with it such an evil smell to the fine noses there, that it was no need to bid them to stir; for begging to them was worse than high heresy. Wherefore the holy father, Pope Paulus the Second, to repress the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise, perhaps, might have set his whole kitchen on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eftsoons directeth down his bull into England, insinuating to the prelates here, That this heresy, which pestiferously doth affirm that Christ did openly beg, was condemned of old time by the bishop of Rome, and his councils, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be trodden down under all men's feet, &c. This was in the same year when Prince Edward, King Edward's son, was born in the sanctuary of Westminster, A. D. 1465.

As touching the rest of the doings and affairs of this king, (which had vanquished hitherto in nine battles, himself being present,) how afterward he, through the incitement of Charles, duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, ventured into France with a puissant army, and how the duke failed him in his promise; also how peace between these two kings was at length concluded in a solemn meeting of both the said kings together, (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white dove sitting the same day of meeting upon the top of King Edward's tent,) also of the marriage promised between the young Dauphin and Elizabeth King Edward's eldest daughter, but afterward broken off on the French king's part; moreover, as touching the death of the duke of Burgundy slain in war, and of his daughter Mary, niece to King Edward, spoiled of her lands and possessions wrongfully by Louis the French king, and married after to Maximilian. Furthermore, as touching the expedition of King Edward into Scotland, by reason of King James breaking promise in marrying with Cicely the second daughter of King Edward, and of driving out his brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recovery again of Berwick; of these (I say) and such other things more, partly because they are described sufficiently in our common English stories, partly also because they be matters not greatly pertaining to the church, I omit to speak, making of them a supersedeas. Two things I find here, among many other, specially to be remembered.

The first is concerning a godly and constant servant of Christ, named John Goose, which in the time of this king was unjustly condemned and burnt at the Tower Hill, A. D. 1473, in the month of August. Thus had England also its John Huss as well as Bohemia. Wherein, moreover, this is to be noted, that since the time of King Richard the Second, there is no reign of any king to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the pains of fire for the religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus. Of this said John Goose, or John Huss, this, moreover, I find in another English monument recorded, that the said John being delivered to Robert Belisdon, one of the sheriffs, to see him burnt the afternoon; the sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (saith the story) his errors. But the godly man, after long exhortation heard, desired the sheriff to be content, for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this, he desired of the sheriff, for God's sake to give him some meat, saying that he was very sore hungered. Then the sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been toward no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him, I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower ere I go to supper. And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might shortly be led to the place where he should yield up his spirit unto God.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The second thing herein to be noted, is the death of George, duke of Clarence, the king's second brother; of whom relation was made before, how he assisted King Edward his brother, against the earl of Warwick at Barnet field, and helped him to the crown; and now after all these benefits was at length thus requited, that, for what cause it is uncertain, he was apprehended and cast into the Tower, where he, being adjudged for a traitor, was privily drowned in a butt of Malmsey. What the true cause was of his death, it cannot certainly be affirmed. Divers conjectures and imaginations there be diversely put forth. Some partly imputed it to the queen's displeasure. Other suppose it came for taking part in the cause of his servant, which was accused and condemned for poisoning, sorcery, or enchantment. Another fame there is, which surmiseth the cause hereof to rise upon the vain fear of a foolish prophecy, coming no doubt, if it were true, by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times else happen among infidels and Gentiles, where Christ is not known; where among high princes and in noble houses much mischief groweth, first murder and parricide, and thereby ruin of ancient families, and alteration of kingdoms. The effect of this prophecy, as the fame goeth, was this, that after King Edward should one reign whose name should begin with G. And because the name of the duke of Clarence, being George, began with a G, therefore he began to be feared, and afterward privily, as is aforesaid, was made away.

122. On False Prophecies

By these experiments and mischievous ends of such prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is soon to be seen from what fountain or author they proceed, that is, no doubt, from Satan, the ancient enemy of mankind, and prince of this world; against whose deceitful delusions, Christian men must be well instructed, neither to marvel greatly at them though they seem strange, nor yet to believe them though they happen true. For Satan being the prince of this world, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can say truth for a mischievous end, and yet for all that is but a Satan. So the dream of Astiages, seeing a vine to grow out of his daughter, which should cover all Asia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdom, proved true in the sequel thereof; and yet, notwithstanding, of Satan it came, and caused cruel murder to follow, first of the shepherd's child, then of the son of Harpagus, whom he set before his own father to eat. Likewise Cyrus was prophetically admonished by his dream, to take him for his guide whom he first met the next morrow. In that also his dream fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blind oracles of the idolatrous Gentiles, which although they proceed of a lying spirit, yet sometimes they hit the truth to a mischievous purpose. The like judgment also is to be given of Merlin's prophecies. The sorceress mentioned 1 Sam. xxviii., raising up Samuel, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In the 16th chapter of the Acts, there was a damsel having the spirit of Pytho, who said truth of Paul and Silas, calling them the messengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong spirit. The unclean spirits in giving testimony of Christ said the truth, yet, because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valentinian the emperor, that he also had a blind prophecy, not much unlike to this of King Edward, which was, that one should succeed him in the empire whose name should begin with Θ, ο and δ.[Greek: Th, ο and d]. Whereupon one Theodorus, trusting upon the prophecy, began rebelliously to hope for the crown, and for his labour felt the pains of a traitor. Notwithstanding, the effect of the prophecy followed; for after Valentinian succeeded Theodosius. Wherefore Christian princes and noblemen, and all Christ's faithful people, must beware and learn:

First, That no man be inquisitive or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, besides those things only which are promised and expressed in the word.

Secondly, To understand what difference there is, and how to discern the voice of God from the voice of Satan.

Thirdly, How to resist and avoid the danger of false and devilish prophecies.

Many there be, which, being not contented with things present, curiously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end shall come, how long princes shall reign, and who after shall succeed them, and for the same get unto them soothsayers, astrologers, sorcerers, conjurors, or familiars. And these are not so much inquisitive to search or ask, but the devil is as ready to

answer them, who either falsely doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to work them perpetual care and sorrow. Thus was Pope Silvester the sorcerer circumvented by the devil, who told him that he should be at Jerusalem before he died, and so it fell out; for as he was saying his mass at a chapel in Rome, called Jerusalem, there he fell sick, and within three days after died. To King Henry the Fourth also it seemeth it was prophesied, that he should not die before he went to Jerusalem, who, being brought to the abbot's chamber of Westminster, and hearing the name of the chamber to be called Jerusalem, knew his time to be come, and died.

By such deceitful prophecies it cannot be lamented enough to see what inconvenience, both publicly and privately, groweth to the life of men, either causing them falsely to trust where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate that they would not; as may appear both by this king, and also divers more. So was Pompey, Crassus, and Cesar, (as writeth Cicero,) deceived by the false Chaldees, in declaring to them that they should not die but in their beds, and with worship, and in their old age. Of such a false trust, rising upon false prophecies, St. Ambrose, in his book of Exameron, writeth, speaking of rain, which being in those parts greatly desired, was promised and prophesied of one certainly to fall upon such a day, which was at the changing of the new moon; "but," saith St. Ambrose, "there fell no such rain at all, till at the prayers of the church the same was obtained; giving us to understand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the moon, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator."

Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, in his excellent books written against these vain star-tellers and astrologers, writeth of one Ordelafo, a prince, to whom it was prognosticated, by a famous cunning man in that science, called Hieronymus Manfredus, that he should enjoy long continuance of health, and prosperous life; who, notwithstanding, the selfsame year, and in the first year of his marriage, deceased: and after divers other examples, added moreover upon the same, he inferreth also mention, and the name of a certain rich matron in Rome, named Constantia, who, in like manner, departed the same year, in which she received great promises by these soothsayers and astrologers, of a long and happy life, saying to her husband these words, "Behold," saith she, "how true be the prognostications of these soothtellers!" If it were not for noting of them which now are gone, and whose names I would in no case to be blemished with any spot, I could recite the names of certain, especially one, which, taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation and forecasting of the success and good speed of his journey, was, notwithstanding, in the same journey apprehended and brought where he would not, and after that, never enjoying good day, in short time he departed. In Basil, this I myself heard, of one which knew and was conversant with the party, who, having a curious delight in these speculations of chances and events to come, by his calculation noted a certain day which he mistrusted should be fatal unto him, by something which at that day should befall upon him. Whereupon he determined with himself all that day to keep him sure and safe within his chamber, where he, reaching up his hand to take down a book, the book falling down upon his head, gave him his death's wound, and shortly after he died upon the same. Of these, and such-like examples, the world is full, and yet the curiousness of men's heads will not refrain, still to pluck the apple of this unlucky and forbidden tree.

Beside all this, what murder and parricide cometh by the fear of these prophecies, in great bloods and noble houses, I refer it unto them which read and well advise the stories, as well of our kings here in England, as in other kingdoms more,

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both Christened and Turkish, whereof another place shall serve as well, Christ willing, more largely to treat, and particularly to discourse. To this pertaineth also the great inconvenience and hinderance that groweth by the fear of such prophecies in the vocation of men, forasmuch as many there be which, fearing some one danger, some another, leave their vocations undone, and follow inordinate ways: as if one, having a blind prophecy, that his destruction should be on the day, would wake and do all his business by night and candle light; and so forth in other several cases of men and women, as every one in his own conscience knoweth his own case best.

The second thing to be considered in these prophecies, is rightly to discern and understand, as near as we can, the difference between the prophecies proceeding from God, and the false prophecies counterfeited by Satan. For Satan sometimes playeth God's ape, and transformeth himself into an angel of light, bearing such a resemblance and colour of truth and religion, that a wise man is scarcely able to discern the one from the other, and the most part is beguiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be observed:

1. First, whether they go simply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous; whereof the one seemeth to taste of God's Spirit, such as be the prophecies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwise, having a double or doubtful interpretation. Although the time of God's prophecies, as also of miracles, is commonly and ordinarily expired; yet if the Lord in these days now extraordinarily do show and prophesy, by the simpleness and plainness thereof it may partly be discerned.

2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they be private, tending to this family or that family, or public. For as the Scriptures, so commonly the prophecies of God, have no private interpretation, but general; forasmuch as the care of God's Holy Spirit is not restrained partially to one person more than to another, but generally and indifferently respecteth the whole church of his elect in Christ Jesus his Son. Wherefore such prophecies as privately are touching the arms of houses or names of men, rising or falling of private and particular families, are worthily to be suspected.

3. The third note and special argument to descry the true prophecies of God from the false prophecies of Satan and his false prophets, is this, to consider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be spiritual, or whether they tend to any glory or state of this present world, or whether they tend to the spiritual instruction, admonition, or comfort of the public church.

Now remaineth, thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be instructed next, how to eschew the fear and peril of all devilish prophecies which make against us. Wherein two special remedies are to be marked of every Christian man, whereby he may be safe and sure against all danger of the enemy. The first is, That we set the name of Christ Jesus the Son of God against them, through a true faith in him, knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared to dissolve the works of the devil. And again, This is the victory (saith the Scripture) that overcometh the world, even our faith. Whatsoever then Satan worketh or can work against us, be it never so forcible, faith in Christ will vanquish it. Such a majesty is in our faith, believing in the name of the Son of God.

The other remedy is faithful prayer, which obtaineth in the name of Christ all things with the Lord. So that wicked fiend, which had killed before seven husbands of Tobias' wife, could not hurt him entering his matrimony with earnest prayer; so no

more shall any sinister prophecy prevail, where prayer out of a faithful heart doth strive against it. Neither am I ignorant, that against such temporal evils and punishments to this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth also in this, when Satan findeth nothing wherein greatly to accuse our conscience. But because such a conscience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to fly to repentance, with amendment of life. For many times where sin doth reign in our mortal bodies, there also the operation of Satan is strong against us, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternal salvation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but only our faith in Christ. And thus much briefly touching the two special remedies, whereby the operation of all devilish prophecies may be avoided and defeated.

Now many there be, which leaving these remedies aforesaid, and the safe protection which the Lord hath set up in Christ, take other ways of their own, seeking by their own policy how to withstand and escape such prophecies, either in eschewing the place and time subtly, or else cruelly, by killing the party whom they fear; whereof cometh injury, murder, and parricide, with other mischiefs in commonwealths unspeakable. To whom commonly it cometh so to pass, that whereby they think most to save themselves, by the same means they fall most into the snare, being subverted and confounded in their own policy, for that they trusting to their own device, and not unto the Lord, which only can dissolve the operation of Satan, the Lord so turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they think most surely to escape. Examples whereof we see not only in Astyages, king of the Medes aforesaid, and Cyrus; but in infinite other-like events, which the trade of the world doth daily offer to our eyes. So Queen Margaret thought her then cocksure, when Duke Humphrey was made away; when nothing else was her confusion so much as the loss and lack of that man.

So if King Richard the Second had not exercised such cruelty upon his uncle, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, he had not received such wrong by King Henry the Fourth as he did. Likewise this King Edward the Fourth, if he had suffered his brother George, duke of Clarence, to have lived, his house had not so gone to wreck, by Richard his other brother, as it did. What befell upon the student of astrology in the university of Basil, ye heard before; who, if he had not mewed himself in his chamber for fear of his divination, had escaped the stroke that fell. Now in avoiding such prophetic events which he should not have searched, he fell into that which he did fear. These few examples, for instruction sake, I thought by occasion to infer, not as though these were alone; but by these few to admonish the reader of infinite other, which daily come in practice of life, to the great danger and decay, as well in private houses, as in commonweals.



herefore, briefly to repeat what before simply hath been said touching this matter, seeing that Satan through such subtle prophecies hath, and yet doth daily practise so manifold mischiefs in the world, setting brother against brother, nephew against the uncle, house against house, and realm against realm, gendering hatred where love was, and subverting privily the simplicity of our Christian faith; therefore the first and best thing is, for godly men not to busy their brains about such fantasies, neither in delighting in them, nor in hearkening to them, nor in searching for them, either by soothsayer, or by conjuration, or by familiar, or by astrologer, knowing and considering this, that whosoever shall be

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desirous or ready to search for them, the devil is as ready to answer his curiosity therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentility, he gave his oracles by idols and priests of that time; so the same devil, although he worketh not now by idols, yet he craftily can give now answer by astrologers and conjurers in these our days, and in so doing, both to say truth, and yet to deceive men when he hath said. Wherefore, leaving off such curiosity, let every Christian man walk simply in his present vocation, referring hid things, not in the word expressed, unto him which saith in his word, It is not for you to know the times, and seasons of times, which the Father hath kept in his own power, &c.

Secondly, in this matter of prophecies, requisite it is (as is said) for every Christian man to learn, how to discern and distinguish the true prophecies which proceed of God, and the false prophecies which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned, so necessary it is that every good man do rightfully understand the same, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certain and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, because it is not sufficient that the deceitful prophecies of the devil be known, but also that they be resisted, I have also declared, by what means the operation of Satan's works and prophecies are to be overcome, that is, not with strength and policy of man, for that there is nothing in man able to countervail the power of that enemy. Under heaven there is nothing else that can prevail against his works, but only the name of the Lord Jesus the Son of God, not outwardly pronounced only with our lips, or signed in our foreheads with the outward cross, but inwardly apprehended and dwelling in our hearts by a silent faith, firmly and earnestly trusting upon the promises of God, given and sealed unto us in his name. For so it hath pleased his fatherly wisdom to set him up, to be both our righteousness before himself, and also to be our fortitude against the enemy, accepting our faith in his Son in no less price, than he accepteth the works and worthiness of the same his Son in whom we do believe.

Such is the strength and effect of faith both in heaven, in earth, and also in hell; in heaven to justify, in earth to preserve, in hell to conquer. And therefore when any such prophecy or any other thing is to us objected, which seemeth to tend against us, let us first consider whether it savour of Satan, or not. If it do, then let us seek our succour, not in ourselves where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor slay, nor change our vocation therefore, following inordinate ways; but let us run to our castle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Jesus, remembering the true promise of the Psalm, Whoso putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall have the God of heaven to his protector. And then shall it afterward follow in the same Psalm, And he shall deliver him from the snare of the hunter, and from all evil words and prophecies, be they never so sharp or bitter against him, &c. And thus much by the occasion of King Edward, of prophecies.

123. Turmoil in the Empire

Now having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places also of Christ's church, as well here in Europe under the pope, as in the east parts under the Turk, first deducing our story from the time of Sigismund, where before we left. Which Sigismund, as it is above recorded, was a great doer in the council of Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague. This emperor had ever evil luck, fighting against the Turks. Twice he warred against them, and in both the battles was discomfited and put to flight; once about the city of Mysia, fighting against Bajazet the great Turk, A. D. 1395; the second time fighting against Celebinus the son of Bajazet, about the town called Columbacium. But especially after the council of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned these two godly martyrs, more unprosperous success did then follow him, fighting against the Bohemians, his own subjects, A. D. 1420, by whom he was repulsed in so many battles, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Zisca, and of Procopius, as is before more at large expressed; who was so beaten both of the Turks, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the Turks after. Then followed the council of Basil, after the beginning whereof, within six years, this Sigismund, which was emperor, king of Hungary, and king of Bohemia, died in Moravia, A. D. 1437.

Albert the emperor.

This Sigismund left behind him one only daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, duke of Austria, by reason whereof he was advanced to the empire, and so was both duke of Austria, emperor, king of Hungary, and king also of Bohemia. But this Albert, as is before declared, being an enemy and a disquieter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Tabor, as he was preparing and setting forth against the Turks, in the mean time died, in the second year of his empire, A. D. 1439, leaving his wife great with child; who, lying then in Hungary, and thinking herself to be great with a daughter, called to her the princes and the chieftains of the realms, declaring to them that she was but a woman, and insufficient to the governance of such a state; and moreover, how she thought herself to be with child of a daughter, and therefore required them to provide among them such a prince and governor, (reserving the right of the kingdom to herself,) as were fit and able, under her, to have the regiment of the land committed. The Turk, in the mean while, being elevated and encouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismund aforesaid, began then more fiercely to invade Hungary and those parts of Christendom. Wherefore the Hungarians, making the more haste, consulted among themselves to make Duke Uladislaus, brother to Casimir, king of Poland, their king.

But while this was in working between the Hungarians and Uladislaus the duke, in the mean space Elizabeth brought forth a son, called Ladislaus, who, being the lawful heir of the kingdom, the queen called back again her former word, minding to reserve the kingdom for her son, being the true heir thereof, and therefore refuseth marriage with the said Uladislaus, which she had before pretended. But Uladislaus,

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joining with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting still in the condition before granted, would not give over, by reason whereof, great contention and division kindling among the people of Hungary, Amurath, the great Turk, taking his advantage of their discord, and partly surprised with pride of his former success against Sigismund aforesaid, with his whole main and force invaded the realm of Hungary; where Huniades, surnamed Vaivoda, prince of Transylvania, joining with the new king Uladislaus, did both together set against the Turk, A. D. 1444, and there Uladislaus, the new king of Hungary, the fourth year of his kingdom, was slain. Elizabeth, with her son, was fled in the mean while to Frederic the emperor. Of Huniades Vaivoda, the noble captain, and of his acts, and also of Ladislaus, Christ willing, more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

Frederic the Third, emperor.

After the decease of Albert, succeeded in the empire Frederic the Third, duke of Austria, A. D. 1440. By whom it was procured, as we have before signified, that Pope Felix, elected by the council of Basil, did resign his popedom to Pope Nicholas the Fifth, upon this condition, that the said Pope Nicholas should ratify the acts decreed in the said council of Basil. In the days of this emperor much war and dissension raged almost through all Christian realms, in Austria, Hungary, Poland, in France, in Burgundy, and also here in England, between King Henry the Sixth and King Edward the Fourth, as ye have already heard; whereby it had been easy for the Turk, with little mastery, to have overrun all the Christian realms in Europe, had not the providence of our merciful Lord otherwise provided to keep Amurath, the Turk, occupied in other civil wars at home in the mean while. Unto this Frederic came Elizabeth, as is aforesaid, with Ladislaus, her son, by whom he was nourished and entertained a certain space, till at length, after the death of Uladislaus aforesaid, king of Hungary, which was slain in battle by the Turks, the men of Austria, through the instigation of Ulricus Eizingerus, and of Ulricus, earl of Cilicia, rising up in armour, required of Frederic the emperor, either to give them their young king, or else to stand to his own defence.

When Frederic heard this, neither would he render to them a sudden answer, neither would they abide any longer delay, and so the matter, growing to war, the new city was besieged, where many were slain, and much harm done. At length the emperor's part, being the weaker, the emperor, through the intervention of certain nobles of Germany, restored Ladislaus unto their hands, who, being yet under age, committed his three kingdoms to three governors. Whereof John Huniades, the worthy captain above mentioned, had the ruling of Hungary; George Pogiebracius had Bohemia; and Ulricus the earl of Cilicia had Austria. Which Ulricus, having the chief custody of the king, bare the greatest authority above the rest; a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almost of all the Austrians, and shortly after, by the means of Eizingerus, was also excluded from the king and the court, but afterward restored again, and Eizingerus thrust out. Such is the unstable condition of them which be next in place about princes. But this contention between them I overpass.

Not long after, Ladislaus the young king went to Bohemia, there to be crowned, where George Pogiebracius, as is said, had the governance. But Ladislaus, during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the churches, nor hear the service of them, which did draw after the doctrine

of Huss. Inasmuch that when a certain priest, in the high tower of Prague, was appointed and addressed, after the manner of priests, to say service before the king, being known to hold with John Huss and Rochezana, the king disdainful at him commanded him to give place and depart, or else he would send him down headlong from the rock of the tower; and so the good minister, repulsed by the king, departed. Also another time the said Ladislaus, seeing the sacrament carried by a minister of that side, whom they called then Hussites, would do thereunto no reverence.

At length the long abode of the king, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly disposed to be longer than they wished; and that was not to the king unknown, which made him to make the more haste away; but before he departed, he thought first to visit the noble city Uratislavia in Silesia. In the which city, the aforesaid King Ladislaus being there in the high church at service, many great princes were about him. Among whom was also George Pogiebracius, who then stood nearest to the king; unto whom one Chilianus, playing the parasite about the king, as the fashion is of such as feign themselves fools, to make other men as very fools as they, spake in this wise as followeth; "With what countenance you do behold this our service, I see right well, but your heart I do not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our religion seem unto you decent and comely? Do you not see how many and how great princes, yea, the king himself, do follow one order and uniformity? And why do you then follow rather your preacher Rochezana than these? Do you think a few Bohemians to be more wise than all the church of Christ besides? Why then do you not forsake that rude and rustical people, and join to these nobles, as you are a nobleman yourself? "

Unto whom thus Pogiebracius sagely again doth answer. "If you speak these words of yourself," saith he, "you are not the man whom you feign yourself to be; and so to you I answer, as not to a fool. But if you speak this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfy them. Hear therefore: As touching the ceremonies of the church, every man hath a conscience of his own to follow. As for us, we use such ceremonies as we trust please God; neither is it in our arbitrement to believe what we will ourselves. The mind of man, being persuaded with great reasons, is captivated, will he, nill he; and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawn, in some one way, and in some another. As for myself, I am fully persuaded in the religion of my preachers. If I should follow thy religion, I might perchance deceive men, going contrary to mine own conscience; but I cannot deceive God, who seeth the hearts of all. Neither shall it become me to frame myself to thy disposition. That which is meet for a jester, is not likewise convenient for a nobleman. And these words either take to thyself, as spoken to thee, if thou be a wise man; or else I refer them to those which set thee on work."

After the king was returned from the Bohemians again to Austria, the Hungarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would also come unto them. The governor of Hungary, as ye before have heard, was Johannes Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulricus, carl of Cilicia, did all he could with the king to bring him to destruction, and therefore caused the king to send for him up to Vienna, and there privily to work his death. But Huniades, having thereof intelligence, offereth himself within Hungary to serve his prince, to all affairs: out of the land where he was, it was neither best, said he, for the king nor safest for himself, to come. The earl being so disappointed came down with certain nobles of the court, to the borders of Hungary, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to Vienna, or there to despatch him. Huniades, without

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in the fields, said he would commune with him, within the town he would not be brought. After that another train also was laid for him, that under pretence of the king's safe-conduct he should meet the king in the broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades, suspecting deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where he neither seeing the king to come, nor the earl to have any safe-conduct for him, was moved (and not without cause) against the earl, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him, which went about to seek his blood, but for the reverence of the king he would spare him and let him go.

Not long after this, the Turk with a great power of fighting men, to the number of a hundred and fifteen thousand, arrived in Hungary, where he laid siege to the city Alba. But through the merciful hand of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus, a certain Minorite, with a small garrison of Christian soldiers, gave him the repulse, and put him to flight with all his mighty host; whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter. Huniades shortly after this victory deceased. Of whose death when the king and the earl did understand, they came the more boldly into Hungary, where he being received by Ladislaus, Huniades' son, into the town of Alba, there viewed the places where the Turks before had pitched their tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was coming first toward the town, obediently he opened to him the gates. Four thousand only of armed soldiers he debarred from entering the city.

In the mean time, while the king was there resident in the city, the earl with other nobles did sit in council, requiring also Ladislaus to resort unto them; who, first doubting with himself what he might do, at length putteth on a privy coat of mail, and cometh to them. Whether the earl first began with him, or he with the earl, it is not known. The opinion of some is, that Ulricus first called him traitor, for shutting the gates against the king's soldiers. Howsoever the occasion began, this is undoubted, that Ulricus taking his sword from his page let fly at his head. To break the blow, some putting up their hands had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber brake it open upon them, and there incontinent slew Ulricus the earl, wounding and cutting him almost all to pieces. The king hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his mind, yet seeing there was then no other remedy, dissembled his grief for a time.

From thence the king took his journey again to Buda, accompanied with the aforesaid Ladislaus; who, passing by the town where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed with many fair words to comfort her; and after he had there sufficiently repasted himself, with such pretence of dissembled love, and feigned favour, that they were without all suspicion and fear, from thence he set forward in his journey, taking with him the two sons of Huniades, Ladislaus and Matthias, who were right ready to wait upon him. The king being come to Buda, (whether of his own head, or by sinister counsel set on,) when he had them at a vantage, caused both the sons of Huniades, to wit, Ladislaus and Matthias, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth Ladislaus the elder son to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, where meekly he suffered, being charged with no other crime but this, published by the voice of the crier, saying, "Thus are they to be chastened, which are rebels against their lord." Peucerus writing of his death, addeth this moreover, that after the hangman had three blows at his neck, yet, notwithstanding, the said Ladislaus, having his hands bound behind him, after the third stroke rose upright on his feet, and looking up to heaven called upon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf; and so laying down his neck again, at the

fourth blow was despatched. Matthias, the other brother, was led captive with the king into Austria. The rest of the captives brake the prison and escaped.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon Ladislaus, the king being about the age of twenty and two years, that talk was made of the king's marriage with Magdalene, daughter to the French king. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prague, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the king into the city of Prague, Rochezana with a company of ministers, such as were favourers of John Huss, and of sincere religion, came with all solemnity to receive the king, making there his oration to gratulate the king's most joyful and prosperous access into the same his own realm and country of Bohemia. Unto which Rochezana, after he had ended his oration, scarce would the king open his mouth to give thanks to him, or any cheerful countenance unto his company, but fiercely seemed to frown upon them. In the next pageant after these came forth the priests of the high minister, after the most popish manner, meeting him with procession, and with the sacrament of the altar: for as panacea among physicians serveth for all diseases, so the sacrament of the pope's altar serveth for all pomps and pageants. First it must lie upon the altar, then it must be holden up with hands, then it must hang in the pix, it must serve for the quick, it must also help the dead, it must moreover visit the sick, it must walk about the churchyard, it must go about the streets, it must be carried about the fields to make the grass to grow, it must be had to the battle, it must ride on horseback before the pope, and finally, it must welcome kings into cities. Wherein these catholic fathers do seem somewhat to forget themselves. For if the pope, being inferior to the sacrament of the altar, at the coming of kings do use to sit still while the kings come and kiss his feet, what reason is it that the sacrament of the altar, which is (I trow) above the pope, should meet kings by the way, and welcome them to the town? But this by the way of parenthesis: let us now continue the text.

When Ladislaus this catholic king, who had showed himself before so stout and stern against Rochezana and his company, had seen these catholic priests with their procession, and especially with their blessed sacrament, to come, with all reverence and much devotion he lighted down from his horse, he embraced the cross and kissed it, and with cheerful countenance saluted the priests in order. All this while his young wife was not yet come out of France, but legates were sent, after most sumptuous wise, to conduct her. Other legates also were sent the same time to the Emperor Frederic, for conclusion of peace. The third legacy was directed likewise to Pope Calixtus about religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the Church of Rome. The author of this story, (which was Pope Pius himself,) declareth further the opinion of some to be, that King Ladislaus the same time had intended to make a final end and destruction of all that sect in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of John Huss and Jerome, by the assembly and concourse of the catholic princes and popish prelates which were appointed there to meet together at that marriage in Prague. For there should be first the Emperor Frederic, Elizabeth, the king's mother, and his sisters Elizabeth and Anna, the princes of Saxony, Bavaria, Silesia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other princes of the Rhine; many also of the lords of France, besides the pope's cardinals, legates, prelates, and other authorities of the pope's church; who, if they had all together convented in Bohemia, no doubt but some great mischief had been wrought there against the Hussites; against whom this Ladislaus, following the steps of Sigismund his grandfather, and Albert his father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth him.

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And, therefore, truly it is written of Æneas Sylvius in the same place, saying, "In regiment of cities, in alteration of kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is less than nothing that man can do; it is the high God that ruleth high things." Whereunto then I may well add this, moreover, and say; that if the governance of worldly kingdoms standeth not in man's power, but in the disposition of God, much less is it then that man's power can do in the regiment and governing of religion. Example whereof in this purposed device of princes doth evidently appear. For as this great preparation and solemnity of marriage was in doing, and the princes ready to set it forth, with a little turn of God's holy hand, all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this business, about the one and twentieth day of November, A. D. 1461, this great adversary of Christ's people, King Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, of Hungary, and prince of Austria, sickened, and within six and thirty hours died, some say of a pestilent sore in his groin, some say of poison. But howsoever it was, it came not without the just judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of Ladislaus, Huniades' son, wrongfully put to death before. So by the opportune death of this king, the poor churches of Bohemia were graciously delivered. And this end made Ladislaus, one of the mightiest princes at that time in all Europe; in whom three mighty kingdoms were conjoined and combined together, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia; which countries do lie south-east from England, in the farthest parts of all Germany, toward Constantinople, and the dominions of the Turks, and contain these principal towns in them.

The large dominions of Ladislaus

AUSTRIA,

called once Pannonia Superior.

Vienna, which was besieged of the Turk, A. D. 1533.

Meleck.

Neustadt, nova Civitas.

Gretz.

St. Hypolit.

Lintz.

Stein.

Haimburg.

Kremsier.

Karolsburg.

Teben.

Kotzo.

Raba.

Lindenburg.

To Austria be adjoining also certain provinces and earldoms, as

Stiria.

Carinthia.

Croatia.

(Provinces)

Cilicia.

Tyrolentz.

(Earldoms.)

HUNGARY,

which was once called Pannonia Inferior.

Buda, or Ofen.

Strigonium. Kalachia. Varadein.

Nitria

Nicopolis Nova

Nicopolis Vetus

Agria.

Orszaw.

Bossen.

Sabaria.

This Hungary was first called Pannonia, or Pœnia. After the coming of the Huns, it was called Hungary. Of them came Attila, which destroyed Italy, about the year of the Lord 440. Through Hungary runneth the Danube, having on the west side Austria; and Bohemia on the east; Servia on the south side. The most of this Hungary is now under the Turk; which Turk first came into Europe, A. D. 1211.

BOHEMIA.

Prague.

Plizen.

Tabor.

Budweis.

Kolm, or Kœlu.

Egra.

Kuttenberg.

Leimiritz.

Laun.

Racownitz.

Glataw.

Bern, or Beraun.

Bruck, or Most.

Gretz, or Hradetz.

Austi.

Maut, or Myto.

Hof.

Iaromir.

Dubitz, or Biela.

Lantzhut.

Gilgwey.

Krupa.

Krumaw.

Pardubitz.

Chumitaum.

Loket, or Teplitz.

Hantzburg, or Zbraslau.

Labes, or Ultawa.

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After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdom of Bohemia fell to George Pogiebracius, above mentioned, whom Pope Innocent the Eighth did excommunicate and depose for his religion, as is before declared.

Furthermore, the kingdom of Hungary was given to Matthias son of Huniades, who was in captivity, as is said, with King Ladislaus, and should have been put to death after his brother, had not the king before been prevented with death, as is above recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that the said King Ladislaus, thus dying without wife and issue, left behind him two sisters alive, to wit, Elizabeth, which was married to Casimirus, king of Poland; and Anna, married to William, duke of Saxony. Elizabeth, by her husband Casimirus, king of Poland, had Uladislaus, who at length was king of both Bohemia and Hungary. This Casimirus first was married to Beatrix, wife before to Matthias. Then being divorced from her by the dispensation of Pope Alexander, he married a new wife a countess of France, by whom he had two children, Louis, and Anna; Louis, which was heir of both kingdoms, of Bohemia and Hungary, was slain fighting against the Turks; Anna was married to Ferdinandus, by whom he was archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, &c.

Ye heard before, how, after the decease of Ladislaus, the Hungarians by their election preferred Matthias, surnamed Corvinus, which was son of Huniades, to the kingdom of Hungary. For which cause dissension fell between Frederic the emperor and him, for that the said Frederic was both nominated himself by divers unto that kingdom, and also because he had the crown of Hungary then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth, mother to King Ladislaus, had brought to the emperor, as was before declared. But this war between them was ceased by the intercession of the princes of Germany, so that Matthias ransomed that crown of Frederic for eight thousand florins.

Not long after, Pope Innocent, being displeased with George Pogiebracius, (or Bojebracius,) king of Bohemia, for favouring of John Huss and his religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly prince, did excommunicate and depose him, conferring his kingdom to Matthias. But forasmuch as Frederic the emperor would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaid George, when the emperor and the Bohemians, leaving out Matthias, did nominate Uladislaus son of Casimirus, king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, to be king of Bohemia, therefore great war and trouble kindled between him and Frederic the emperor. Wherein the emperor had utterly gone to ruin, had not Albert, duke of Saxony, rescued the emperor, and repressed the vehemency of Matthias.

The noble acts of John Huniades, and of this Matthias his son, were not only great stays to Hungary, but almost to all Christendom, in repelling back the Turk. For beside the other victories of John Huniades the father, aforementioned, this Matthias also his son, succeeding no less in valiantness than in the name of his father, did so recover Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turks, and so vanquished their power, that both Mahomet, and also Bajazet his son, were enforced to seek for truce.

Over and besides, the same Matthias conducting his army into Bosnia, which lieth south from Hungary, recovered again Jaitza, the principal town of that kingdom, from the Turk's possession. Who, if other Christian princes had joined their helps withal, would have proceeded farther into Thracia. But behold here the malicious subtlety of Satan, working by the pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turks, wherein he should have been set forward and aided by Christian princes and bishops, the bishop of Rome wickedly and sinfully ministereth

matter of civil discord between him and Pogiebracius aforesaid, in removing him from the right of his kingdom, and transferring the same to Matthias. Whereupon not only the course of victory against the Turks was stopped, but also great war and bloodshed followed in Christian realms, as well between this Matthias and Pogiebracius, with his two sons Victorinus and Henricus, as also between Casimirus, Uladislaus, and Matthias, warring about Uratislavia, till at length the matter was taken up by the princes of Germany.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the pope against Pogiebracius, a great part of Bohemia would not be removed from the obedience of their king, whom the pope had cursed and deposed; yet Matthias took from him Moravia, and a great portion of Silesia, and adjoined it to his kingdom of Hungary, A. D. 1474.

Here this by the way is to be noted, that the religion in Bohemia, planted by John Huss, could not be extinguished or suppressed with all the power of four mighty princes, Wenceslaus, Sigismund, Albert, and Ladislaus, notwithstanding they, with the popes, did therein what they possibly could; but still the Lord maintained the same, as ye see by this Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, whom the pope could not utterly remove out of the kingdom of Bohemia.

This forementioned Matthias, beside his other memorable acts of chivalry, is no less also commended for his singular knowledge and love of learning and of learned men, whom he with great stipends procured into Pannonia; where, by the means of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced, in short space, the barbarous rudeness of that country into a flourishing commonwealth. Moreover, such a library he did there erect, and replenish with all kind of authors, sciences and histories, which he caused to be translated out of Greek into Latin, as the like is not thought to be found, next to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which library we have received divers fragments of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before.

The constant fortitude also of Georgius Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, is not unworthy of commendation; of whom also Pope Pius himself, in Descriptione Europæ, doth honestly report, as a pope may speak of a protestant, in these words writing, *Magnus vir alioqui, et rebus bellicis clarus, &c.* Who, although Pope Innocent did execrate with his children, yet he left not off the profession of the verity and knowledge which he had received. Moreover, the Lord so prospered his sons, Victorinus and Henricus, that they subdued their enemies and kept their estate: insomuch, that when Frederic the emperor at Vienna was in custody enclosed by the citizens, Victorinus did restore and deliver him out of their hands. Wherefore the emperor after-ward advanced them to be dukes. Also God gave them sometimes prosperous victory against Matthias, as at the city of Glogovia, &c.

After the decease of Georgius Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, Frederic the emperor assigned that kingdom, not to Matthias, upon whom the pope had bestowed it before, but upon Uladislaus, son of Casimirus, king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Albert, and sister to Ladislaus. For the which Matthias, being discontented, and for that the emperor had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Uladislaus out of Bohemia, and also proclaimed war against Frederic. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death prevented him, who without issue departed, A. D. 1490.

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After the death of Matthias, departing without issue, Uladislaus, son of Casimirus, king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, daughter to Albert, emperor, and sister to King Ladislaus, married his wife Beatrix, whom Matthias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungary, with this condition made between him and Frederic the emperor, that if he died without lawful issue, then the kingdoms of Hungary and of Bohemia should return to Maximilian, son to Frederic. But Uladislaus, not long after, did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and, depriving her of her kingdom, caused the said Beatrix to swear and to consent to his marrying of another woman, which was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuring from Pope Alexander a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By this Anne, Uladislaus had Louis and Anne; which Anne afterward was married to Ferdinand.

Louis, succeeding after his father, had both the said kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, A. D. 1492, and married Mary, sister to Charles the Fifth, emperor. Anne, as is said, was coupled to Ferdinand, &c.

Of Charles, duke of Burgundy, somewhat was before touched, who had married King Edward's sister; and what troubles by him were stirred up in France, partly was before notified. This Charles, after he had besieged the city Nuys, or Novasium, the space of a whole year, went about to alienate the territory of Cologne, from the empire to his own dominion; wherefore war began to be moved between him and Frederic the emperor. At length, through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appointed between Mary, the only daughter of Charles, and Maximilian, the emperor's son, A. D. 1475. Then from Novasium Charles leadeth his army toward Helvetia, against Renatus, or Reinhardus, duke of Lotharing; then against the Helvetians, where he, being thrice overcome, first at Granson, then at Moratum, or Murta, in the higher part of Helvetia, at last, at the town of Nantes, was overthrown and slain, A. D. 1477. The procurer of which wars was chiefly Louis the Eleventh, the French king, to the intent he might compass the dominion of Burgundy under his subjection; which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding Mary, the daughter of Charles, of her rightful inheritance; for the which cause the Burgundians were the more willing to join her marriage with Maximilian, son of Frederic the emperor; by reason whereof the title of Burgundy was first joined to the house of Austria.

And thus have you the miserable vexations and contentions among our Christian princes here in Europe described, under the reign of this Frederic the Third, emperor, so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendom (whether we consider the state of the church, or civil government) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worm of ambition so mightily creepeth, and every where prevaieth in these latter ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in commonwealths, nor peace in the church, nor any sparkle of charity almost to remain in the life of men. And what marvel then, if the Lord, seeing us so far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, uncle with nephew, blood with blood, cannot agree, in striving, killing, and fighting for worldly dominions, do send therefore these cruel Turks upon us, so to scourge and devour us? Of whose bloody tyranny and daily spilling of Christian blood, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) we will discourse more at large, when we come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkish stories. In the mean time this shall be for us to note and observe, not so much the scourge how grievous it is, but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip upon us, which is our own miserable ambition and wretched wars among ourselves.

And yet if this Christian peace and love, left and commended so heartily unto us by the mouth of the Son of God, being now banished out of Christian realms and civil governance, might at least find some refuge in the church, or take sanctuary among men professing nothing but religion, less cause we had to mourn. Now so it is, that as we see little peace and amity among civil potentates; so less we find in the spiritual sort of them, which chiefly take upon them the administration of Christ's church. So that it may well be doubted whether the scourge of the Turk or the civil sword of princes have slain more in the fields, or the pope's keys have burnt more in towns and cities. And albeit such as be professed to the church do not fight with sword and target for dominions and revenues, as warlike princes do; yet this ambition, pride, and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior unto other worldly potentates; especially if we behold and advise the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great argument and proof hereof neither is hard to be found, nor far to be sought. What realm almost through all Christendom hath not only seen with their eyes, but have felt in their purses, the ambition intolerable and avarice insatiable of that devouring church, and also have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redressed? What exactions and extortions have been here in England out of bishoprics, monasteries, benefices, deaneries, archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the pope's coffers! and when they had all done, yet every year brought almost some new invention from Rome to fetch in our English money; and if all the floods in England (yea, in all Europe) did run into the see of Rome, yet were that ocean never able to be satisfied.

In France likewise what floods of money were swallowed up into this see of Rome! It was openly complained of in the council of Basil, as is testified by Henry Token, canon and ambassador of the archbishop of Maidenburg, written in his book entitled *Rapulari*, where he writeth, that in the council of Basil, A. D. 1436, the archbishop of Lyons did declare, that in the time of Pope Martin there came out of France to the court of Rome, nine millions of gold, which was gathered of the bishops and prelates, besides those which could not be counted of the poor clergy, which daily without number ran unto the court of Rome, carrying with them all their whole substance. The archbishop of Tours said also at Basil, in the year of our Lord 1439, that three millions of gold came unto Rome in his time, within the space of fourteen years, from the prelates and prelacies, whereof no account could be made, beside the poor clergy which daily run to that court. Let the man which feareth God judge what a devouring gulf this is. A million containeth ten hundred thousand.

And what made Pope Pius the Second to labour so earnestly to Louis the Eleventh, the French king, (who, as is aforesaid, was a great enemy to the house of Burgundy,) that he would (according to his former promise) abolish and utterly extinguish the constitution established before at the council of Bitures, by King Charles the Seventh, his predecessor, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; but only the ambition of that see, which had no measure, and their avarice, which had no end? The story is this: King Charles the Seventh, the French king, willing to obey and follow the council of Basil, did summon a parliament at Bourges; where, by the full consent of all the states in France, both spiritual and temporal, a certain constitution was decreed and published, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the canons and decrees concluded in the council of Basil. The which constitution the said King Charles willed and commanded through all his realm inviolably to be observed and ratified, for the honour and increase of Christian religion for ever. This was A. D. 1438.

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It followed, that after the decease of the aforesaid Charles the Seventh, succeeded King Louis the Eleventh, who had promised before (being Dauphin) to Pope Pius, that if he ever came to the crown, the aforesaid Sanctio Pragmatica should be abolished; whereupon Pius, hearing him to be crowned, did send unto him John Balveus, a cardinal, with his great letters patent, willing him to be mindful of his promise made. The king, either willing, or else pretending a will to perform and accomplish that he had promised, directed the pope's letters patent, with the said cardinal, to the council of Paris, requiring them to consult upon the cause.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the parliament house, the king's attorney, named Johannes Romanus, a man well spoken, singularly witted, and well reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence and no less boldness, proved the said sanction to be profitable, holy, and necessary for the wealth of the realm, and in no case to be abolished. Unto whose sentence the university of Paris, adjoining their consent, did appeal from the attempts of the pope to the next general council. The cardinal, understanding this, took no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatening many terrible things against them; but, all his minatory words notwithstanding, he returned again to the king, his purpose not obtained, A. D. 1438.

Thus the pope's purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germany had come to the like effect, if Frederic the emperor had there done his part likewise toward the Germans, who at the same time, bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suit to persuade the emperor that he should no longer be under the subjection of the popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certain things of them as touching the charter of appeals; declaring their estate to be far worse (although undeserved) than the Frenchmen or Italians, whose servants, and especially of the Italians, they are worthily to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles and commonalty of Germany did instantly entreat, with most weighty reasons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the empire, to have the emperor's aid and help therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an oath; alleging also the great dishonour and ignominy in that they alone had not the use of their own laws, declaring how the French nation had not made their suit unto their king in vain against the exactions of popes, by whom they were defended; which also provided decrees and ordinances for the liberty of his people, and caused the same to be observed; the which thing the emperor ought to foresee within his empire, and to provide for his people and states of his empire, as well as other kings do for what shall come to pass thereby, if, that foreign nations, having recourse unto their kings, being relieved and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germans and states of the empire, flying unto their emperor, be by him forsaken, or rather betrayed, and deprived of their own laws and decrees? The emperor, being moved and partly overcome by their persuasions, promised that he would provide no less for them, than the king of France had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of Æneas Sylvius, as Platina writeth in the history of Pius the Second, brake off the matter; who, by his subtle and pestiferous persuasions, did so bewitch the emperor, that he, contemning the equal, just, and necessary requests of his subjects, chose the said Æneas to be his ambassador unto Calixtus, then newly chosen pope, to swear unto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germany, as the only country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their country, as before he had done unto Eugenius the Fourth, being ambassador for the said Frederic, promising that he and all the Germans would be obedient unto him from henceforth in all matters, as well spiritual as temporal.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Thus twice Frederic of Austria contemned and derided the Germans, and, frustrating them of their native decrees and ordinances, brought them under subjection and bondage of the pope, which partly was the cause that seven years before his death he caused his son Maximilian, not only to be chosen, but also crowned king of Romans, and did associate him to the ministration of the empire, lest, after his death, (as it came to pass,) the empire should be transported into another family, suspecting the Germans, whom he had twice, contrary to his laws, made subject and in bondage unto the pope's exactions; first before he was crowned in the time of Eugenius the Fourth, and again, the second time, after his coronation, and death of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, denying their requests. Whereupon Germany being in this miserable poverty and grievous subjection under the popes tyranny and polling, with tears and sighs lamenting their estate, continued so almost unto Luther's time; as the histories hereafter following do testify.

And here, ceasing with the story of Frederic, we will now proceed to the reign of Maximilian his son, omitting divers things else incident in the time of this emperor; as first, touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts between this Frederic and Albert his brother, and Sigismund his uncle, for the dukedom of Austria, after the death of Matthias before mentioned. Omitting also to speak of the long and cruel war between the Prussians and Poles, in the time of Uladislaus: omitting also the strife and variance for the dukedom of Milan, between Frederic the emperor, Alfonsus, Charles, duke of Orleans, and Francis Sfortia: and how the said principedom being after given to Sfortia, great wars were kindled and long continued between Sfortia and the Milanese, then between the Milanese and Venetians, and after between the Frenchmen and the Milanese. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpose of this story, I refer to other writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed.

124. John the Neatherd of Franconia, a Martyr, and Doctor Johannes De Wesalia.

This, as more properly belonging to the story of the church, I thought good not to pass over, touching such as were condemned, and suffered the pains of fire for testimony of Christ and his truth. Of whom one was John, a pastor or a neatherd, which was a keeper of cattle: the other was Johannes de Wesalia, although not burned, yet persecuted near to death, under the reign of this emperor, Frederic the Third.

And first touching this John the neatherd, thus writeth Sebastian Munsterus, That the bishop of Herbipolis condemned and burned for a heretic one John, which was a keeper of cattle, at a town called Nicholas Hansen in Franconia, because he taught and held that the life of the clergy was ignominious and abominable before God.

The other was Doctor Johannes Wesalia, who was complained upon unto Dietherus, the archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, upon certain articles and opinions gathered out of his books. Wherefore the said Dietherus, fearing else to be deposed again from his bishopric, directeth forth commission to the universities of Heidelberg and Cologne, to have the matter in examination; who, convening together the year above mentioned, called this Doctor de Wesalia before them, making him to swear that heshould present and give up all his treatises, works, and writings, whatsoever he had made or preached; that being done, they divided his books amongst themselves, severally every man to find out what heresies and errors they could. His articles and opinions are these:

"That all men be saved freely, and through mere grace by faith in Christ. Free-will to be nothing. That we should only believe the word of God, and not the gloss of any man, or fathers. That the word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another. That prelates have no authority to make laws, nor to expound the Scriptures by any peculiar right given them more than to another. That men's traditions, as fastings, pardons, feasts, long prayers, peregrinations, and such like, are to be rejected. Extreme unction and confirmation to be reproved; confession and satisfaction to be reprehended. The primacy of the pope also he affirmed to be nothing."

Certain other articles also were gathered out of him by his adversaries, but in such sort that they may seem rather to follow their own malicious gathering, than any true intelligence of his mind; whereof more is to be understood in this process hereafter.

Thus when Weselianus was commanded to appear, there converted together first the archbishop, the inquisitor, the doctors of Cologne, and the doctors of Heidelberg, with the masters of the same, and the rector of the university of Mentz, the dean of faculties, bachelors of divinity, and many other masters of the same university, canons, doctors, with the bishop's chancellor, and his counsellors, besides many religious prelates, scholars, with a doctor of Frankfort, the sumner and beadles, which all met together in the great hall of the Minorites for the examination of this Johannes de Wesalia.

Friar Elton, the inquisitor, first sitteth in the highest place, then after him others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, first the inquisitor beginneth with these words, "Most reverend father and honourable doctors, &c. Our reverend father and prince elector hath caused this present convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Master John de Wesalia, in certain suspected articles concerning the catholic faith. But something I will say before, that may do him good, and desire that two or three of them that favour him, or some other, will rise up and give him counsel to forsake and leave his errors, to recognise himself, and to ask pardon; which, if he will do, he shall have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed against him without pardon." And thus Wesalia being cited and brought in the midst betwixt two Minorites, being very aged, and having a staff in his hand, was set before the inquisitor. Who, beginning to answer for himself with a long protestation, could not be suffered to prosecute his oration, but was cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words whether he would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he answered, that he never spake any thing against the determination of the church, but said, that he had written divers and sundry treatises, in the which if he had erred, or were found to say otherwise than well, he was contented to revoke and call back the same, and do all things that were requisite. Then said the inquisitor, "Do you ask then pardon?" The other answered, "Why should I ask pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?" The inquisitor said, "Well, we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceed to the examination."

In the mean time others called upon him instantly to ask pardon. Then said Wesalianus, "I ask pardon." Notwithstanding, the inquisitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two instruments, declaring that he had authority from the apostolic see: after this he cited the said John to appear to his examination. Thirdly, he commanded him under pain of disobedience, in the virtue of the Holy Ghost, and under pain of excommunication of the greater curse, (from the which no man could absolve him, but only the pope, or the inquisitor, except only at the point of death,) to tell plainly the truth upon such things as should be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambushes and sophistication of words. And so being demanded first whether he did believe upon his oath taken, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were against himself or any other, to this he answered, *Scio*, that is, I know. Then the inquisitor biddeth him say, *Credo*, that is, I believe. To which he answered again, "What need I say that I believe that thing which I know?" There the inquisitor, something stirred with the matter, as hot as a toast, (as they say,) cried with a loud voice, "Master Johannes, Master Johannes, Master Johannes, say *Credo*, say *Credo*." Then he answered, *Credo*.

After this, being demanded whether he had written any treatise, concerning the binding of human laws, to one Nicholas of Bohemia; and whether he had written any treatise of the ecclesiastical power of indulgences and pardons, and of fasting, and other treatises; he answered, that he believed that he had so written, and had conferred with divers learned men; also that he had sent to the bishop of Wormes a certain treatise of fasting.

Many other interrogatories were ministered unto him, whereof some were vain, some false. Such as were more principal here we will briefly touch, leaving out superfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a favourer of the Bohemians; he said he was not. Also being demanded concerning the sacrament of the holy body and blood of

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our Lord, whether he thought Christ there to be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he did believe in the said sacrament the substance of bread there to remain, or only the form thereof; to this he answered, not denying but the body of Christ was there really contained, and also that with the body of Christ the substance of bread did remain.

After this he was demanded his opinion concerning religious men, as monks, nuns, or beguines, whether he thought them to be bound to the vow of chastity, or to the keeping of any other vow, and whether he said to the Friars Minorites any such word in effect, "I cannot save you in this your state and order." This he confessed that he had said, how that not your religion saveth you, but the grace of God, &c., not denying but they might be saved.

Item, being required whether he believed or had written that there is no mortal sin, but which is expressed to be mortal in the canon of the Holy Bible; to this he answered, that he did so believe as he hath written, till he was better informed. Likewise, being required what he thought of the vicar of Christ in earth, he answered, that he believed that Christ left no vicar in earth; for the confirmation whereof he alleged and said, that Christ, ascending up to heaven, said, Behold, I am with you, &c. In the which words he plainly declared, that he would substitute under him no vicar here in earth; and said moreover, if a vicar signified any man which in the absence of the principal hath to do the works of the principal, then Christ hath no vicar here in earth.

In like manner, concerning indulgences and pardons, such as the church doth use to give, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought thereof; who answered again, that he had written a certain treatise of that matter, and what he had written in that treatise, he would persist therein: which was thus; that he believed that the treasure box of the merits of saints could not be distributed of the pope to others, because that treasure is not left here in earth; for so it is written in the Apocalypse, Their works follow them.

Item, That their merits could not be applied to other men, for the satisfaction of their pain due unto them; and therefore that the pope and other prelates cannot distribute that treasure to men.

It was objected to him moreover, that in the said his treatise he called pardons and indulgences, holy frauds and deceits of the faithful.

Also being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and blessing of altars, chalices, vestments, wax candles, palms, herbs, holy water, and other divine things, &c.; he answered, that they had no spiritual virtue and power in them to drive away devils, and that holy water hath no more efficacy than other water not hallowed, as concerning remission of venial sins, and driving away devils, and other effects, which the school doctors do attribute to it.

Item, For degrees of marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he believeth that all Christian men under deadly sin are bound unto the same.

Item, That he believeth that God may give grace to a man, having the use of reason, without all motion of free-will. Also he thinketh that St. Paul in his conversion did nothing of his own free-will for his conversion. He believeth moreover, that God may give such grace to a man having the use of reason, not doing that which in him is.

Item, He affirmed that nothing is to be believed which is not contained in the canon of the Bible.

Also, that the elect are saved only by the grace of God.

Besides all these, moreover he was charged with the old opinion of the Grecians, which they did hold contrary to the Roman Church, unto the time of the council of Ferrara, above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

The Wednesday next following, three doctors, the suffragan, Herwicus, and Jacobus Sprenger, were sent unto him with persuasions to exhort him; and when he would not stand to their canons, whereby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would believe rather the four evangelists, than the Gospel of Nicodemus. To whom he answered, Because he would. Being asked again, why he believed the four evangelists; he said, Because he so received of his parents. Then being demanded, why he would not believe the doctors; Because, said he, their doctrine is not canonical Scripture. Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himself when he preached, seeing he would not believe the holy doctors? To whom he answered in this wise, saying, that he did preach as his duty was, but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care.

This examination being ended, after these articles were condemned by the inquisitor and his assistants, then said he after this manner, "As you do with me, if Christ himself were here, he might be condemned as a heretic." After this they sent divers to him to have communication with him, and to persuade him, sending also to him, with his articles, a form of asking pardon. At length, within three or four days after, he was content to condescend unto them, and to submit himself to their holy mother church, and the information of the doctors. In the book of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralipomena, adjoined to Abbas Urspergensis, we read these words written of this Johannes de Wesalia: "Except only the article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, in other articles it seemeth that he was not to be chastened with so sharp censure, if respite and space had been given him, if good counsellors had been about him, if all they which did accuse and molest him had not been as Thomists, that is, of the sect of Thomas; which Thomists were set at that time against the other sect of the seculars, which were called Nominales, and therefore they so spited this doctor, because he did not hold with their Thomas, against whom otherwise, had it not been for that cause, they would never have been so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witness, which knoweth all things, that the process which was made against him, for his revoking and burning of his books, did greatly displease Master Engeline of Brunswick, a great divine, and also Master John Keisersburge, being both learned and famous men; but namely, Master Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashness was showed in handling of that same man, and did not fear to say, that many of his articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well enough, and greatly blamed the mad and fantastical dissension of the Thomists, seeking, by all manner of ways, how to get the triumph over the secular divines," &c.

Although this aged and feeble old man by weakness was constrained to give over unto the Romish clergy by outward profession of his mouth, yet, notwithstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgment he was, if fear of death present had not enforced him to say otherwise than he did think. Again, although he had revoked after their minds, yet we read no such

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form of recantation to be prescribed to him to read openly unto the people, as the use is here in England.

As touching the reign of this Frederic, emperor, seeing we have comprehended hitherto sufficiently the most principal matters in his time occurring, we will now pass forward, the Lord guiding us, to Maximilian, after I have first given a brief memorandum of three valiant princes and captains, flourishing in the same time of this Frederic in Germany: of the which, one was Albert, duke of Saxony, who, for his renowned and famous acts, was called by public voice, The right hand of the empire. The other was Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, to whom also the name was attributed, named of Pope Pius, to be Achilles Germanicus. The third was Frederic, Earl Palatine, surnamed Victoriosus, who manfully defended the freedom and majesty of the empire, from the fraudulent oppressions of the pope's tyranny.

In the year of our Lord 1484, in this emperor's time, died Pope Sixtus the Fourth, a little before touched on, a monster rather of nature, than a prelate of the church. Of him writeth Platina, that unjustly he vexed all Italy with war and dissension. Agrippa, writing of him, saith, that among all the bawds of these other latter days, which were builders of brothel houses, this Pope Sixtus the Fourth surmounted all other, who at Rome erected a stews of double abomination, not only of women, but also of men, whereupon no small gain redounded to his coffers. For every such common harlot in Rome paid him a July piece, the sum whereof grew in the year, some while to two thousand, at length to forty thousand ducats. Whereunto accordeth right well the epitaph of John Sapidus:

Non potuit sævum vis ullo extinguere Sixtum,
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

John Carion also witnesseth him to be a man rather born to war than to religion. For he warred against Vitellius Tiphernates, against the Florentines, the Venetians, whom he excommunicated, and did not absolve till he died: also against Columnensis, against Ferdinandus, king of Apulia, and duke of Calabria; also against other nations and princes more.

Of the said pope it is recorded, that he was a special patron and tutor to all Begging Friars, granting them to have and enjoy revenues in this world, and in the world to come everlasting life. Among the which friars there was one named Alanus de Rupe, a Black Friar, which made the rosary of our Lady's Psalter, so they term it, and erected a certain new fraternity upon the same, called *Fraternitas Coronariorum*, pertaining to the order of the Dominics, of the which order Jacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Johannes de Wesalia above-mentioned, was a great advancer, and especially this Pope Sixtus the Fourth, who gave to the said fraternities large graces and privileges.

Concerning the institution of this rosary, there was a book set forth about the year of our Lord 1480. In the beginning whereof is declared, that the blessed Virgin entered into the cell of this Alanus, and was so familiar with him, that not only she did espouse him to her husband, but also kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also for more familiarity opened to him her paps, kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also for and poured great plenty of her own milk into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the said Alanus, this holy babe, saith the story, did swear deeply, cursing himself, if it were not thus as he had made relation.

This fabulous figment when I read in the Centuries of John Bale, I began with myself to mistrust the credit thereof, and had thought not to trouble the reader with such incredible forgeries; but as the providence of God worketh in all things, so also it appeared in this, that the very same book came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this selfsame narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in John Bale is expressed, but also found in like manner another wonder as prodigious as this; where in another place not far off it is storied in the same book, how that about the time of St. Dominic, there was a certain matron in Spain, named Lucia, which being taken captive by the Saracens, having her husband killed, was carried great with child into the Turkish land.

When the time of her labour came, she being left desolate among beasts and hogs, and remembering this twice holy rosary, (first instituted, saith the book, by St. Dominic, and afterward renewed by Alanus,) eftsoons the holy Virgin was ready and stood by her, and received the child at her travail, supplying all the parts of a diligent midwife; and moreover causing a priest suddenly to appear, she gave the child to be christened, calling it after her own name, Marianus; and so was she wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and godmother to Marianus. Which story if it be true, then is the pope's canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth midwives in times of necessity to baptize, seeing the blessed Virgin, playing the part herself of a midwife, durst not baptize this child without a priest.

It followeth more in the story, that by the help of the said blessed Virgin, this Lucia, our Lady's gossip, after her purification, was restored with her child safe to her country again.

And this by the occasion of Pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind superstition he was, partly by that before spoken, partly by the end following, it may be seen. For we read in certain writers, that after this pope had understanding that Hercules Estensis, duke of Ferraria, had joined peace with the Venetians against his will, he was so grieved therewith, that for rancour of mind, within five days after, he died; about whose time also died Platina, a man not unlearned, but yet a shameful flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the popes.

125. The Wars of the Roses (Concluded)

But leaving here Pope Sixtus, let us now proceed, as we before promised, to enter the story of Maximilian, keeping, notwithstanding, the order of our kings here in England. For a little before the reign of Maximilian, King Edward the Fourth ceased his life, A. D. 1483, after he had reigned twenty and two years. In the time of which King Edward, this also is not to be forgotten, that one Burdet, a merchant, dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, which is now the sign of the Flower-de-luce, merrily speaking to his son, said, that he would make him inheritor of the crown, meaning, indeed, his own house. For the which words, King Edward causing them to be misconstrued, and interpreted as though he had meant the crown of the realm, within less space than four hours he was apprehended, judged, drawn, and quartered in Cheapside.



HIS King Edward left behind him, by his wife Elizabeth, two sons, Edward and Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Cicely. Which two sons, Edward and Richard, forasmuch as they were under age, and not ripe to govern, a consultation was called among the peers, to debate whether the aforesaid young prince and king should be under the government of his mother; or else that Richard duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward the Fourth, and uncle to the child, should be governor of the king, and protector of the realm. There hath been and is an old adage, the words whereof, rather than the true meaning, wrested out of Solomon: Woe to the kingdom, the king whereof is a child, &c. But if I may find leave herein to thrust in a gloss, I would add this, and say, Woe to that child, which is a king in a kingdom unruly and ambitious. There was the same season, among other noble peers of the realm, the duke of Buckingham, a man of great authority, who had married King Edward's wife's sister. Because the duke, being so near allied to the king, had been unkindly (as he thought) of the king treated, having by him no advancement nor any great friendship showed, according to his expectation, he took part thereof with Richard duke of Gloucester, both against the queen and her children, to make the aforesaid duke the chief governor and protector. The which thing being brought to pass by the aid, assistance, and working of the duke of Buckingham, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son; the elder brother, which was the king, remained in the custody of the duke of Gloucester his uncle. Who, being now in a good towardness to obtain that which he long looked for, sought all the means, and soon compassed the matter, by false colour of dissembled words, by perjury, and labour of friends, namely, the duke of Buckingham, and the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, that the other brother also should be committed to his credit. Thus the ambitious protector and unnatural uncle, having the possession of his two nephews and innocent babes, thought himself almost up the wheel where he would climb; although he could not walk in such mists and clouds, but his devised purposes began to be espied; which caused him more covertly to go about to remove from him all suspicion, and to blind the people's eyes. But before he could accomplish his execrable enterprise, some there were, whom he thought first must be rid out of

the way, as, namely, the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley; who, as they were sitting together in council within the Tower, the protector (the matter being so appointed before) suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he suddenly hasted out again; his mind belike being full of mischief and fury, was not quiet. Who, within the space of an hour, returned again into the chamber with a stern countenance and a frowning look, and so there set him down in his place. When the lords were in great marvel and muse at the meaning hereof, then he, out of a cankered heart, thus began to bray, asking them, What are they worthy to have, which go about to imagine the destruction of him being so near to the king's blood, and protector of the realm? At the which question as the other lords sat musing, the Lord Hastings, because he had been more familiar with him, thus answered, that they were worthy of punishment, whatsoever they were. Which, when the other lords also had affirmed, that is (quoth the protector) yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, meaning the queen and other with her; adding, moreover, and saying, that sorceress and other of her counsel, Shore's wife with her affinity, have by their witchcraft thus wasted my body, and therewith showed forth his left arm a dry, withered thing, as it was never otherwise, as was well known.

This Shore's wife had been before a concubine to King Edward, and afterward was kept by the same Lord Hastings. Moreover, here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said Lord Hastings, the cruel protector had devised about the same time, the kindred of the queen innocently to be beheaded at Pomfret, of mere despite and hatred. Wherefore this punishment not undeservedly, by the just hand of God, fell upon the Lord Hastings.

It followeth then more in the story, that when the Lord Hastings had heard of these false accusations of the tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they have so done, they be worthy of heinous punishment." "Why," quoth the protector, "Dost thou serve me with if and with and? I tell thee, they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor:" and therewith giving a great rap on the board, for a token or watchword, one cried Treason without, and forthwith the chamber was full of harnessed men. The protector then approaching to the Lord Hastings, arrested him as a traitor. Another let fly at the Lord Stanley; who to avoid the blow, shrunk under the table, or else his head had been cleft asunder: notwithstanding he received such a wound, that the blood ran about his ears. There were in that council the same time the archbishop of York, and Doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, by whose procurement afterward King Henry the Seventh was sent for into England, and he made archbishop after that of Canterbury: these with the Lord Stanley diversely were bestowed in divers chambers. The Lord Hastings was commanded to speed and shrive him apace, for before dinner the protector swore by St. Paul that he should die; and so incontinently, without further judgment, his head was stricken off, by whose counsel the queen's kindred were at the same time and day beheaded at Pomfret.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischievous protector aspiring still to the crown, to set his devices forward, first through gifts and fair promises did suborn Doctor Shaw, a famous preacher then in London, at Paul's Cross to insinuate to the people, that neither King Edward with his sons, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the duke of York, but begotten unlawfully by other persons in adultery on the duchess their mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawful heir of the duke of York. Moreover, to declare and to signify to the audience, that King Edward was never lawfully married to the queen, but his wife

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before was Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so the two children of King Edward to be base and bastards, and therefore the title of the crown most rightly to pertain to the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer, and loud, lying preacher, to serve the protector's humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy place, that reverend auditory, the sacred word of God, taking for his theme, *Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altos, &c.*, which he most impiously did apply against the innocent children and right heirs of the realm. Whereupon such grudge and disdain of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that, for shame of the people crying out of him, in few days after he pined away.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, rested not thus, but within few days after excited the duke of Buckingham, first to break the matter in covert talk to the mayor and certain of the heads of the city picked out for the purpose; that done, to come to the Guildhall, to move the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same, which shameless Shaw before had preached at Paul's Cross; which the duke with all diligence and helps of eloquence, being a man both learned and well spoken, endeavoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificial oration, supposing no less but that the people, allured by his crafty insinuations, would cry, King Richard, King Richard. But there was no King Richard in their mouths, less in their hearts. Whereupon the duke, looking to the lord mayor, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other; it was then answered of the mayor, that the people peradventure well understood him not; wherefore the duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again that he had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his oration again and again. Then the commons which before stood mute, being now in amaze, seeing this importunity, began to mutter softly among themselves, but yet no King Richard could sound in their lips, save only that in the nether end of the hall certain of the duke's servants, with one Nashfield, and other belonging to the protector, thrusting into the hall among the press, began suddenly at men's backs to cry, King Richard, King Richard, throwing up their caps; whereat the citizens, turning back their heads, marvelled not a little, but said nothing.

The duke and the lord mayor with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came blowing for haste to the protector, then lying at Baynard's Castle; where the matter, being made before, was now so contrived, that forsooth humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with three sundry suits, to the humble and simple protector, that he, although it was utterly against his will to take it, yet would of his humility stoop so low, as to receive the heavy kingdom of England upon his shoulders. At this their tender request and suit of the lords and commons made, (ye must know how,) the mild duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although sore against his will, (ye must so imagine,) and to submit himself so low, as of a protector to be made king; not much herein unlike to our prelates in the popish church, who when they have before well compounded for the pope's bulls, yet must they for manners' sake make courtesy, and thrice deny that for which they so long before have gaped, and so sweetly have paid for.



Portrait of Richard III

And thus Richard duke of Gloucester took upon him to be made and proclaimed king of England, the year aforesaid, A. D. 1483, in the month of June. Who then coming to the Tower by water, first made his son, a child of ten years old, prince of Wales, and John Howard (a man of great industry and service) he advanced to be duke of Norfolk, and Sir Thomas Howard his son he ordained earl of Surrey. Also William Lord Barkley was appointed earl of Nottingham. Francis Lord Lovell

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was made Viscount Lovell. Lord Stanley, for fear of his son, was delivered out of the Tower, and made steward of the king's household. Likewise the archbishop of York was set free; but Morton, bishop of Ely, was committed to the duke of Buckingham, by whom was wrought the first device to bring in Henry earl of Richmond into England, and to conjoin marriage between Elizabeth, King Edward's daughter, and him, whereby the two houses of York and Lancaster were united together.

After the kingdom of England was thus allotted to King Richard the usurper, as in manner above remembered, he tarried not long for his coronation, which was solemnized the month next ensuing, the sixth day of July.

The triumph and solemnity of his usurped coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this unquiet tyrant yet could not think himself safe, so long as young Edward, the right king, and his brother were alive; wherefore the next enterprise which he did set upon was this, how to rid those innocent babes out of the way, that he might reign king alone.

In the mean time, while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherless and friendless children were in, what little joy of themselves, what small joy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous for tender hearts to understand. As the younger brother lingered in thought and heaviness; so the prince, which was eleven years old, was so out of heart and so fraught with fear, that he never tied his points, nor joyed good day, till the traitorous impiety of their cruel uncle had delivered them of their wretchedness, which was not long in despatching. For after King Richard their uncle had first attempted to compass his devilish device by Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, and could not win him to such a cruel fact, (to die therefore,) then he got one James Tyrill, joining with him John Dighton and Miles Forrest, to perpetrate this heinous murder. Which Dighton and Forrest, about midnight entering into their chamber, so bewrapped and entangled them amongst the clothes, keeping down the featherbed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them piteously in their bed.

And thus ended these two young princes their lives, through the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors, who, for their detestable and bloody murder committed, escaped not long unpunished by the just hand of God. For first, Miles Forrest, at St. Martin's le Grand, by piecemeal miserably rotted away. John Dighton lived at Calais long after, so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great misery. Sir James Tyrill was beheaded at Tower-hill for treason. Also King Richard himself, within a year and a half after, was slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies' hands, torn and tugged like a cur dog.

Furthermore, the said justice of God's hand let not the duke of Buckingham escape free, which was a great maintainer and setter up of this butcherly usurper; for less than within a year after, so God wrought, that he was himself beheaded for treason by the said king, whom he so unjustly before had advanced and set up.

In the same catalogue and order of these wicked doers before recited, we have also to comprehend two other, as well worthy of memorial as the best, or rather as the worst. The name of the one was Doctor Shaw above rehearsed; the other Doctor Pinkie, provincial of the Austin Friars; both famous preachers, and both doctors in divinity, both of more learning than virtue, (saith the story,) of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. Shaw made a sermon in praise of the protector, before his coronation. Pinkie preached after his coronation. Both were so

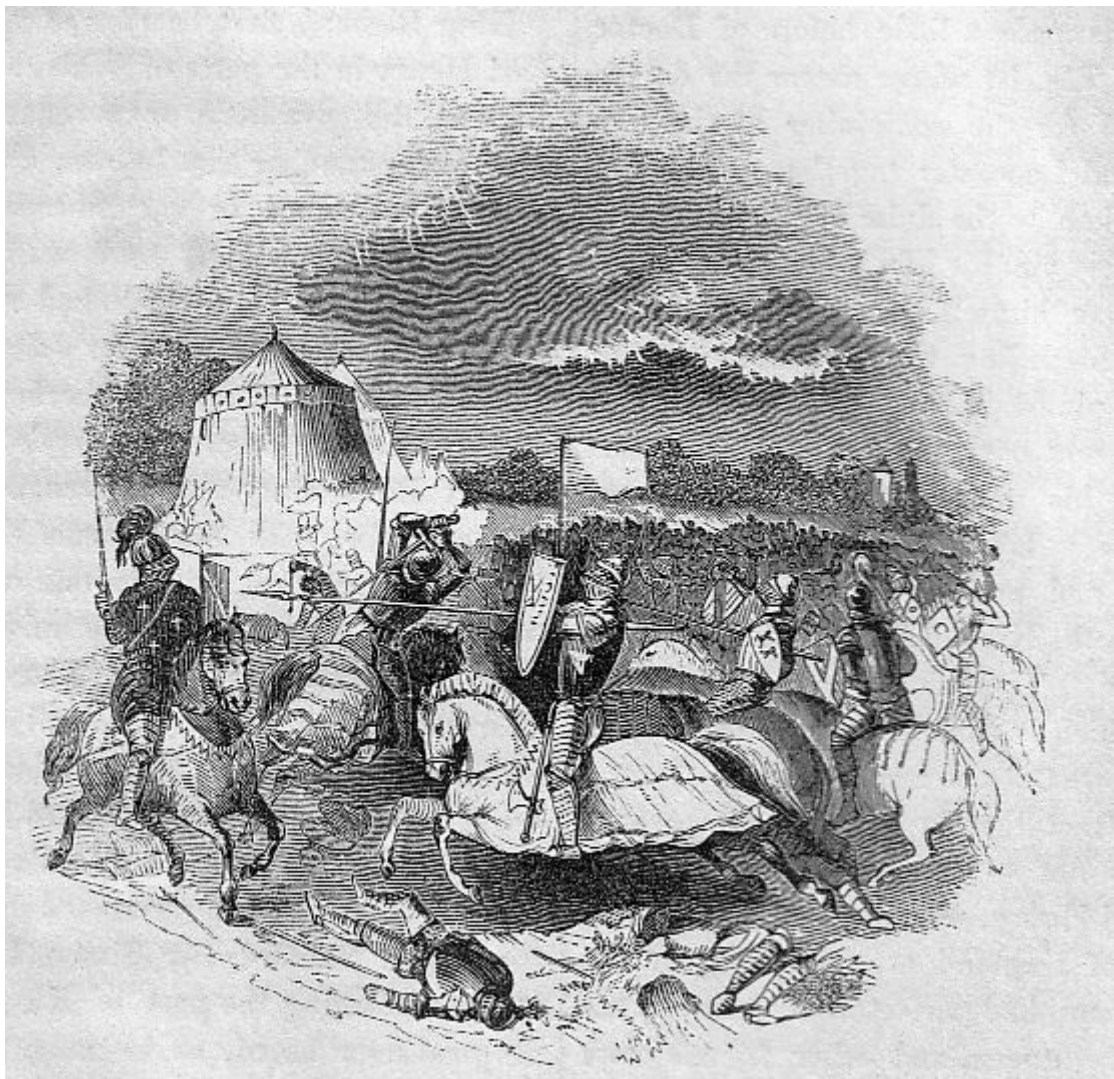
full of tedious flattery, that no good ears could abide them. Pinkie in his sermon so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and came down in the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world, so that he never durst after that show his face again. But as for the friar, he was so far past shame, that the loss thereof did little touch him. Mention was made a little before of Doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, by whose means the device was first broached for the conjoining of the two houses of York and Lancaster together. This device was first broken to the duke of Buckingham, which soon after cost him his life. But that bishop, more crafty to save himself, incontinent fled into Brittany. Notwithstanding, the device, once being broached, was so plausible, and took such effect, that message was sent over the sea to Henry, earl of Richmond, by his mother and by the queen, mother to the Lady Elizabeth, that if he would make his return, and promise to marry with the said Lady Elizabeth, King Edward's daughter, he should be received. To make a longer discourse of this matter, which is sufficiently set forth by Sir Thomas More so ornately, it needeth not.

Briefly, to contract that in a small compass of words, which was not so small a thing in doing, after that the Earl Henry, with such other banished men as fled out of England at the taking of the duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother and by the queen, and other friends more out of England, how the case of the realm stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should, with all convenient speed, haste his return over into England, promising to marry with the Lady Elizabeth; he, with all diligence, as time and preparation would serve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furnished by Francis, duke of Brittany, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first voyage sped not; for that, the winds turning contrary, by force of weather his ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France again. His second voyage was more prosperous; who, taking the seas at Harfleur, in the month of August, A. D. 1485, accompanied only with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Haverfordwest, where he was joyfully received, and also, by the coming in of Arnold Butler and the Pembroke men, was in power increased. From thence he, removing by Cardigan to Shrewsbury, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Litchfield, his army still more and more augmented. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many small rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; so to this earl divers noble captains and men of power adjoined themselves, as Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Rice ap Thomas, then Sir George Talbot, with the young earl of Shrewsbury, his ward, Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, knights. At the last, the said earl, hearing of the king's coming, conducted his whole army to Tamworth.

King Richard, first hearing of the arrival of the Earl Henry in the parts of Wales after such a slender sort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after understanding that he was come to Litchfield without resistance or encumbrance, he was sore moved, and exceedingly took on, cursing and crying out against them which had so deceived him, and in all post speed sent for John, duke of Norfolk, Henry, earl of Northumberland, Thomas, earl of Surrey, with other his friends of special trust. Robert Brakenbury also, lieutenant of the Tower, was sent for, with Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, with certain other knights and esquires, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had some suspicious jealousy. Thus King Richard, after most forcible manner well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, set forward toward his enemies. The earl by this time was

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come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the evening resorted Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Sanford, Sir Simon Digby, and many others, forsaking the part of King Richard, whom all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserved. The king, having perfect knowledge the earl to be encamped at Tamworth, embattled himself in a place near to a village called Bosworth, not far from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his adversaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense concerning the Lord Stanley, (which was the earl's father-in-law, and had married his mother,) to what part he would incline. For although his heart went (no doubt) with the earl, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his son and heir, George, Lord Strange, being then in the hands of King Richard, lest the king should attempt any prejudicial thing against him, he durst not be seen openly to go that way where in heart he favoured, and therefore closely kept himself between both, till the push came that his help might serve at a pinch.



The Battle of Bosworth Field

The number of the earl's part exceeded not to the one half of the side of King Richard. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two battles should encounter and join together, sore stripes and great blows were given on both sides,

and many slain. If number and multitude might govern the success of battle, King Richard had double to the earl. But God is he, not man, that giveth victory, by what means it seemeth to his Divine providence best. In what order and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certain intelligence we have not certainly expressed, but only by the history of Polydore Virgil, whom Sir Thomas More doth follow word for word. In the which story it doth appear, that as these two armies were coupling together, King Richard, understanding by his espials where the earl of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approach more near unto him, rather carried with courage than ruled with reason, set spurs to the horse, and ranging out of the compass of his ranks, pressed toward the earl, setting upon him so sharply, that first he killed Sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, father to the Lord Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, then after overthrew Sir John Cheney, thinking likewise to oppress the earl. But as the Lord by his secret providence disposeth the event of all things, as the earl with his men about him, being over-matched, began to despair of victory, suddenly and opportunely came Sir William Stanley with three thousand well-appointed able men, whereby King Richard's men were driven hack, and he himself, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there slain, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserved.

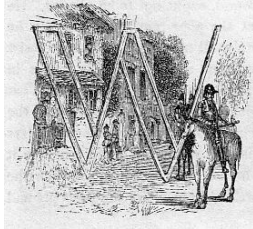
In the mean time the earl of Oxford, who had the guiding of the fore ward, discomfited the forefront of King Richard's host, and put them to flight, in which chase many were slain, of noblemen especially, above other, John, duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Radcliff, and Robert Brakenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, there submitted himself, and although he was not received at first to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet, at length, for his fidelity, he was delivered and advanced to his recovered honour and dignity again.

This King Richard had but one son, who, shortly after the cruel murder of King Edward's sons, was taken with sickness and died. The wife of the said King Richard (whether by poison or by sickness) died also a little before the field of Bosworth; after whose decease, the story of Polydore and of Sir Thomas More affirmeth, that he intended himself to marry the Lady Elizabeth his own brother's daughter, and so to prevent the earl of Richmond.

Moreover, as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the story, that King Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for the Lord Stanley by a pursuivant, to advance forward with his company, and come to his presence; otherwise he sware by Christ's passion, that he would strike off his son's head before dinner. The Lord Stanley sent word again, that if he did he had more sons alive. Whereupon the king immediately commanded the Lord Strange to be beheaded, which was the very time when both the armies were within sight, and were ready to join together. Wherefore the kings counsellors, pondering the time and the case, persuaded the king that it was now time to fight, and not to do execution, advising him to delay the matter till the battle were ended. And so (as God would) King Richard breaking his oath, or rather keeping his oath, for he himself was slain before dinner, the Lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the king's tent; who then, after the victory gotten, was sought out and brought to his joyful father. And thus have ye the tragical life and end of this wretched King Richard. Henry, the earl of Richmond, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God, for his glorious victory obtained, proceeded to the town of Leicester, where was brought to him, by the Lord Strange, the crown, and put on the earl's head.

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In the mean time the dead corpse of King Richard was shamefully carried to the town of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin; and being trussed behind a pursuivant of arms, was carried like a hog or a dog, having his head and arms hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legs on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the usurped reign of King Richard, who reigned two years and two months.



When King Henry, by the providence of God, had obtained this triumphant victory, and diadem of the realm, first sending for Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son to George, duke of Clarence, and committing him to safe custody within the Tower, from Leicester he removed to London, and not long after, according to his oath and promise made before, espoused to him the young Lady Elizabeth, heir of the house of York; whereby both the houses of York and Lancaster were conjoined together, to the no little rejoicing of all English hearts, and no less quiet unto the realm, which was A. D. 1485. This king reigned twenty-three years and eight months, and being a prince of great policy, justice, and temperance, kept his realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here, interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the story above promised, of Maximilian the emperor, and matters of the empire, especially such as pertain to the church.

In the year of our Lord 1486, Frederic waxing aged, and partly also mistrusting the hearts of the Germans, who had complained before of their grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore misdoubting that his house, after his decease, should have the less favour among them, for that cause in his life-time did associate his son Maximilian to be joined emperor with him; with whom he reigned the space of seven years till the death of the said Frederic his father, who departed A. D. 1494, after he had reigned over the empire fifty-three years, lacking only but three years of the reign of Augustus Cæsar, under whom was the birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ.

This Maximilian, as he was a valiant emperor, prudent and singularly learned, so was his reign entangled in many unquiet and difficult wars; first, in the lower countries of Flanders and Brabant, where the said Maximilian was taken captive, but shortly after rescued and delivered again by his father, A. D. 1487. It was signified before how this Maximilian, by the advice of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary, the only daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy, before mentioned, by whom he had two children, Philip and Margaret, A. D. 1477. Which Mary, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1481, by a fall from her horse fell into an ague, and departed. Other wars many more the same Maximilian also achieved, both in France, in Italy, in Hungary, and divers beside.

So happy was the education of this emperor in good letters, so expert he was in tongues and sciences, but especially such was his dexterity and promptness in the Latin style, that he, imitating the example of Julius Cæsar, did write and comprehend in Latin histories his own acts and feats done, and that in such sort, that when he had given a certain taste of his history to one Pircamerus, a learned man, asking his judgment how his warlike style of Latin did like him, the said Pircamerus did affirm and report of him to John Carion, the witness and writer of this story, that he did never see nor read in any German story, a thing more exactly, and that in such haste, done,

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as this was of Maximilian. Moreover, as he was learned himself, so was he a singular patron and advancer of learned students, as may well appear by the erecting and setting up the university of Wittenberg. By this emperor many in those days were excited to the embracing as well of other liberal arts, as also, namely, to the searching out of old antiquities of histories, whereby divers were then by him first occasioned in Germany to set their minds and to exercise their diligence in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of history, as well of ancient as also of later times, as namely Cuspinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

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Here now it began right well to appear, what great benefit was broached to the world, by the art and facility of printing, as is before mentioned. Through the means of which printing, the church and commonwealth of Christ began now to be replenished with learned men, as both may appear by this emperor, being so endued himself with such excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by divers other famous and worthy wits, which began now in this age exceedingly to increase and multiply; as Baptista Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciscus his cousin, Rodol. Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marsilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Among whom is also to be numbered Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius, who was not long after Johannes de Wesalia, above recited, both much about one time, and both great friends together. This Weselus died in the year of our Lord 1490. After that Johannes, Doctor de Wesalia, aforesaid, was condemned, this Weselus being familiar with him, thought that the inquisitor would come and examine him also, as he himself in a certain epistle doth write. He was so notable and worthy a man, that of the people he was called Lux Mundi, that is, The light of the world.

Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the opinion of the papists, as touching repentance, which they divided into three parts, of the which three parts, satisfaction and confession he did disallow; likewise purgatory and supererogation of works and pardons he did disprove, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake against the pope's indulgences, by the occasion whereof divers of the pope's court, persuaded by him, began to speak more freely against the same matter than he himself had done.

The abuses of masses and praying for the dead he disallowed; and likewise the supremacy of the pope he utterly rejected, as appeareth in a book of his, De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, denying utterly that any supreme head or governor ought to be in the world over all other; affirming also and saying many times, that the pope had no authority to do any thing by commandment, but by truth, that is, so far as truth goeth with him, so far his sentence to stand; neither that he ought to prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, so as every true Christian bishop may prevail over another. Also in some place in his writings he denieth not, but that popes and their spiritual prelates, proceeding against Christ's doctrine, be plain antichrists. Such as were infirm, and not able to perform the bond of chastity taken upon them, he said they might well. break their vow.

Also the said Weselus witnesseth that the forefathers which were before Albert and Thomas, did resist and withstand the pope's indulgences, calling them in their writings plain idolatry, mere fraud and error; adding moreover, that unless the severity of some good divines had withstood these pardons and indulgences of the pope, innumerable errors had overflowed the church.

Amongst these works of Weselus, there is a certain Epistle of one written to him, in which the author of the Epistle confesseth, that in his time there was a certain learned man at Paris, called Master Thomas de Curselis, a dean; who being in the council of Basil, where divers began to advance the pope too far, declared and

affirmed, to be said to him of Christ, Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, but not, Whatsoever thou sayest to be bound; as who should say the pope cannot nor doth not bind therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousness go also with him, then he doth so bind indeed. There is a certain book of this man amongst divers others, which he entitled, *De Subditis et Superioribus*, in the which he disputeth greatly against the pope and his prelates; affirming, that the pope, unless his faith and doctrine be sound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the pope may err, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner of means to resist him. Item, That great and superfluous riches in the clergy do not profit, but hurt the church. That the pope doth wickedly distribute the rents of the church, and the church itself, to unworthy ministers by simony, for his own profit and gain, whereby it may appear that he neither careth for God nor the health of the church. Item, That the precepts and commandments of the pope and prelates be no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of physicians, binding no further than they are found to be wholesome and standing with the truth of the word. Item, That the pope can command no man under pain of deadly sin, except God command him before. He saith, that the keys of the pope and of the prelates be not such wherewith they open the kingdom of heaven, but rather shut it, as the Pharisees did. Concerning vows, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible ought to be broken; that the hearers ought to discern and judge of the doctrine of their prelates, and not to receive every thing that they say, without due examination.

He showeth moreover, that the sentence of excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true godly, honest, simple, and learned man, than from the pope; as in the council of Constance, Bernard was more esteemed than Eugenius. Also if the pope with his prelates govern and rule naughtily, that the inferiors, be they never so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreover of two popes, Pius the Second and Sixtus the Fourth, he saith, that Pius the Second did usurp unto himself all the kingdoms of the whole world, and that Sixtus the pope did dispense with all manner of oaths in causes temporal, not only with such oaths as have been already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter; which was nothing else but to give liberty and licence for men to forswear themselves and deceive one another.

This Weselus being a Phrygian born, and now aged in years, upon a certain time when a young man, called Master Johannes Ostendorpius, came to him, said these words, "Well my child, thou shalt live to that day, when thou shalt see that the doctrine of these new and contentious divines, as Thomas and Bonaventure, with others of the same sort, shall be utterly rejected and exploded from all true Christian divines." And this which Ostendorpius, then being young, heard Weselus to speak, he reported himself to Noviomagus, which wrote this story, A. D. 1520, and heard it of the mouth of the said Weselus, A. D. 1490, March 18.

Philip Melancthon, writing of the life of Rodulphus Agricola, saith, that Josquinus Groningensis, an ancient and a godly man, reported, that when he was young he was oftentimes present at the sermons of Rodulphus and Weselus, wherein they many times lamented the darkness of the church, and reprehended the abuses of the mass, and of the single life of priests. Item, That they disputed oftentimes of the righteousness of faith, why St. Paul so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be justified by faith and not works. The same Josquinus also reported, that they did openly reject and disprove the opinion of monks, which say, that men be justified by their works.

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Item, Concerning men's traditions their opinion was, that all such were deceived, whosoever attributed unto those traditions any opinion of God's worship, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the story of Doctor Wesalia and Weselus.

By this it may be seen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light to judge and discern the errors of the pope from the truth of God's word; as partly by these abovesaid may appear, partly by other that follow after, (by the grace of Christ,) shall better be seen.

About the very same time and season, when the gospel began thus to branch and spring in Germany, the host of Christ's church began also to muster and to multiply likewise here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appear. For not long after the death of this Weselus, in the year of our Lord 1494, and in the ninth year of the reign of Henry the Seventh, the 28th of April, was burned a very old woman named Joan Boughton, widow, and mother to the Lady Young, which lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of fourscore years of age or more, and held eight of Wickliff's opinions, (which opinions my author doth not show,) for the which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abovesaid. My author saith, she was a disciple of Wickliff, 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 she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a love unto the doctrine that she died for.

Shortly after the martyrdom of this godly aged mother, in the year of our Lord 1497, and the seventeenth of January, being Sunday, two men, the one called Richard Milderale, and the other James Sturdie, bare faggots before the procession of Paul's, and after stood before the preacher in the time of his sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men 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 bare a faggot before the procession of Paul's, and after with the faggot stood before the preacher all the sermon-while at Paul's Cross. And on the Sunday next following four men stood, and did their open penance at Paul's, as is aforesaid, in the sermon-time, and many of their books were burnt before them at the Cross.

Furthermore, the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1498, in the beginning of May, the king then being at Canterbury, was a priest burnt, which was 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 said priest to be brought before his presence, who by his persuasion caused him to revoke, and so he was burnt immediately. In the same year above mentioned, which was the year of our Lord 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, as is in Fabian recorded, after the copy which I have written. Albeit in the book of Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is A. D. 1500.

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About which year likewise, or in the year next following, the twentieth day of July, was an old man burnt in Smithfield.



Smithfield

127. Jerome Savanarola

In the same year also, which was of the Lord one thousand four hundred ninety and nine, fell the martyrdom and burning of Hieronymus Savanarola, a man no less godly in heart than constant in his profession. Who, being a monk in Italy, and singularly well learned, preached sore against the evil life and living of the spirituality, and especially of his own order, complaining sore upon 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. Which thing the pope perceiving, and fearing that the said Jerome, which was now in great reputation amongst all men, should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to see reformation in these matters; which vicar with great superstition began to reform things: but the said Jerome did always withstand him, whereupon he was complained of to the pope, and because that, contrary unto the pope's commandment, he did withstand 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 before unto 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 afterward it came to pass, when King Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straitly beset the Pope Alexander, that he was forced to make composition with the king.

Now, forasmuch as the said 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 by means of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he 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, which sore hungered and longed for God's word, were instant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach in the year of our Lord 1496, in the city of Florence; and albeit that many counselled him that he should not so do without the pope's commandment, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will. When the pope and his shavelings heard news of this, they were grievously incensed and inflamed against him, and now again cursed him, as an obstinate and stiffnecked 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 profit, whereby the people should be learned 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 the only pure and simple word of God, making often protestation that all men should certify him if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for upon his own conscience he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was all men may easily judge by his books that he hath written.

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After this, in the year of our Lord 1498, he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloister, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Silvester, which favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirty-first Psalm; 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, which 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 spirituality.
5. For denying the pope's supremacy.
6. Also that he had affirmed that the keys were not given unto Peter alone, but unto the universal church.
7. Also, that the pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ, for that he did attribute 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 which doth fear or fly them is excommunicated of God.
9. Item, That auricular confession is not necessary.
10. Item, That he had moved the citizens to uproar and sedition.
11. Item, That he had neglected and contemned the pope's citation.
12. Item, That he had shamefully spoken against and slandered the pope.
13. Item, 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 like articles were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demanded of the said Jerome and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through God's help they would stedfastly 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 strait commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiffnecked heretics.

Thus was the worthy witness of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the market-place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the river of Arno, the twenty-fourth of May, in the year of our Lord 1499.

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This man foreshowed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renewing of the church, which three things have happened in these times within our remembrance. Also he foreshowed that the Turks and Moors, in the latter days, should be converted unto Christ. He also declared that one should pass the Alps into Italy, like unto Cyrus, which should subvert and destroy all Italy. Whereupon Johannes Franciscus Picus, earl of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings against the pope. Many other learned men also defended the innocency of the said Savanarola. Masilius Ficinus also, in a certain epistle, doth attribute unto him the spirit of prophecy, greatly commending and praising him. In like manner, Philippus Comineus, a French historiographer, which had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecy, forasmuch as he had foreshowed unto him so many things which in event had proved true.

Anton. Flaminius, an Italian, and for piety and learning famous, in that age wrote this epigram upon the death of Jerome Savanarola:

"Whilst flames unjust (blest saint) thy body burns,
Weeping religion, with dishevelled hairs,
Cries out, and says, Oh spare his sacred urns,
Spare, cruel flames! that fire our soul impairs."

There were, besides these, many other, not to be passed over or forgotten; as Philip Norice, an Irishman, professor at Oxford, who, albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God that such as have occupied themselves in writing of histories, and have so diligently committed unto memory all other things done in foreign commonwealths, had bestowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing those things which pertain unto the affairs of the church; whereby the posterity might have had fuller and more perfect understanding and knowledge of them.

128. Discontent in Germany

This Savanarola, above mentioned, suffered under Pope Alexander the Sixth, of which pope more leisure and opportunity shall serve hereafter, Christ willing, to treat, after that we shall first make a little digression, to treat of certain causes and complaints of the Germans, incident in the mean time, which, as they are not to be overpast in silence, so can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inferred. What complaints of the Germans were made and moved unto the Emperor Frederic against the pope's suppressions and exactions, mention was made before; where also was declared, how the said Germans at that time were twice put back and forsaken of the emperor, whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage until the time of Luther. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germans, in the time of Maximilian the emperor, renewing their complaints again, delivered unto the emperor ten principal grievances, whereby the Germans have been long time oppressed; showing also the remedies against the same, with certain advisements unto the emperor's Majesty, how he might withstand and resist the pope's subtleties and crafts: the order and tenor whereof here ensueth.

The ten grievances of the Germans.

"1. That the bishops of Rome, successors one unto another, do not think themselves bound to observe and keep the bulls, covenants, privileges, and letters, granted by their predecessors, without all derogation; but by often dispensation, suspension, and revocation, even at the instance of every vile person, they do gainsay and withstand the same.

"2. That the elections of prelates are oftentimes put back.

"3. That the elections of presidentships are withstood, which the chapter-houses of many churches have obtained with great cost and expense, as the church of Spire and Haselt do well know; whose bull, touching the election of their president, is made frustrate, he being yet alive which granted the same.

"4. That benefices, and the greatest ecclesiastical dignities, are reserved for cardinals and head notaries.

"5. That expectative graces, called advowsons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes unto one man, whereupon continual contentions do arise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the bulls of those advowsons, which never take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to law. Whereupon this proverb is risen, Whosoever will get an advowson from Rome, must have one or two hundred pieces of gold laid up in his chest, for the obtaining of the same, which he shall have need of, to prosecute the law withal.

"6. That annats, or yearly revenues, are exacted without delay or mercy, even of the bishops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted than ought to be, through the new offices and new servants, as by the examples of the churches of Mentz and Strasburgh may be seen.

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"7. That the rule of the churches is given at Rome unto those that are not worthy, which were more fit to feed and keep mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

"8. That new indulgences and pardons, with the suspension and revocation of the old, are granted to gather and scrape money together.

"9. That tenths are exacted, under pretence of making war against the Turk; when no expedition doth follow thereupon.

"10. That the causes which might be determined in Germany, where there are both learned and just judges, are indistinctly carried unto the court of Rome; which thing St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, seemeth wonderfully to reprove."

Here ensueth the remedy against the said grievances.

"If it shall seem good unto the emperor's Majesty, let it be declared unto the bishop of Rome, how grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the Germans, to suffer continually so great charges and grievances, to pay so great annats for the confirmation of the bishops and archbishops, and especially in such bishoprics, where the annats by process of time are enhanced, and in many, as it is said, doubled. For the archbishop's see of Mentz, as it is said, sometime paid only 10,000 florins; which sum, when one which was chosen there refused to give, and so continued even unto his death, he which was afterward elected, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the apostolic see, offered the old sum of 10,000 florins; but, notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10,000, which his predecessor before him had not paid.

"By this means he was compelled to pay 20,000 florins; which, being enrolled in the register of the chamber, as much hath been exacted of every archbishop since, until these our days; and not only 20,000, but also 25,000, for their new offices, and new servants. At last, the sum drew to 27,000 florins, which James, the archbishop of Mentz, was compelled to pay, as his commissary did report. So by this means, in a little time there was seven times 25,000 florins paid out of the archbishopric of Mentz unto Rome, for the confirmation of the archbishop. And when this Archbishop James had kept the archbishopric scarce four years, the Lord Uriel was elected after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24,000 or 25,000 florins. Whereof a part he borrowed of the merchants; but to satisfy and pay them again, he was forced to exact a subsidy of his poor subjects and husbandmen, whereof some have not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the bishop's pall: so that by this means our people are not only tormented and brought to extreme poverty, but also are moved unto rebellion, to seek their liberty by what means soever they may, grievously murmuring against the cruelty of the clergy.

"The pope also should be admonished, how that, through divers and sundry wars and battles, the lands of Germany lie desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that, for the scarceness of husbandmen, the fields, for the most part, lie unfilled, the tolls are by divers means diminished, the mines consumed, and the profits daily decay, whereby the archbishops and bishops should pay their annats unto the apostolic see, besides their other necessary and honest charges; insomuch that, not without just cause, James the archbishop of Mentz, being even at the point of death, said, that he did not so much sorrow for his own death, as for that his poor subjects should be again forced to pay a

grievous exaction for the pall. Wherefore let the high bishop, as a godly father and lover of his children, and a faithful and prudent pastor, deal more favourably with his children the Germans, lest that persecution happen to rise against the priests of Christ, and that men, following the example of the Bohemians, do swerve from the Church of Rome.

"At the least, let him be more favourable, as often as any archbishop or bishop happened to rule his church but a few years; as it happened to the bishops of Bamberg, whereof three died within few years. The like also might happen by other bishoprics, whereof, as Æneas Sylvius witnesseth, there are in Germany to the number of fifty, besides abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

"And admit that in Germany there were greater profits and revenues rising of the ground, mines, and tolls; notwithstanding, the emperor and the other princes should lack treasure and munition of war against their enemies, and specially the infidels, and to preserve Germany in peace and quietness, and to minister justice unto every man; for which purpose the council of the chamber, being most holily instructed and furnished with great cost and charges, doth chiefly serve. Besides that, the emperor hath need of treasure, to suppress the rebels in the empire, to banish and drive away thieves and murderers, whereof a great number are not ashamed to spoil churches only, and to rob them of their goods, but also to assail the clergy themselves. Finally, our nation and country of Germany hath need of great riches and treasure, not only for the repairing of churches and monasteries, but also for hospitals for children that are laid out in the streets, for widows, for women with child, for orphans, for the marriage of the daughters of poor men, that they be not deflowered, for such as have need and necessity, for the old and weak, for the sick and the sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully replenished and filled."

Hereafter ensueth the copy of a certain letter of the Emperor Maximilian, given out in manner of a decree or commandment against certain abuses of the clergy.

"We, according to the example of our dearly beloved father, Frederic, emperor of Rome, reverencing the chief pastor of the church, and all the clergy, have suffered no small revenues of the ecclesiastical dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the prelates and clergy that are absent, whose faults committed by human frailty, with Constantine our predecessor, we have not disdained to hide and cover. But forasmuch as through our liberality the decay of God's honour is risen, it is our part to foresee (which are elect unto the empire, without any desert) that among all other affairs of peace and war, the churches do not decay, religion quail not, or God's true worship be not diminished, which we have manifestly experimented, and daily do perceive, by the insatiable covetousness of some, which are never satisfied in getting of benefices, through whose absence (being resident but only upon one) God's honour and worship is diminished, houses decay, churches decrease, the ecclesiastical liberty is hurt, learning and monuments are lost and destroyed, hospitality and alms diminished, and by their unsatiable greediness, such of the clergy as for their learning and virtue were worthy of benefices, and their wisdom profitable in commonwealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore, according to the office and duty of our estate, for the love of the increase of God's honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any canonship or vicarage in one city of our empire, shall occupy or possess a prebend in another church of the same city, except he give over the first within a year's space unto some person fit and profitable for the church; neither that he do, by unjust quarrels, vex or trouble any man in getting of benefices; neither that any man

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do falsely feign himself to have been of the emperor's household, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the princes; neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any layman, or aggravate the small prebends of curates, or churches with pensions; neither that they do use in getting of benefices and bulls, any fraud, deceit, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked simony; neither that any man presume to obtain any regress, or other thing contrary to the sacred canons, right, honesty, equity, and reason, upon pain of the most grievous offence of treason: the which we will, that not only they going so contrary to God and all honesty; but also all their favourers, which do help, counsel, harbour, or give them any thing, all their messengers and writers, proctors, sureties, and other their friends, shall incur and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment. From Cenopont," &c.

To return now to the order of popes, where we left before, speaking of Innocent the Eighth. After the said Innocent, next succeeded Pope Alexander the Sixth. In which Alexander, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes, (Peucer named him Demes,) brother to Bajazet the great Turk, was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the Sixth, for whose keeping the pope received every year forty thousand crowns; yet notwithstanding, when Pope Alexander afterward was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles the Eighth, the French king, for a pledge, because the French king should not procure the great Turk's favour, by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slain, he being hired by the Turk, caused the said Gemes to be poisoned, who, in his journey going toward the French king, died at Terracina.

Moreover, in the said Hieronymus Marius it appeareth, that this Alexander, taking displeasure with the aforesaid Charles, the French king, about the winning of Naples, sent to Bajazet the Turk, to fight against the aforesaid Charles.

Munsterus, lib. 4. Cosmog., declaring the aforesaid history of Gemes something otherwise, first calleth him Zizymus, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king. And when Johannes Huniades before mentioned did labour to the French king to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory against the Turks, as it was not unlike, this Alexander the pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French king into his own hands, by whose means the said Gemes afterward was poisoned, as is in manner before expressed.

Unto these poisoned acts of the pope, let us also adjoin his malicious wickedness, with like fury exercised upon Antonius Mancinellus; which Mancinellus being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent oration against his wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him as Antoninus the tyrant once did with M. Cicero, for writing against his horrible life. At length, as one poison requireth another, this poisoned pope, as he was sitting with his cardinals and other rich senators of Rome at dinner, his servants, unawares, brought to him a wrong bottle, wherewith he was poisoned, and his cardinals about him.

In the time of this Pope Alexander also it happened (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the angel, which stood in the high top of the pope's church, was beaten down with a terrible thunder; which thing seemed then to declare the ruin and fall of the popedom. After this pope next succeeded Pius the Third, about the year of our Lord 1503. After whom came next Julius the Second, a man so far passing all other in iniquity, that Wicelius, and such other of his own friends writing of him, are

compelled to say of him, That he was more given to war and battle than to Christ. Concerning the madness of this man, this is most certainly known, that at what time he was going to war, he cast the keys of St. Peter into the river Tiber, saying, that forasmuch as the keys of Peter would not serve him to his purpose, he would take himself to the sword of Paul.

Of this Julius it is certainly reported, that partly with his wars, partly with his cursings, within the space of seven years, as good as two hundred thousand Christians were destroyed. First he besieged Ravenna against the Venetians, then Servia, Imola, Faventia, Forolivium, Bononia, and other cities, which he got out of princes' hands, not without much bloodshed. The Chronicles of John Sleydan made mention, that when this Julius was made pope, he took an oath, promising to have a council within two years; but when he had no leisure thereunto, being occupied with his wars in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferrara, and in other countries, nine of his cardinals, departing from him, came into Milan, and there appointed a council at the city of Pisa; amongst whom, the chief were Bernardus, Cruceius, Gulielmus Prenestinus, Franciscus Constantinus, with divers others; unto whom also were adjoined the procurators of Maximilian the emperor, and of Charles the French king. So the council was appointed the year of our Lord 1511, to begin in the kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this council was thus alleged, because the pope had so broken his oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any council; and also because there were divers other crimes, whereupon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Julius hearing this, giveth out contrary commandment, under great pain, that no man should obey them, and calleth himself another council against the next year, to be begun the 19th day of April. The French king, understanding Pope Julius to join with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, converted a council at Turin, in the month of September; in which council these questions were proposed:

"Whether it was lawful for the pope to move war against any prince without cause?"

"Whether any prince, in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his obedience?" Unto the which questions it was answered, That neither the bishop ought to invade, and also that it was lawful for the king to defend himself. Moreover, that the Pragmatical Sanction was to be observed through the realm of France: neither that any unjust excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjust. After this the king sent to Julius the answer of his council, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a general council some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would neither of both these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French king, with all his kingdom. At the length, at Ravenna, in a great war he was overcome by the French king, and at last, after much slaughter, and great bloodshed, and mortal war, this pope died, in the year of our Lord 1513, the 21st day of February.

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END OF VOLUME 4