

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

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 6

The Reign Of King Henry VIII – Part I.

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VOLUME 6



Portrait of Henry VIII.

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156. Introduction to the Reign of Henry VIII.



S touching the civil state and administration of the commonwealth, and likewise of the state of the church, under the reign of King Henry the Seventh, how he entered first in possession of the crown; how the two houses of York and Lancaster were in him conjoined, through marriage with Elizabeth the eldest daughter to King Edward the Fourth, by the prudent counsel of John Morton, then bishop of Ely, after archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal; how long the said king reigned, and what persecution was in his time for lack of search and knowledge of God's word, both in the diocese of Lincoln under Bishop Smith, (who was erecter of the house of Brazen-nose in Oxford,) as also in the diocese of Coventry, and other places more; and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth upon cities and realms public for neglecting the safety of his flock; sufficiently in the former book hath been already specified; wherein many things more amply might have been added, incident in the reign of this prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend in story all things, which the common course and use of life may offer to the writer, may sooner find matter to occupy himself, than to profit other. Otherwise I might have inferred mention of the seditious tumult of Perkin Warbeck, with his retinue, A.D. 1494. Also of Blackheath field by the blacksmith, A.D. 1496. I might also have recited the glorious commendation of George Lily in his Latin Chronicle, testifying of King Henry the Seventh, how he sent three solemn orators to Pope Julius the Second to yield his obedience to the see of Rome, A.D. 1506. And likewise how Pope Alexander the Ninth, Pius the Third, and Julius the Second, sent to the said King Henry the Seventh, three sundry famous ambassadors with three swords, and three caps of maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief defender of the faith. The commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of George Lily and Fabian, that I leave to them. This I suppose, that when King Henry sent to Pope Julius three orators with obedience, if he had sent him three thousand arquebusiers to furnish his field against the French king fighting at Ravenna, he had pleased Pope Julius much better. If George Lily had been disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had been more worthy the noting, how Louis the Twelfth, French king, calling his parliament, moved this question against Pope Julius; Whether a pope might invade any prince by warlike force, without cause; and whether the prince might withdraw his obedience from that pope, or not? And it was concluded in the same parliament with the king, against the pope. Also it was concluded the same time, (which was in the reign of this King Henry the Seventh,) that the Pragmatical Sanction should be received in full force and effect, through all the realm of France.

And forasmuch as we are fallen into the mention of George Lily, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting, how, after the burning of Thomas Norice, above mentioned, at the city of Norwich, the same year followed such a fire in Norwich, that the whole city, well near, was therewith consumed. Like as also after the burning of the aforesaid good father in Smithfield, the same year (which was 1500) we read in the chronicle of Fabian, a great plague to fall upon the city of London, to the great destruction of the inhabitants thereof. Where again is to

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be noted, (as is aforesaid,) that according to the state of the church, the disposition of the commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adversity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these notes of King Henry the Seventh, now to the story of King Henry the Eighth.

This King Henry the Seventh finishing his course in the year abovesaid, which was 1509, had by Elizabeth his wife abovenamed, four men children, and of women children as many. Of whom three only survived; to wit, Prince Henry, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary. Of whom King Henry the Eighth after his father succeeded. Lady Margaret was married to James the Fourth, king of Scots. Lady Mary was affianced to Charles, king of Castile.

Not long before the death of King Henry, Prince Arthur, his eldest son, had espoused Lady Katharine, daughter to Ferdinand, being of the age of fifteen years, and she about the age of seventeen; and shortly after his marriage, within five months, departed at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After whose decease the succession of the crown fell next to King Henry the Eighth, being of the age of eighteen years, entered his reign the year of our Lord 1509, and shortly after married with the aforesaid Katharine, his late brother Prince Arthur's wife, to the end that her dowry, being great, should not be transported out of the land. In the which his marriage, being more politic than Scripture-like, he was dispensed with by Pope Julius, at the request of Ferdinand her father. The reign of this king continued with great nobleness and fame the space of thirty-eight years. During whose time and reign, great alteration of things, as well to the civil state of the realm, as especially to the state ecclesiastical, and matters of the church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the realm, the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, idolatry and superstition somewhat repressed, images and pilgrimages defaced, abbeys and monasteries pulled down, sects of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar tongue, and the state of the church and religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the process of these volumes here following, we will endeavour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse; after that first we shall comprehend a few matters, which within the beginning of his reign are to be noted and collected. Where, leaving off to write of Empson and Dudley, who in the time of King Henry the Seventh, being great doers in executing the penal laws over the people at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten, were shortly after the entering of this king beheaded, the one a knight, the other an esquire; leaving also to intermeddle with his wars, triumphs, and other temporal affairs, we mean in these volumes principally to bestow our travail in declaration of matters concerning most chiefly the state of the church and of religion, as well in this Church of England, as also of the whole Church of Rome.

157. Dispute about the Immaculate Conception.

Wherein first cometh to our hands a turbulent tragedy, and a fierce contention, which long before had troubled the church, and now this present year, 1509, was renewed afresh between two certain orders of Begging Friars, to wit, the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans were they which did hold of St. Francis, and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called Grey Friars, or Minorites. Their opinion was this; that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original sin. The Dominic Friars were they which, holding of Dominic, were commonly called Black Friars, or Preaching Friars. Their opinion was, that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam be; so that this privilege only belongeth to Christ, to be conceived without original sin: notwithstanding, the said blessed Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, so as was John Baptist, Jeremiah, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and gendering between these two sects of friars, burst out in such a flame of parts and sides-taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church, some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas. The Minorites, holding with Scotus their master, disputed and concluded, that she was conceived without all spot or note of original sin, and thereupon caused the feast and service of the Conception of St. Mary the Virgin to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. Contrary, the Dominic Friars, taking side with Aquinas, preached that it was heresy to affirm that the blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and that they which did celebrate the feast of her Conception, or said any masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

In the mean time, as this fantasy waxed hot in the church, the one side preaching against the other, came Pope Sixtus the Fourth, A.D. 1476, who, joining side with the Minorites, or Franciscans, first sent forth his decree by authority apostolic, willing, ordaining, and commanding all men to solemnize this new-found feast of the Conception in holy church for evermore; offering to all men and women, which, devoutly frequenting the church, would hear mass and service from the first even-song of the said feast, to the octaves of the same, as many days of pardon, as Pope Urban the Fourth, and Pope Martin the Fifth, did grant for hearing the service of Corpus Christi day, &c. And this decree was given and dated at Rome, A.D. 1476.

Moreover, the same pope, to the intent that the devotion of the people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this conception, added a clause more to the Ave Maria, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all such as would invoke the blessed Virgin with the same addition, saying thus; "Hail Mary! full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ; and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgin's flesh hath proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen."

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Wherein thou mayest note, gentle reader, for thy learning three things: First, how the pope turneth that improperly into a prayer, which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempteth Mary, the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original sin, then she beareth not the image of Adam, neither doth she descend of that seed, of whose seed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. Paul doth teach, Rom. v. Wherefore, if she descend of that seed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed unto her. If she descend not thereof, then cometh she not of the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, &c. Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin, by the doctrine of St. Paul, Rom. vi., then had her flesh injury by the law (as Christ himself had) to suffer the malediction and punishment of death, and so should never have died, if original sin had no place in her, &c. But to return unto our story: This constitution of the pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed Virgin, which was A.D. 1476, it was not long after, but the said Pope Sixtus, perceiving that the Dominic Friars with their accomplices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth by the authority apostolic a bull in effect as followeth:

"Whereas the holy Church of Rome hath ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnizing of the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary; certain orders of the Black Friars in their public sermons to the people in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirm the said glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, be heretics; and they which celebrate the service of the said her conception, or do hear the sermons of them which do so affirm, do sin grievously; also not contented herewith, do write and set forth books moreover, maintaining their assertions, to the great offence and ruin of godly minds. We, therefore, to prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions, which have risen, and more hereafter may arise, by such opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful; by the authority apostolical, do condemn and reprove the same, and by the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain, that the preachers of God's word, and all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, which shall presume to dare affirm or preach to the people these aforesaid opinions and assertions to be true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such books for true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby the sentence of excommunication; from which they shall not be absolved otherwise than by the bishop of Rome, except only in the time of death."

This bull, being dated A.D. 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Grey Friars Franciscans, which defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominic Friars, with their confederates, holding the contrary side. By the vigour of which bull, the Grey order had got such a conquest of the black guard of the Dominics, that the said Dominics were compelled at length, for a perpetual memorial of the triumph, both to give to the glorious Virgin, every night, an anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine; in which doctrine these, with divers other points, be contained:

"1. That blessed Mary the Virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin, but only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.

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"2. That the said Virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her Son, so she had no need of remission of sins; but instead thereof, had the Divine preservation of God's help, keeping her from all sin; which grace only she needed, and also had it.

"3. Item, That where the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died; this is to be understood to come, not for any penalty due for sin, but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents; who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace and strength of other fruits and meats in Paradise; which meats, because Mary had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died, and not for any necessity of original sin.

"4. The universal proposition of St. Paul, which saith, that the Scripture hath concluded all men under sin, is to be understood thus, as speaking of all them which be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.

"5. If justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous; then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning, by preservation.

"6. If a Saviour be taken for him which saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation, so is not Christ the Saviour of Mary, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

"7. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from case of sinning.

"8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sins, but only for remission of other men's sins she prayed many times, and counted their sins for hers.

"9. If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Son, God would have reposed her soul not in the place among the patriarchs, or among the just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise, where Adam and Eve were before they transgressed."

These were the dotting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, commonly then holden in the schools, written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in churches, and set forth in pictures. So that the people were taught nothing else almost in the pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with special terms do call, "the way of mercy, the mother of grace, the lover of piety, the comforter of mankind, the continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King, her Son, which never ceaseth," &c. And although the greatest number of the school doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and other, yet these new papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions, as thus:

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"Peter Lombard," they said, "is not received nor holden in the schools, as touching this article, but is rejected."

Bernard, although he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of original sin, saying that she could not be holy when she was not, and lived not; to this they answer, "That albeit she was not yet in essence, yet she was holy in her conception, and before conception in the Divine prescience of God, which had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord."

Again, where Bernard doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not conceived by the Holy Ghost, to this they answer, "That the Holy Ghost may work two ways in conception; either without company of man, and so was Christ only conceived; or else with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceived."

"Bonaventure," say they, "was a holy father, but he spake then after the custom and manner of his time, when the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the public consent and authority of the church; now seeing the authority of the Church of Rome hath established the same, it ought not to be contraried, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all men's actions, diligent respect of time must be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterward the same by law being ratified, may bind at another."

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves, as we now in these our days likewise in defence of the truth may well answer against the pope, and all his popish friars, turning their own weapons against themselves: "Multitude," say they, "ought not to move us. Victory consisteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of soldiers; yea, rather fortitude and stomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. Judas Maccabeus with a little handful overthrew the great army of Antioch. Strong Samson with a poor ass's bone slew a thousand Philistines. David had no more but a silly sling, and a few stones, and with these struck down terrible Goliath the giant," &c.

With these and such other like reasons the Grey Franciscans avoided their adversaries, defending the conception of the Virgin Mary to be unblemished, and pure from all contagion of original sin. Contrariwise, the black guard of the Dominic Friars, for their parts were not all mute, but laid lustily from them again, having great authorities, and also the Scripture on their side. But yet the other having the see apostolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine, gat the victory triumphantly over the other, to the high exaltation of their order. For Pope Sixtus, (as I said,) by the authority apostolical, after he had decreed the conception day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible bull had condemned for heretics all them which withstood the same; the Dominic Friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences; the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speak, yet the heart would work; and though the tongue were tied, yet their good will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

Whereupon it happened the same year of our Lord, 1509, after this dissension between the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominics thinking by subtle sleight to

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work in the people's heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain image of the Virgin, so artificially wrought, that the friars by privy gins made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked; insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marvellous persuasion, till at length the fraud being espied, the friars were taken, condemned, and burned at Berne, the year above mentioned.

In the story of John Stumsius, this story aforesaid doth partly appear; but in the registers and records of the city of Berne, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully expressed and set forth both in metre and prose, and is thus declared:

In the city of Berne there were certain Dominic Friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that order, who had inveigled a certain simple, poor friar, who had newly planted himself in the cloister: whom the aforesaid friars had so infatuated with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katharine, and with their enchantments, and imprinting moreover in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he believed plainly, that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had offered to him a red host consecrated, with the blood also of Christ miraculous; which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the senators of Berne, with instructions, declaring unto them, from the mouth of the Virgin, that she was conceived in sin, and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited nor suffered in the city, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, that they should resort to a certain image there of the Virgin Mary, (which image the friars by engines had made to sweat,) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, &c.

This feigned device was not so soon forged by the friars, but it was as soon believed of the people; so that a great while the red-coloured host was taken undoubtedly for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble personages and states for a great relic, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceived people in great number came flocking to the image, and to the red host, and coloured blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominic Friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their own beards, from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchen to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited doings, for as the proverb saith, "It is ill halting before a cripple," eftsoons espied their crafty juggling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief captains abovenamed were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the provincial of that order was one.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedy; wherein evidently it may appear to the reader, how neither these turbulent friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous friars pass, with their trifling fantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men; in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the church, in which the devil kept the minds of Christ's people so attentive and occupied in such friarly toys, that nothing else almost was taught or heard in the church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the

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Virgin Mary. But of our justification by faith, of grace and the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horror of sin, of difference between the law and the gospel, of the true liberty of conscience, &c., no mention or very little was heard. Wherefore in this so blind time of darkness, it was much needful and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his church, and send down his gracious reformation; which also he did. For shortly upon the same, through the gracious excitation of God, came Martin Luther; of whom the order of story now requireth that we should and will treat, (Christ willing,) after the story of Richard Hunne, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

158. Londoners Forced to Recant, 1510-1527

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope Julius, and of his warlike affairs, for the which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the council of Tours in France, A.D. 1510, and yet all this could not assuage the furious affection of this pope, but the same year he invaded the city of Modena and Mirandola in Italy, and took them by force of war. Which Pope Julius not long after, in the year of our Lord 1512, refusing peace offered by Maximilian the emperor, was encountered by Louis the French king, about Ravenna, upon Easter day; where he was vanquished, and had of his army slain to the number of sixteen thousand. And the year next following, A.D. 1513, this apostolical warrior, which had resigned his keys unto the river of Tiber before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the see of Rome Pope Leo the Tenth, about the compass of which time great mutations and stirs began to work, as well in states temporal, as especially in the state of the church.

Pope Leo the Tenth, in Rome, A.D. 1513, reigned nine years.

Charles the Fifth, emperor in Germany, A.D. 1519, reigned thirty-nine years.

Francis, king of France, A.D. 1515, reigned thirty-two years.

Henry the Eighth, king of England, A.D. 1509, reigned thirty-eight years.

James the Fifth, king of Scotland, A.D. 1514, reigned twenty-nine years.

In the time of which pope, emperor, and kings of England and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turns of religion were wrought in the church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe, such as have not been seen, although much groaned for, many hundred years before; as in further discourse of this history (Christ willing) shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of Richard Hun, and certain other godly-minded persons here in England, afflicted for the word of Christ's gospel in great multitude, as they be found and taken out of the registers of Fitzjames, bishop of London, by the faithful help and industry of R. Carket, citizen of London.

The history of divers good men and women, persecuted for religion in the city and diocese of the bishop of London, briefly extracted out of the registers of Richard Fitzjames.

Amongst and beside the great number of the faithful martyrs and professors of Christ, that constantly in the strength of the Holy Ghost gave their lives for the testimony of his truth, I find recorded in the register of London, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1527, the names of divers other persons both men and women; who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance, had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were diversly troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same; notwithstanding, by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the catholic seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature, (not then fully strengthened in God,) it was again in

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them, for the time, suppressed and kept under, as appeareth by their several abjurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, (in his time a most cruel persecutor of Christ's church,) or else before his vicar-general deputed for the same. And forasmuch as many of the adversaries of God's truth have of late days disdainfully and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their public assemblies, and yet do, asking where this our church and religion was within these fifty or sixty years, I have thought it not altogether vain, somewhat to stop such lying crackers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the chief and principal matters, for which they were so unmercifully afflicted and molested, thereby to give to understand, as well the continuance and consent of the true church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our faith, though not in like perfection of knowledge and constancy in all; as also by the way, something to touch what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant prelates shamed not in that time of blindness to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offences, yea, such as deserved death of both body and soul. But lest I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

A.D. 1510.

Joan Baker.

William Pottier.

John Forge.

Thomas Goodred

Thomas Walker, alias Talbot

Thomas Forge.

Alice Forge.

John Forge, their son.

William Couper.

John Calverton.

John Woodrofe.

A.D. 1511.

Richard Woolman.

Roger Hilliar.

Alice Couper.

Thomas Austy.

Joan Austy.

Thomas Graunt.

John Garter.

Christopher Ravins.

Dionyse Ravins

Thomas Vincent

Lewis John.

Joan John.

A.D. 1512.

John Webb, alias Baker.

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A.D. 1517.
John Houshold.
Robert Rascal.

A.D. 1518.
Elizabeth Stanford.
George Browne.
John Wikes.
John Southake.
Richard Butler.
John Samme.

A.D. 1521.
William King.
Robert Durdant.
Henry Woolman.
Edmund Spilman.

A.D. 1523.
John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson.

A.D. 1526.
Henry Chambers.
John Higgins.

A.D. 1527.
Thomas Egleston.

The particular examination of all these here abovenamed, here followeth.

To these were divers and sundry particular articles, (besides the common and general sort accustomedly used in such cases,) privately objected, even such as they were then accused of, either by their curate, or other their neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several process, I mind, therefore, briefly only to touch so many of their articles as may be sufficient to induce the Christian reader to judge the sooner of the rest, being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometime they were charged most slanderously with horrible and blasphemous lies against the majesty and truth of God, which, as they utterly denied, so do I now for this present keep secret in silence, as well for brevity's sake, as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying generation. But to our purpose.

The chiefest objection against Joan Baker was, that she would not only herself not reverence the crucifix, but had also persuaded a friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God which is in heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead images, that be but stocks and stones: and therefore she was sorry that ever she had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other idols. Also,

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that she did hold opinion, that the pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady Young (who was not long before that time burned) died a true martyr of God; and therefore she wished of God, that she herself might do no worse than the said Lady Young had done.

Unto William Pottier, besides divers other false and slanderous articles, (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's passion,) it was also alleged that he should affirm, that there were six Gods. The first three was the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The fourth was a priest's concubine being kept in his chamber. The fifth was the devil. And the sixth, that thing that a man setteth his mind most upon.

"The first part of this article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of Deity: as to the other three be answered, that a priest delighting in his concubine, made her as his god. Likewise a wicked person persisting in his sin without repentance, made the devil his god. And lastly he granted, that he once hearing of certain men, which by the singing and chattering of birds would seek to know what things were to come, either to themselves or others, said that those men esteemed their birds as gods: and otherwise he spake not."

Amongst the manifold and several articles objected against Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, Alice Forge his wife, John Forge their son, John Calverton, John Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar, (as that they should speak against pilgrimages, praying unto saints, and such like,) this principally was propounded, that they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and further, had concealed and consented unto their teachers and instructors of that doctrine, and had not, according unto the laws of the church, accused and presented them unto the bishop or his ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against Richard Woolman, for that he termed the church of Paul's, a house of thieves; affirming that the priests and other ecclesiastical persons there, were not liberal givers unto the poor, (as they ought,) but rather takers away from them, what they could get.

Likewise as Thomas Austy, Joan Austy his wife, Thomas Graunt, John Garters, Christopher Ravins, Dionyse Ravins his sister, Thomas Vincent, Lewis John, Joan John his wife, and John Webb, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with divers of the last before recited; so were they also almost apprehended about one time, and chiefly burdened with one opinion of the sacrament. Which declareth evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of some, to behold the manifest truth, even in those things whereof the papists make now greatest vaunt and brag of longest continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English books, impugning the faith of the Romish Church; as the Four Evangelists, Wickliff's Wicket, a book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of Paul and James, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide; and good cause why: for as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdom, with the true knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

It was further particularly objected against Joan John, the wife of Lewis John, that (besides the premises) she learned and maintained that God commanded no holy-days to be kept,

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but only the sabbath day; and therefore she would keep none but it, nor no fasting days; affirming, that to fast from sin was the true fast. Moreover, that she had despised the pope, his pardons, and pilgrimages; insomuch that when any poor body asked his alms of her in the worship of the Lady of Walsingham, she would straight answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Lady of Walsingham help thee. And if she gave any thing unto him, she would then say, Take this in the worship of our Lady in heaven, and let the other go. Which declareth for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true saints of God departed; though otherwise she did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead images. By which example, as also by many others, (for shortness sake, at this present omitted,) I have just occasion to condemn the wilful subtlety of those, that in this bright shining light of God's truth would yet, under colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the having of images in the church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they never worshipped the dead images, but the things that the images did represent. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people, thus openly in their recantations, to abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward images only, and not against the thing represented? Which many of them, (as appeareth partly by this example,) in their ignorant simplicity, confessed might be worshipped. Howbeit, God be thanked, (who ever in his mercy continue it,) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take such place in the hearts of the elect of God, as they have done heretofore, especially seeing the word of God doth so manifestly forbid as well the worshipping of them, as also the making or having of them, for order of religion.

It was alleged against William Cowper and Alice Cowper his wife, that they had spoken against pilgrimages, and worshipping of images; but chiefly the woman, who having her child on a time hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earnestly persuaded by some of her ignorant neighbours, to go on pilgrimage to St. Laurence for help for her child, said, that neither St. Laurence nor any other saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any image made with man's hand, but only unto Almighty God; for pilgrimages were nothing worth, saving to make the priests rich.

Unto John Houshold, Robert Rascal, and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the article against the sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to saints, and had despised the authority of the bishop of Rome, and others of his clergy. But especially John Houshold was charged to have called them antichrists and fornicators, and the pope himself a strong strumpet, and a common scandal unto the world, who with his pardons had drowned in blindness all Christian realms, and that for money.

Also among divers other ordinary articles propounded against George Brown, these were counted very heinous and heretical: First, that he had said, that he knew no cause why the cross should be worshipped, seeing that the same was a hurt and pain unto our Saviour Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure; alleging for example, that if he had had a friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that gallows, or water, by the which his friend died, rather worse for that than better. Another objection was, that he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said, for so are their words, that the church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel though they

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counted it erroneous and malicious; for take away their gain, and farewell their religion. They also charged him to have refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise to have spoken against priests, with other vain matters.

The greatest matter wherewith they burdened John Wikes, was, that he had often and of long time kept company with divers persons suspected of heresies, as they termed them, and had received them into his house, and there did suffer and hear them, sundry times, read erroneous and heretical books, contrary to the faith of the Romish Church, and did also himself consent unto their doctrine; and had many times secretly conveyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them.

Like as the greatest number of those before mentioned, so were also John Southake, Richard Butler, John Sam, William King; Robert Durdant, and Henry Woolman, especially charged with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. Howbeit, they burdened the last five persons with the reading of certain English heretical books, accounting most blasphemously the Gospel of Jesus Christ, written by the four evangelists, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar general, unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler. The very words of which article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to insert; which are these: "Also we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant's house of Iver Court near unto Stanes, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant's, all that same night, certain chapters of the evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and divers other suspect persons of heresy then being present, and hearing your said erroneous lectures and opinions." To the same effect and purpose tended the tenor of some of the articles propounded against the other four. Whereby, as also by others like before specified, we may easily judge what reverence they, which yet will be counted the true and only church of Christ, did bear to the word and Gospel of Christ, who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions, and conclusions of heresy. But why should we marvel thereat, seeing the Holy Ghost in sundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which shall speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us also pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Christ Jesus, he would, if it be to his glory, either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else, for the peace and quietness of his church, he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About this time Richard Fitzjames ended his life. After whose death, Cutbert Tunstall (afterwards bishop of Durham) succeeded in the see and bishopric of London; who soon upon his first entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, caused Edmund Spilman, priest, Henry Chambers, John Higgins, and Thomas Eglestone, to be apprehended, and so to be examined upon sundry like articles, as before are expressed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and his rigour of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises, (such was their weakness,) he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true

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professed faith touching the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which was, that Christ's corporal body was not in the sacrament, but in heaven, and that the sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body itself.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain articles objected against John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the said bishop's vicar-general. Amongst which were these: First, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the Four Evangelists in English, and did often read therein; and that he favoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said, that while he were alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayer and alms-deeds could little help him.

These and such-like matters were they, wherewith these poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heinous heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant; and some of them, in utter shame and reproach, (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon,) were enjoined for penance, (as they termed it,) as well to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous, and open punishing of them, they meant (as it should seem) utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, what effect their wicked purposes therein have taken, these our most lightsome days of God's glorious gospel do most joyfully declare.

There were also troubled besides these, certain others more simple and ignorant; who having but a very small smack or taste of the truth, did yet at the first (as it may seem) gladly consent unto the same; but being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only assigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the cross, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongst which I find two especially; the one a woman, called Ellen Heyer, to whom it was objected, that she had neither confessed herself unto the priest, nor yet received the sacrament of the altar, by the space of four years, and notwithstanding had yearly eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had received the same, contrary to the usual manner and conversation of all other Christian people.

The other was a man, named Robert Berkeway, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God, which he utterly denied) was charged to have spoken heinous words against the pope's holy and blessed martyr Thomas Becket, calling him covetous and a thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus have I (as briefly as I could) summarily collected the principal articles objected against these weak, infirm, and earthy vessels. Not minding hereby to excuse or condemn them, in these their fearful falls and dangerous defections; but leaving them unto the unmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord; I thought only to make manifest the insatiable bloody cruelty of the pope's

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kingdom, against the gospel and true church of Christ; nothing mitigating their envious rage, no not against the very simple idiots, and that sometimes in most frivolous and irreligious cases. But now leaving to say any further herein, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

159. William Sweeting and John Brewster.

In searching and perusing of the Register, for the collection of the names and articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who after they had once showed themselves as frail and inconstant as the rest, (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred word,) became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as ever they were before, and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of the which number were William Sweeting and John Brewster, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the eighteenth day of October, A.D. 1511. The chiefest case of religion alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Which, because it differed from the absurd, gross, and Capernaical opinion of the new schoolmen, was counted as most heinous heresy. There were other things besides objected against them; as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at the first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off, upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed withal for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet, the matter well and thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both thereunto by necessity enforced. For the one, named Sweeting, being for fear of the bishop's cruelty constrained to wander the countries to get his poor living, came at length unto Colchester, where by the parson of the parish of Mary Magdalene, he was provoked to be the holy-water clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (which was Brewster) left off his at the commandment of the comptroller of the earl of Oxford's house; who hiring the poor man to labour in the earl's household business, would not suffer him, working there, to wear that counterfeit cognizance any longer: so that (as I said) necessity of living seemeth to compel both of them at the first to break that injunction; and therefore, if charity had borne as great sway in the hearts of the pope's clergy as did cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken, as to be brought against them for an article and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, as well all godly love, as also all human reason and duties, are quite forgotten. Well, to be short, what for the causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abjured, and yet (as they term it) fell again into relapse, they were both (as you have heard) in the end burned together in Smithfield; although the same parties (as the Register recordeth) did again before their death fearfully forsake their former revived constancy, and submitting themselves unto the discipline of the Romish Church, craved absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, because many of the Register's notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I refer the certain knowledge hereof unto the Lord, (who is the trier of all truths,) and the external judgment unto the godly and discreet reader; not forgetting yet by the way, (if that the report should be true,) upon so just an occasion, to charge that catholic clergy and their wicked laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before. For if they nothing stay their bloody malice towards such as so willingly submit themselves unto their mercies, what favour may the

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faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Christ, (whose true and only church they so stoutly brag to be,) who in the 17th chapter of St. Luke saith, Though thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn to thee, saying, It repenteth me, thou shalt forgive him. But what go I about to allure them unto the following of the rule and counsel of him, unto whose word and gospel they seem most open and utter enemies? Wherefore, not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, but leaving them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord; let us now hereunto adjoin the story of one John Browne, a good martyr of the Lord, burnt at Ashford, about this fourth year of King Henry the Eighth, whose story hereunder followeth.

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

"O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass,
Let never the fiend my soul chase.
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
Let never my soul come in hell heat.

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Into thy hands I commend my spirit,
thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth."

And so he ended.

At the fire, one Chilton, the baily arrant, bade cast in Browne's children also; for they would spring, said he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr John Browne had borne a faggot seven years before in the days of King Henry the Seventh.

160. Richard Hun

As it is the property of Satan ever to malice the prosperous estate of the saints of God, and true professors of Christ; so ceaseth he not continually to stir up his wicked members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his envious nature so greedily desireth; if not always openly by colour of tyrannical laws, yet, at the leastwise, by some subtle practice of secret murder; which thing doth most plainly appear not only in a great number of the blessed martyrs of Christ's church, mentioned in this book, but also, and especially, in the discourse of this lamentable history that now I have in hand, concerning the secret and cruel murdering of Richard Hun, whose story here consequently ensueth, excerpted and collected partly out of the registers of London, partly out of a bill exhibited and denounced in the parliament house.

There was in the year of our Lord 1514, one Richard Hun, merchant tailor, dwelling within the city of London, and freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his life, and worthily reputed and taken, not only for a man of true dealing and good substance, but also for a good catholic man. This Richard Hun had a child at nurse in Middlesex in the parish of St. Mary Matsilon, which died; by the occasion whereof, one Thomas Driffield, clerk, being parson of the said parish, sued the said Richard Hun in the spiritual court for a bearing sheet, which the said Thomas Driffield claimed, unjustly, to have of the said Hun, for a mortuary for Stephen Hun, son of the said Richard Hun; which Stephen, being at nurse in the said parish, died being of the age of five weeks, and not above. Hun answered him again, that forasmuch as the child had no property in the sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loth to lose his pretended right, cited him to appear in the spiritual court, there to answer the matter. Whereupon the said Richard Hunne, being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law of this land, and pursued a writ of præmunire against the said Thomas Driffield, and other, his aiders, counsellors, proctors, and adherents, as by the process thereof is yet to be seen; which when the rest of the priestly order heard of, greatly disdaining that any layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them; and fearing also that if they should now suffer this priest to be condemned at the suit of Hun, there would be thereby ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the clergy in such-like cases; they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him, for that he had already done, sought all means they possibly could how to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws; and thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all corners they could against him, at length they found a means how to accuse him of heresy, unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, and so did; who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains) caused him thereupon to be apprehended and committed unto prison within the Lollard's Tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him. This Richard Hun being clapped in the Lollard's Tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of one Doctor Horsey the bishop's chancellor, (a man more ready to prefer the clergy's cruel tyranny than the truth of Christ's gospel,) was brought before the bishop at his manor of Fulham, the second day of December, in the year before-mentioned; where within his chapel he examined him upon these articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his accomplices.

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"First, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the laws of Almighty God; that tithes, or paying of tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the covetousness of priests.

"2. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended; that bishops and priests be the scribes and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to death.

"3. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c., that bishops and priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the law of God; but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

"4. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies, (as it appeareth by her abjuration,) the said Richard Hun, said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred marks.

"5. Item, Afterwards (where and when the said Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance according to her demerits) the said Richard Hun said, published, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, The bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God; wherefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she is.

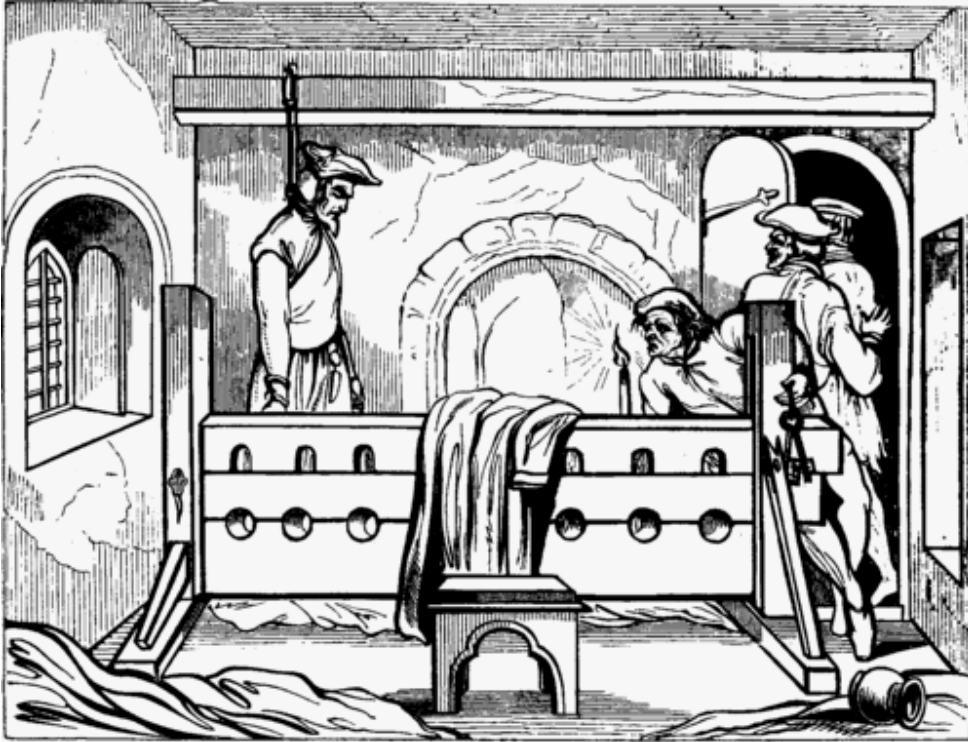
"6. Item, That the said Richard Hun hath in his keeping divers English books, prohibited and damned by the law; as the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wickliff's damnable works, and other books, containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily."

Particular answer unto these several objections, in the Register, I find none, saving that next under them, there is written in his name with a contrary hand these words following: "As touching these articles, I have not spoken them as they be here laid: howbeit, unadvisedly I have spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my lord's charitable and favourable correction." Which they affirm to be written with Hun's own hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discreet wisdom of the reader indifferently judge by the whole sequel of this process. And further, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself unto the charitable and favourable correction of the bishop, (for the which even by their own law, in cases of most heinous heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned,) except perhaps they will account horrible murder to be but the bishop's favourable correction. Again, it seemeth they had very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was his answer and hand-writing; for the Register, or some other for him (appointed to record the same) hath certified it, as of hearsay from others, and not of his own proper sight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margin of the book, adjoining to the aforesaid answer, plainly do declare, which are these, *Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Richardi Hunne, ut dicitur*. Now if he had had any sure ground to stablish this certificate, I doubt not but he would (instead of *ut dicitur*) have registered the names of the assistants at the time of his

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examination, (which he confesseth to be many,) as generally they do in all their acts, especially in cases of heresy, as they term it. But how scrupulous those good fellows that spared not so shamelessly to murder him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let (as I said) the indifferent judgment of the godly wise discern.

This examination ended, the bishop sent him back again the same day, unto the Lollard's Tower; and then by the appointment of Doctor Horsey, his chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Joseph, the sumner, unto John Spalding, the bell-ringer, a man by whose simpleness in wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish pretended homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did by his ministers suborned, within two nights then next following accomplish; as is plainly proved hereafter by the diligent inquiry and final verdict of the coroner of London, and his inquest, made by order of the laws in that behalf limited. But when this usual practice of the papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly wiles for the crafty colouring of this mischief; and therefore, the next morning after they had in the night committed this murder, John Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsel of his master chancellor) got himself out of the way, into the city, and leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the sumner's boy, which accustomedly did use to carry Hun his meat, and other necessaries that he needed; thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might (by his relation) be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished. For the boy, the same morning (being the fourth day of December) having the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the bishop's sumners, went about ten of the clock into the prison, to serve the prisoner, as he was wont to do; and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gave knowledge thereof immediately unto the chancellor, being then in the church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose, for such news; who forthwith got unto him certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, although then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the people, by their officers and servants, that Hun had desperately hanged himself. Howbeit, the people having good experience as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, as also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, judged rather that by their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof arose great contention; for the bishop of London on the 'one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hun had hanged himself. The citizens again on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London (according to law) to choose an inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the bishop and his chaplains were then driven to the extremity of shifts; and therefore minding by some subtle show of justice, to stop the mouths of the people, they determined that in the mean while, as the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop should, for his part, proceed ex officio, in case of heresy, against the dead person; supposing (most like) that if the party were once condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy murder. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practice, in order as followeth.



Richard Hun Found Hanged in the Lollard's Tower

First, besides the articles before mentioned, (which they affirm were objected against him in his lifetime,) Doctor Hed did now also after his death, collect certain others out of the prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the bishop's hands; which he diligently perused, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter, as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose, as appeareth by the tenor of the articles, which are these:

"1. First, The said book damneth all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinful men and uncunning; and calleth the pope Sathanas and antichrist.

"2. Item, It damneth the pope's pardons, saying, they be but leasings.

"3. Item, The said book of Hun saith, that kings and lords, called Christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerks full of covetousness, heresy, and malice, to stop God's law that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

"4. Item, The said book saith, that lords and prelates pursue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the law of God; and cherish them that preach sinful men's traditions and statutes, by the which he meaneth the holy canons of Christ's church.

"5. Item, That poor men and idiots have the truth of the Holy Scriptures, more than a thousand prelates and religious men, and clerks of the school.

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"6. Item, That Christian kings and lords set idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry.

"7. Item, That princes, lords, and prelates, so doing, be worse than Herod that pursued Christ, and worse than Jews and heathen men that crucified Christ.

"8. Item, That every man swearing by our Lady, or any other saint or creature, giveth more honour to the saints, than to the holy Trinity; and so he saith they be idolaters.

"9. Item, He saith, that saints ought not to be honoured.

"10. Item, He damneth adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calleth stocks and stones.

"11. Item, He saith, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men, receiving it, shall thereby keep in mind, that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

"12. Item, He damneth the university of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as art civil, canon, and divinity, saying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and Holy Scripture.

"13. Item, He defendeth the translation of the Bible and Holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our mother holy church."

These articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused for a more show of their pretended justice and innocence, to be openly read the next Sunday following by the preacher at Paul's Cross, with this protestation made before.

"Masters and friends, for certain causes and considerations, I have in commandment to rehearse, show, and publish here unto you, the articles of heresy, upon which Richard Hun was detected and examined; and also other great articles and damnable points and opinions of heresy contained in some of his books, be come to light and knowledge, here ready to be showed."

And therewith he read the articles openly unto the people, concluding with these words:

"And, masters, if there be any man desirous to see the specialty of these articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this book or not, for satisfying of his mind, let him come to my lord of London, and he shall see it with good will. Moreover, here I counsel and admonish, that if there be any persons, that of their simpleness have been familiar and acquainted with the said Richard Hun in these articles, or have heard him read upon this book, or any other sounding to heresy, or have any like books themselves, let them come unto my lord of London betwixt this and Candlemas next, and acknowledge their fault, and they shall be charitably treated and dealt withal, so that both their goods and honesty shall be saved; and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the process of the law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigour of the law be executed against them."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

After which open publication and admonition, the bishop at sundry times examined divers of his priests, and other lay persons, upon the contents of both these articles. Among which examiners, there was a man servant and a maid of the said Hun's, who, although they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehension; no, not in such points as the bishop chiefly objected against him. But yet the priests (through whose procurement this mischief was first begun) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to accuse him, some in the contents of the first articles, and some in the second. Wherefore, having now (as they thought) sufficient matter against him, they purposed speedily to proceed to his condemnation. And because they would seem to do all things formally, and by prescript order, they first drew out certain short and summary rules, by the which the bishop should be directed in this solemn session; which are these:

"First, Let the bishop sit in his tribunal seat, in our Lady's chapel.

"Secondly, Let him recite the cause of his coming, and take notaries to him, to enact that shall be there done.

"Thirdly, Let him declare, how, upon Sunday last, at Paul's Cross, he caused to be published a general monition, or denunciation, that all abettors and maintainers of Richard Hun, should come in, as by this day, and submit themselves; and let him signify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already.

"Fourthly, Let him protest and say, that if there remain any yet behind which have not appeared according to the former monition and denunciation; yet if they will come, and appear, and submit themselves, they shall be heard and received with grace and favour.

"Fifthly, Let the bishop, or some other at his appointment, recite the articles objected against Richard Hun; in the time of his life; and then the other articles likewise, which were out of his great book of the Bible extracted.

"Sixthly, Let the answers and confessions of the said Richard Hun summarily be recited, with the attestations made to the same articles. Also let his books be exhibited, and then Thomas Brook his servant be called for.

"Seventhly, Let it be openly cried at the choir door, that if there be any which will defend the articles, opinions, books, or the memory of the said Richard Hun, let them come and appear, and they shall be heard, as the law in that behalf shall require.

"Eighthly, Let it be openly cried, as in manner before, for such as be receivers, favourers, defenders, or believers of the said Richard Hun, that all such do appear and submit themselves to the bishop, or else he intendeth to proceed to the excommunication of them in general, according to the exigence of the law in that behalf.

"Ninthly, Then the bishop speaking to the standers by, and to them which sat with him upon the bench, of the clergy, demanding of them, what their judgment and opinion is touching

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the premises, and whether they think it convenient and agreeable for him to proceed to the sentence against the said Richard Hun, in this part to be awarded.

"Tenthly, After their consent and counsel given, let the bishop read out the sentence.

"Finally, After the sentence read, let the bishop appoint the publication and denunciation of the aforesaid sentence to be read at Paul's Cross or elsewhere, as to him shall seem expedient, with a citation likewise generally against all them that be receivers, favourers, and believers of the said Hun, to give to understand why he ought not further to proceed against them," &c.

Now according to the tenor of these prescripts and rules, the bishop of London, accompanied with the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, sat in judgment the 16th day of December, then next following, within the place by the same appointed; adjoining also unto them as witnesses of their proceedings, six public notaries, his own register, and about twenty-five doctors, abbots, priors, and priests of name, with a great rabble of their common anointed catholics. Where, after a solemn proclamation made, that if there were any that would defend the opinions and books of Richard Hun, they should presently appear and be heard according to law, he commanded all the articles and objections against Hun openly to be read before the assembly; and then, perceiving that none durst appear in his defence, by the advice of his assistants, he pronounced the sentence definitive against the dead carcass, condemning it of heresy, and therewith committed the same unto the secular power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous decree was as fondly accomplished in Smithfield the 20th day of the same month of December, (being full sixteen days after they had thus horribly murdered him,) to the great grief and disdain of all the people.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, with their fair and colourable show of justice, yet the inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. Insomuch that when they had been divers times called both before the king's privy council, (his Majesty himself being sometime present,) and also before the chief judges and justices of this realm, and that the matter being by them thoroughly examined, and perceived to be much bolstered and borne withal by the clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending; they found by good proof and sufficient evidence, that Doctor Horsey, the chancellor, Charles Joseph, the sumner, and John Spalding, the bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this murder, and therefore indicted them all three as wilful murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London unto Cardinal Wolsey, (as appeareth by his letters hereafter mentioned,) means was found, that at the next sessions of gaol delivery, the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Doctor Horsey to be false and untrue; and him not to be guilty of the murder. Who being then thereby delivered in body, having yet in himself a guilty conscience, gat him unto Exeter, and durst never after for shame come again unto London. But now, that the truth of all this matter may seem more manifest and plain unto all men's eyes, here shall follow word by word the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by them unto the coroner of London, so given up and signed with his own hand.

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The verdict of the inquest.

"The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth yeere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord King Henry the Eighth, William Barnewell crowner of London, the day and yeere abovesaid, within the ward of Castelbainard of London assembled a quest, whose names afterward doe appeare, and hath sworne them truly to enquire of the death of one Richard Hun, which lately was found dead in the Lollards Tower within Pauls church of London: whereupon all we of the inquest together went vp into the said Tower, where we found the body of the said Hun hanging vpon a staple of iron in a girdle of silke, with faire countenance, his head faire kemmed, and his bonet right sitting vpon his head, with his eyne and mouth faire closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any driueling or spurging in any place of his body: whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take downe the dead body of the said Hun, and as soon as we began to heaue the body, it was loose; whereby, by good aduisement we perceiued that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast, and the linkes of an iron chaine which did hang on the same staple, were laid vpon the same girdle whereby hee did hang: also the knot of the girdle that went about his necke, stood vnder his left eare, which caused his head to leane towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrels two small streames of blood, to the quantity of foure drops. Saue onely these foure drops of blood, the face, lips, chinne, doublet, coller, and shirt of the said Hun, was cleane from any blood. Also we find that the skinne both of his necke and throte beneath the girdle of silke, was fret and faled away, with that thing which the murtherers had broken his necke withall. Also the hands of the said Hun were wrung in the wrists; whereby we perceiued that his hands had bin bound.

Moreouer, we find that within the said prison was no meane whereby a man might hang himselfe, but onely a stoole, which stoole stood vpon a bolster of a bed, so tickle, that any man or beast might not touch it so little, but it was ready to fall. Wherby we perceiued that it was not possible that Hun might hang himselfe, the stoole so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should breake his necke or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcell of blood. Also we find vpon the left side of Hunnes iacket from the brest downeward, two great streames of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his iacket, we find a great cluster of blood, and the iacket folden downe thereupon; which thing the said Hun could neuer fold nor doe after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth plainly to vs all, that the necke of Hun was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find by God and all our consciences; that Richard Hunne was murthered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hun of his own death.

"Also there was an end of a wax candle, which as Iohn Belringer saith, hee left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hun was murthered; which waxe candle we found sticking vpon the stockes faire put out, about seuen or eight foote from the place where Hunne was hanged; which candle after our opinion was neuer put out by him, for many likelihoods which we haue perceiued. Also at the going vp of master chancellor into the Lollard's Tower, we haue good prooffe that there lay on the stockes a gowne either of murrey or crimosin in graine furred with shankes; whose gowne it was wee could neuer proue, neither who bare it away. All we find, that Master William Horsey, chancellour to my lord of London, hath had at

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his commandement both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreouer, all wee find that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, hath put Charles Ioseph out of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deale and vse the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would haue had him to doe. Notwithstanding, the deliuerance of the keyes to the chancellour by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunnes death, and Charles riding out of the towne on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a conuention made betwixt Charles and the chancellour for to colour the murther. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came againe to the towne at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as in the depositions of Iulian Littell, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simonds, and Peter Turner doth appeare.

"After colouring of the murther betwixt Charles and the chancellour conspired, the chancellour called to him one Iohn Spalding, belringer of Pauls, and deliuered to the same belringer the keyes of the Lollards Tower, giving to the said belringer a great charge, saying: I charge thee to keepe Hun more straitely then hee hath beene kept, and let him have but one meale a day. Moreouer I charge thee, let no body come to him without any licence, neither to bring him shirt, cappe, kirchiefe, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to bee put vpon Huns necke a great coller of iron with a great chaine, which is too heauie for any man or beast to weare, and long to endure.

"Moreouer, it is wel proued, that before Huns death, the said chancellor came vp into the said Lollard's Tower, and kneeled downe before Hun, holding vp his hands to him, praying him of forgiuenes of all that he had done to him, and must doe to him. And on Sunday following the chancellor commanded the penitensarie of Pauls to goe vp to him and say a gospel, and make for him holy water and holy bread, and giue it to him; which so did; and also the chancellor commanded that Hunne should haue his dinner. And the same dinner time Charles boy was shut in prison with Hun, which was neuer so before: and after dinner when the belringer let out the boy, the belringer said to the same boy; Come no more hither with meat for him, vntill to morrow at noone; for my master chancellor hath commanded that he should haue but one meale a day: and the same night following Richard Hun was murdered: which murther could not haue beene done without consent and licence of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of Iohn Spalding belringer: for there could no man come into the prison, but by the keies being in Iohn belringers keeping. Also as by my lord of Londons booke doth appeare, Iohn belringer is a poore innocent man. Wherefore all wee doe perceiue that this murther could not bee done, but by the commandement of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of Iohn belringer.

"Charles Ioseph within the Tower of London of his own free will and vnconstrained said, that master chancellor deuised and wrote with his own hand, all such heresies as were laid to Huns charge, record Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Pasmere, Richard Gibson, with many other. Also Charles Ioseph saith, that when Richard Hun was slaine, Iohn belringer bare vp the staire into Lollards Tower a waxe candle, hauing the keies of the dores hanging on his arme, and I Charles went next to him, and master chancellor came vp last: and when all we came vp, wee found Hun lying on his bed, and then master chancellor said; Lay hands on the theefe, and so all wee murdered him: and then I Charles put the girdle about Huns necke, and then Iohn belringer and I Charles did heaue vp Hun, and master chancellor pulled the girdle ouer the staple, and so Hunne was hanged."

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The copy of Richard Fitzjames's letter, then bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.

"I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord vnto my poor chancellor now in warde, and indighted by an vntrue quest, for the death of Richard Hun, vpon the onely accusation of Charles Ioseph, made by paine and durance; that by your intercession, it may please the kings grace to haue the matter duely and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet councell, in the presence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cause, and that vpon the innocencie of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the kings grace to award a plackard vnto his attorney to confesse the said enditement to be vntrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my chancellor be tried by any twelue men in London, they be so malitiouslie set *In fauorem hereticæ prauitatis*, that they will cast and condemne any clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel. *Quare si potes beate pater adjuua infirmitates nostras, tibi in perpetuum deuincti erimus*. Ouer this in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may haue the kings gracious fauour, whom I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speake with his grace and you, and I with all mine, shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble Oratour R. L."

Lastly, now remaineth to infer the sentence of the questmen, which followeth in like sort to be seen and expended, after I haue first declared the words of the bishop spoken in the parliament house.

The words that the bishop of London spake before the lords in the parliament house.

"Memorandum, That the bishop of London said in the parliament house, that there was a bill brought to the parliament, to make the jury that was charged vpon the death of Hun, true men; and said, and took vpon his conscience, that they were false, perjured caitiffs; and said furthermore to all the lords, there then being; For the love of God look vpon this matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine house for heretics: and said, that the said Richard Hun hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no man's else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was appeached of heresy, to speake with him, and he said that he had no mind to speake with the same man; which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his own hands, with other words."

The sentence of the inquest, subscribed by the coroner.

The inquisition intended and taken at the city of London in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Bainard Castle, in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, before Thomas Barnewell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king, within the city of London, aforesaid, also before James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, vpon the sight of the body of Richard Hun, late of London, tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollard's Tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner wise, the said Richard Hun came vnto his death; and vpon the oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John

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Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tim: the which said upon their oaths, that where the said Richard Hun, by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said bishop's, called Lollard's Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Bainard Castle aforesaid, William Horsey of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresy, chancellor to Richard, bishop of London, and one Charles Joseph, late of London, sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, feloniously, as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, the fourth day of December, the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hun made a fray, and the same Richard Hun feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the neck they did break of the said Richard Hun, and there feloniously slew him, and murdered him.

After that the twenty-four had given up their verdict sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament house, where the truth was laid so plain before all men's faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and should, no doubt, have suffered that they deserved, had not the cardinal, by his authority, practised for his catholic children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped, and went, as is said, to Exeter, &c. Nevertheless, though justice took no place, where favour did save, yet, because the innocent cause of Hun should take no wrong, the parliament became suitors unto the king's Majesty, that whereas the goods of the said Hun were confiscated into the king's hands, that it would please his Grace to make restitution of all the said goods unto the children of the said Hun; upon which motion, the king, of his gracious disposition, did not only give all the aforesaid goods unto the aforesaid children, under his broad seal, yet to be seen, but also did send out his warrants to those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to redeliver all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hun; all which goods came to the sum of 1500 pounds sterling, besides his plate and other jewels.

The tenor of the king's letter in the behalf of Richard Hun.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: Whereas by the complaint to us made, as well as also in our high court of parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot of our city of London, draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hun: And whereas you were indicted by our laws, of and for the death of the said Richard Hun, the said murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth year of our reign; the same we abhor; nevertheless, we, of our especial grace, certain science, and mere motion, pardoned you upon certain considerations us moving: for the intent that the goods of the said Richard Hun, the administration of them were committed to the said Roger Whapplot, we then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the infants the children of the said Richard Hun, as well for his death, as for his goods, embezzled, wasted, and consumed by your tyranny, and cruel act so committed, the

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same being of no little value; and as hitherto ye have made no recompence, according to our laws, as might stand with equity, justice, right, and good conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our laws. Wherefore, we will and exhort, and otherwise charge and command you, by the tenor of this our especial letters, that ye satisfy and recompense the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret his wife, according to our laws in this cause, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril, so that they shall have no cause to return unto us, for their further remedy eftsoons in this behalf, as ye, in the same, tender to avoid our high displeasure; otherwise, that ye, upon the sight hereof, to set all excuses apart, and to repair unto our presence, at which your hither coming you shall be further advertised of our mind.

From our manor," &c.

Defence of Richard Hun against Sir Thomas More and Alen Cope.

I doubt not but by these premises thou hast (Christian reader) sufficiently to understand the whole discourse and story of Richard Hun from top to toe. First, how he came in trouble for denying the bearing sheet of this young infant departed; then how he was forced, for succour of himself, to sue a præmunire; and thereupon what conspiracy of the clergy was wrought against him, what snares were laid, what fetches were practised, and articles devised, to snarl him in the trap of heresy, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in prison, how he was secretly murdered; after his murder, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning, lastly, how his death was inquired by the coroner, and cleared by acquittal of the inquest. Moreover, how the cause was brought into the parliament, and by the parliament the king's precept obtained for restitution of his goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous story, with all the branches and particular evidences of the same, taken out as well of the public acts, as of the bishop's registers, and special records, remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whapplot, the son of the daughter of the said Richard Hun, there to be seen, I thought here to unwrap and discover, so much the more, for three special purposes.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witness of the truth falsely slandered, of innocence wrongfully condemned, and of the party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moveth me, for Sir Thomas More's Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jest poor simple truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be the Dialogues of Alen Cope; which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, railing and barking against Richard Hun, do doublewise charge him, both to be a heretic, and also a desperate homicide of himself. Which, as it is false in the one, so it is to be found as untrue in the other, if simple truth, which hath few friends, and many times cometh in crafty handling, might freely come in indifferent hearing. Wherefore, as I have hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the circumstances thereof, in plain and naked narration of story, simply laid out before all men's faces; so something here to intermit in the defence, as well of his oppressed cause as also in discharge of myself, I will now compendiously answer to both these aforesaid adversaries, stopping, as it were, with one bush two gaps, and the mouths also, if I can, of them both together. And first, against Sir Thomas More, albeit in degree worshipful, in place superior, in wit and learning singular, (if his judgment

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in Christ's matters had been correspondent to the same,) otherwise being a man with many worthy ornaments beautified, yet, being but a man, and one man, I lay and object against the person of him, the persons and censures of twenty-four questmen, the deposition of so many jurors, the judgment of the coroner, the approbation of the parliament, and lastly, the king's bill assigned for restitution of his goods, with his own broad seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the person and credit of Sir Thomas More.

Now as touching his reasons: whereas he coming in with a flim-flam of a horse-mill, or a mill-horse, (in his own terms I speak,) thinketh it probation good enough, because he could not see him taken by the sleeve which murdered Hun: against these reasons unreasonable of his, I allege all the evidences and demonstrations of the history above prefixed to be considered, and of all indifferent men to be poised.

First, how he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair combed, his bonnet set right upon his head, with his eyes and his mouth fair closed, without any drivelling or spurging. His body being taken down, was found loose, (which by hanging could not be,) his neck broken, and the skin thereof, beneath the throat where the girdle went, fret and faled away; his girdle notwithstanding being of silk, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the girdle between the staple and his neck, with the residue also which went about his neck, was not sufficient for his head to come out at. His hands moreover wrung in his wrists, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and shirt collar unstained with any blood: when notwithstanding, in a manner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great quantity of blood was found. Also, whereas the staple whereon he hanged was so that he could not climb thereto without some mean, there was a stool set up upon the bolster of a bed, so tickle, that with the first touch in the world it was ready to fall. And how was it possible that Hun might hang himself upon that staple, the stool so standing? Besides the confession moreover of Charles Joseph's own mouth to Julian Litten, of Robert Johnson, John Spalding the bell-ringer, Peter Turner, and others. All which testimonies and declarations being so clear and undeniable, may suffice (I trust) any indifferent man to see where the truth of this case doth stand: unless Master More, being a gentleman of Utopia, peradventure, after some strange guise of that country, useth to carry his eyes not in his head but in his affection, not seeing but where he liketh, nor believing but what he listeth.

Finally, where Sir Thomas More, speaking of himself, so concludeth, that he hearing in the matter, what well might be said, yet could not find contrary, but Hun to be guilty of his own death; so, in as many words to answer him again, I perusing and searching in the story of Richard Hun, what may well be searched, cannot but marvel with myself, either with what darkness the eyes of Master More be closed, not to see what is so plain; or else with what conscience he would dissemble, that which shame cannot deny. And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Sir Thomas More.

Thirdly, touching the Dialogues of Alen Cope, which had rather the bishop's chancellor and officers to be accounted among thieves and murderers, than Hun to be numbered among the martyrs; I have herein not much to say, because himself saith but little; and if he had said less, unless his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But forasmuch as he saying not much, sendeth us to seek more in More; so with like brevity again I may send him to William Tindall, to shape him an answer. Yet, notwithstanding, lest Cope, in saying something, should think

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Hun's innocent cause to lack some friends, which will not or dare not adventure in defence of truth, somewhat I will answer in this behalf.

And first, touching this murder of Hun, not to be his own wilful act, but the deed of others; besides the demonstrations above premised to Sir Thomas More, now to Master Cope, if I had no other evidences but only these two, I would require no more; that is, his cap found so straight standing upon his head, and the stool so tottering under his feet. For how is it, I will not say, like, but how is it possible for a man to hang himself in a silken girdle double cast about a staple, in such shortness, that neither the space of the knot could well compass his head about, and yet having his cap so straight set upon his head, as his was?

Again, how is it possible, or can it be imagined, for him to hang himself, climbing up by a stool which had no stay for him to stand upon, but stood so tickle, that if he had touched the same never so little, it must needs have fallen?

But Cope, being something more provident in this matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as doth Master More. For he understanding the case to be ambiguous and doubtful, so leave it in suspense, neither determining that Hun did hang himself, and yet not admitting that he died a martyr, no more than they which are quelled by thieves and murderers in highway-sides. Well, be it so as Cope doth argue, that they which die by the hands of felons and murderers in thievish ways, be no martyrs; yet, notwithstanding, this his own similitude, comparing the bishop's chancellor and officers to thieves and murderers, doth grant at least that Hun died a true man, although no martyr. Now if the cause be it, and not the pain, that maketh a martyr, in pondering the cause why Hun was slain, we shall find it not altogether like to the cause of them which perish by thieves and robbers. For such commonly because of their goods, and for some worldly gain to be sought by their death, are made away, and being true men, may peradventure have the reward, although not the name, of martyrs: whereas this man's death, being wrought neither for money, nor any such temporal lucre to redound to his oppressors, as it hath another cause, so may it have another name, and deserve to be called by the name of martyrdom. Like as Abel being slain by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulate against him, but of spite only and of malice was made away, yet, notwithstanding, is justly numbered among the martyrs; so what let to the contrary, but that Hun also with him may be reckoned in the same society, seeing the cause wherefore they both did suffer proceedeth together out of one fountain? And what, moreover, if a man should call Naboth (who for holding his right inheritance was slain) a martyr, what great injury should he do either to the name or cause of the person, worthy to be carpied at? Against Thomas Becket, ye know, Master Cope, no special article of faith was laid, wherefore he died. And why then do you bestow upon him so devoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding that from the king which by the law of God and of the realm did belong unto him; and cannot suffer Hun to be titled for a martyr, dying in his own right by the hands of spiritual thieves and homicides, as you yourself do term them? But what do I strain my travail any further, to prove Hun a martyr, when Cope's own confession doth import no less, though I said nothing? For what if I should take no more but his own very words, and say that he was known to be a heretic, as Cope doth affirm; what could I say more, seeing he died for their heresy, to prove him to die a martyr? For to die a heretic with the papists, what is it else (to say truth) but to die with God a martyr?

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But howsoever it pleaseth either Sir Thomas More to jest, or Alen Cope to scold out the matter, and to style Richard Hun for a known and desperate heretic; yet to all true, godly disposed men, Hun may well be known to be a godly and virtuous person; no heretic, but faithful and sound; save that only he seemed rather half a papist; at least no full protestant, for that he resorted daily to mass, and also had his beads in prison with him, after the catholic manner; albeit he was somewhat inclined (as may appear) toward the gospel. And if the name of a martyr be thought too good for him, yet I trust Master Cope will stand so good master to him, to let him at least to be a martyr's fellow. But what now if I go further with Master Cope, and name Richard Hun not only for a martyr, but also commend him for a double martyr? Certes, as I suppose, in so saying I should affirm nothing less than truth, nor any thing more than truly may be said, and justly proved. But to give and grant this contention unto the adversary, which notwithstanding might be easily proved; let us see now the proofs of Master Cope, how he argueth that Richard Hun is no martyr; "because," saith he, "true men being killed in highways by thieves and murderers, are not therefore to be counted martyrs," &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of Hun, but as in true men killed by thieves and murderers? They that are killed by thieves and murderers, are killed for some prey, or money about them. And what prey or profit was in the death of Hun, let us see, to redound to them which oppressed him? If it were the mortuary or the bearing cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the præmunire, the danger thereof pertained to the priest, and not to them. If they feared lest the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole church, then was the cause of his death not private, but public, tending to the whole Church and clergy of Rome; and so is his death not altogether like to the death of them, which for private respects are killed of thieves and murderers.

But he was a heretic, saith Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for a heretic, I take him the more to be accepted for a martyr. For by that way which they call heresy, the living God is served by no way better. And if he were a heretic, why then did they not proceed against him as a heretic while he was alive? When they had him at Fulham before them, if they had been sure to entrap him in that snare, why did they not take their advantage, when they might with least jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for a heretic? why made they such haste to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the sentence of the law, having the law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved a heretic while he lived; and therefore thought it best to make him away privily, and to stop the præmunire, and afterward to stop the pursuit of his death, by making him a heretic; and therefore were articles devised by the chancellor (as is proved by witness of Charles Joseph and another, above) against him, and he condemned for a heretic, and his favourers also, whosoever durst stir to take his part, and so thereupon was committed to the secular power, and burned. Wherein they did him double wrong; first, in that they burned him for a heretic, having before submitted himself to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the bishop's registers by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was against their own laws. Again, if he had not submitted himself at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him, before they knew and heard him speak (as Tindall saith) whether he would recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for a heretic, yet to be killed and burned of them for a heretic, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double martyr. But Cope yet proceeding in his hot choler against Richard Hun, after he hath made him first no martyr, and then a heretic, thirdly, he now maketh him also a murderer of himself, and saith, that no other man was any part of his death, but only

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his own hands, and that either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause, he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogue, to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameless, who in Queen Mary's time in like sort went about to hang himself, had he not been taken in the manner, and rescued.

Furthermore, as touching the chancellor, he argueth that there was no cause why he should attempt any such violence against him, both for his age, for his dignity, for his learning, and for the greatness of his own peril, which might ensue thereof. Who if he had maligned the man, and had been so disposed to work his destruction, had means otherwise without danger to bring that about, having him within his danger convict and fast tied for heresy. Whereunto I answer, that to all this matter sufficient hath been answered by the story itself of his death, above specified. Whereby the manner of his death, by circumstances of his handling, and hanging, by his neck broke, by his body loose, by his skin fretted, by his wrists wrung, by his girdle in such shortness double cast about the staple, by his cap right upon his head, by his hair combed, by his eyes closed, by the cake of blood found in the floor, by his shirt collar, doublet, jacket, and other outward parts of his garments without drop of blood unspotted, by the stool so standing upon the bolster, by the chancellor's murrey gown found the day after upon the stocks, the wax candle fair put out; furthermore, by the verdict of the inquest, by the attestation of the witnesses sworn, by the coroner's judgment, by the assent of the parliament, by the king's letters assigned, and broad seal for restitution of his goods; and finally, by the confession of the parties themselves which murdered him, &c.: and yet thinketh Cope to make men such fools, having their five wits, to ween yet that Hun did hang himself, after so many demonstrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of this story may appear. And though it were, as it was unlike, and hard for a man to believe, that Doctor Horsey, a man of such age, dignity, and learning, would so much forget himself, to attempt such a villany, yet so great is the devil sometimes with man (where God permitteth) that he worketh greater things than this, and more incredible. For who would have thought it like that Cain would ever have killed Abel his own natural brother? which was more than a bishop's chancellor to kill a citizen: yet so he did. And where Cope pretendeth the causes of anger and desperation whereby Hun did hang himself; how is it like, or who did ever hear, a man being in such extremity of desperation, to stand first trimming himself, and combing his head, before he go to hang himself? No less credit is also to be given to that which followeth in the same Cope, where he saith, that Richard Hun being in prison, was convicted of heresy. By the which word, convicted, if he mean that Hun was proved a heretic, that is false; for that he, being at Fulham, examined upon certain articles, both denied the articles to be true, as they were objected; and also if they were true, yet he submitted himself to their favourable correction, and therefore, not standing obstinately in the same, could not be proved a heretic. And if by this term, convicted, he mean that he was by sentence cast; so was Hun never cast by any sentence for a heretic, so long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing answer for himself. And because this untruth should not go without his fellow, see how he huddlith up one false narration in the neck of another; affirming, moreover, that Hun was cast into prison before he entered his suit of præmunire against the priest. Which is utterly false and untrue, both disagreeing to other stories, and also refuted by the words of Sir Thomas More, his own author, who reporteth that Hun, (in suing his præmunire against the priest,) being set upon a glory of victory, made his boast among his friends, that he trusted to have the matter long spoken of, and to be called Hun's case. Whereby it appeareth, that Hun was not then in prison, clapped up for heresy, but was

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abroad seeking counsel among the lawyers, and boasting among his friends, as writeth More, lib. iii. Dial.

After this heap of untruths above passed, add yet further another copy of Cope's false dealing; who, seeking all corners, and every where, how to pick matter against my former history, chargeth me with arrogancy, as though I took so highly upon me to undo and derogate the king's acts and judgments in the acquittal of Doctor Horsey. If it so pleased the king to acquit Doctor Horsey, by his gracious pardon, I am not against it, neither do I deny but the king so did; neither do I say, nor ever did, but the king of his supereminent prerogative may so do: and wherein then do I unrip or loose the king's acts here done and concluded? But if the question be this, whether Doctor Horsey, with his colleagues, did kill Richard Hun or no, then do I say, that the pardon of the king doth not take away the verity of the crime committed, but removeth away the penalty of the law deserved; and so if the life of them was saved by way of pardon, (as Master More himself seemeth not to deny,) then was it not through their innocency claiming justice that they escaped, but through petition standing in need of mercy. For what needeth pardon, where justice absolveth? yea, who sueth pardon, but in so doing must yield himself guilty? for pardon never cometh lightly either with God or man, except the crime be first confessed. Wherefore, if they escaped by justice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth Master More say, they were saved by pardon? and if they escaped by pardon, how then doth Cope say, they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the sentence of the king's attorney in the king's name did absolve them as unguilty, according as the king was then informed by the cardinal and suit of friends; yet, afterward the king, being better informed by the parliament, and the truth better known, detested and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon unto them, as by the king's own acts and his broad seal appeareth, yet remaining in records to be seen.

And as touching my former histories set forth in Latin and in English, which spake first of the foreman of the inquest, then of the king's attorney, to be laboured with some gifts or money; as Cope hath yet proved no untruth in my saying, so less can he find any repugnance or disagreeing in the same. For he that speaketh of bribing, first of one person, and then afterward of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary (I think) to himself, but rather doth comprehend that in the one book, which he before leaveth out in the other, and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, seeing that which is said may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For, how is it otherwise like or possible, but that there must needs be found some privy packing in this matter, seeing after such evidence found and brought in by the coroner's inquest and jury of twenty-four chosen persons, after so many marks and tokens of the murder so clear and demonstrable, and laid forth so plain to the eyes of all the world, that no man could deny, or not see the same; yet, through the handling of the aforesaid attorney, and of the foreman of the inquest, the murderers were borne out, and confessed to be no murderers? If such bolstering out of matters and partiality were then such a rare case in the realm of England in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, who then under the king and in the king's name did what he list, then let it seem untrue in my former stories, that I have written. And yet the words of my story which Cope carpeth at so much, be not mine, but the words of Edward Hall, his own author. Wherefore, if his disposition be so set, that he must needs be a censurer of other men's writings, let him expostulate with Hall, and not with me.

161. London Martyrs, 1509-1518

But I trouble the reader too much in this matter of Richard Hun, being of itself so clear, that no indifferent judge can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be satisfied. Wherefore, to return again to the purpose of our story intermitted; in the table above, containing the names of them which about this time of Richard Hun were forced to deny and abjure their professed opinions, mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, John Houshold, and other more, abjuring about the year of our Lord, 1517. Whose vexation and weakness, although it be pitiful to behold, yet to consider the confession of their doctrine in those ancient days, it is not unprofitable. Wherein we have to see the same form of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders, which is now publicly received, as well touching the Lord's sacrament of his body, as also other specialties of sincerity. And although they lacked then public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the gospel, which the Lord's merciful grace hath given us now, yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or nothing inferior to these our times of public reformation; as may appear by this confession of Elizabeth Stamford hereunder written; which only may suffice for example to understand what ripe knowledge of God's word was then abroad, although not in churches publicly preached, for danger of the bishops, yet in secret wise taught and received of divers.

In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford, who being brought and examined before Fitzjames, bishop of London, A.D. 1517, confessed that she was taught by one Thomas Beele, sometime dwelling at Henley, these words, eleven years before: "That Christ feedeth and fast nourisheth his church with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven; this is the worthy word that is worthily received, and joined unto man for to be in one body with him. Sooth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wisely deeming of the holy sacrament Christ's own body: this is not received by chewing of teeth, but by bearing of ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working thereafter. Therefore saith St. Paul, I fear me amongst us, brethren, that many of us be feeble and sick; therefore I counsel us brethren to rise and watch, that the great day of doom come not suddenly upon us, as the thief doth upon the merchant." Also the said Thomas taught and showed her, that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but very bread; and that the sacrament was the very body of Christ, put upon the cross, after a divine or mystical manner. And moreover, that the said Thomas Beele did many times and oft teach her this aforesaid lesson, that she should confess her sins to God, and that the pope's pardons and indulgences were nought worth, and profited not; and that worshipping of images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

John Stilman, martyr.

It would ask a long tractation and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and women, besides these above rehearsed, which in those days recanted and abjured about the beginning of King Henry's reign and before: among whom yet, notwithstanding, some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant unto death; of which number one was John Stilman by

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name, who about the twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration made about eleven years then past, before Edmund, then bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images, as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial; yet, since that time he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse; and further, had highly commended and praised John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book called *The Wicket* was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was sent from thence unto the Lollard's Tower at London, and the twenty-second day of October then next ensuing, was brought openly into the consistory at Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop's vicar-general, upon the contents of these articles following:

"1. First I object unto you, that you have confessed before my lord of London, and me, Doctor Hed his vicar-general, that about twenty years past, one Stephen Moone, of the diocese of Winchester, with whom you abode six or seven years after, did teach you to believe that the going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images, as the Lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen or fifteen years past, did read unto you Wickliff's *Wicket*, and likewise instructed you to believe that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ: all which things you have erroneously believed.

"2. Item, You have divers times read the said book called Wickliffe's *Wicket*, and one other book of the ten commandments, which the said Richard Smart did give you, and at the time of your first apprehension, you did hide them in an old oak, and did not reveal them unto the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years since; where you promised by oath upon the evangelists, ever after to believe and hold as the Christian faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you there promised to perform all such penance as the said bishop of Salisbury did enjoin you; who then enjoined you, upon the like pain, not to depart his diocese, without his special licence.

"3. Item, It is evident that you be relapsed, as well by your own confession, as also by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the aforesaid diocese, without the licence of the bishop, and brought them with you to London, where now being attached and taken with them upon great suspicion of heresy, you are brought unto the bishop of London. By reason of which your demeanour, you have showed both your impenitent and dissembled conversation both your errors, and also your unfaithful abjuration, and disobedience unto the authority of our mother holy church, in that you performed not the penance, in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured and also relapsed, in that you departed the same diocese without licence.

"4. Item, You be not only (as before is said) impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured, and relapsed, by this your aforesaid heretical demeanour, but also, since your last attachment

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upon suspicion of heresy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my lord of London, your ordinary, and me, judicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorry that ever you did abjure your said opinions, and had not suffered then manfully for them: for they were, and be, good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them, to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy father the pope and his authority, damnably saying, that he is antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's vicar on earth: and that his pardons and indulgences which he granteth in the sacrament of penance, are naught, and that you will none of them: and likewise that the college of cardinals be limbs of the said antichrist, and that all other inferior prelates and priests are the synagogue of Satan. And moreover you said, that the doctors of the church have subverted the truth of Holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds; and therefore their works be naught, and they in hell; but that Wickliff is a saint in heaven, and the book called his Wicket is good, for therein he showeth the truth. Also you did wish that there were twenty thousand of your opinion against us Scribes and Pharisees, to see what you would do for the defence of your faith. All which heresies you did afterwards erroneously affirm before the archbishop of Canterbury, and then said, that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary; and therefore for these premises you be evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed unto the secular power."

After these articles thus propounded, and his constant persevering in the truth perceived, Doctor Hed, vicar-general, the twenty-fifth day of October, by his sentence definitive, did condemn him a relapsed heretic, and so delivered him the same present day unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

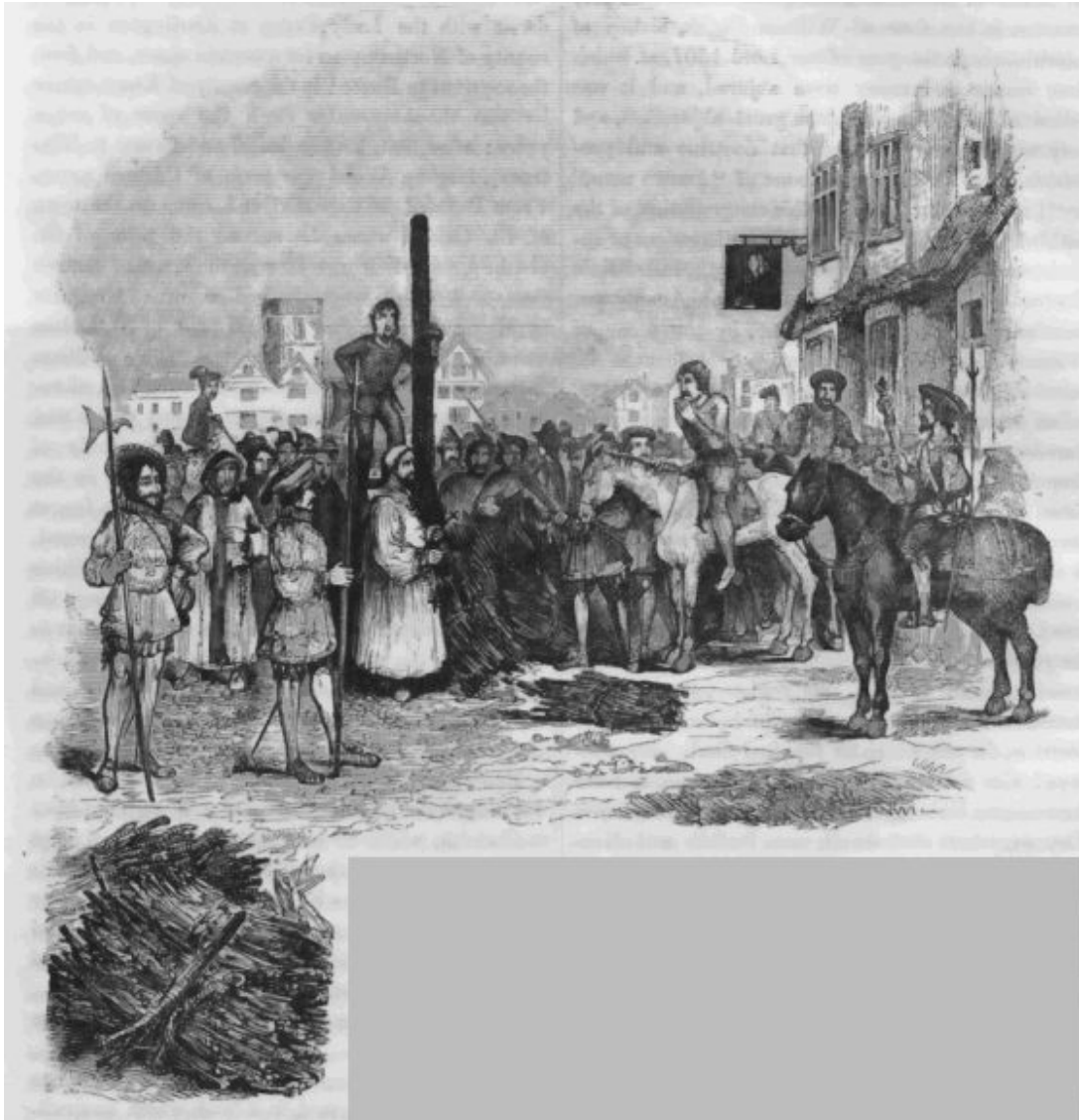
Thomas Man, martyr.

Next to John Stilman above mentioned, followeth in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man; who, the twenty-ninth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewise been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years before, the fourteenth day of August, A.D. 1511, and being at that time brought before Doctor Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was by him examined upon divers and sundry articles.

The fifteenth day of February, Doctor Hed, the chancellor, again judicially sitting in the consistory at Paul's, commanded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there causing the articles objected against him by the bishop of Lincoln, with his order of abjuration and penance, and also his own articles last propounded, to be first read, he called forth a third witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of justice, and nothing against law, he therefore appointed unto the said Thomas Man certain doctors and advocates of the Arches, as his counsellors to plead in his behalf. Which was even like as if the lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the wolf, or the hare to the hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, which were both most wicked haters and abhorers of his Christian profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that antichristian law, by the which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the twentieth and also the twenty-third days of the same month of February, in their several sessions, he, seeing his own negations to their objections to take no place against their

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sworn witnesses, had no other thing to allege for himself, but that through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the bishop of Lincoln, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of counsel, God knoweth; and yet Dr. Raynes, being one of his chief assigned advocates, instead of advice, could by his subtle questioning then make him to confess, that certain talk, whereof one of the witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past; which because it was since his recantation, was rather an accusation of himself, than an excusing; and therefore it is easy to judge with how favourable and uprightful hearts they took upon them to be his advocates and defenders. The chancellor likewise charged him upon the same twenty-third day, that since his last imprisonment he had said unto Robert Clunie the bishop's sumner, and his keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceive for his part in this his matter, the laws of the church were grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas. Which objection he granting to be true, the chancellor did for that time dismiss the court, until the first day of March next following. Upon which day, minding to make quick despatch, he in few words asked Man, what matter he had to allege for himself, why he should not then, considering the premises, be pronounced a relapsed heretic, and receive such punishment by the secular power, as to such was due by order of law? But he having no other allegations than before which might take place with them, was finally condemned as a heretic. And notwithstanding that, as the register noteth, but how truly God only knoweth, he did again forsake his former renewed profession of Christ's gospel, and yielded himself unto the bishop of Rome, requiring to be absolved from his curse of excommunication, and contented to do such penance as they should enjoin him; he was yet, the twenty-ninth day of March, delivered by Doctor Hed unto the sheriff of London, to be then presently burned, with this protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the sheriff that he would receive this person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigor. The words to be marked in their sentence be these: We desire in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity of thee, and against thee in this part, may so be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigor, nor yet no dissolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy soul, &c. Wherein these catholic churchmen do well declare, according to the words of Thomas Man before expressed, that the laws of their church be grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas; for like as Caiaphas with his court of Pharisees cried against Christ unto Pilate, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; but if thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: even so they, first condemning the saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the secular magistrate, to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, which bringeth all things to light in his due time, and uncovereth hypocrisy at last, that she may be seen and known in her right colours.



Thomas Man Brought to Execution

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust sentence of Hed the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London, sitting on horseback, in Paternoster Row, before the bishop's door, A.D. 1518, protesting to the said sheriff that he had no power to put him to death; and therefore desired the sheriff to take him as a relapse and condemned, to see him punished, *et tamen citra mortem*, that is, without death, as the words stand in the register. The sheriff, receiving neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day in the forenoon caused him to be put into God's angel, according to the words of the said Thomas Man before, saying, that if he were taken again of the pilled knave priests, as he called them, he wist well he should go to the holy angel, and then be an angel in heaven.

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In the deposition of one Thomas Risby, weaver, of Stratford Langthorn, against the forenamed martyr, Thomas Man, it appeareth by the registers, that he had been in divers places and countries in England, and had instructed very many, as at Amersham, at London, at Billericay, at Chelmsford, at Stratford Langthorn, at Uxbridge, at Burnham, at Henley upon Thames, in Suffolk and Norfolk, at Newbury, and divers places more; where he himself testifieth, that as he went westward, he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment, touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, that he was of, and especially at Newbury, where was, as he confessed, a glorious and sweet society of faithful favourers, who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last by a certain lewd person, whom they trusted and made of their counsel, they were betrayed, and then many of them, to the number of six or seven score, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came then, as he confessed, to the forest of Windsor, where he, hearing of the brethren which were at Amersham, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching twenty-three years, which was from this present time seventy years ago. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longham, bishop of Lincoln, whereof we shall, Christ willing, hear more anon. Against these faithful Christians of Amersham, was great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about the year of our Lord 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called *abjuratio magna*, the great abjuration, and they which were noted of that doctrine and profession, were called by the name of "known men," or "just-fast men," &c. In this congregation of the faithful brethren, were four principal readers or instructors. Whereof one was Tilsworth, called then Doctor Tilsworth, who was burnt at Amersham, mentioned in our history before, by the name of William Tilseley, whom I suppose rather to be called Tilseworth. Another was Thomas Chase, called amongst them Doctor Chase, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the bishop of Lincoln's prison at Wooburn, called Little Ease. The third was this Thomas Man, called also Doctor Man, burned, as is here mentioned, in Smithfield, A.D. 1518, who, as by his own confession, and no less also by his travail, appeareth, was God's champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause and law of God. He confesseth himself in the same register, that he had turned seven hundred people to his religion and doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley upon Thames, where they dwelt, unto Suffolk and Norfolk, that they might be brought, as he then termed it, out of the devil's mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin, named likewise among them, Doctor Cosin.

Robert Cosin, martyr.

This Robert Cosin seemeth to be the same, which in the former part of our history is before mentioned, being called by the name of Father Robert, and was burnt in Buckingham. Of this Robert Cosin I find in the registers of Lincoln, that he, with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also when she had vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from the same, and that she needed not to confess her unto a priest, but to be sufficient to lift up her hands to heaven. Moreover, they were charged by the bishop, for teaching the said Joan, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before mass, as any other day, &c. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for the which they were in those days abjured and condemned to death.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

William Sweeting, alias Clerke, martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the Lady Percy at Darlington in the county of Northampton for a certain space, and from thence went to Boxted in the county of Essex, where he was the holy-water clerk the space of seven years; after that, he was bailiff and farmer to Mistress Margery Wood the term of thirteen years. From Boxsted he departed and came to the town of St. Osithe, where he served the prior of St. Osithe's, named George Laund, the space of sixteen years and more; where he had so turned the prior by his persuasions, that the said prior of St. Osithe was afterward compelled to abjure. This William Sweeting coming up to London with the aforesaid prior, for suspicion of heresy was committed to the Lollard's Tower, under the custody of Charles Joseph, and there, being abjured in the church of St. Paul, was constrained to bear a faggot at Paul's Cross, and at Colchester; and afterward, to wear a faggot upon his coat all his life. Which he did two years together upon his left sleeve, till at length the parson of Colchester required him to help him in the service of the church, and so plucked the badge from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the holy-water clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to Rederiffe in the diocese of Winchester, where he was holy-water clerk the space of a year; then went to Chelsith, where he was their neatherd, and kept the town beasts. In the which town, upon St. Ann's day in the morning, as he went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the bishop, and his chamber searched for books. This was A.D. 1511.

The crimes whereupon he was examined were these:

"First, For having much conference with one William Man of Boxsted, in a book which was called Matthew.

"Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of James Brewster, who had been before abjured.

"Item, That when his wife would go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, what good she should receive by her going on pilgrimage: adding moreover, that, as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend to her business.

"Item, That he had learned and received of William Man, that the sacrament of the priests' altar was not the present very body, but bread in substance, received in memorial of Christ.

"Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the same doctrine to James Brewster.

"Item, Because he had reprehended his wife for worshipping the images in the church, and for setting up candles before them."

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this William Sweeting, wherefore he was condemned. Who then being asked what cause he had, why he should not be judged for relapse, said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

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James Brewster, martyr.

With William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned James Brewster, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester. This James Brewster was a carpenter, dwelling ten years in the town of Colchester, who being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. James, in one Walker's house in St. Clement's parish.

About six years before, which was A.D. 1505, he had been abjured by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, the see of London being then vacant; and after other penance done at Colchester, was enjoined to wear a faggot upon his upper garment during his life. Which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the comptroller of the earl of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the earl.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these: "First, that he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book. At which reading also were present at one time, Woodroffe or Woodbinde, a net-maker, with his wife; also a brother-in-law of William Sweeting; and another time Thomas Good-red, who heard likewise the said William Sweeting read.

"Item, Because he used the company and conference of Henry Hert, carpenter, of Westminster, and wrought with him in his science at Westminster.

"Item, For having a certain little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed.

"Item, Because he hearing upon a time one Master Bardfield of Colchester thus say, that he that will not worship the Maozim in heart and thought shall die in fight; he asked afterward of William Man, what that word Maozim should mean; who told him that it signified as much as the mass god, to wit, the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That he had much conference with Henry Hert against oblations and images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poor, than that that was offered in pilgrimage.

"Item, For that he had communication and conference with Roger Heliar, and one Walker, a thicker of St. Clement's, concerning divers such matters of pilgrimage, offering to images, worshipping of saints, and the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, When Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lord's body and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say: Now the Son of the living God help us. Unto whom William Sweeting again should answer, Now Almighty God so do."

And thus have you the causes likewise and crimes laid against James Brewster, upon which he with William Sweeting was together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as

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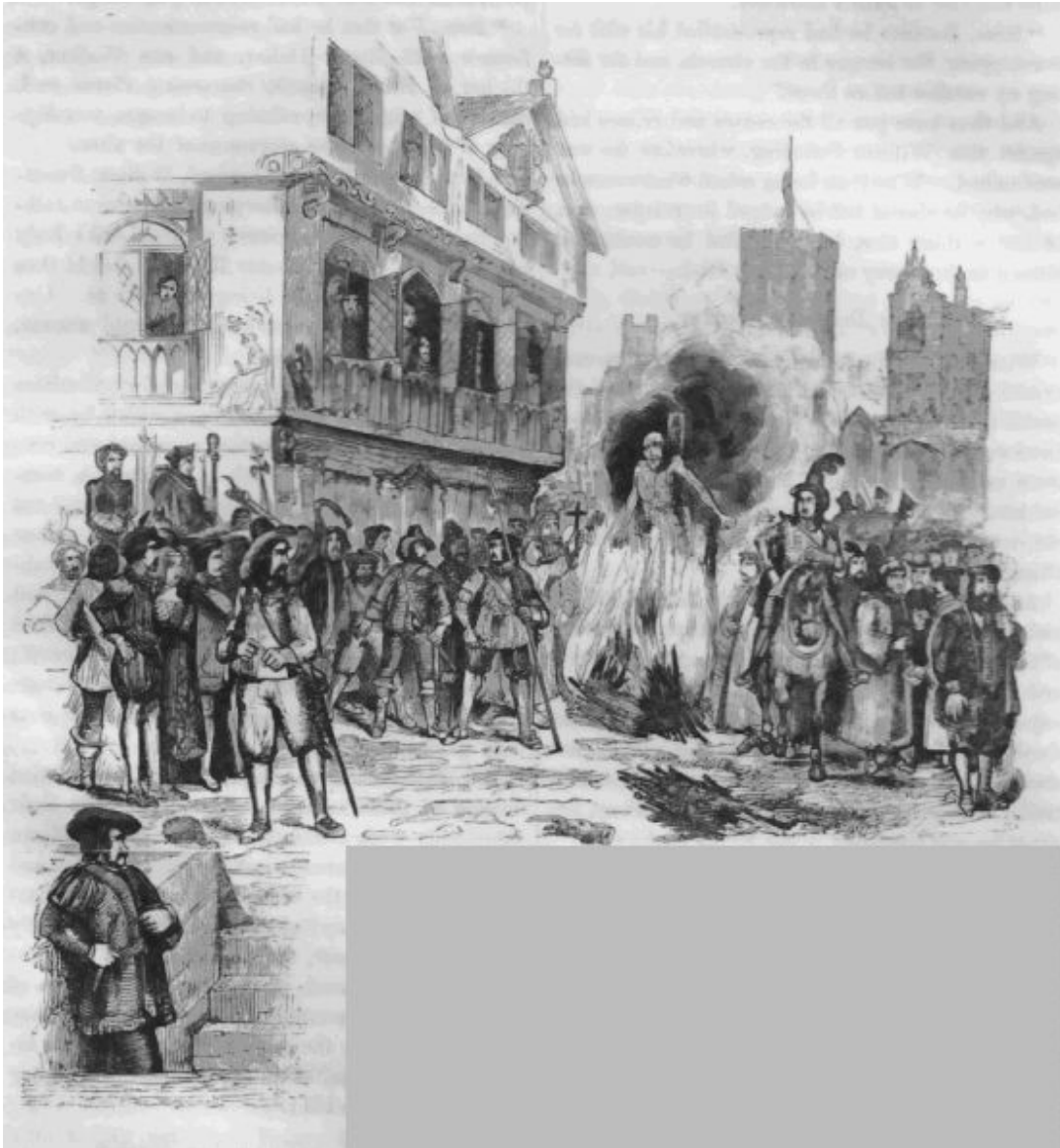
the Romish manner is, whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for relapse, he, trusting to find favour and grace in submitting himself, said, that he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himself; trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

But note here the unmerciful and unchristian dealing of these catholic fathers, who upon their submission were contented to give out a solemn commission, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of the excommunication, whereunto they had incurred: but immediately after upon the same, the bishop, all this notwithstanding, pronounced upon them the sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the 18th day of October, A.D. 1511.

Christopher Shoomaker, martyr.

To these blessed saints before past, we will also adjoin Christopher Shoomaker; of whom this I find briefly in the register of Sir John Longland; that the said Christopher Shoomaker, a parishioner of Great Missenden, came to the house of John Stay, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little book, the words which Christ spake to his disciples. And thus coming to his house about four times, at every time he read something out of the same book unto him; teaching him not to be deceived in the priest's celebration at mass, and declaring that it was not the same very present body of Christ, as the priests did fantasy; but in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ.

And taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping and setting up candles to saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by John Okenden and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that register concerning Christopher Shoomaker, declaring further that he was burned at Newbury about this time, which was A.D. 1518. And thus much out of the registers of London.



The execution of Christopher Schoemaker

162. Persecution in Lincoln

In turning over the registers and records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to the year of our Lord 1520, and 1521, I find, that as the light of the gospel began more to appear, and the number of the professors to grow, so the vehemency of persecution and stir of the bishops began also to increase. Whereupon ensued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and sundry quarters of this realm, especially about Buckinghamshire, and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the diocese of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk and Norfolk, and other parts more. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misinformed, which condemn this kind of doctrine now received of novelty, asking where was this church and religion forty years ago, before Luther's time? To whom it may be answered, that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops, afterward decayed, and now reformed again; although it was not received nor admitted of the pope's clergy before Luther's time, neither yet is, yet it was received of other, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work, and that of a great number, which both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may appear. And if they think this doctrine be so new, that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their own catholic fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or the professors thereof so late start up, as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of ignorance, and for not knowing or considering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us; which if they did, they should see and say, that the Church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, which tasted and followed the sweetness of God's holy word almost in as ample manner, for the number of well-disposed hearts, as now. Although public authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the gospel, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much unequal; certes, the fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times; as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing, also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English; of whom some gave five marks, some more, some less, for a book. Some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English. In which rarity of books, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muse at, to note in the registers and to consider how the word of truth, notwithstanding, did multiply so exceedingly, as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seen, no doubt, the marvellous working of God's mighty power. For so I find and observe in considering the registers, how one neighbour resorting and conferring with another, eftsoons, with a few words of their first or second talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they desired to persuade them, touching the truth of God's word and his sacraments. To see their travails, their earnest seeking, their burning zeal, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful, may make us now in these our days of free profession to blush for shame.

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Four principal points they stood in against the Church of Rome, in pilgrimage, adoration of saints, in reading Scripture books in English, and in the carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

After the great abjuration aforesaid, which was under William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of "known men," or "just-fast men," as now they are called by the name of Protestants.

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtlety did so circumvent them, that they caused the wife to detect the husband, the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbour the neighbour. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the books were known; neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtly and sleightly these catholic prelates did use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these "known men," fifteen or twenty years before, so covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspicions they had, such espials and privy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the king, and in the king's name; such diligence they showed in that behalf, so violently and impudently they abused the book of the peaceable evangelists, wresting men's consciences upon their oath, swearing them upon the same to detect themselves, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further process of the table ensuing, (Christ willing,) which we have collected out of some part of the registers of Lincoln, shall appear.

For the better declaration whereof, first here is to be premonished by the way, touching the see of Lincoln, that after William Smith, succeeded John Longland. This William Smith, although he was somewhat eager and sharp against the poor simple flock of Christ's servants, under whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested, as partly hath been before declared; yet was he nothing so bloody and cruel as was the said Longland, who afterward succeeded in that diocese. For so I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troublesome affliction of Buckinghamshire men, wherein many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he sent quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home, and live as good Christian men should do. And many who were enjoined penance before, he did release. This Smith died about the year of our Lord 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforesaid, the college of Brazen-nose in Oxford.

Not long after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexes of the faithful poor servants of Christ; who, to renew again the old sparkles of persecution, which were not yet utterly quenched, first began with one or two of those which had been abjured, whom he thought to be most notorious, causing them by force of their oath, to detect and bewray, not only their own opinions touching points of religion, but also to discover all others of their affinity, which were either suspected or abjured before. And them likewise he put to their oath, most violently constraining them to utter and confess both themselves, and whom else soever they knew: by reason whereof, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens, were brought forth to examination, and straitly handled. And such as were found in relapse, were burned.

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The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous penance and injunctions, that either through grief of conscience they shortly died, or else with shame they lived.

Captious interrogatories ministered commonly by the bishop of Lincoln, against these examiners here following.

The interrogatories or articles which Longland, bishop of Lincoln, used most commonly to minister to these examiners or "known men," in number were nine, and are these as followeth:

"1. First, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the parish of Amersham had been convented before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?

"2. Item, Whether they knew that they, so convented before the said bishop, did err in the sacrament of the altar, or in any other sacrament of the church: and if they did, in what sacraments, and in which of them? Also whether they knew that the said parties so convented did confess their errors, and receive penance for the same?

"3. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were of the society of those so convented for heresy: and if they were, what fellowship they had with them, and with whom?

"4. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with such a one (naming the person whom they knew suspected, as with Thurstan Littlepage)? And if they were, what conversation they had with him, how long, and when: and whether they knew the said person to have been suspected of heresy?

"5. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with him; or with him (naming some other person whom they suspected, as Alexander Mastall)? and if they were, how, and how long? and whether they knew the said person to be suspected of heresy?

"6. Item, Whether they, or any of them, had been beforetime detected of heresy, to the office of the aforesaid William, bishop of Lincoln: and if they were, by what person or persons they were detected? or else, whether they only were called by the aforesaid William, bishop, for heresy?

"7. Item, Whether he or they be noted and holden for heretics; or be reputed and defamed to be of the sect of those who were convented for heresy? and whether he or they be named for a 'known man' amongst them?

"8. Item, Whether he or they have been ever at any readings of such as have been so convented for heresy?

"9. Item, Whether he or they were ever in any secret communication or conventicle with them? whom or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a 'known man,' or holding against the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments and articles of faith? and if they knew any such, to declare where and when, and what they were, and who were present the same time."

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These articles and interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be shown a certain brief sum compendiously collected out of the registers of John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, of the names first of those who by oath were constrained against their wills to detect and accuse others. Secondly, The persons that were accused. Thirdly, The crimes to them objected.

And first; forasmuch as the bishop perceived that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with such others, were men especially noted to be of that side, therefore, to work his purpose the better, he began with them; producing the same as witnesses, to detect first Robert Bartlet of Amersham, and Richard his brother; understanding that these aforementioned witnesses, because they had been abjured before, durst now do no other, upon pain of relapse, but needs confess whatsoever was put unto them. And therefore, because Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother, being called before the bishop, and sworn upon their oath, would confess nothing against themselves; the bishop, to convict them by witnesses, went first to William Chedwell, lying sore sick in his bed, causing him upon the evangelists to swear, whether he knew the aforesaid Robert and Richard Bartlet to be "known men." Which being done, the bishop then called before him Robert Andrew, Roger Bennet, John Hill, Edmund Dormer, John Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, John Dosset, (all Amersham men,) who, being abjured before, as is said, durst no otherwise do but confess upon their oath that Robert and Richard Bartlet were "known men." And yet the bishop, not contented with this, caused also their two wives, to wit, Margaret the wife of Robert Bartlet, and Isabel the wife of Richard Bartlet, to depose and give witness against their own natural husbands. Albeit Isabel Bartlet, being somewhat more temperate of her tongue, refused utterly to confess any thing of her husband, and denied her husband's words to be true; till at last, she, being convicted of perjury, was constrained to utter the truth. And first, as touching those who, being brought to abjuration, were put to their penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a catalogue: first reciting the persons; afterwards the rigorous penance to them enjoined.

The names of those who were abjured in the diocese of Lincoln, A.D. 1521.

William Colins.
John Colins.
Joan Colins.
Robert Colins.
John Hacker.
John Brabant the father.
John Brabant his son.
John Brabant the younger son.
John Edmonds.
Edward Pope.
Henry Phip.
John Steventon.
Joan Steventon.
Robert Bartlet.
Thomas Clerke.
John Clerke.

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Richard Bartlet.
William Phip.
John Phip.
Thomas Couper.
William Littlepage.
John Littlepage.
Joan Littlepage.
John Say.
John Frier.
Richard Vulford.
Thomas Tredway
William Gudgame.
Roger Heron.
Francis Funge.
Robert Pope.
Roger Dods.
John Harris.
Robert Bruges.
John Stampe.
Joan Stampe.
Richard White.
Benet Ward.
John Baker.
Agnes Wellis.
Marian Morden.
Isabel Morwin.
John Butler.
John Butler the younger.
Richard Carder.
Richard Bernard.
Joan Bernard.
John Grace.
John French.
John Edings.

The towns, villages, and countries where these aforesaid persons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be these.

Amersham.
Chesham.
Hichenden.
Missenden the Great.
Missenden the Less.
East-hundred.
West-hundred.
Asthall.

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Beaconsfield.
Denham.
Ginge.
Betterton.
Charney.
Stanlake.
Claufield.
Walton.
Marlow.
Dorney.
Iver.
Burton.
Uxbridge.
Woburn.
Henley.
Wycombe.
West-Wycombe.
Newbury.
Burford.
Witney.
Hungerford.
Upton.
Windsor.
London.
Coleman-street in London.
Cheapside in London.
Shoreditch by London.
St. Giles in London.
Essex.
Suffolk.
Norfolk.
Norwich.

The books and opinions which these were charged withal, and for which they were abjured, partly are before expressed, partly here follow, in a brief summary to be seen.

A brief summary of their opinions

The opinions of many of these persons were, That he or she never believed in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would; and that it was not as men did take it.

For that he was known of his neighbours to be a good fellow, meaning, that he was a "known man."

For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a one knew as much as he did know.

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Some, for saying that they of Amersham, who had been abjured before by Bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folk who could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by power of the bishop.

Some, for hiding others in their barns.

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or treatises of Scripture, in English: some, for hearing the same read.

Some, for defending, some for marrying with, them that had been abjured.

Some, for saying that matrimony was not a sacrament.

Some, for saying that worshipping of images was mawmetry; some, for calling images carpenters' chips; some, for calling them stocks and stones; some, for calling them dead things.

Some, for saying that money spent upon pilgrimage, served but to maintain thieves and harlots. Some, for calling the image in the rood-loft, "Block-almighty."

Others, for saying that nothing graven with man's hand was to be worshipped.

Some, for calling them fools who came from Master John Shorne in pilgrimage.

Another, for calling his vicar a poll-shorn priest. Another, for calling a certain blind chapel, being in ruin, an old fair milk-house.

Another, for saying that he threshed God Almighty out of the straw.

Another, for saying that alms should not be given before they did sweat in a man's hand.

Some, for saying that those who die, pass straight either to heaven or hell.

Isabel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured, for lamenting her husband, when the bishop's man came for him; and saying, that he was an undone man, and she a dead woman.

For saying, that Christ, departing from his disciples into heaven, said that once he was in sinners' hands, and would come there no more.

Robert Rave, hearing a certain bell in an uplandish steeple, said, "Lo, yonder is a fair bell, an it were to hang about any cow's neck in this town;" and therefore, as for other such-like matters more, he was brought *coram nobis*!

Item, For receiving the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly father.

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Some, for saying that the pope had no authority to give pardon, or to release man's soul from sin, and so from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The penance to these parties enjoined by this John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was almost uniform, and all after one condition; save only that they were severally committed and divided into several and divers monasteries, there to be kept and found of alms all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop. As for example, I have here adjoined the bishop's letter for one of the said number, sent to the abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetual penance; by which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, who were bestowed likewise sundrily into sundry abbeys, as to Osney, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Thame, to Bicester, to Dorchester, to Netley, to Ashridge, and divers more. The copy of the bishop's letter, sent to the abbot of Ensham, here followeth underwritten.

Copy of the bishop's letter to the abbot of Ensham.

"My loving brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetual penance within your monastery of Ensham, there to live as a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and nevertheless according unto the law command you, to receive him, and see ye order him there according to his injunctions, which he will show you, if ye require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him; and for his meat and drink, he may have such as you give of your alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink; so may you order him as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he pass not the precinct of your monastery. And thus fare you heartily well: From my place," &c.

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted on these men, they do little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all; the manner and form whereof in the said bishop's register do proceed in condition as followeth:

Penance enjoined under pain of relapse, by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the 19th day of December, A.D. 1521.

"*In primis*, That every one of them shall, upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the market-time, go thrice about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest greece of the cross there, a quarter of an hour, with a faggot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a faggot of wood upon their shoulders, before their procession upon a Sunday, which shall be limited unto them at Burford, from the choir-door going out, to the choir-door going in; and all the high mass time, to hold the same faggot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece before the high altar there; and every of them to do likewise in their own parish church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to bear a faggot at a general procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto; and once to bear a faggot at the burning of a heretic, when they shall be admonished thereto.

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"Also every one Of them to fast, bread and ale only, every Friday during their life; and every even of Corpus Christi, every one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same.

"Also, to be said by them every Sunday, and every Friday, during their life, once our Ladysalter; and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

"Also neither they, nor any of them, shall hide their mark upon their cheek, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchief, napkin, or none otherwise; nor shall suffer their beards to grow past fourteen days; nor ever haunt again together with any suspected person or persons, unless it be in the open market, fair, church, or common inn or alehouse, where other people may see their conversation.

"And all these injunctions they and every of them to fulfil with their penance, and every part of the same, under pain of relapse."

And thus have you the names, with the causes and the penance, of those who were at this present time abjured. By this word "abjured" is meant, that they were constrained by their oath, swearing upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a cross to the same, that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these or any other like opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother Church of Rome: And further, that they should detect unto their ordinary, whomsoever they should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain the same.

The names of them that were condemned for relapse, and committed unto the secular power.

Among these aforementioned persons who thus submitted themselves, and were put to penance, certain there were, who, because they had been abjured before, as is above-mentioned, under Bishop Smith, were now condemned for relapse, and had sentence read against them, and so were committed to the secular arm to be burned: whose names here follow: Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, and John Scrivener, martyrs.

Of these mention is made before, both touching their abjuration, and also their martyrdom; unto whom we may adjoin, Joan Norman, and Thomas Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had disclosed and detected many of his brethren, as in the table above is expressed; thinking thereby to please the bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a feed man of the bishop for the same: yet, notwithstanding, in the said bishop's register appeareth the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most likely he was also adjudged and executed with the others.

As touching the burning of John Scrivener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to set fire unto their father; in like manner as Joan Clerke also, daughter of William Tylsworth, was constrained to give fire to the burning of her own natural father, as is above specified.

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The example of which cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and nature, so it hath not been seen or heard of in the memory of the heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the burning of this John Scrivener, one Thomas Dorman, mentioned before, was present, and bare a faggot, at Amersham; whose abjuration was afterwards laid against him, at what time he should depose for recovery of certain lands from the school of Berkhamstead. This Thomas Dorman (as I am credibly informed of certain about Amersham) was then uncle to this our Dorman, and found him to school at Berkhamstead, under Master Reeve; who now so uncharitably abuseth his pen in writing against the contrary doctrine, and railleth so fiercely against the blood of Christ's slain servants, miscalling them to be a dunghill of stinking martyrs.

Well, howsoever the savour of these good martyrs do scent in the nose of Master Dorman, I doubt not but they give a better odour and sweeter smell in the presence of the Lord: *Pretiosa enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*; Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. And therefore, howsoever it shall please Master Dorman with reproachful language to misterm the good martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in his martyrs; his unseemly usage (more cart-like than clerk-like) is not greatly to be weighed. For, as the danger of his blasphemy hurteth not them that are gone, so the contumely and reproach thereof as well comprehendeth his own kindred, friends, and country, as any others else; and especially redoundeth to himself, and woundeth his own soul, and none else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against him, unless he be blessed with better grace, by time to repent.

163. Scholars and Poets

Doctor John Colet, dean of St. Paul's.

Much about this time, or not past two years before, died Dr. John Colet, to whose sermons these "known men," about Buckinghamshire, had a great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the Epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas. From thence he was called by the king, and made dean of Paul's; where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great auditory, as well of the king's court, as of the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright; in discipline he was severe, insomuch that his canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monks. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of St. Paul, or of Solomon's Proverbs. He never used to sup. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of monks and friars he fantasied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquinas: insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in the praise of Thomas Aquinas, did commend him, that he had read many old authors, and had written many new works, as *Catena Aurea*, and such like, to prove and to know his judgment: Colet, first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemency, saying, "What tell you me," quoth he, "of the commendation of that man, who, except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly; and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole doctrine with man's profane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?"

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, of age no less than eighty; who, (bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet,) with other two bishops taking his part, like to himself, entered action of complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then William Warham. The matter of his complaint was divided into three articles: the first was for speaking against worshipping of images. The second was about hospitality, for that he, treating upon the place of the gospel, "Feed, feed, feed;" when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen do expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but as they bring in their prayers with them; which, because the bishop of London used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part against his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

William Tyndall, in his book answering Master More, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the bishop of London would have made the said Colet, dean of Paul's, a heretic, for translating the *Paternoster* into English, had not the bishop of Canterbury holpen the dean.

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But yet the malice of Fitzjames the bishop so ceased not; who, being thus repulsed by the archbishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the king. The occasion thus fell. It happened the same time, that the king was in preparation of war against France; whereupon the bishop with his coadjutors, taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, were it never so just; accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the king.

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

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected the worthy foundation of the school of Paul's, (I pray God the fruits of the school may answer the foundation,) for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient stipend as well for the master, as for the usher; whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single priests with their suspected chastity. The first moderator of this school was William Lily, a man no less notable for his learning, than was Colet for his foundation. This Colet died the year of our Lord 1519.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lived William Grocine and William Latimer, both Englishmen also, and famously learned. This Grocine, as he began to read in his open lecture, in the church of St. Paul, the book of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*, (for the reading of the Holy Scriptures in Paul's was not in use,) in the first entry of his preface cried out with great vehemency against them, whosoever they were, who either denied or stood in doubt of the authority of that book: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla, and divers others of the like approved judgment and learning. But afterwards the same Grocine, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly,

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that the afore-named book, to his judgment, was never written by that author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called Dionysius Areopagita.

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed, do occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembered, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace; which two followed much upon the time of Colet and William Lily. But of Richard Pace, who was dean next after the aforesaid John Colet, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of Cardinal Wolsey.

Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower

Moreover, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower; which, although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unworthy to be matched with these forenamed persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gower's work, entitled *Confessio Amantis*, that he finished it in the sixteenth year of King Richard the Second. And in the end of the eighth book of his said treatise, he declareth that he was both sick and old when he wrote it; whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding, by certain verses of the said Master Gower, placed in the latter end of Chaucer's works both in Latin and English, it may seem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Fourth, and also by a book which he wrote to the same King Henry. By his sepulture within the chapel of the church of St. Mary Overy's, which was then a monastery, where he and his wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his garland of laurel, that he was both a knight, and flourishing then in poetry; in the which place of his sepulture were made in his grave-stone three books: the first bearing the title, *Speculum Meditantis*; the second, *Vox Clamantis*; the third, *Confessio Amantis*. Besides these, divers chronicles and other works more he compiled.

Likewise, as touching the time of Chaucer, by his own words in the end of his first book of *Troilus and Cressida*, it is manifest that he and Gower were both of one time, although it seemeth that Gower was a great deal his ancient; both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeness of that time did give; both great friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many others in study and exercise of good letters, did pass forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucer's works be all printed in one volume, and therefore known to all men.

This I marvel, to see the idle life of the priests and clergymen of that time, seeing these lay-persons showed themselves in these kinds of liberal studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied. But much more I marvel to consider this, how that the bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English books and treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer to remain still and to be occupied; who, no doubt, saw into religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or else there was never any. And that all his works almost, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly); and especially

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the latter end of his third book of the Testament of Love, for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full: although in the same book, (as in all others he useth to do,) under shadows covertly, as under a visor, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty adversary. And therefore the bishops, belike, taking his works but for jests and toys, in condemning other books, yet permitted his books to be read.

So it pleased God to blind then the eyes of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his church; as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed, of certain who knew the parties, who to them reported, that by reading of Chaucer's works they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not unlike to be true: for, to omit other parts of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more plainly told than the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with his prelates to be antichrist, than doth the poor pelican reasoning against the greedy griffon? Under which hypotyposis, or poesy, who is so blind that seeth not by the pelican, the doctrine of Christ and of the Lollards to be defended against the Church of Rome? or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true which the pelican there affirmeth, in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretended church? Again, what egg can be more like, or fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that ravening griffon resembleth the true image, that is, the nature and qualities, of that which we call the Church of Rome, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucer's works; which notwithstanding now is restored again, and is extant for every man to read that is disposed. This Geoffrey Chaucer, being born, as is thought, in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstock, lieth buried in the church of the minster of St. Peter at Westminster, in an aisle on the south side of the said church, not far from the door leading to the cloister; and upon his grave-stone first were written these two old verses:

Galfridus Chaucer Vates, et fama Poësis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

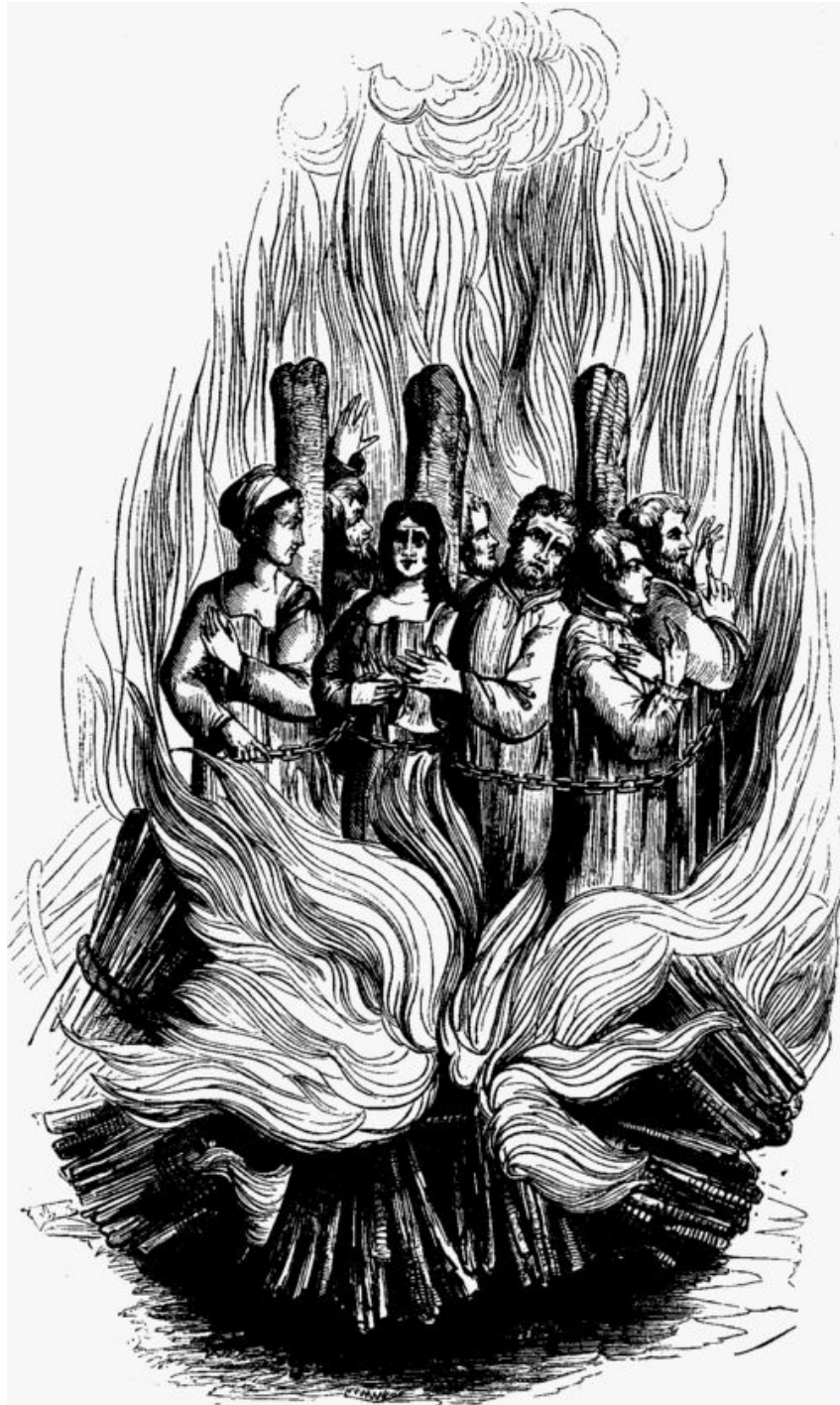
Afterwards, about A.D. 1556, one Master Brickham, bestowing more cost upon his tomb, did add thereunto these verses following:

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400.

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**THE EIGHTH BOOK,
PERTAINING TO THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM
THE LOSING OUT OF SATAN.
CONTINUING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MATTERS
APPERTAINING TO BOTH STATES, AS WELL
ECCLESIASTICAL, AS CIVIL AND TEMPORAL.**

164. The History of Seven Godly Martyrs Burnt at Coventry.



The Seven Martyrs

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Mistress Smith, widow; Robert Hatchets, a shoemaker; Archer, a shoemaker; Hawkins, a shoemaker; Thomas Bond, a shoemaker; Wrigsham, a glover; Landsdale, a hosier, at Coventry, A.D. 1519. Their persecutors: Simon Mourton, the bishop's sumner; also the bishop of Coventry, and Friar Stafford, warden.

THE principal cause of the apprehension of these persons, was for teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English, for which they were, upon Ash Wednesday, taken and put in prison, some in places underground, some in chambers and other places about, till Friday following.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry; during which time their children were sent for to the Grey Friars in Coventry, before the warden of the said friars, called Friar Stafford; who straitly examining them of their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, charged them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.

Which done, upon Palm Sunday the fathers of these children were brought back again to Coventry, and there, the week next before Easter, (because most of them had borne faggots in the same city before,) were condemned for relapse to be burned.

Only Mistress Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, the aforesaid Simon Mourton, the sumner, offered himself to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve; "Yea," said he, "what have ye here?" And so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. Which when the wretched sumner understood; "Ah sirrah!" said he, "come, as good now as another time:" and so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six men before named, the fourth of April, in a place thereby, called The Little Park, A.D. 1519.

Robert Silkeb, at Coventry, A.D. 1521.

In the same number of these Coventry men above rehearsed was also Robert Silkeb, who, at the apprehension of these, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said city of Coventry, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the thirteenth day of January, A.D. 1521.

Thus, when these were despatched, immediately the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any parcel thereof, to help themselves withal. And forasmuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty showed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that

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they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays and other fasting days; which neither could be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this history be yet alive, which both saw them and knew them; of whom one is by name Mother Hall, dwelling now in Bagington, two miles from Coventry: by whom also this is testified of them, that they, above all other in Coventry, pretended most show of worship and devotion at the holding up of the sacrament; whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not known. This is certain, that in godliness of life they differed from all the rest of the city; neither in their occupying would they use any oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

165. Patrick Hamilton

Patrick Hamilton, at St. Andrews in Scotland, A.D. 1527. His persecutors were, James Be-ton, archbishop of St. Andrews; Master Hugh Spens, dean of divinity in the university of St. Andrew; Master John Weddel, rector of the university; James Simpson, official; Thomas Ramsay, canon, and dean of the abbey of St. Andrew; Allane Meldrum, canon; John Greson, principal of the Black Friars; John Dillidaff, warden of the Grey Friars; Martin Balbur, lawyer; John Spens, lawyer; Alexander Yong, bachelor of divinity, canon; John Annand, canon; Friar Alexander Campbel, prior of the Black Friars, &c.

Patrick Hamilton, a Scotchman born of high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towardness, of twenty-three years, called abbot of Ferme, first coming out of his country with three companions to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marburg in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hess, where he, using conference and familiarity with learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, so profited in knowledge and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he, through the incitation of the said Lambert, was the first in all that university of Marburg which publicly did set up conclusions there, to be disputed of, concerning faith and works; arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same. What those propositions and conclusions were, partly in his treatise hereafter following, called Patrick's Places, may appear.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patrick, increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to revolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit of the understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three whom he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay; where he, not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuses, was first accused of heresy, and afterwards, constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrel of God's gospel against the high priest and archbishop of St. Andrews, named James Be-ton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, the first day of March, A.D. 1527. But he, being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning, before he was looked for; and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures he convicted, by force he was oppressed. And so the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all the hot haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned (the king being yet but a child): which thing made the bishops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamelton, the blessed servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the church of Christ; for the grave testimony of his blood left the verity and truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be plucked away: insomuch that divers afterwards, standing in his quarrel, sustained also the like martyrdom, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear, as place and time shall require.

In the mean season we think good to express here his articles, and order of his process, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers.

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The articles and opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamilton, by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews.

"That man hath no free-will.

"That there is no purgatory.

"That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.

"That the pope hath no power to loose and bind; neither any pope had that power after St. Peter.

"That the pope is antichrist, and that every priest hath the power that the pope hath.

"That Master Patrick Hamilton was a bishop.

"That it is not necessary to obtain any bulls from any bishop.

"That the vow of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedness.

"That the pope's laws be of no strength.

"That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be in the state of grace.

"That none be saved, but they are before predestinate.

"Whosoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.

"That God is the cause of sin, in this sense, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from men, whereby they sin.

"That it is devilish doctrine, to enjoin to any sinner actual penance for sin.

"That the said Master Patrick himself doubteth whether all children, departing incontinent after their baptism, are saved or condemned.

"That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation."

These articles above written were given in, and laid against Master Hamilton, and inserted in their registers, for the which also he was condemned, by them that hated him, to death. But other learned men, which communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these articles following were the very articles, for which he suffered.

"I. Man hath no free-will.

"II. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.

"III. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.

"IV. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace.

"V. A good man doth good works: good works do not make a good man.

"VI. An evil man bringeth forth evil works; evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.

"VII. Faith, hope, and charity be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man, in this life."

And as touching the other articles whereupon the doctors gave their judgments, as divers do report, he was not accused of them before the bishop; albeit in private disputation he affirmed and defended the most of them. Here followeth the sentence pronounced against him.

"Christi nomine invocato: We, James, by the mercy of God, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the Holy Scripture, and masters of the

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university, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Master Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferme, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: we have found the same Master Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is already condemned by general councils, and most famous universities. And he being under the same infamy, we decreeing before him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he, of evil mind, (as may be presumed,) passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

"We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our council: That man hath no free-will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth: that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners: all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: that no man is justified by works, but by faith only: good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope, and charity are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c., with divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel nor persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.

"All these premises being considered, we, having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the Holy Scripture, men of laws, and other assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and his pertinacity, (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and most famous universities,) to be a heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith; and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive; depriving, and sentencing him to be deprived, of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

"This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, the last day of the month of February, A.D. 1527, being present the most reverend fathers in Christ, and lords, Gawand, bishop of Glasgow; George, bishop of Dunkeld; John, bishop of Brechin; William, bishop of Dunblane; Patrick, prior of St. Andrews; David, abbot of Abirbrothoke; George, abbot of Dunfermline; Alexander, abbot of Caunbuskineth; Henry, abbot of Lendors; John, prior of Peterweme; the dean and subdean of Glasgow; Master Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c.

"In the presence of the clergy and the people," &c.

After the condemnation and martyrdom of this true saint of God were despatched by the bishops and doctors of Scotland, the rulers and doctors of the university of Louvain, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent blood, that for the

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abundance of heart they could not stay their pen to utter condign thanks; applauding and triumphing, in their letters sent to the aforesaid bishop of St. Andrews and doctors of Scotland, at the worthy and famous deservings of their achieved enterprise in that behalf: as by the tenor of their said letter may appear, which here followeth:

"Your excellent virtue, most honourable bishop, hath so deserved, that albeit we be far distant both by sea and land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whose works that true faith, which not long ago was tainted with heresy, not only remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our dear friend Master Alexander Galoway, canon of Aberdeen, hath showed us the presumption of the wicked heretic, Patrick Hamilton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut off, when there was no hope of amendment, &c.

"The which thing, as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many states, as of the clergy, nobility, and vulgar people; not rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and always do approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inserted are erroneous: so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be esteemed an enemy to the faith, and an adversary to the Holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appear to be without error, to them that will consider only the bare words; as for example, "Good works make not a good man, but a good man worketh good works;" yet there is no doubt but they contain a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signify; to wit, that works done after faith and justification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be those among extern nations who shall imitate the same, &c.

"Certainly ye have given us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your university, which was founded according to the example of our university of Louvain, to be equal to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds toward you. In the mean time, let us labour with one consent, that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheepfold of Christ, while we have time. Let us study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have inquisitors and espies of books, containing that doctrine, especially that are brought in from far countries, whether by apostate monks, or by merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these days. It is said that since Scotland first embraced the Christian faith, it was never defiled with any heresy. Persevere therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of England, your next neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the bishops, among the which Roffensis hath showed himself an evangelical Phœnix, and partly of the king, declaring himself to be another Matthias of the new law, pretermittting nothing that may defend the law of his realm; the which if your most renowned king of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase to himself eternal glory. Further, as touching the condign commendation due for your part, most reverend bishop! in this behalf, it shall not be the least of your praise, that these heresies have been extinct some time in Scotland, you being primate of Scotland, and principal author thereof: albeit that they also which have assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise; as the reverend bishop of Glasgow, of whose erudition we have here given us partly to understand, and also the reverend bishop of

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Aberdeen, a stout defender of the faith, together with the rest of the prelates, abbots, priors, and professors of Holy Scripture. Let your reverend fatherhood take this little testificate of our duty towards you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

"From Louvain, the year 1528, April 21st.

"By the masters and professors of Theology in the university of Louvain."

In the epistle of the Louvanian doctors, I shall not need, gentle reader! to note unto thee, what a pernicious thing in a commonwealth is blind ignorance, when it falleth into cruel hearts; which may well be compared to a sword, put into the hands of one that is both blind and mad. For as the blind man, having no sense to see and judge, knoweth not whom he striketh; so the madman, being cruel and furious, hath no compassion in sparing any. Whereupon it happeneth many times with these men, as it did with the blind furious Pharisees, that as they, having the sword of authority in their hands, instead of malefactors and false prophets, slew the true prophets of God, and at last crucified the King of glory; so these, catholic Louvanians, and followers of their Messias of Rome, take in their hands the sword of jurisdiction; who, neither seeing what to spare, nor caring whom they smite, under the style and pretence of heretics, murder and blaspheme, without mercy, the true preachers of the gospel, and the holy anointed of the Lord.

But to return to the matter again of Master Hamilton; here is moreover to be observed, as a note worthy of memory, that in the year of our Lord 1564, in the which year this present history was collected in Scotland, there were certain faithful men of credit then alive, who, being present the same time when Master Patrick Hamilton was in the fire, heard him to cite and appeal the Black Friar called Campbel, that accused him, to appear before the high God, as general Judge of all men, to answer to the innocency of his death, and whether his accusation was just or not, between that and a certain day of the next month, which he there named. Moreover, by the same witness it is testified, that the said friar died immediately before the said day came, without remorse of conscience that he had persecuted the innocent; by the example whereof divers of the people the same time much mused, and firmly believed the doctrine of the aforesaid Master Hamilton to be good and just.

166. Master Patrick's Places

Hereunto I thought good to adjoin a certain godly and profitable treatise of the said Master Patrick Hamilton, written first by him in Latin, and afterwards translated by John Frith into English; which he names "Patrick's Places;" not unprofitable, in my mind, to be seen and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine contained in the same, as not only by the treatise itself may appear, but also by the preface of the said John Frith, prefixed before, which also I thought not inconvenient to insert with the same, as here followeth:

John Frith unto the Christian reader.

"Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who in these last days and perilous times hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his Son, to testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save at least some from the snares of antichrist, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young man, Patrick Hamilton, born in Scotland of a noble progeny: who, to testify the truth, sought all means, and took upon him priesthood, (even as Paul circumcised Timothy, to win the weak Jews,) that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain and other bishops of Scotland had perceived that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murdered) hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which, if ye list, ye may call Patrick's Places; for it treateth exactly of certain commonplaces, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way, which leadeth to life everlasting, Amen."

The doctrine of the law.

"The law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do specify here following:

- I. Thou shalt worship but one God.
- II. Thou shalt make thee no image to worship it.
- III. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain.
- IV. Hold the sabbath day holy.
- V. Honour thy father and thy mother.
- VI. Thou shalt not kill.
- VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- VIII. Thou shalt not steal.
- IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
- X. Thou shalt not desire aught that belongeth to thy neighbour.

"All these commandments are briefly comprised in these two, Matt. xxii. 37, Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the first, and

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great commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hangeth all the law and the prophets."

Certain general propositions proved by the Scripture.

The First Proposition.

"He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.

"This proposition is proved, 1 John iv. 20, If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

The Second Proposition.

"He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the commandments of God.

"This proposition is proved: Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them: for this is the law and the prophets. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not bear false witness: thou shalt not desire. And if there be any other commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thyself. All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself."

ARGUMENT.

"He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God.

"He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.

"Ergo, he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God."

The Third Proposition.

"He that hath faith, loveth God.

"My Father loveth you, because you love me, and I believe that I come of God."

ARGUMENT.

"He that keepeth the commandments of God, hath the love of God.

"He that hath faith, keepeth the commandments of God.

"Ergo, he that hath faith, loveth God."

The Fourth Proposition.

"He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all.

"This proposition is confirmed: It is impossible for a man without faith to please God; that is, to keep any one of God's commandments, as he should do. Then whosoever keepeth any one commandment hath faith."

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ARGUMENT.

"He that hath faith keepeth all the commandments of God.
"He that keepeth any one commandment of God, hath faith.
"Ergo, he that keepeth one commandment keepeth them all.

The Fifth Proposition.

"He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them."

ARGUMENT.

"He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all.
"Ergo, he that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them."

The Sixth Proposition.

"It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God."

ARGUMENT.

"It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God, without grace.
"It is not in our power to have grace.
"Ergo, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God.
"And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith, forasmuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the commandments of God, neither yet be they in our power to have: It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth."

The Seventh Proposition.

"The law was given us to show our sin.
"By the law cometh the knowledge of sin. I knew not what sin meant, but through the law; for I had not known what lust had meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law sin was dead, that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law."

The Eighth Proposition.

"The law biddeth us do that thing which is impossible for us."

ARGUMENT.

"The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible.
"The law commandeth to us the keeping of the commandments.
"Ergo, the law commandeth unto us that is impossible.
"*Objection.* But thou wilt say, Wherefore doth God bid us do what is impossible for us?"

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"*Answer.* I answer, To make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand: and that thou mayest seek remedy at some other; for the law doth nothing else but command thee."

The doctrine of the gospel.

"The gospel is as much as to say, in our tongue, good tidings; like as these be hereunder following, and such others, Luke ii. 10.

"Christ is the Saviour of the world, John iv. 42.

"Christ is the Saviour, Luke ii. 11.

"Christ died for us, Rom. v. 6.

"Christ died for our sins, Rom. iv. 25.

"Christ bought us with his blood, 1 Pet. i. 19.

"Christ washed us with his blood, Rev. i. 5.

"Christ offered himself for us, Gal. i. 4.

"Christ bare our sins on his back, Isa. liii. 6.

"Christ came into this world to save sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15.

"Christ came into this world to take away our sins, 1 John iii. 5.

"Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins, 1 Tim. ii. 6.

"Christ was made debtor for us, Rom. viii. 12.

"Christ hath paid our debt, for he died for us, Col. ii. 14.

"Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins, 1 Cor. vii. 23.

"Christ is our righteousness, 1 Cor. i. 30.

"Christ is our sanctification, 1 Cor. i. 30.

"Christ is our redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30.

"Christ is our peace, Eph. ii. 14.

"Christ hath pacified the Father of heaven for us, Rom. v. 1.

"Christ is ours and all his, 1 Cor. iii. 23.

"Christ hath delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from hell, Col. ii. 14-17.

"The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our sins, for Christ's sake, 1 John i. 9.

"(Or any such other, like to the same, which declare unto us the mercy of God.)"

The nature and office of the law and of the gospel.

"The law showeth us our sin, Rom. iii. 9-20.

"The gospel showeth us remedy for it, John i. 29.

"The law showeth us our condemnation, Rom. vii. 23, 24.

"The gospel showeth us our redemption, Eph. i.

"The law is the word of ire, Rom. iv. 15.

"The gospel is the word of grace, Acts xx. 24.

"The law is the word of despair, Deut. xxvii. 15-26.

"The gospel is the word of comfort, Luke ii. 10.

"The law is the word of unrest, Rom. vii. 24.

"The gospel is the word of peace, Eph. vi. 15."

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A disputation between the law and the gospel; where is shown the difference or contrariety between them both.

"The law saith, Pay thy debt.

"The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.

"The law saith, Thou art a sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.

"The gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saved!

"The law saith, Make amends for thy sins.

"The gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee. "The law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with thee.

The gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.

"The law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?

"The gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, thy goodness, thy satisfaction.

"The law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell.

"The gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all."

The doctrine of faith.

"Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

"To believe God, is to believe his word, and to account it true, that he saith.

"He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself.

"He that believeth not God's word, he counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word; and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself."

The Ninth Proposition.

"Faith is the gift of God."

ARGUMENT.

"Every good thing is the gift of God. "Faith is good.

"Ergo, faith is the gift of God.

The Tenth Proposition.

"Faith is not in our power."

ARGUMENT.

"The gift of God is not in our power.

"Faith is the gift of God.

"Ergo, faith is not in our power."

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The Eleventh Proposition.

"He that lacketh faith, cannot please God.

"Without faith it is impossible to please God; all that cometh not of faith is sin; for without faith can no man please God."

INDUCTION.

"He that lacketh faith, trusteth not God: he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word: he that trusteth not his word, holdeth him false and a liar: he that holdeth him false and a liar, believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God.

"Ergo, he that lacketh faith cannot please God.

"If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done either by men or angels, yet being in this case, it is impossible for him to please God."

The Twelfth Proposition.

"All that is done in faith, pleaseth God.

"Right is the word of God, and all his works in faith.

"Lord, thine eyes look to faith: that is as much as to say, Lord, thou delightest in faith."

The Thirteenth Proposition.

"He that hath faith is just and good."

ARGUMENT.

"He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit, is just and good.

"He that hath faith, is a good tree bringing forth good fruit.

"Ergo, he that hath faith, is just and good."

The Fourteenth Proposition.

"He that hath faith, and believeth God, cannot displease him."

INDUCTION.

"He that hath faith, believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lie, knowing that he both may, and will, fulfil his word.

"Ergo, he that hath faith cannot displease God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true."

OBJECTION.

"Thou wilt then say, that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices, please God."

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ANSWER.

"Nay verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit."

The Fifteenth Proposition.

"Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

"Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen.

"The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God. Moreover, he that hath faith, wotteth well that God will fulfil his word: whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certainty or assuredness.

A man is justified by faith.

"Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

"We suppose therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.

"He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.

"The just man liveth by his faith.

"We wot that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law."

What is the faith of Christ?

"The faith of Christ is to believe in him; that is, to believe his word, and believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.

"Thou wilt ask me, What word? I answer, The gospel.

"He that believeth in Christ shall be saved, Mark xvi. 16.

"He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life, John iii. 15.

"Verily I say unto you, He that believeth in me, hath everlasting life, John vi. 47.

"This I write unto you, that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, 1 John v. 13.

"Thomas! because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they which have not seen, and yet have believed, John xx. 29.

"To him gave all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of their sins, Acts x. 43.

"What must I do to be saved? The apostles answered, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, Acts xvi. 30, 31.

"If thou dost acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe, Rom. x. 9.

"He that believeth not in Christ shall be condemned. He that believeth not the Son shall never see life, but the ire of God bideth upon him, John iii. 36.

"The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, because they believe not in me, John xvi. 9.

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"They that believe in Jesus Christ are the sons of God. Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ, 1 John iii.

"He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God, is safe, John iii. 30.

"Peter said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God! Jesus answered and said unto him, Happy art thou, Simon, the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened to thee that, but my Father that is in heaven, Matt. xvi. 16, 17.

"We have believed, and know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God.

"I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world, John xi. 27. "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye, in believing, might have life through his name, John xx. 31.

"I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, Acts viii. 37."

The Sixteenth Proposition.

"He that believeth the gospel, believeth God."

ARGUMENT.

"He that believeth God's word, believeth God. "The gospel is God's word.

"Ergo, he that believeth the gospel, believeth God.

"To believe the gospel is this: that Christ is the Saviour of the world, John vi. 29.

"Christ is our Saviour, Luke ii. 11.

"Christ bought us with his blood, Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. i. 19; Rev. v. 9.

"Christ washed us with his blood, Rev. i. 5. "Christ offered himself for us, Heb. ix. 25.

"Christ bare our sins on his own back, &c., 1 Pet. ii. 24."

The Seventeenth Proposition.

"He that believeth not the gospel believeth not God."

ARGUMENT.

"He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself.

"The gospel is God's word.

"Ergo, he that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself; and consequently, he that believeth not those things above written, and such others, believeth not God."

The Eighteenth Proposition.

"He that believeth the gospel, shall be safe.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned, Mark xvi."

VOLUME 6

A comparison between Faith and Incredulity.

"Faith is the root of all good: incredulity is the root of all evil.
"Faith maketh God and man good friends: incredulity maketh them foes.
"Faith bringeth God and man together: incredulity sundereth them.
"All that faith doth, pleaseth God: all that incredulity doth, displeaseth God.
"Faith only maketh a man good and righteous: incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.
"Faith maketh a man a member of Christ: incredulity maketh him a member of the devil.
"Faith maketh a man the inheritor of heaven: incredulity maketh him inheritor of hell.
"Faith maketh a man the servant of God: incredulity maketh him the servant of the devil.
"Faith showeth us God to be a sweet Father: incredulity showeth him a terrible Judge.
"Faith holdeth stiff by the word of God: incredulity wavereth here and there.
"Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true: incredulity holdeth him false and a liar.
"Faith knoweth God: incredulity knoweth him not.
"Faith loveth both God and his neighbour: incredulity loveth neither of them.
"Faith only saveth us: incredulity only condemneth us.
"Faith extolleth God and his deeds: incredulity extolleth herself and her own deeds."

Of hope.

"Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come, as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him."
We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.
"It is better to trust in God and not in man, Psal. cxviii. 8.
"He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, Prov. xxviii. 26.
"It is good to trust in God, and not in princes, Psal. cxviii. 9.
"They shall be like unto the images which they make, and all that trust in them, Psal. cxv.8.
"He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, Prov. xxviii. 26.
"Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, Jer. xvii. 5.
"Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches; but that they trust in the living God, I Tim. vi. 17.
"It is hard for them that trust in money, to enter into the kingdom of heaven.
"Moreover we should trust in him only, that mayhelp us: God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.
"Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him.
"Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust.
"They shall rejoyce that trust in thee; they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them."

Of charity.

"Charity is the love of thy neighbour. The rule of charity is this: Do as thou wouldst be done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich, the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger."

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A comparison between faith, hope, and charity.

"Faith cometh of the word of God; hope cometh of faith; and charity springeth of them both.

"Faith believeth the word; hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word; charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself.

"Faith looketh to God and his word; hope looketh unto his gift and reward; charity looketh on her neighbour's profit.

"Faith receiveth God; hope receiveth his reward; charity loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward. "Faith pertaineth to God only; hope to his reward; and charity to her neighbour."

The doctrine of works.

No manner of works make us righteous.

"We believe that a man shall be justified without works, Rom. iii.

"No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; for if righteousness come by the law, then died Christ in vain, Gal. ii.

"That no man is justified by the law is manifest; for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith, Acts xvii.

"Moreover, since Christ the Maker of heaven and earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them: therefore no deeds or works may make us righteous."

No works make us unrighteous.

"If any evil works make us unrighteous, then the contrary works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous: therefore no works make us unrighteous."

Works make us neither good nor evil.

"It is proved that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: therefore no works make us either good or evil. For righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.

"Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

"Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

"A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good

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ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit."

Every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.

"Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil, Matt. xii. 23.

"A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. Ye shall know them by their fruit; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

"Beware of the false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits, Matt. vii. 15.

None of our works either save us or condemn us.

"If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, it maketh no matter what we do. I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds."

The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.

"Faith, maketh the good tree, and incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit; such a man, such works. For all things that are done in faith, please God, and are good works; and all that are done without faith, displease God, and are evil works.

"Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and that all things pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works? or whereto should he die for thee, if any works might have saved thee?

"What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily, that thou shouldst have died perpetually; and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death; for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain; and that, for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

"Now, seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou, pay it; but shouldst be damned if his blood were not. But since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

"Finally, He hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind; and that thou wouldst help others for his sake, both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

"Oh how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us; he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you therefore, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen! "

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He that thinketh to be saved by his works calleth himself Christ:

"For he calleth himself the Saviour; which pertaineth to Christ only.

"What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved myself; which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the world."

We should do no good works for the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin:

"For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved, for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel: for the gospel saith, You shall be saved for Christ's sake; your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.

"He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that those who believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him as a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

OBJECTION.

"Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?"

ANSWER.

"I say not so, but I say we should do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin. For if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God: or if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a liar. For God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake; thy sins are forgiven thee for my Son's sake: and you say it is not so, But I will win it through my works.

"Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil. Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the gifts of God, but as a debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord; and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him: if then we want aught, let us blame ourselves.

"Press not therefore to the inheritance of heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy, and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride."

FINIS.

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Certain brief notes or declarations upon the aforesaid Places of Master Patrick.

"This little treatise of Master Patrick's Places, albeit in quantity it be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to us the true doctrine of the law, of the gospel, of faith, and of works, with the nature and properties, and also the difference of the same: which difference is thus to be understood: that in the cause of salvation, and in the office of justifying, these are to be removed and separated asunder, the law from the gospel, and faith from works: otherwise, in the person that is justified, and also in order of doctrine, they ought commonly to go necessarily together.

"Therefore, wheresoever any question or doubt riseth of salvation, or our justifying before God, there the law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that faith may stand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, worketh to every man particularly, his salvation, through mere promise, and the free grace of God. This word particularly, I add, for the particular certifying of every man's heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole world in general; so is faith the instrumental cause, by which every man applieth the said body of Christ particularly to his own salvation. So that in the action and office of justification, both law and works here be utterly secluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our redemption universally springeth only from the body of the Son of God crucified, then is there nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forasmuch as neither the law nor works, but faith only, is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore faith only is that matter which justifieth every soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object only of our faith is the body of Christ, like as the brazen serpent was the object only of the eyes of the Israelites' looking, and not of their hands working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousness to our souls, not through working, but believing only.

"Thus you see how faith, being the only eye of our soul, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying; but yet, nevertheless, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the eye, there be also hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members more, every one convenient for the service of the body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So in a Christian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charity, and deeds of charity; all which, in life and in doctrine, are joined, and necessarily do concur together: and yet, in the action of justifying, there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place, but only faith apprehending the object, which is the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation, by faith; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him: according as it is written in John i. 12, "Whosoever received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, even all such as believed in his name," &c. Also in Isa. liii. 11, "This just servant of mine, in the knowledge of him shall justify many, &c."

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ARGUMENT.

"Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God.
"Christ only is apprehended and received by faith.
"Ergo, faith only maketh us justified before God."

ARGUMENT.

"Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ.
"The law and works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.
"Ergo, the law and works pertain nothing to justification."

ARGUMENT.

"Nothing which is unjust of itself, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.
"Every work we do, is unjust before God.
"Ergo, no work that we do, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying."

ARGUMENT.

"If works could any thing further our justification, then should our works something profit us before God.
"No works, do the best we can, do profit us before God.
"Ergo, no works that we do, can any thing further our justification."

ARGUMENT.

"All that we can do with God, is only by Christ.
"Our works and merits be not Christ, neither any part of him.
"Ergo, our works and merits can do nothing with God."

ARGUMENT.

"That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification." The law is the cause of condemnation.
"Ergo, it is not the cause of justification."

A CONSEQUENT.

"We are quit and delivered from the law.
"Ergo, we are not quit and delivered by the law.
"Forasmuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture, in express words, hath thus included our salvation in faith only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and means in our justification, and to make this difference between the law and the gospel, between faith and works; affirming, with Scripture and the word of God, that the law condemneth us, our works do

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not avail us, and that faith in Christ only justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians; especially in conflict of conscience between the law and the gospel, faith and works, grace and merits, promise and condition, God's free election and man's free-will: so that the light of the free grace of God in our salvation may appear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's holy name. Amen."

The order and difference of places.

"The gospel and the law; Faith and works;

"Grace and merits; Promise and condition;

"God's free election and man's free-will."

"The difference and repugnance of these aforesaid Places being well noted and expended, it shall give no small light to every faithful Christian, both to understand the Scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience, and to reconcile such places in the Old and New Testament as else may seem to repugn; according to the rule of St. Augustine, saying, Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures, &c. Contrariwise, where men be not perfectly in these places instructed to discern between the law and the gospel, between faith and works, &c., so long they can never rightly establish their minds in the free promises of God's grace, but walk confusedly, without order, in all matters of religion; example whereof we have too much in the Romish Church, who, confounding these places together without distinction, following no method, hath perverted the true order of Christian doctrine, and hath obscured the sweet comfort and benefit of the gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true use of the law, nor of the gospel, meaneth."

In the doctrine of the law three things to be noted.

"In the law, therefore, three things are to be considered. First, what is the true rigour and strength of the law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also his inward motions and inclinations of will and affection, from the appetite of sin: and therefore saith St. Paul, The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, &c. Whereupon riseth this proposition, That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. Item, the law commandeth that which is to us impossible, &c.

"The second thing to be noted in the doctrine of the law, is, to consider the time and place of the law, what they be, and how far they extend. For, as the surging seas have their banks and bars to keep them in, so the law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time and dominion of the law had been everlasting: but now, seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous flesh, the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth cease. For the end of the law is Christ; that is, the death of Christ's body is the death of the law to all that believe in him: so that whosoever repent of their sins, and flee to the death and passion of Christ, the condemnation and time of the law to them is expired. Wherefore this is to be understood as a perpetual rule in the Scripture, that the law with all his sentences and judgments, wheresoever they are written, either in the Old Testament or in the New, do ever include a privy exception of repentance and belief in Christ, to the which always it giveth place, having there his end; and can proceed no further: according as St. Paul doth say, The law is our schoolmaster until Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

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"Moreover, as the law hath his time how long to reign, so also it hath his proper place, where to reign. By the reign of the law here is meant the condemnation of the law: for as the time of the law ceaseth, when the faith of Christ, in a true repenting heart, beginneth, so hath the law no place in such as be good and faithful; that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but only in them which be evil and wicked. Evil men here I call such, which, walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driven by earnest repentance to flee to Christ for succour. And therefore saith St. Paul, To the just man there is no law set, but to the unjust and disobedient, &c. By the just man here is meant, not he which never had disease, but he who, knowing his disease, seeketh out the physician; and, being cured, keepeth himself in health, as much as he may, from any more surfeits. Notwithstanding he shall never so keep himself, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall continually need the physician. Where, by the way, these three things are to be noted: first, the sickness itself; secondly, the knowing of the sickness; thirdly, the physician. The sickness is sin: the knowing of the sickness is repentance, which the law worketh: the physician is Christ. And therefore, although in remission of our sins repentance is joined with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthiness of repentance, that causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of Christ, whom faith only apprehendeth: no more than the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but only the physician. For else, when a man is cast and condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can save or deserve life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance, that saveth.

"The third point to be considered in the doctrine of the law, is this: that we mark well the end and purpose why the law is given; which is, not to bring us to salvation, nor to work God's favour, nor to make us good; but rather to declare and convict our wickedness, and to make us feel the danger thereof, to this end and purpose, that we, seeing our condemnation, and being in ourselves confounded, may be driven thereby to have our refuge in Christ the Son of God, and to submit ourselves to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this end of the law ought discreetly to be pondered by all Christians: otherwise, they that consider not this end and purpose of the law, fall into manifold errors and inconveniences. First, they pervert all order of doctrine: secondly, they seek that in the law which the law cannot give: thirdly, they are not able to comfort themselves, nor other: fourthly, they keep men's souls in an uncertain doubt and dubitation of their salvation: fifthly, they obscure the light of God's grace: sixthly, they are unkind to God's benefits: seventhly, they are injurious to Christ's passion, and enemies to his cross: eighthly, they stop Christian liberty: ninthly, they bereave the church, the spouse of Christ, of her due comfort, as taking away the sun out of the world: tenthly, in all their doings they shoot to a wrong mark; for where Christ only is set up to be apprehended by our faith, and so freely to justify us, they, leaving this justification by faith, set up other marks, partly of the law, partly of their own devising, for men to shoot at. And here cometh in the manifest and manifold absurdities of the bishop of Rome's doctrine, which here (the Lord willing) we will rehearse, as in a catalogue here following:

"I. They erroneously conceive opinion of salvation in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith of Christ, and in no other.

"II. They erroneously do seek God's favour by works of the law; not knowing that the law, in this our corrupt nature, worketh only the anger of God.

"III. They err also in this, that where the office of the law is diverse from, and contrary to, the gospel, they, without any difference, confound the one with the other, making the gospel to

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be a law, and Christ to be a Moses.

"IV. They err in dividing the law unskilfully into three parts; into the law natural, the law moral, and the law evangelical.

"V. They err again in dividing the law evangelical into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to serve for all men, the counsels only to serve for them that be perfect.

"VI. The chief substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth upon the works of the law, as may appear by their religion, which wholly consisteth in men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.

"VII. In the doctrines of salvation, remission, and justification, either they admix the law equally with the gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they teach and preach the law, so that little mention is made of the faith of Christ, or none at all.

"VIII. They err in thinking that the law of God requireth nothing in us under pain of damnation, but only our obedience in external actions: as for the inward affections and concupiscence, they esteem but light matters.

"IX. They, not knowing the true nature and strength of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is in man's power to fulfil it.

"X. They err in thinking not only to be in man's power to keep the law of God, but also to perform more perfect works than be in God's law commanded; and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of congruity and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of the pope's church, to be sold out to the people for money.

"XI. They err in saying, that the state monastical is more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospel, than other states be in keeping the law of the gospel.

"XII. The counsels of the gospel they call the vows of their religious men, as profound humility, perfect chastity, and wilful poverty.

"XIII. They err abominably, in equalling their laws and constitutions with God's law; and in saying, that man's law bindeth, under pain of damnation, no less than God's law.

"XIV. They err sinfully, in publishing the transgressors of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the law of God; as appeareth by their inquisitions, and their canon law, &c.

"XV. Finally, they err most horribly in this, that where the free promise of God ascribeth our salvation only to our faith in Christ, excluding works; they, contrary, ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works and merits, excluding faith: whereupon ariseth the application of the sacrifice of the mass, ex opere operato, for the quick and dead, application of the merits of Christ's passion in bulls, application of the merits of all religious orders, and such other more, above specified more at large in the former part of this history."

Here follow three cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the law.

"The first caution: that we, through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the gospel, nor the gospel for the law; but skilfully discern and distinct the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many there be, which reading the book of the New Testament, do take and understand whatsoever they see contained in the said book, to be only and merely the voice of the gospel. And contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the compass of the Old Testament; that is, within the law, stories, psalms, and prophets, to be only and merely the word and voice of the law. Wherein many are deceived; for the preaching of the law and of the gospel are mixed together in both the Testaments, as well the Old as the New; neither is the

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order of these two doctrines to be distinguished by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's Spirit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the Old Testament God doth comfort, as he comforted Adam, with the voice of the gospel: sometimes also in the New Testament he doth threaten and terrify, as when Christ threatened the Pharisees. In some places again, Moses and the prophets play the evangelists; insomuch that Jerome doubteth whether he should call Isaiah a prophet or an evangelist. In some places likewise Christ and the apostles supply the part of Moses; and as Christ himself, until his death, was under the law, (which law he came not to break, but to fulfil,) so his sermons made to the Jews, run all, for the most part, upon the perfect doctrine and works of the law, showing and teaching what we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same: all which places, though they be contained in the book of the New Testament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law, ever having in them included a privy exception of repentance and faith in Christ Jesus. As for example, where Christ thus preacheth, Blessed be they that be pure of heart, for they shall see God. Again, Except ye be made like these children, ye shall not enter, &c. Item, But he that doth the will of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, &c. Item, the parable of the unkind servant, justly cast into prison for not forgiving his fellow, &c. The casting of the rich glutton into hell, &c. Item, He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c.: with such other places of like condition. All these, I say, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do ever include in them a secret exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christ's precious blood. For else, Peter denied, and yet repented. Many publicans and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow servants; and yet many of them repented, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of Christ Jesus work in us earnest repentance, and faith in him unfeigned. Amen!

"Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when the gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may serve for a note, that when there is any moral work commanded to be done, either for eschewing of punishment, or upon promise of any reward temporal or eternal, or else when any promise is made with condition of any work commanded in the law, there is to be understood the voice of the law. Contrary, where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto us freely, without all our merits, and simply, without any condition annexed of any law, either natural, ceremonial, or moral; all those places, whether they be read in the Old Testament or in the New, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of the gospel. And this promise of God, freely made to us by the merits of Jesus Christ, so long before prophesied to us in the Old Testament, and afterwards exhibited in the New Testament, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the voice of the gospel, and differeth from the voice of the law in this, that it hath no condition adjoined of our meriting, but only respecteth the merits of Christ the Son of God; by whose faith only we are promised of God to be saved and justified: according as we read in Rom. iii., The righteousness of God cometh by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all, that do believe, &c.

"The second caution or danger to be avoided is, that we now, knowing how to discern rightly between the law and the gospel, and having intelligence not to mistake the one for the other, must take heed again that we break not the order between these two, taking and applying the law where the gospel is to be applied, either to ourselves or towards others. For albeit the law and the gospel many times are to be joined together in order of doctrine, yet case may fall sometimes, that the law must be utterly sequestered from the gospel: as when any person or

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persons do feel themselves, with the majesty of the law and judgment of God, so terrified and oppressed, and with the burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down into utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell; as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of God's good servants. When such mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the law, let them think the same nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning weed belongeth to a marriage feast: and therefore, removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only set before their eyes the gospel, the sweet comforts of God's promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ, grace, redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanks, singing, and a paradise of spiritual jocundity, and nothing else; thinking thus with themselves, that the law hath done his office in them already, and now must needs give place to his better, that is, must needs give room to Christ the Son of God, who is the Lord and Master, the fulfiller, and also the finisher of the law; for the end of the law is Christ.

"The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not use or apply, on the contrary side, the gospel instead of the law. For as the other before was even as much as to put on a mourning gown in the feast of a marriage, so is this but even to cast pearls before swine; wherein is a great abuse among many. For commonly it is seen, that these worldly epicures and secure Mammonists, to whom the doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themselves most principally the sweet promises of the gospel: and, contrariwise, the other contrite and bruised hearts, to whom belong only the joyful tidings of the gospel, and not the law, for the most part receive and retain to themselves the terrible voice and sentences of the law. Whereby it cometh to pass, that many do rejoice where they should mourn; and on the other side, many do fear and mourn where they need not: wherefore, to conclude, in private use of life, let every person discreetly discern between the law and the gospel, and aptly apply to himself that which he seeth convenient.

"And again, in public order of doctrine, let every discreet preacher put a difference between the broken heart of the mourning sinner, and the unrepentant worldling, and so conjoin both the law with the gospel, and the gospel with the law, that in throwing down the wicked, ever he spare the weak-hearted; and again, so spare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly."

And thus much concerning the conjunction and difference between the law and the gospel, upon the occasion of Mr. Patrick's Places.

167 Martyrs in Scotland and England, 1525-32.

Henry Forest, martyred at St. Andrews, in Scotland. Persecuted by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; and by Friar Walter Laing, betrayer of the confession of this Henry Forest.

Within few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forest, a young man born in Linlithgow, who, a little before, had received the orders of Benet and Collet, (as they term them,) affirmed and said, that Master Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that his articles were true. For the which he was apprehended and put in prison, by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, shortly after, caused a certain friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession; to whom when Henry Forest in secret confession had declared his conscience, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his articles were true, and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known. Whereupon it followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was therefore convented before the council of the clergy and doctors, and there concluded to be a heretic, equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamilton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges, to suffer death.

When the day came for his death, and that he should first be degraded, and was brought before the clergy in a green place, being between the castle of St. Andrew and another place called Monymaill; as soon as he entered in at the door, and saw the faces of the clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, "Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession! After this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men!" And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small orders of Benet and Collet, he said with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism!" meaning thereby whatsoever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in baptism. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as a heretic equal with Master Patrick aforesaid. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his gospel, at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Forfar might see the fire, and so might hethemore feared from falling into the like doctrine which they term by the name of heresy.

James Hamilton, brother to Master Patrick; Katharine Hamilton; a woman of Leith; David Straton, and Master Norman Gurley: the two last burned. Persecuted by James Hay, bishop of Ross, commissioner of King James the Fifth; by Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; and by Master John Spens, lawyer.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forest, or thereabout, was called James Hamilton, of Linlithgow; his sister Katharine Hamilton, the spouse of the captain of Dunbar; also another honest woman of Leith; David Straton, of the house of Lawristone; and Master Norman Gurley. These were called to the abbey church of Holyrood House in Edinburgh, by James Hay, bishop of Ross, commissioner to James Beton, archbishop, in presence of King James the Fifth

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of that name; who, upon the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamilton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his brother; to whom the king gave counsel to depart, and not to appear: for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the bishops had persuaded him that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain unto him. And so Hamilton fled, and was condemned as a heretic, and also his goods and lands confiscated and disposed unto others.

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

The woman of Leith was detected hereof, that when the midwife, in time of her labour, bade her say, "Our Lady help me!" she cried, "Christ help me, Christ help me, in whose help I trust!" She also was caused to recant, and so escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

Master Norman Gurley, for that he said there was no such thing as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop but antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.

Also David Straton, for that he said there was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world. And because, when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesgrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he did cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea; therefore he accused him, as one that should have said, that no tithes should be paid. These two, because, after great solicitation made by the king, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the bishop of Ross as heretics, and were burned upon the green side, between Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be struck with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.

And thus much touching those martyrs of Scotland that suffered under James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; after whom succeeded David Be-ton, in the same archbishopric, under whom divers others were also martyred; as hereafter (God willing) in their order shall appear.

Thomas Harding, an aged father, dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire, burned A.D. 1532. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and by Rowland, vicar of Great Wycombe, the bishop's chaplain.

Thomas Harding, dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was first abjured by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1506, with divers other more, which, the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken, and compelled, some to bear faggots, some were burnt in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries, and spoiled clean of all their goods, some

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compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.: of whom mention is made in the table before.

Of this Thomas Harding much rehearsal hath been made before. First, this Thomas Harding, with Alice his wife, being abjured and enjoined penance, with divers other more, by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln; afterwards by the said bishop was released again, A.D. 1515, of all such penance as was enjoined him and his wife at their abjuration, except these three articles following; and were discharged of their badges or signs of their faggots, &c. Only this penance following the bishop continued *sub pœna relapsus*.

"First, That neither of them, during their life, should dwell out of the parish of Amersham.

"Item, That both of them, during their lives, should fast bread and ale every Corpus Christi even.

"Item, That both of them should, during their lives, upon Corpus Christi day, every year go on pilgrimage to Ashridge, and there make their offerings, as other people did; but not to do penance. Also they were licensed by the said bishop to do their pilgrimage at Ashridge on Corpus Christi even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable."

This penance, being to them enjoined, A.D. 1515, they observed till the year 1522, save that in the last year only the aforesaid Alice, his wife, omitted her pilgrimage, going to Ashridge upon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his oath to detect others, because he, contrary to his oath, dissembled, and did not disclose them, was therefore enjoined, in penance for his perjury, to bear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green cloth, or silk, embroidered like a faggot, during his whole life, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal. And thus continued he from the year 1522, until the year 1532.

At last the said Harding, in the year abovesaid, (1532,) about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and in truth; where, as he was occupied in a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood's side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book: whereupon immediately a rude rabble of them, like mad men, ran desperately to his house to search for books, and in searching went so nigh, that under the boards of his floor they found certain English books of Holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Woburn; who, with his chaplains, calling Father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes, than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison, called Little-ease, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal-seat like a potestate, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his

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martyrdom to Rowland Messenger, vicar of Great Wycombe. This Rowland, at the day appointed, with a rabble of others like to himself, brought Father Harding to Chesham again; where, the next day after his return, the said Rowland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the preaching time; which sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of his apostolical see, with the idolatry, fantasies, and traditions belonging unto the same. When the sermon was ended, Rowland took him up to the high altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body, born of the Virgin Mary? To this Thomas Harding answered, "The articles of our belief do teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his Father."

Then was he brought into a man's house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the aforesaid Rowland again, about ten o'clock, with a company of bills and staves, to lead this godly father to his burning; whom a great number both of men and women did follow, of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoiced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust into his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit."

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a billet at him, and dashed out his brains: for what purpose he so did, it is not known, but, as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the proclamation was made at the burning of William Tylsworth, above mentioned; where proclamation was made the same time, that whosoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of a heretic, should have forty days of pardon: whereby many ignorant people caused many of their children to bear billets and faggots to their burning.

In fine, when the sacrifice and burnt-offering of this godly martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the dell, going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham, Rowland, their ruler of the roast, commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away with an *Ita, missa est*, with a loud voice said to the people these words, not advising belike what his tongue did speak: "Good people! when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of a heretic, but of a good true Christian man:" and so they departed to dinner, Rowland, with the rabble of other priests, much rejoicing at the burning of this good man. After dinner they went to church to even-song, because it was Corpus Christi even, where they fell to singing and chanting, with ringing, and piping of the organs. Well was he that could reach the highest note, so much did they rejoice at this good man's burning. He should have been burned on the Ascension even, but the matter was deferred unto the even of Corpus Christi, because they would honour their "bready Messias" with a bloody sacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above.

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I find in the records of Lincoln, about the same time, and in the same county of Buckinghamshire, in which the aforesaid Thomas Harding did suffer, that divers others, for the like doctrine, were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder follow:

Mistress Alice Dolly, accused by Elizabeth Wighthill, her own servant, and by Dr. London.

Elizabeth Wighthill, being brought before Dr. London in the parsonage at Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mistress Alice Dolly, her mistress, that the said Mistress Dolly, speaking of John Hacker, of Coleman Street, in London, water-bearer, said, that he was very expert in the Gospels, and all other things belonging to divine service, and could express and declare them, and the Pater-noster in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him; saying moreover, that she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man: commanding moreover the said Elizabeth, that she should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the aforesaid Hacker could tell by divers prophecies, what should happen in the realm.

Over and besides, the aforesaid Elizabeth deposed, that the said Mistress Dolly, her mistress, showed unto her, that she had a book which held against pilgrimages; and after that, she caused Sir John Booth, parson of Britwel, to read upon a book which he called *Legenda Aurea*; and one saint's life he read, which did speak against pilgrimages. And after that was read, her mistress said unto her, "Lo, daughter! now ye may hear, as I told you, what this book speaketh against pilgrimages."

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mistress Dolly, by the said Elizabeth, that she, being at Sir William Barenten's place, and seeing there in the closet images new gilded, said to the said Elizabeth, "Look, here be my Lady Barenten's gods:" to whom the said Elizabeth answered again, that they were set for remembrance of good saints. Then said she, "If I were in a house where no images were, I could remember to pray unto saints as well as if I did see the images." "Nay," said the other, "images do provoke devotion." Then said her mistress, "Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel."

Item, The said Mistress Dolly was reported by the said party to have a book containing the twelve articles of the Creed, covered with boards and red covering. Also another black book, which she set most price by, which book she kept ever in her chamber, or in her coffer, with divers other books. And this was about A.D. 1520.

Note here, good reader! in this time, which was above forty-six years ago, what good matter here was, to accuse and molest good women.

Roger Hachman, accused at North Stoke, in Oxfordshire, A.D. 1525. Persecuted by William Smith of North Stoke, in Oxfordshire; and by Thomas Ferrar.

Against this Roger Hachman it was laid, by depositions brought in, that he, sitting at the church aisle at North Stoke, said these words, "I will never look to be saved for no good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, without I may have my salvation by petition, as

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an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king;" and said, that if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.

Robert West, priest of St. Andrew Undershaft, accused at London, A.D. 1529. Persecuted by Dr. Wharton, chancellor to Tonstal, bishop of London.

Against this Robert West, priest, it was objected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having a wife and children, &c.

Item, For saying, that whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and even-song, they had no authority so to do: for which he was abjured, and was enjoined penance.

John Ryburn, accused at Roshborough, A. D, 1530. Persecuted by Doctor Morgan.

It was testified against John Ryburn, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that she, coming to him upon the Assumption even, found him at supper with butter and eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat; to whom he said again, that God never made such fastingdays; "but you," quoth he, "are so far in limbo patrum, that you can never turn again." And in further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wendover, he said again, that she did wrong, "for there is never a step," said he, "that you set in going on pilgrimage, but you go to the devil: and you go to the church to worship what the priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the mouse it will eat it:" and further he said, that he would never believe that the priest hath power to make his Lord.

Item, It was testified by another sister, named Alice Ryburn, that she, being with her brother in a close called Brimmer's Close, beard him say these words, "That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made." Whereunto she answering again asked, "And what service shall we have then?"

He said, "That service that we have now." Furthermore, the said John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the church was nought, because it was not in English: "For," said he, "if we had our Pater-noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now."

Note here, out of the records of the register, that in this examination of John Ryburn, first his two sisters, then his own wife, and at last his own father, were called before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and compelled by oath to depose against him.

John Eaton, and Cecily his wife, accused at Roshborough, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and by Richard Ryburn.

John Eaton, and Cecily his wife, of the parish of Speen, were detected by Richard Ryburn, that they were marked of certain in the parish on the Sunday then last past, in the sacring time, to hold down their heads, and that they would not look upon the sacrament.

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Item, In the feast of exaltation of the holy cross, when the bells did ring solemnly, between matins and high mass, for saying, in a butcher's house, "What a clampering of bells is here!"

Item, The said John Ryburn was detected by Richard his father, for saying these words, "The priests do wrong, for they should say their service in English, that every man may know it."

Item, For these words speaking to one of his sisters, "The sacrament of the altar is not as they take it to be: but if it be as I trust, we shall see none of them holden up, one of these days, over the priest's head."

Item, For saying that the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done, or should be done; and therefore it was no need to go on pilgrimage. It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, that he had the Gospels of Jesus in English, and that he was present in the house of John Taylor, when one John Simons read to them a lecture out of the Gospel, of the passion of Christ, the space of two hours.

Item, For saying that images were but idols, and it was idolatry to pray to them.

For saying moreover, that at sacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the sacrament.

Item, That the pope's authority and pardon cannot help man's soul, and it was but cast away money that is given for pardon; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus Christ, he will give us pardon every day.

Thomas Lound, priest, who had been with Luther two years, being afterwards cast into the Fleet at London, was a great instructor of this John Ryburn.

John Simonds accused.

It was laid against John Simonds, for saying that men do walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to hell or to heaven.

Item, He said, that priests should have wives.

It was reported by the confession of the said John Simonds, that he had converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had holpen two or three friars out of their orders.

William Wingrave, Thomas Hawks of Hichenden, Robert Hawes of West Wycombe, John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Hern of Cobshil, Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the younger, William Hawks of Chesham; accused, A.D.1530. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

These persons with others were examined, excommunicated, and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field, of London, read

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a parcel of Scripture in English unto them, who there expounded to them many things: that they that went on pilgrimage were accursed: that it booteth not to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man: that God Almighty biddeth us work as well one day as another, saving the Sunday; for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested: that they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the ember days; for he was beyond the sea in Almany, and there they used not so to fast, nor to make such holy days.

Item, That offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained God's service; "Nay," said Nicholas, "it maintain great houses, as abbeys and others."

Item, That men should say their Pater-noster and Ave Maria in English, with the Creed; and declared the same in English.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To William Wingrave moreover it was objected, that he should say, that there was no purgatory: and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more masses said in a day, than there be bodies buried in a month.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford, was charged in judgment, for having three books in English; one was the Gospels in English, another was the Psalter, the third was the Sum of the Holy Scripture in English.

James Algar, or Ayger, accused, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by Dr. Prin, commissary to the bishop of Lincoln.

It was articulated and objected to James Algar, first, that he, speaking to a certain doctor of divinity, named Aglonby, said, that every true Christian man, living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a priest as well as he, &c.

Item, That he said that he would not his executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death, for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience gave him, that the soul, as soon as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to heaven or to hell.

Item, When Dr. Aglonby aforesaid had alleged to him the place in St. Matthew, chap. xvi., Thou art Peter, &c., he answered him again with that which followeth in the Gospel after, Get thee after me, Satan, &c.

Item, The said James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, said openly, it made no great matter, for the church had enough already.

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John French, of Long Witham. Persecuted there, A.D. 1530.

Against John French likewise these three articles were objected.

First, that he believed not the body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, to be in the sacrament. Secondly, That he was not confessed to any priest of long time. Thirdly, That priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c.: for which he likewise, with the others, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneel down, and to ask a blessing of his holy catholic father and mother of Rome.

For what stand I here numbering the sand? for if all the register books were sought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them which through all the other dioceses of the realm in these days, before and since, were troubled and pursued for these and such-like matters. But these I thought for example's sake here to specify, that it might appear what doctrine it is, and long hath been in the church, for the which the prelates and clergy of Rome have judged men heretics, and so wrongfully have molested poor simple Christians.

Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will something speak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary part, who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the church; to the intent that by those rulers it may better be discerned and judged, what manner of church that was, which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and members of his church.

168. Thomas Wolsey

A brief discourse concerning the story and life of Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, by way of digression; wherein is to be seen and noted the express image of the proud, vain glorious Church of Rome, how, far it differeth from the true church of Christ Jesus.

Although it be not greatly pertinent unto this our history, nor greatly requisite, in these so weighty matters, treating of Christ's holy martyrs, to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; notwithstanding, forasmuch as there be many, which, being carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering Church of Rome, do think that holiness to be in it, which indeed is not: to the intent, therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, more notoriously may appear to all men, and partly also to refresh the reader with some variety of matter, I thought compendiously to express the ridiculous and pompous qualities and demeanour of this aforesaid Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate of Rome, in whom alone the image and life of all other such-like followers and professors of the same church, may be seen and observed. For like as the Lacedemonians, in times past, were accustomed to show and demonstrate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulness of that vice they might inflame them the more to the study and desire of sobriety; even so it shall not be hurtful sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

Wherefore thou shalt note here, good reader! in this history, with all judgment, the great difference of life and Christian conversation between this church and the other true humble martyrs and servants of God, whom they have and do yet persecute. And first, to begin with the first meeting and coming in of this cardinal, and his fellow cardinal, Campeius, to England; it was about the time when Pope Leo, intending to make war against the Turks, sent three legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germany, another into France; Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Calais, and that the cardinal of York had understanding thereof, he sent certain bishops and doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the legate, and to show him, that if he would have his embassy take effect, he should send in post to Rome, to have the said cardinal of York made legate, and to be joined with him in commission: which thing he much affected, misdoubting lest his authority thereby might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate, and therefore required to be joined with him in like degree of the embassy. Campeius, being a man light of belief, and suspecting no such matter, gave credit unto his words, and sent unto Rome with such speed, that within thirty days after, the bull was brought to Calais, wherein they were both equally joined in commission; during which time the cardinal of York sent to the legate at Calais, red cloth to clothe his servants withal, which at their coming to Calais were but meanly apparelled.

When all things were ready, Campeius passed the seas and landed at Dover, and so kept on his journey toward London. At every good town as they passed, he was received with procession, accompanied with all the lords and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, there met him the duke of Norfolk, with a great number of prelates, knights, and

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gentlemen, all richly apparelled; and in the way he was brought into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted himself into a cardinal's robe, furred with ermines; and so took his mule, riding toward London. Now mark the great humility in this church of the pope, and compare the same with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is more gospel-like.

This Campeius had eight mules of his own, laden with divers fardels and other preparation. The cardinal of York, thinking them not sufficient for his state, the night before he came to London, sent him twelve mules more, (with empty coffers,) covered with red, to furnish his carriage withal. The next day these twenty mules were led through the city, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel, and other necessaries, to the great admiration of all men, that they should receive a legate as it were a god, with such and so great treasure and riches; for so the common people doth always judge and esteem the majesty of the clergy, by no other thing than by their outward shows and pomp. But in the midst of this great admiration, there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great derision of their pride and ambition: for as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze, (as the manner is,) it happened that one of the mules, breaking his collar that he was led in, ran upon the other mules, whereby it happened, that they, so running together, and their girths being loosed, overthrew divers of their burdens; and so there appeared the cardinal's gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, especially of boys and girls, whereof some gathered up pieces of meat, some, pieces of bread and roasted eggs; some found horseshoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, "Behold! here is my lord cardinal's treasure." The muleteers, being therewithal greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again as well as they could, and went forward.

About three o'clock at afternoon, July the twenty-ninth, the cardinal himself was brought through the city, with great pomp and solemnity, unto Paul's church, where, when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the manner is, he was guided forth unto the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the said cardinal; and by him on the next day, being Sunday, was conducted unto the king, to fulfil his embassy against the Turk, which might have destroyed all Hungary in the meantime, whiles they were studying with what solemnity to furnish out their embassy.

When the cardinal of York was thus a legate, he set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, and proved testaments, and heard causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, exempt and not exempt; and under colour of reformation, he got much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief; for, by example of his pride, priests and all spiritual persons waxed so proud, that they wore velvet and silk, both in gowns, jackets, doublets, and shoes; kept open lechery; and so highly bore themselves, by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called heretic, and then they would make him smoke, or bear a faggot; and the cardinal himself was so elated that he thought himself equal with the king; and when he had said mass, he made dukes and earls to serve him of wine, with assay taken, and to hold the bason at the lavatories.

Furthermore, as he was sent ambassador to the emperor at Brussels, he had over with him the great seal of England; and was served with his servitors kneeling on their knees; and many

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noblemen of England waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the Germans that beheld it: such was his monstrous pomp and pride.

This glorious cardinal, in his tragical doings, did exceed so far all measure of a good subject, that he became more like a prince than a priest; for although the king bare the sword, yet he bare the stroke, making (in a manner) the whole realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his pipe. Such practices and fetches he had, that when he had well stored his own coffers, first he fetched the greatest part of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars; and as his avaricious mind was never satisfied in getting, so his restless head was so busy, ruffling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had set both England, France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, together by the ears.

Thus this legate, well following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their religion, under the pretence of the church, practised great hypocrisy; and under the authority of the king he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every man's substance, so pilling the commons and merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the churchmen altogether free from the pill-axe and poll-axe, from the pilling and polling, I mean, of this cardinal, who, under his power legantine, gave by preventions all benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches than hatred of the spirituality. So far his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress divers abbeyes, priories, and monasteries; and so did, taking from them all their goods, movables and unmovables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houses. By the said power legantine he kept also general visitations through the realm, sending Doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses; whereat the Friars Observant much grudged, and would in no wise condescend thereunto: wherefore they were openly accursed at Paul's Cross, by Friar Forest, one of the same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all others. Against whom great disdain rose among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licences, and other pollings in his courts legantine, he had made his treasure equal with the king's, and yet every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, this was one which much pinched them, for that the said cardinal had sent out certain strait commissions in the king's name, that every man should pay the sixth part of his goods. Whereupon there followed great muttering amongst the commons; in such sort that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of Suffolk, had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with wisdom and gentleness, stepped in and appeased the same.

Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was this; to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the king's chief councillor, to set a reformation in the order of the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in the same. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the Lady Mary, then being princess; so that all things were

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done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with much more, took he upon him, making the king believe, that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pains; insomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him: whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

At this time, the cardinal gave the king the lease of the manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the lord of St. John's, and on which he had done great cost. Therefore the king again, of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his manor of Richmond; and so he lay there certain times. But when the common people, and especially such as were King Henry the Seventh's servants, saw the cardinal keep house in the royal manor of Richmond, which King Henry the Seventh so much esteemed, it was a marvel to hear how they grudged, saying, "See, a butcher's dog lies in the manor of Richmond!" These, with many other opprobrious words, were spoken against the cardinal, whose pride was so high, that he regarded nothing yet was he hated of all men.

And now, to express some part of the ruffling practices and busy intermeddlings of this cardinal in princes' wars, first, here is to be noted, that after long wars between England and France, 1524, (in the which wars King Henry, taking the emperor's part against Francis, the French king, had engaged with his money the duke of Bourbon, and a great part of the emperor's army, to invade and disturb certain parts of France,) it happened that the French king, coming with his army towards Milan at the siege of Pavia, was there taken by the duke of Bourbon, and the viceroy of Naples, and so led prisoner into Spain.

Where note by the way, that all this while the cardinal held with the emperor, hoping by him to be made pope; but when that would not be, he went clean from the emperor to the French king, as, the Lord willing, you shall hear.



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After this victory gotten, and the French king being taken prisoner, who remained in custody about a year and a half; at length, through great labour and solicitation, as well of others as especially of the cardinal and King Henry, an order was taken, and conditions propounded, between the French king and the emperor; among which other divers conditions, it was agreed, that they should resist the Turks, and oppress the Lutherans; and so was the king set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his oath, being absolved by the bishop of Rome, and said that he was forced to swear, or else he should never have been delivered. This was A.D. 1526.

169. The Sack of Rome

Pope Clement the Seventh, seeing the French king restored to liberty, and misdoubting the puissance and domination of the emperor in Italy, so near under his nose, absolved the French king from his oath; also joined together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that any thing favoured the emperor's part, especially the family of Columna in Rome, which family was then imperial; and therefore, to show his hatred against them, he said to Pompey, cardinal of the same family, in threatening words, that he would take away his cardinal's hat: to whom it was answered again by the cardinal, that if he so did, he would put on a helmet to overthrow the pope's triple crown: whereby it may appear here by the way, what holiness and virtue lieth in the pope and cardinals of that catholic see of Rome.

Thus the false pope, under the lying title of holiness, was the father of much mischief and of great wars, which after ensued; for the duke of Bourbon, and others of the emperor's captains, having intelligence of the pope's purpose and confederacy, gathered their army together, and after much bloodshed and fighting about Milan, Hawd, and Cremona, at length they approached and bent their siege against Rome, and after three sharp assaults, obtained the city, with the whole spoil thereof: where also they besieged the aforesaid pope with his cardinals, in the mount of Adrian, and took him prisoner, A.D. 1527. As touching the cause of the besieging of Rome, now ye have beard: for the manner of taking of Rome, and of the pope, the order thereof is thus described in Hall and others.



he emperor's army, departing from Florence to the city of Sienna, where they lost their ordnance, took counsel there to go to Rome, and so much they travelled by night and day, commonly passing forty miles day and night, (their good will was such,) that the sixth day of May, with banners displayed, they came before the city of Rome, being Saturday the same day; and on Sunday the Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defences, and laid ordnance on the walls, and shot at them without fiercely.

The duke of Bourbon determined that it was not best to lie still without, and be slain with ordnance, considering that they were all naked people, and without great ordnance; wherefore he determined to take the chance, and to give the assault, and so manfully they approached the walls between the Burgo Novo and old Rome. But the Romans valiantly defended them with hand-guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that the enemies were fain to retreat. Then the Romans were glad, and set many fair banners on their towers and bulwarks, and made great shouts; which the duke of Bourbon seeing, cried, "To a new assault." Then the drumflades blew, and every man with a ladder mounted; and, at the first encounter, the Romans put them a little back again, which the duke of Bourbon perceiving, cried "God and the emperor!" Then every man manfully set on. There was a sore fight, many an arrow shot, and many a man felled; but at last the emperor's men got the wall: and between every assault fell a mist, so that they within could not see what part they without would assail; which was profitable to the emperor's party. At the three assaults were slain three hundred Switzers of the pope's guard. In this last assault

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was the duke of Bourbon struck in the thigh with a hand-gun, of the which he shortly after died in a chapel of St. Sist, whither his soldiers had brought him; and this chance notwithstanding, the army entered into Rome, and took the pope's palace, and set up the emperor's arms.

The same day that these three assaults were made, Pope Clement passed little on the emperor's army; for he had accursed them on the Saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almain Lutherans; and the Spaniards, Murreins, or Moors: and when he was hearing of mass, suddenly the Almain entered into the church, and slew his guard and divers other. He, seeing that, fled in all haste by a privy way to the castle of St. Angelo; and all they that followed him that way, and could not enter, were slain, and if he in that fury had been taken, he had been slain. The cardinals and other prelates fled to the castle of St. Angelo, over the bridge, where many of the common people were overpressed and trodden down, and as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates that passed towards the castle for succour.

The cardinal of Senes, of Sesarine, of Todi, of Jacobace, and of the Valle, tarried so long, that they could not get to the castle for the multitude of the people; wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the palace of St. George, where they kept themselves for awhile as secretly as they might. You must understand, that through the city of Rome runneth a famous river called Tiber, and on the one side of the river standeth the castle of St. Angelo, or the borough of St. Angelo; and the other side is called Burgo Novo, or the New Borough. This bridge is called the bridge of Sixtus, which lieth directly before the castle. At the end of this bridge was a wonderful strong bulwark, well ordnanced and well manned. The emperor's men, seeing that they could do nothing to the pope, nor to that part of the city, but by the bridge, determined to assault the bulwark: and so, as men without fear, came on the bridge, and the Romans so well defended them, that they slew almost four thousand men. Seeing this, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Gnasto, with all speed gave assault, and notwithstanding that the Romans shot great ordnance, hand-guns, quarels, and all that might be shot; yet the imperial persons never shrank, but manfully entered the bulwark, and slew and threw down out of the loops all the Romans that they found, and after razed the bulwark to the ground. The pope was in the castle of St. Angelo, and beheld this fight; and with him were four-and-twenty cardinals, of which one, called the cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, or the cardinal of Pouch, was slain, and with him were one thousand prelates and priests, five hundred gentlemen, and five hundred soldiers: wherefore immediately the captains determined to lay siege to the castle of St. Angelo, lest they within might issue out, and turn them to damage; wherefore suddenly a siege was planted round about the castle. In the mean season, the soldiers fell to spoil. Never was Rome so pillaged, either by the Goths or Vandals: for the soldiers were not content with the spoil of the citizens, but they robbed the churches, brake up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloisters, and spoiled virgins, and maltreated married women. Men were tormented if they had not to give to every new asker or demander: some were strangled, some were punished by dreadful mutilation, to cause them to confess their treasure. This woodness continued a great while, and some men might think that when they had gotten so much, then they would cease and be quiet, but that was not so, for they played continually at dice, some five hundred, some a thousand ducats at a cast; and he that came to play laden with plate, went away almost naked, and then fell to rifling again. Many of the citizens, which could not patiently suffer that vexation, drowned themselves in the Tiber. The soldiers daily, that lay at the siege, made jests of the pope. Sometimes they had one riding like the pope, with a base woman behind him; sometimes he

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blessed, and sometimes he cursed, and sometimes they would with one voice call him antichrist: and they went about to undermine the castle, and to have thrown it down on his head; but the water that environeth the castle disappointed their purpose.

In this season the duke of Urbino, with fifteen thousand men, came to aid the pope; but hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty miles from Rome, till he heard other word. The marquis of Saluzzo, and Sir Frederic de Bodso, with fifteen thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, were at Viturbo the tenth day of May, where they, hearing that the city of Rome was taken, also tarried. The cardinal of Columbo came with an army of Neapolitans to help the emperor's men, but when he saw the cruelty of the soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged till the eighth of the ides of July; at which day he yielded himself for necessity, and penury of all things in the castle: and then he was restored to give graces, and grant bulls as he did before; but he tarried still in the castle of St. Angelo, and had a great number of Almaines and Spaniards to keep him; but the Spaniards bare most rule in the castle, for no man entered nor came out of the castle but by them. When the month of July came, corn began to fail in Rome, and the pestilence began to wax strong; wherefore the great army removed to a place called Narvia, forty miles from Rome, leaving behind them such as kept the bishop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spaniards never were contented till they had gotten the Almaines out of the castle of St. Angelo, and so they had the whole custody of the pope. And thus much for the sacking of Rome.

170. Thomas Wolsey (Contd.)

When the cardinal here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to stir coals, and hearing of his captivity, he laboured with the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the said pope against the emperor, and to be a defender of the church; which if he would do, the cardinal persuaded him that he should receive great reward at God's hand. To whom the king answered again, and said in this manner: "My lord! I more lament this evil chance, than my tongue can tell; but where you say I am the defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope, is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions. And now, since Pope Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? My person nor my people cannot rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take that which seemeth to you most convenient."

Thus the cardinal, when he could -not obtain at the king's hands what he would, in stirring him up to mortal war, made out of the king's treasure twelve-score thousand pounds, which he carried over the sea with him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as legate, to all the bishops, commanding fastings and solemn processions to be had, wherein they did sing the Litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria! ora pro Clemente papa: Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente papa;* and so forth all the Litany.

This cardinal, passing the seas with the aforesaid sums of money, departed out of Calais, accompanied with Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London, the lord Sandes, the king's chamberlain, the earl of Derby, Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir Thomas More, with many other knights and squires, to the number of twelve hundred horse; having in his carriage fourscore waggons, and threescore mules and sumpter horses.

It were long to discourse in this place the manifold abuses and treasons which he practised when he came to the French court at Amiens, converting the great sums of money, which before you heard he had obtained of the king for the relief and ransom of Pope Clement, (which at that time was prisoner in the emperor's army,) and bestowing the same in the hiring of soldiers, and furnishing out the French king's army; appointing also certain English captains, in the king of England's name, to go against the emperor, to rescue the pope; all which army was paid with the king of England's money.

Besides that, he privily, by his letters, caused Clarence king at arms, to join with the French herald, and openly to defy the emperor; whereby there began great displeasure to arise between the emperor and the king, but that the emperor, of his politic nature, would take no occasion of displeasure against the king of England.

Now again he uttered another of his practices; for, upon the said defiance, the cardinal, surmising and whispering in the king's ear that the emperor had evil treated and imprisoned the king's ambassadors in Spain, caused Hugo de Mendoza, the emperor's ambassador in England, to be attached, and put in safe keeping, and his house with all his goods to be seized; which so remained, until that manifest letters came of the gentle entreaty of the king's ambassadors in

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Spain; and then was again set at liberty. When the ambassador complained hereof to the cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarence; saying also, that Clarence had defied the emperor without the king's knowledge, at the request of the herald of France: wherefore at his return he should lose his head at Calais. Whereof Clarence, being advertised by the captain of Bayonne, in his return took shipping at Boulogne, and so privily came into England; and by means of certain of his friends of the king's privy-chamber, he was brought into the king's presence, before the cardinal knew of it; where he showed unto the king the cardinal's letters of commission, and declared the whole order and circumstance of their gentle entreaty. When the king heard the whole circumstance thereof, and had a while mused thereupon, he said, "O Lord Jesus! he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary. Well, Clarence! I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I see well, that I have been made believe the thing that was never done:" and from that time forward the king never put any more confidence or trust in the cardinal.

The cause why the cardinal should hear the emperor all this malice and grudge, after some writers, it appeareth to be this: At what time as Pope Clement was taken prisoner, (as is before said,) the cardinal wrote unto the emperor, that he should make him pope. But when he had received an answer that pleased him not, he waxed furious mad, and sought all means to displease the emperor, writing very sharply unto him many menacing letters, that if he would not make him pope, he would make such a ruffling betwixt Christian princes, as was not this hundred years before, to make the emperor repent; yea, though it should cost the whole realm of England.

Whereunto the emperor made answer in a little book, imprinted both in Spanish and Dutch, answering unto many menacings of the cardinal, and divers of his articles; but especially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him pope, he would set such a ruffling betwixt Christian princes as was not this hundred years, though it should cost the whole realm of England: whereunto the emperor, answering again, biddeth him look well about him, lest through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that case, that it should cost him the realm of England indeed.

You have heard before, how that when Pope Clement was prisoner in the emperor's army, the cardinal required the king, because he did bear the title of Defender of the Faith, that he would rescue the pope; also what the king's answer was thereunto, and what sums of money he had obtained of the king. Now, because you shall not also be ignorant, by what means, and upon what occasion, this title of Defender of the Faith was given unto the king, we think it good somewhat to say in this place. When Martin Luther had uttered the abomination of the pope and his clergy, and divers books were come into England, our cardinal here, thinking to find a remedy for that, sent immediately unto Rome for this title of Defender of the Faith: which afterwards the vicar of Croydon preached, that the king's Grace would not lose it for all London and twenty miles about it. Neither is it marvel, for it cost more than London and forty miles about it, considering the great sums which you have heard the cardinal obtained of the king for the pope's relief, besides the effusion of much innocent blood.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the cardinal brought it unto the king's Grace at Greenwich; and though that the king had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the lords and gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered, sent for, to

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come and receive it with honour. In the morning the cardinal gat him through the backside, unto the Friars Observant, and part of the gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome; part met him half way, and some at the court gate. The king himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the king and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read; which pomp all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied by many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel; andso he proceeded to mass. When mass was done, the bull was again published, the trumpets blew, the shawms and sackbuts played in honour of the king's new style. Then the king went to dinner, in the midst whereof the king of heralds and his company began the largess, crying, "Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ Defensor Fidei, et Dominus Hiberniæ." Thus were all things ended with great solemnity.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the cardinal's hat; which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloak, he clothed the messenger in rich array, and sent him back again to Dover; appointing the bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another company of the lords and gentlemen, I wot not how often before it came to Westminster; where it was set upon a cupboard, and tapers round about it, so that the greatest duke in the land must make courtesy thereunto, and to his empty seat, he being away.

And forasmuch as we are in hand with the acts and doings of Cardinal Wolsey, among many other things which of purpose we overpass, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touching his uncourteous, or rather churlish, handling of Richard Pacy, dean of St. Paul's. This Pacy, being the king's secretary for the Latin tongue, was of such ripeness of wit, of learning, and eloquence, also in foreign languages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meet to succeed after John Colet, in the deanery of Paul's; beside which he was also preferred to the deanery of Exeter. For the other he was sent in the king's affairs ambassador to Venice; which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, and especially for the singular promptness in the Italian tongue, wherein he seemed nothing inferior, neither to Peter Vanne here in England, the king's secretary for the Italian tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the best in that tongue in all Venice. For opinion and fame of learning, he was so notoriously accepted, not only here in England with Linacre, Grocine, More, and other, but also known and reported abroad in such sort, that in all the great heap of Erasmus's Epistles, he wrote almost to none so many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacy.

As the said Pacy was resident ambassador at Venice, the king, having war the same time with Francis the French king (as is afore rehearsed) through the conducting of the duke of Bourbon, whom he then charged with his expenses, sent commandment to Pacy to give attendance to the duke of Bourbon, concerning the receipt of that money, and other necessities and exploits to that expedition appertaining. In the mean while, as the French king with his army, and the duke of Bourbon, were approaching in the battle together, near about the city of Pavia, it so happened (some think through the crafty packing of the cardinal) that the king's money was

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not so ready as it was looked for: by reason whereof the duke of Bourbon, perceiving his soldiers about to shrink from him to the French king for lack of payment, called to him the ambassador, complaining unto him, how the king of England had deceived him, and broken promise with him, to his great dishonour and utter undoing, &c. Pacy then, being sure of the king's will, and suspecting the crafty fetch of the cardinal, desired the duke not to take discomfort, nor any diffidence of the king's assured promise, excusing the delay of the money as well as he could, by interception, or other causes by the way of incident, rather than for any lack of fidelity on the king's behalf: adding, moreover, that if it would please him happily to proceed, as he had courageously begun, he should not stay for the king's money. So sure he was of the king's mind therein, that he would supply the lack of that payment upon his own credit, among his friends at Venice: and so did; whereupon the soldiers being sufficiently satisfied with payment of their wages, proceeded forth with the duke unto the battle. In the which battle the aforesaid French king, the same time, before the city of Pavia, was taken prisoner, as is before declared. Which being eftsoons known to the king of England, Pacy had both condign thanks for his faithful service, and also his money repaid again with the uttermost, as he well deserved. But as the laud, and the renowned praise, of men for their worthy prowesses, commonly in this world never go unaccompanied with some privy canker of envy and disdain following after, so the singular industry of Pacy, as it won much commendation with many, so it could not avoid the secret sting of some serpents. For the conceived hatred of this cardinal so kindled against him, that he never ceased, till first he brought him out of the king's favour, and at last also out of his perfect wits.

The occasion how he fell beside himself was this, for that the cardinal, after the death of Pope Adrian, hoping no less but that he should have been advanced unto the papacy, and yet missing thereof, he supposed with himself the fault chiefly to rest in Pacy's negligence, by whose great wit and learning, and earnest means and suit, he thought easily he might have achieved and compassed the triple crown. Wherefore, he, seeing it otherwise come to pass, and inflamed against Pacy for the same, wrought such ways and means, that by the space almost of two years, Pacy, continuing at Venice, had neither writing from the king, nor his council, what he should do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet, although he wrote and sent letters for the same to England very often: for the cardinal had altogether incensed the king against him. Whereupon the said Pacy took such an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to fail him; he being notwithstanding in such favour among the senators of Venice, that neither for gold nor silver he could there have lacked. By some it is reported that the Venetian legate here in England, coming to the cardinal, required if he would command any thing to the English ambassador at Venice? To whom he should answer again in high words, saying, *Paceus deceptit regem*. Which words coming to Pacy's ears, so deeply pierced his stomach, that he fell quite beside himself. I heard it moreover of another thus testified, who had a brother at the same time dwelling with Pacy: that the cardinal, about the returning of Pacy from Venice, sent him a letter so powdered, (with what spices I cannot tell,) that at the reading thereof Pacy, then being in the fields, fell suddenly in such a mighty running for the space of two miles, that his servants had much ado to take him, and bring him home.

This piteous case of Pacy was not a little lamented by the whole senate and chief learned men in Venice; insomuch that the king was not only certified thereof by Thomas Lupset, (who then was chief man about Pacy, and his secretary for that embassy,) but also the said senate of Venice wrote in such sharp and vehement wise unto their ambassador, then being in England,

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that he should signify unto the king, touching Pacy's case, that thereby the king, knowing the truth, and the whole circumstance of the matter, was not a little sorrowful therefore. Whereupon Pacy was forthwith sent for home, and when he came to England, he was commanded by the king to be specially well tended, and to lack no keeping: insomuch that within a small process of time he was pretty well come again to his wits, and began to study the Hebrew tongue with Wakefield; so that (the cardinal then being absent) such ways were found by his friends, that he was brought to the king, lying then at Richmond, where he and the king secretly communed together by the space of two hours and more, not without great rejoicing to the king, as it was perceived, to see him so well amended, and returned to himself again; giving likewise strait charge and commandment, that he should lack nothing. The cardinal being then not present, when he heard of this, fearing lest he had disclosed somewhat to the king, which he would not have known, and doubting that the king should cast his favour again unto Pacy, began within a while after to quarrel, and pick matters, and to lay certain things to Pacy's charge; whereas he rather should have cleared himself of those things which Pacy laid unto him before the king, which was contrary to all good form and order of justice. For where the king had willed the cardinal to purge himself of those things which Pacy had rightly charged him withal, he, sitting in judgment, with the duke of Norfolk, and other states of the realm, not as a defendant, but as a judge in his own cause, so bare out himself and weighed down Pacy, that Pacy was commanded to the Tower of London as prisoner, where he continued by the space of two years, or thereabouts, and afterwards, by the king's commandment, was discharged. But he, being there prisoner, was therewith so deadly wounded and stricken, that he fell worse from his wits than ever he was before, being in such a frenzy or lunacy, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himself again. Notwithstanding this in him was no perpetual frenzy, but came by fits; and when the fit was past, he could look on his book, and reason and talk handsomely, but that now and then he showed his disease. And thus much between the cardinal and Pacy.

By this story of Pacy, and also by other passages above mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this cardinal was to be made pope. Touching which matter here by the way something to treat, first is to be understood, that forasmuch as Pacy either would not, or could not, serve the cardinal's purpose herein, he thought to accomplish his desire by other means, and namely by Stephen Gardiner, who was then shortly after sent ambassador to Rome by the king and the cardinal, in the time of Pope Clement the Seventh; and that for two special causes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. As touching the divorcement we will speak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time, as concerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labour was made, as in letters may appear, sent from the cardinal to the said Stephen Gardiner; in which letters he did solicit the said Gardiner, by all means, to pursue the suit, willing him to stick for no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more, he said, he would not give for the triple crown. Mark here, Christian reader! what a holy catholic church this is, which rather may be called a bourse, or mart of merchants, than any true form of a church.

Many both of his, and also the king's letters, I could here insert; but, for growing of the volume, I let them pass. One, for example's sake, sent by the cardinal to Gardiner, shall at this time suffice concerning this matter. The copy of the cardinal's ambitious letter here in form followeth:

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"Master Stephen, albeit ye shall be sufficiently, with your colleagues, by such instructions as be given to Monsieur Vincent, informed of the king's mind and mine, concerning my advancement unto the dignity papal, not doubting but that for the singular devotion which you bear towards the king and his affairs, both general and particular, and perfect love which ye have towards me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitated to serve and conduce to that purpose; yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent expression of my mind in that behalf, to write unto you (as to the person whom I do most entirely trust, and by whom this thing shall be most pithily set forth) these few words following of mine own hand.

"I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider, as well the state wherein the church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this realm, and of the king's secret matter; which if it should be brought to pass by any other means than by the authority of the church, I account this prince and realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be pope and common father of all princes, as may, can, and will, give remedy to the premises. And albeit I account myself much unable, and that it shall be now incommodious in this mine old age to be the said common father; yet when all things be well pondered, &c., the qualities of all the cardinals well considered, there shall be none found that can and will set remedy in the aforesaid things, but only the cardinal of York, whose good will and zeal is not to you of all men unknown. And were it not for the re-integration of the state of the church and see apostolic to the pristine dignity, and for the conducting of peace amongst Christian princes, and especially to relieve this prince and realm from the calamities that the same be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.

"Nevertheless, conforming myself to the necessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of these two princes, I am content to appone all my wit and study, and to set forth all means and ways, for the attaining of the said dignity: for the achieving and attaining whereof, forasmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of these two princes and their realms, but of all Christendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end and purpose. Wherefore, Master Stephen, since you be so plainly advertised of my mind and intent, I shall pray you to exert your utmost energies to bring the matter to an issue, sparing neither expense, nor promises, nor toils. Suit your conduct to men's minds and tempers, as they may be inclined, whether in public or private affairs. You and your colleagues have hereby unlimited power, and whatever you do, be assured it will gratify the king and me. We intrust all, in one word, to your faith and genius. I have only to pray that God may prosper all your exertions. Farewell.

"Ex ædibus meis Westmonast. vii. Febr.

Tuæ salutis et amplitudinis cupidissimus,

T. Ebor."

In the so great labours, pursuits, and travails of the king and of the cardinal, thou hast for thine instruction, loving reader, to note and learn, how man purposeth one thing, and how God disposeth another. For the king's purpose was to have the cardinal and legate of York placed in the see papal, thinking by that means, if this cardinal had been pope, the cause of his divorce more easily might be compassed, which, otherwise, he thought impossible to contrive. But God omnipotent, who only is director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the king devised, but after his own wisdom; so that both the divorcement was concluded, and yet neither

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Cardinal Wolsey made pope, nor yet Pope Clement was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, that notwithstanding Pope Clement was alive, yet both the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise to his merciful goodness: of which divorcement, and suppressing of the pope's authority, we have likewise to make declaration; but first, as we have begun with the cardinal of York, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) address ourselves to other matters of more importance.

As the ambassadors were thus travailing in Rome to promote the cardinal to be pope, although the pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the cardinal played the popish persecutor here at home. For first, he sitting in his pontificalibus in the cathedral church of Paul's, under his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, caused Friar Barnes, an Augustin Friar, to bear a faggot, for certain points which he called heresy. Also he caused at the same time two merchants of the Stilyard likewise to bear faggots for eating flesh on a Friday; at the which time the bishop of Rochester made a sermon in reproof of Martin Luther, who had before written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This bishop in his sermon spake so much of the honour of the pope and his cardinals, and of their dignity and pre-eminence, that he forgot to speak of the gospel which he took in hand to declare; which was about A.D. 1526.

After this, the said cardinal likewise, A.D. 1528, and in the month of November, sitting at Westminster as legate, called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abusions of the church should be amended; but there nothing else was done, save only he caused to be abjured, Arthur Bilney, Geffery Lome, and Garret, for speaking against the pope's authority, and his pompous pride: of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was A.D. 1528.

The year next following, which was A.D. 1529, began the question of the king's marriage to be revived; whereupon Cardinal Campeius was sent again into England from Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter; who then, with Cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, although at first he seemed with his fellow cardinal to incline unto the king's disposition, yet afterwards, perceiving the sequel of the case, whether it tended so far as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the court of Rome, and might shake perhaps the chair of the pope's omnipotent authority, as well in other cases like, if this one case were thoroughly decided by learning and truth of God's word: he therefore, slipping his neck out of the collar, craftily shifted himself out of the realm before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtle fellow behind him, to weigh with the king in the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the court of Rome. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed, foiled with false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the cardinals, and at last, after so many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was sore aggrieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's; besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high rooms and preferments in the realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the king's presence.

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Then followed first a council of the nobles, called the first of October; during the which council all the lords and other the king's council, agreeing together, resorted to Windsor to the king, and there informed the king, that all things which he had done almost, by his power legantine, were in the case of præmunire, and provision; and that the cardinal had forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels to the king: wherefore the king, willing to order him according to the order of his laws, caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of præmunire against him, in the which he licensed him to make an attorney.

And further, the seventeenth of November, he sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great seal of England; which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two dukes, which delivered the same to Dr. Taylor, master of the rolls, to carry it to the king; which he so did the next day.



Cardinal Wolsey and the Dukes

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, newly made secretary, to see that no goods should be embezzled out of his house; and further ordained, that the cardinal should remove to Esher beside Kingston, there to tarry the king's pleasure, and to have all things delivered to him which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many earls, bishops, and barons, came unto the Star Chamber, the nineteenth day of October; where the duke of Norfolk declared, that the king's Highness, for diverse and sundry offences, had taken from him his great seal, and deposed him from all offices;

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and lest men might complain for lack of justice, he had appointed him and the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lords, to sit in the Star Chamber, to hear and determine causes indifferently; and that of all things the king's pleasure and commandment was, that they should keep their hands close from any rewards-taking, or maintenance: and so that week they sat in the Star Chamber, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the cardinal removed out of his house called York Place, with one Cross, say[ing] that he would he had never borne more; meaning that by his cross which he bare as legate, which degree-taking was his confusion, as you see openly; and so he took his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there took his horse and rode to Esher, where he remained till Lent after.

During which time, he, being called on for an answer in the King's Bench to the præmunire, for giving benefices by prevention, in disturbance of men's inheritance, and divers other open causes in the præmunire, according to the king's licence, constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the law, his attorneys, which, by his own warrant, signed with his hand, confessed all things concerning the said suit; for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden: and so judgment was given, that he should forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and should be out of the king's protection: but for all that, the king sent him a sufficient protection, and of his gentleness left to him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and gave to him plate and stuff convenient for his degree; and the bishopric of Durham he gave to Dr. Tonstal, bishop of London, and the abbey of St. Alban's he gave to the prior of Norwich: and to London he promoted Dr. John Stokesley, then ambassador to the universities for the marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindness showed to the cardinal, yet still he maligned against the king, as you shall hereafter perceive: but first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1530, in the month of November, was summoned a general parliament, to be holden at Westminster. In the which year, about the twenty-third day of October, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, and there much consulted with his council, for a meet man to be his chancellor, so that in no wise he were a man of the spirituality; and so, after long debate, the king resolved upon Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the common law; whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reason whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the person of Master More. And then on the Sunday, the twenty-fourth day of the same month, the king made him his chancellor, and delivered him the great seal; which lord chancellor, the next morrow after, was led into the chancery by the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there sworn, and then the mace was borne before him.

Of this fall of the cardinal, and of the placing of Sir Thomas More in the chancellorship, Erasmus, in an epistle to John Vergera, thus writeth:

"The cardinal of York hath so offended the king's mind, that he, being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed, not to prison, but to a certain lordship of his, with thirty servants or keepers to give attendance upon him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a

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schoolmaster to be made a king: for so he reigned, more like a king than the king himself. He was dreaded of all men; he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he caused Richard Pacy to be cast into the Tower: also he threatened my lord archbishop of Canterbury. Solomon saith, that before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated. The archbishop of Canterbury was called or restored to be chosen lord chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that realm; but he excused himself by his age, as being not able to wield such a function: wherefore the said office was bestowed upon Thomas More, no less to the rejoicing of many, than the other was displaced from it. These news my servant brought me out of England," &c.

You heard before how a council of the nobles was appointed by the king in the month of October, to assemble in the Star Chamber, about the cardinal's matter; and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the year following, A.D. 1530. At the beginning of which parliament, after that Master More, the new chancellor, had finished his oration, the commons were commanded to choose them a speaker, who was Thomas Audley, esquire, and attorney of the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament, being begun the sixth day of the aforesaid month of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the lords were set in the parliament chamber, the commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembling in the nether house, began to commune of their griefs, wherewith the spirituality had before-time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realm; and especially were sore moved with these six great causes:

Grievances objected against the clergy of England.

I. The first, for the excessive fines which the ordinaries took for probates of testaments, insomuch that Sir Henry Guildford, knight of the garter, and comptroller of the king's house, declared in the open parliament, of his fidelity, that he and others being executors to Sir William Compton, knight, paid for the probate of his will, to the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand marks sterling. After this declaration, were showed so many extortions done by ordinaries for probates of wills, that it were too much to rehearse.

II. The second cause was, the great polling and extreme exaction which the spiritual men used, in taking of corpses, presents, or mortuaries: for the children of the dead should all die for hunger and go a-begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the silly cow which the dead man owed, if he had but only one: such was the charity of them!

III. The third cause was, that priests, being surveyors, stewards, and officers, to bishops, abbots, and other spiritual heads, had and occupied farms, granges, and grazing, in every country, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing but of them; and yet, for that, they should pay dearly.

IV. The fourth cause was, that the abbots, priors, and spiritual men, kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporal merchants did.

V. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons, promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the courts of lords' houses, and took all of their

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parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of residence, both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

VI. The sixth cause was, because one priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve benefices, and was resident on none, and many well-learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made a heretic, or lose all that he had: for the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served that men more boldly durst express with voice, such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy, the burgesses of the parliament appointed certain of the commons' house, men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of testaments; another for mortuaries; and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking farms by spiritual men.

And first, to the bill of mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the commons' house, and sent up to the higher, the spiritual lords showed a fair face, saying, that assuredly priests and curates took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

After this, within two days, was sent up the second bill, concerning probates of testaments; which bill, because it touched their profit somewhat near, both the archbishop of Canterbury, and all other bishops in general, began to frown and grunt, insomuch that Doctor John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, standing up in the parliament chamber, openly protested, that such bills were sent up from the commons' house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the church; which church being down, the glory then of the whole kingdom (said he) must needs fall: desiring therefore the lords, for God's sake, to take example by the kingdom of Bohemia. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the commons here, but "Down with the church:" And all this (said he) seemeth to be only for lack of faith. When these words were reported to the commons of the lower house, (what the bishop had said, in noting all their doings to be for lack of faith,) they took the matter grievously, so to be esteemed of the bishop for no better than heretics; understanding, moreover, how that he, by those slanderous words, went about to persuade the lords temporal against them, and so to overthrow the two bills by them passed before, as ye have heard.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said commons, that Thomas Audley, their speaker, with thirty of the chief of that house, should be sent to the king, being then in his palace at Westminster, before called York Place; where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the king and the realm it was, to say that those who were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs, within the realm of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence, to lack faith, which was equivalent to say that they were infidels, and no Christians; as ill as Turks or Saracens: so that what pain or study soever they took for the

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commonwealth, or what acts or laws soever they made or established, should be taken as laws made by paynims and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: wherefore they most humbly besought the king's Highness to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speak more discreetly of such a number as were in the commons' house.

The king, not being well contented with the saying of the bishop, yet gently answered the speaker, and sent them away; and immediately sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, and Rochester also, signifying unto them the grudge of the commons. The bishop of Rochester, excusing himself, answered, that he, in so saying, meant only the doings of the Bohemians to be for lack of faith, and not the doings of them that were in the commons' house: which saying was confirmed by the bishops there present, who had him in great reputation. And so by that only saying the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent word to the commons, by Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight, treasurer of his household: which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all.

After this, divers assemblies were kept between certain of the lords, and certain of the commons, for the bills of the probates of testaments, and mortuaries. The temporality laid to the spirituality their own laws and constitutions; and the spirituality sore defended them by prescription and usage: to whom it was thus answered by a gentleman of Gray's Inn; "The usage hath ever been of thieves, to rob on Shooter's Hill: ergo, is it lawful?" With this answer the spiritual men were sore offended, because their doings were called robberies; but the temporal men stood still by their sayings, insomuch that the said gentleman said to the archbishop of Canterbury, that both the exaction of probates of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries, as they were used, were open robbery and theft. After long disputation, the temporal lords began to lean to the commons; but, for all that, the bills remained unconcluded awhile.

It followeth shortly after in the parliament, that a bill was assented to by the lords of the higher house, and sent down to the commons in the lower house, and by them also with much labour agreed unto, of whom the most part were the king's servants. In that bill it was required and concluded, that the king should be released of all such loan of money which he had borrowed of his subjects in the fifteenth year of his reign. The passing of this bill went sore against the stomachs of the poor commons; for many rested upon it, counting and passing it over, one to another, for good debt, as if it had been ready money in their purses. Wherefore the king, to gratify them again, granted to them a general pardon of all offences, only certain great offences and debts excepted. Also he aided them for the redress of their griefs against the spirituality, and caused two new bills to be made indifferently, both for the probates of the testaments, and mortuaries; which bills were so reasonable, that the spiritual lords assented to them all, though they were sore against their minds: and especially the probates of testaments sore displeased the bishops, and the mortuaries sore displeased the parsons and vicars.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made another act for pluralities of benefices, non-residence, buying and selling, and taking of farms by spiritual persons; which act so displeased the spirituality, that the priests railed on the commons of the lower house, and called them heretics and schismatics: for which divers priests were punished.

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This act was sore debated above, in the parliament chamber, and the lords spiritual would in no wise consent. Wherefore the king, perceiving the grudge of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his commons to meet in the Star Chamber at an afternoon, and there was sore debating of the cause, insomuch that the temporal lords of the upper house, who were there, took part with the commons against the spiritual lords, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bill, with a little qualifying; which bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the lords' house, to the great rejoicing of the lay-people, and to the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.

During the time of the said parliament, there was brought down to the commons the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal. The chief articles were these.

"I. First, That he, without the king's assent, had procured to be legate, by reason whereof he took away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

"II. In all writings that he wrote to Rome, or to any other prince, he wrote, I and my king; as who would say, that the king were his servant.

"III. That he slandered the Church of England to the court of Rome: for his suggestion to be legate, was to reform the Church of England, which (as he wrote) was *facta in reprobum sensum*.

"IV. He, without the king's assent, carried the king's great seal with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperor.

"V. Without the king's consent, he sent commission to Sir Gregory de Cassalis, knight, to conclude a league between the king and the duke of Ferrara.

"VI. That he, having a French disorder, presumed to come and breathe on the king.

"VII. That he caused the cardinal's hat to be put on the king's coin.

"VIII. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realm: with many other things which are touched more at large in chronicles."

These articles, with many more, being read in the commons' house, were confessed by the cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was showed another writing, sealed with his seal, by the which he gave to the king all his movables and unmovables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the cardinal was attainted in the præmunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, and lay at Esher: which was A.D. 1530. The next year after, in the Lent season, the king, by the advice of his council, licensed him to go into his diocese of York, and gave him commandment to keep him in his diocese, and not to return southward, without the king's special licence in writing.

So he made great provision to go northward, and apparelled his servants newly, and bought many costly things for his household. But divers of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and in especial Thomas Cromwel, one of his chief council, and chief doer for him in the suppression of abbeyes. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his diocese, and there he continued that year, ever grudging at his fall, as you shall hear hereafter but the lands which he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the king's hands,

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by his attainder in the præmunire; and yet the king, of his gentleness, and for favour that he bare to good learning, erected again the college in Oxford; and where it was named the Cardinal's College, he called it the King's College; and endowed it with fair possessions, and ordained new statutes and ordinances; and for because the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.



Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attainted in the præmunire, (as is above mentioned,) yet the king, being good unto him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great plenty of substance, and had licensed him to lie in his diocese of York, where he so continued the space of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he, being in his diocese, wrote to the court of Rome, and to divers other princes, letters in reproach of the king, and, as much as in him lay, he stirred them up to revenge his cause against the king and his realm: insomuch that divers opprobrious words against the king were spoken to Doctor Edward Keerne, the king's orator at Rome; and it was said to him, that, for the cardinal's sake, the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his matrimony. The cardinal, also, would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjustly and

untruly ordered; which fair speaking made many men believe that he said true: and to gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him. And to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be installed or enthronised at York with all the pomp that might be; and caused a throne to be erected in the cathedral church, in such a height and fashion, as was never seen; and sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his diocese, to be at his manor of Cawood on the sixth of November, and so to bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.



Cardinal Wolsey in Procession

The king, which knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he (seeing his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly enstalled, without making the king privy, yea, and in a manner in disdain of the king) thought it not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts: wherefore he directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he with a convenient number came to the manor of Cawood on the fourth of November; and when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, "My lord! I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me?" said the cardinal. "Yea," said the earl, "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal, "for I am both a cardinal, and a legate *de latere*, and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power: wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it." "Well," said the earl, "here is the king's commission, (which he showed him,) and therefore I charge you to obey." The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said, "Well, my lord! I

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am content to obey; but although that I, by negligence, fell into the punishment of the *præmunire*, and lost by the law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I now should be arrested, and specially considering that I am a member of the see apostolic, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the king lacketh good counsel." "Well," said the earl, "when I was sworn warden of the Marshes, you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king; and now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed; and was kept in a privy chamber, and his goods seized, and his officers discharged; and his physician, called Doctor Augustine, was likewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by Sir Walter Welsh, one of the king's chamber. On the sixth of November he was conveyed from Cawood to Sheffield Castle, and there delivered to the earl of Shrewsbury's keeping, till the king's pleasure were known. Of this attachment was much communing among the common people, whereof many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the commonalty.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent Sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with certain yeomen of the guard, to Sheffield, to fetch the cardinal to the Tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was sore astonished, and shortly became sick; for then he perceived some great trouble towards him, and for that cause, men said, that he willingly took so much quantity of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Also the matter that came from him was so black, that the staining thereof could not be gotten out of his blankets by any means. But Sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easy journeys brought him to the abbey of Leicester on the twenty-seventh of November; where, for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and in the same abbey lieth buried.

It is testified by one, yet being alive, in whose arms the said cardinal died, that his body, being dead, was black as pitch; also was so heavy, that six could scarce bear it. Furthermore, it did so stink above the ground, that they were constrained to hasten the burial thereof in the night season, before it was day. At the which burial, such a tempest with such a stench there arose, that all the torches went out; and so he was thrown into the tomb, and there was laid.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same order (whom we call spiritual men) was in those days, as well in all other places of Christendom, as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy did not only far pass and exceed the common measure and order of subjects, but also surmounted over kings and princes, and all other estates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his story, above described.

Amongst other acts of the aforesaid cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new college in Oxford, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the best learned he could hear of, amongst which number were these: Clarke, Tyndale, Sommer, Frith, and Taverner, with other more. Which, holding an assembly together in the college, were accounted to be heretics, (as they called them,) and thereupon were cast into a prison of the college, where salt-fish lay, through the stink whereof the most part of them were infected; and the said Clarke,

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being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning amongst them all, died in the same prison; and other in other places in the town also, of the same infection deceased.

171. Mummuth and Hitten

And thus, having detained the reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious cardinal, now we will reduce our story again to other more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requireth, first beginning with Master Humphrey Mummuth, a virtuous and a good alderman of London, who in the time of the said cardinal was troubled, as in the story here followeth.

The trouble of Humphrey Mummuth, alderman of London.

Master Humphrey Mummuth was a right godly and sincere alderman of London, who, in the days of Cardinal Wolsey, was troubled and put in the Tower, for the gospel of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured the same.

Stokesley, then bishop of London, ministered articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty: as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading heretical books and treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tyndale, Roy, and such other; for helping them over the sea to Luther; for ministering privy help to translate, as well the Testament, as other books into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming faith only to justify; for derogating from men's constitutions; for not praying to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, the pope's pardons: briefly, for being an advancer of all Martin Luther's opinions, &c.

He, being of these articles examined, and cast into the Tower, at last was compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the aforesaid cardinal, then lord chancellor, and the whole council, out of the Tower; in the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them which charged him with certain books received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tyndale. Whereupon he said, that he denied not but that, four years then past, he had heard the said Tyndale preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West; and afterward, meeting with the said Tyndale, had certain communication with him concerning his living; who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London's service: for then he laboured to be his chaplain. But, being refused of the bishop, so came again to the said Mummuth, this examine, and besought him to help him: who the same time took him into his house for half a year; where the said Tyndale lived (as he said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pounds (as he then said) for his father's and mother's souls, and all Christian souls; which money afterwards he sent him over to Hamburg, according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers others more likewise, which were no heretics: as to Dr. Royston, the bishop of London's chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds; to Dr. Wodiall, provincial of the Friars Augustine, as much or more; to Dr. Watson, the king's chaplain; also to

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other scholars, and divers priests: besides other charges bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnery of Denny, above fifty pounds sterling bestowed, &c.

And as touching his books, as Enchiridion, the Pater-noster, De Libertate Christiana, an English Testament: of whom, some William Tyndale left with him; some he sent unto him; some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell: these books (he said) did lie open in his house, the space of two years together, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the same books being desired of sundry persons, as of the abbess of Denny, a friar of Greenwich, the father confessor of Sion, he let them have them, and yet he never heard friar, priest, or lay-man, find any fault with the said books. Likewise to Doctor Watson, to Doctor Stockhouse, and to Master Martin, parson of Totingbecke, he committed the perusing of the books of Pater-noster, and De Libertate Christiana, which found no great fault with them; but only in the book De Libertate Christiana, they said, there were things somewhat hard, except the reader were wise.

Thus he, excusing himself, and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yearly to ship over five hundred cloths to strangers, and set many clothiers awork in Suffolk, and in other places, of whom he bought all their cloths, which almost were now all undone; by this reason at length was set at liberty, being forced to abjure, and after was made knight by the king, and sheriff of London.

Of this Humphrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Christian patience, in the sermons of Master Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in Cambridge from Master George Stafford, reader of the divinity lecture in that university; who, expounding the place of St. Paul to the Romans, that we shall overcome our enemy with well doing, and so heap hot coals upon his head, &c., brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London a great rich merchant (meaning this Humphrey Mummuth) which had a very poor neighbour; yet for all his poverty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Colet was in trouble, and should have been burned, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture-man; he began to smell the gospel. The poor man was a papist still.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the gospel, sitting at his table, where he reproved popery, and such kind of things; the poor man, being there present, took a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house: he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoid but come near him: yet for all that, this poor man (I say) had such a stomach against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man, perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying, "Neighbour! what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends."

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Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly and friendly, that it wrought so in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore.

Thomas Hitten, at Maidstone, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

Touching the memorial of Thomas Hitten remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name; save that William Tyndale, in his Apology against More, and also in another book, entitled The Practice of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him, by way of digression. He was (saith he) a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept and tormented him in prison, with sundry torments, and that notwithstanding he continued constant; at the last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and salvation, A.D. 1530.

172. Thomas Bilney

Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich. Persecuted by Cardinal Wolsey; Nixe, bishop of Norwich; the friars of Ipswich; Friar Bird; Friar Hodgkins; Doctor Stokes; Sir Thomas More; Friar Brusierd; Friar John Huggen, provincial of the Dominics; Friar Jeffrey Julles; Friar Jugworth; Master William Jecket, gentleman; William Nelson; and by Thomas Williams, A.D. 1531.

In the story above passed of Cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of certain whom the said cardinal caused to abjure, as Bilney, Jeffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, and such others, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) specially to treat. This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the university of Cambridge, even from a child profiting in all kind of liberal sciences, even unto the profession of both laws. But at the last, having gotten a better schoolmaster, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart, by secret inspiration, with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at thelast unto this point, that, forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more unto godliness than gainfulness.

Finally, as he himself was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his fellows unto the knowledge of the gospel, amongst which number were Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer; which Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days. At last, Bilney, forsaking the university, went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associated with Arthur, which accompanied him from the university. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, of whom ye have heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater; which did evidently declare unto all wise men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergy: whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolency of the clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business; neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent, for he understood well enough, upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospel; lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily, in time, to withstand these beginnings; whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison, as before you have heard.

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After this, on the twenty-seventh day of November, 1527, the said cardinal, accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Harry of St. Asaph, with many others, both divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where the said Master Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, were brought before them; and the said cardinal there inquired of Master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any others condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church: whereunto Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any others contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered that he had made such an oath; but not lawfully. Which interrogatories so ministered, and answers made, the cardinal caused him to swear, to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying, or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworn and examined, the said cardinal proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like oath that Master Bilney did. Which done, he asked him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, knight, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ? Which interrogatory he denied. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noon the same day, what time the examination of the aforesaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the cardinal and bishops, by their authority *ex officio*, did call in for witnesses before Master Bilney, certain men; namely, John Huggen, chief provincial of the Friars Preachers throughout all England, Jeffrey Julles, and Richard Jugworth, professors of divinity of the same order. Also William Jecket, gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas William, which were sworn that, all favour, hate, love, or reward set apart, they should, without concealing any falsehood, or omitting any truth, speak their minds, upon the articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocese of London, as the diocese of Norwich: and because he was otherwise occupied about the affairs of the realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to other bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against schedules, writings, and books, set forth and translated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo the Tenth, and by all manner of probable means to inquire and root out their errors and opinions; and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to abjuration according to the law, or if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give them full power and authority to determine upon them.

The twenty-seventh day of November, in the year aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwich's house, where likewise, *ex officio*, they did swear certain witnesses against Master Thomas Arthur, in like sort as they had done before against Master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of Master Arthur: which being ended upon certain interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him, by virtue of his oath, that he should not reveal his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

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The second day of December, the bishops assembled again in the same place, and swore more witnesses against Master Bilney: that done, they called for Master Arthur, unto whose charge they laid these articles following:

I. That he exhorted the people, in his prayers, to pray especially for those that now be in prison. — Which article he denied.

II. That he said, "Though men be restrained to preach now-a-days, (which is against God's laws,) yet I may preach; first, by the authority of my lord cardinal; for I have his licence: secondly, by the authority of the university: thirdly, by the pope: fourthly, by the authority of God, by which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, that may make any law to hinder any man to preach the gospel." — This article he confessed that he spake.

III. When he spake of laws, he brought a similitude of crosses, set up against the walls of London, that men should not offend there. "When there was but one cross, or a few more, men did reverence them, and offended not there; but when there was in every corner a cross set, then men of necessity were compelled to offend upon the crosses. So, in like manner, when there was but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary, those they do observe; and such as are not pecuniary, those they call palea, and regard them not: and so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the law." — He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

IV. He said, "Good people! if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people! good people! (which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting,) think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken." — This article he confessed that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants.

V. That every man, yea, every layman, is a priest. — He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his sermon, that every Christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer; and if they did murmur against the order of the priesthood, they murmur against themselves.

VI. That men should pray to no saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator for them, but Christ Jesus our Redeemer only. — This article he denied.

VII. He preached that they should worship no images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones. — This he also denied.

VIII. He did preach upon Whit Sunday last, within the university of Cambridge, such or like words and sentences: that a bachelor of divinity, admitted of the university, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let

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for no man, of what estate or degree soever he were: and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turn to the harm of themselves. — He confessed this.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said Master Arthur did revoke and condemn the said articles against him administered, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church .

The third of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to return to the Church of Rome, the bishop of London, in discharge of his conscience, (as he said,) lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, he did really exhibit unto the notaries, in the presence of the said Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which, all and every one, he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.

This was done in the presence of Master Bilney, desiring a copy of them, and he bound the notaries with an oath, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registering of the same: which articles and answers, with three of the same epistles, with certain depositions deposed by the aforesaid witnesses, here follow truly drawn; partly out of his own handwriting, and partly out of the register:

I. Whether they did believe with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugned by the bishop of Rochester, were justly and godly condemned; and that Luther, with his adherents, was a wicked and detestable heretic?

II. Whether they did believe that the general councils and ecclesiastical constitutions, once received, and not abrogated again, ought to be observed of all men, even for conscience' sake, and not only for fear?

III. Whether they did believe that the pope's laws were profitable and necessary to the preferment of godliness, not repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogated, but to be revered by all men?

IV. Whether they did believe that the catholic church may err in the faith or no? and whether they think that catholic church to be a sensible church, which may be demonstrated and pointed out as it were with a finger; or that it is only a spiritual church, intelligible and known only unto God?

V. Whether they think that the images of saints are Christianly set in the churches, and ought to be worshipped of all true Christians?

VI. Whether that a man may believe, without hurt to his faith, or note of heresy, the souls of Peter and Paul, and of our Lady, either to be, or not to be, in heaven; and that there is yet no judgment given upon the souls departed?

VII. Whether that a man may believe, without spot of heresy, that our Lady remained not always a virgin?

VIII. Whether holy-days and fasting-days, ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without sin or obstinacy?

IX. Whether we are bound to be obedient unto prelates, bishops, and kings, by God's commandment, as we are unto our parents?

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- X. Whether they believe that the church doth well and godly in praying to the saints?
- XI. Whether they think that Christ only ought to be prayed unto, and that it is no heresy, if any man affirm that saints should not be prayed unto?
- XII. Whether they do think all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those to have received the keys of binding and loosing at the hands of Christ, which have obtained the Spirit of God, and only such, whether they be laymen or priests?
- XIII. Whether they believe with their hearts, that faith may be without works and charity?
- XIV. Whether they believe that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their own tongue, than in a learned unknown tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no?
- XV. Whether they would have the masses and Gospels openly to be read in churches in the vulgar tongue, rather than in the Latin tongue?
- XVI. Whether they commend that children should only be taught the Lord's Prayer, and not the Salutation of the Virgin, or Creed?
- XVII. Whether they do think the wooden beads, which the common people do use, worthy to be denied or not?
- XVIII. Whether they do think the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English, or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read?
- XIX. Whether they would have the organs, and all manner of songs, to be put out of the church of God?
- XX. Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they have any temporal power and authority?
- XXI. Whether they think that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another man's diocese without letters of commendation and licence obtained of the bishop?
- XXII. Whether they think the vows of religious men, and private religion, to be constituted and ordained by the Spirit of God; neither by any means to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life?
- XXIII. Whether they believe that we should pray for the dead, or believe that there is a purgatory; or that we are bound by the necessity of faith, to believe neither of them: but that it is free without sin, either to believe it, or not to believe it?
- XXIV. Whether they believe that moral philosophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth?
- XXV. Whether they think that the pope's indulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than received?
- XXVI. Whether it be contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that Christians should by any means contend in the law, to seek any manner of restitution?
- XXVII. Whether they believe all things pertaining to salvation and damnation to come of necessity, and nothing to be in our own wills?
- XXVIII. Whether they believe God to be the author of all evil, as well of the fault, as of the punishment?
- XXIX. Whether they think mass only to be profitable to him which saith it, and whether every man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the mass without hurt of faith?
- XXX. Whether they believe that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of Christian living; or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set out, are rather feigned?
- XXXI. Whether they think it heresy to teach the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests, or to any other poor man?

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XXXII. Whether they do think it more Christian-like to take away the images out of the churches, or to permit them to adorn them and honour them?

XXXIII. Whether they think it the part of a Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of relics?

XXXIV. Whether that thou, Thomas Bilney being cited upon heresy to appear before my lord cardinal, and, before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon those points that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in divers churches of the city and diocese of London, without sufficient licence from the bishop or any other?

Concerning the answers unto these articles, gentle reader! forasmuch as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree, (although not fully and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying,) yet because he did not expressly deny them, it shall not be needful here to recite them all, save only such, wherein he seemed to dissent from them.

Bilney's answers to the interrogatories aforesaid.

To the first and second articles he answered affirmatively. To the third he said, "I believe that many of the pope's laws are profitable and necessary, and do prevail unto godliness, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any means are to be abrogate, but of all men to be observed and revered. But touching all those laws, I cannot determine: for as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also; and as for those that I have read, I did never read them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but, according to my power, to learn and understand them. And as touching the multitude of laws, St. Augustine in his time did much complain; and Gerson also, who marvelled that we could by any means live in safety amongst so many snares of constitutions, when our forefathers, being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept."

To the fourth article he said, that "the catholic church can by no means err in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so known only unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise no man should be ascertained of another man's salvation, or of his own, but only through faith and hope. For it is written, No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love. It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things that are to be believed and done: for I may truly say of the general council being congregated in the Holy Ghost, Behold here the catholic church; denominating the whole, by the most worthy part."

To the fifth article he answered affirmatively.

To the sixth article he answered, that he did not believe that they are in heaven; being so taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church.

To the seventh article he said, that it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eighth article, whether a man may not observe the feasts and fasts of the church prescribed; he thought that there is no man but he ought to observe them.

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To the ninth article he said, that we are likewise bound, as unto parents.

To the fourteenth article he answered thus: "The fourteenth chapter of St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, moveth me to believe, that it is best that the people should have the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed in English, so that the devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof; and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith, of the which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard many say, that they never heard speak of the resurrection of the body: and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and ready unto goodness, and more fearful to do evil."

To the fifteenth article he said, he would "wish that the Gospels and Epistles should be read in English; For I would (saith Paul) rather have five words, &c., that the church might be edified, &c.; and Chrysostom exhorteth his hearers to look upon books, that they might the better commit unto memory those things which they had heard; and St. Bede did translate St. John's Gospel into English."

Touching the eighteenth article, for the translation of the Scripture into English, concerning the whole, he did partly doubt; notwithstanding he wished that the Gospels and Epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might be made the more apt to hear sermons. But here some will say, there might also be danger for error: whereunto he answered, "But good and vigilant pastors might easily help that matter, by adding the plain interpretation of the fathers in the margins in English, upon the dark and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. Oh how great profit of souls should the vigilant pastors get thereby! Which contrariwise, through their slothfulness, bring great ruin and decay."

To the five-and-twentieth article, as touching pardons, he said, that "as they be used, and have too long been, it were better that they should be restrained, than that they should be any longer used as they have been, to the injury of Christ's passion."

Touching the six-and-twentieth article he said, that "it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles to contend in the law, so it be done with charity, if St. Augustine, and the reverend father Marcus Marulus, did not err, which granted that liberty to the weak Christians: albeit the true Christians ought to give ear unto St. Paul's saying, Why do ye not rather suffer injury? and to Christ himself, which saith, He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also."

Touching the eight-and-twentieth, he answered, that "God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basil the Great teacheth in his sermon upon these words of the prophet, *Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit Dominus*. And St. Augustine in another place, as I remember, prayeth, that he be not led into that temptation, that he should believe God to be the author of sin and wickedness."

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Here ensueth a brief summary or collection of certain depositions, deposed by the several witnesses aforenamed, upon certain interrogatories ministered unto them for the inquiry of Master Bilney's doctrine and preaching.

First it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christ's church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, "Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what should we need then to seek any saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemeth our Saviour.

"That man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds."

Also, that "the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets: but John Baptist, being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed him, saying, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. Then, if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is it to our Saviour Christ, that to be buried in St. Francis' cowl should remit four parts of penance! What is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ."

Also, that "it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers, in times past, have been antichrists; and now it hath pleased God somewhat to show forth their falsehood and errors."

Also, that "the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and there, in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living."

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as a heretic, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

Also it was deposed against him, that he should, in the parish church of Wilsdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave their offerings unto them; for that such things as they offered have been known oftentimes afterward to have been given to the vilest of women. Also that Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of Christian men, in offering of candles, wax, and money, to stocks and stones.

Over and besides these cavilling matters articulated and deposed against him, here follow certain other articles whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his sermon which he preached in the parish church of St. Magnus, in Whitsun week, A.D. 1527.



Bilney pulled out of the pulpit

First he said, "Pray you only to God, and to no saints," rehearsing the Litany; and when he cameto *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, that is, Holy Mary pray for us, he said, "Stay there."

He said, that "Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints."

He said, that "Christian people should set up no light before the images of saints: for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see."

He said, "As Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent that Moses made by the commandment of God; even so should kings and princes now-a-days destroy and burn the images of saints set up in churches.

"These five hundred years there hath been no good pope, and in all the times past, we can find but fifty: for they have neither preached, nor lived well, or conformably to their dignity; wherefore, till now, they have borne the keys of simony. Against them, good people! we must preach and teach unto you, for we cannot come to them; it is great pity they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"The people have used foolishly of late pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

"Many have made certain vows, which be not possible for them to fulfil, and those nothing meritorious.

"The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ to show their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

"I trust that there shall and will come other besides me, which shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do show and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errors, wherein you have been long seduced; for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospel of our Saviour Christ."

These and many other such-like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious; wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we return again to the order of his examination, we think it good here to infer a certain dialogue, containing a communication between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, which we have thought meet for this place, because it was done in Ipswich, and also about the time of these examinations: the copy whereof we have written with the friar's own hand in Latin, the translation whereof in English here ensueth.

Brusierd. "Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies of yours, yet, being moved partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your case and towardly disposition, I am come hither to talk with you secretly, before the rumour be disclosed, upon the consideration of the threefold errors which I see in you. First, for that when you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seemed to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence, out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the saints do make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilously blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. Which thing you are not able to deny, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth knock at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, according as in the sevenfold Litany manifestly appeareth to be seen."

Bilney. "I marvel at you, and doubtless cannot marvel enough, but that the strong and vain custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not to be heard but in much babbling, doth put an end to my admiration: for our heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, There is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed Lady? where are then St. Peter and other saints?"

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Brusierd. "I suppose that no man is ignorant but that the divines of the primitive church have all affirmed to be one mediator between God and man. Neither could any at that time praise or pray to the saints, when as yet they, living in the calamities of this body, and wrestling with the contrary winds of this world, were not yet come to the port of rest whereunto they were travelling. Paul, I grant, did rightly affirm to be but one mediator of God and man, what time as yet there was no saint canonized, or put into the calendar. But now, seeing the church doth know, and doth certainly believe, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she, therefore, like a good mother, hath taught, and that most diligently, us her children, to praise the omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions unto God. Thereof it is the psalmist. saith, Praise ye the Lord in his saints. Rightly also do we say and affirm, that saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another; ergo, much more may saints who do enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayers always for you, &c."

Bilney. "I marvel, doubtless, that you, a man learned, are not yet delivered out of the confused dungeon of heresy, through the help of the holy gospel; especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my name he will give it unto you: he saith not, Whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints; but in my name. Let us ask therefore help in the name of him, which is able to obtain for us of his Father whatsoever we ask, lest with all the clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the saints, and also to give honour in a manner to their images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say the like for us, which is said in the Gospel, Send them away, because they cry after us. And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleged out of the Holy Scripture, wherewith we might easily resist this your error, yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second pestiferous error, wherein you, like an ingrate child, go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For in that you say and affirm, blasphemously, the bishop of Rome to be the very antichrist, and that his privilege have no force against the gates of hell; in so saying, what do you, but, like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her, being spoiled; and being wounded, pluck out her bowels most miserably upon the earth? But forasmuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, but shall be received by some itching ears, I would therefore now hear you declare, how he sitteth in the temple of God as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God; or how that he showeth himself as Lord, in power and signs and wonders deceitful."

Bilney. "Although incredulity doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to understand these things, yet I will go about something to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord: beseeching you that, setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the table of the ten commandments?"

Brusierd. "According as the catholic doctors do expound them, I know them meanly; but how you do expound them I cannot tell."

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Bilney. "And do you know also the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men; whereunto men are so straitly bound, that, under pain of death, they are compelled to observe them?"

Brusierd. "I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers; but such as you speak of, to be devised by men's dreams, I know none."

Bilney. "Now then let us set and compare these two together, and so shall you easily understand the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, to sit in the temple of God as God, and to be extolled above all that is named God. It is written, The temple of Lord is holy, which is you. Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Ghost; in peradventure hereafter, in the end of the world, at the strait judgment, we shall hear, Hitherto in my name ye have asked nothing."

Brusierd. "Where ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I, being a learned man, (as you say,) am not delivered yet from the confused dungeon of heresy, through the help of the gospel; much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish admiration. Neither can I choose but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which be done here, in the lower parts of terrene philosophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it, for a man to look so long upon the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun, nor cannot tell whither to turn him? Moreover, what student is there in all Cambridge, be he never so young, that knoweth not that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, hath no force?"

Bilney. "So as the Pharisees took Christ, you take my words, much otherwise than I meant."

Brusierd. "Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell."

Bilney. "Such as invoke the help either of Christ, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the same, may be well resembled to delicate patients, who, being under the hand of physicians, and having medicines ministered against their diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, rap all asunder: wherefore I say, no man ought to implore the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity."

Brusierd. "O most pernicious and perilous heresy of all that ever I heard! Thus you, fleeing the smoke, fall into the fire and avoiding the danger of Scylla, you run upon Charybdis. O heart of man, wrapped in palpable darkness! I wish, Master Bilney, that you would but once search and fetch out the first origin of these Rogation days: for so we read in the church story, that they were first ordained by Pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence, by the infection of the air, then reigning among the people; at what time, the people then going in the procession, a certain image like to our blessed Lady, painted by the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, did go before them; about the which image, in honour of the Virgin, angels did sing this anthem: 'O queen of heaven, be glad!' to which anthem the pope also adjoined this, 'Pray to the Lord for us.' Wherefore, seeing the angels did worship the image of the

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glorious Virgin Mary, in the honour of her; and seeing moreover the holy father, Pope Gregory, which temple I will prove the pope to sit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God. For whoso contemneth the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him; neither is that punishment to death: but contrariwise, he that shall contemn or violate the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment guilty of death. What is this, but for the high bishop of Rome to sit and reign in the temple of God, (that is, in man's conscience,) as God?"

Brusierd. "Although this exposition seemeth unworthy for Christian ears, yet I would hear you further, how he showeth himself in signs and wonders deceitful."

Bilney. "These wonders, which they call miracles, be wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think; but by the illusion of Satan rather, who, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath been loose now abroad five hundred years, according as it is written in the book of the Apocalypse, After a thousand years Satan shall be let loose, &c. Neither are they to be called miracles of true Christian men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude men's minds; to make them put their faith in our Lady, and in other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever."

Brusierd. "But that I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revenge-meat upon thee, I would surely, with these nails of mine, be thy death, for this horrible and enormous injury against the precious blood of Christ. God saith, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live. And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay privy snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espy them; which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner: If it be an error, it is by thee, O God, that we are deceived; for these be confirmed with such signs and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is untrue and heretical, and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of saints; for once I remember, in a certain sermon of yours, you said, that no saint, though his suffering were never so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life: which is contrary to St. Augustine."

Bilney. "Christ saith one thing, St. Augustine another: whether of these two shall we believe? for Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, wanting the oil of good works, he meant all us sinners: by the wisevirgins, he meant the company of all holy saints. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins answered to the five foolish, craving oil of them; No, say they, lest peradventure we have not sufficient for us and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buy of them to serve your turn. Wherefore, if they had not oil sufficient for themselves, and also for the others, where then be the merits of saints wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us, certes I cannot see."

Brusierd. "You wrest the Scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine eyes from tears, hearing with mine ears these words of you. Fare ye well!"

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

The fourth day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster; whither also Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant; who answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London, with other bishops, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with himself, whether he would return to the church, and renounce his opinions, or no; and bade him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himself. Which done, the bishop asked him again if he would return? who answered, Let justice and judgment be done in the name of the Lord. And being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer, but *Fiat justitia, &c.*, and, This is the day God made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen: Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus.* And making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops he gave sentence against Master Bilney, being there present, in this manner: "I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow."

The fifth day of December, the bishops assembled there again, before whom Bilney was brought; whom the bishop asked, if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered that he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him. Which witnesses, the bishop said, came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleging the story of Susan and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

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

Then the bishop put Master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellows; and afterwards calling in Master Bilney, asked him again, whether he would abjure? But he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the law: and inquiring again, whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired to have time to consult with his friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked whether he would return, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read, he required the bishop to give

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him licence to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with Master Dancaster; but Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with Master Farmer and Master Dancaster, but the bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal. But at last the bishop, inclining unto him, granted him two nights' respite to deliberate; that is to say, till Saturday at nine o'clock in the forenoon: and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premises.

The seventh day of December, in the year and place aforesaid, the bishop of London with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared; whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by Master Dancaster and others his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration; which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in the premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the bishop, which then did absolve him, and, for his penance, enjoined him, that he should abide in a prison appointed by the cardinal, till he were by him released: and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, bareheaded, with a faggot on his shoulder; and should stand before the preacher at Paul's Cross all the sermon time.

Here, forasmuch as mention is made before of five letters or epistles, which this good man wrote to Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London, and by the said bishop delivered unto the registrars, we thought good to insert certain thereof, such as could come to our hands: the copy of which letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former edition to be seen and read in the same Latin wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this book to express the same only in English. Concerning the first epistle, which containeth the whole story of his conversion, and seemeth more effectual in the Latin than in the English; we have exhibited it in the second edition, and therefore here have only made mention of the same briefly. The same in English is as followeth

"To the reverend father in Christ, Cuthbert, bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a prelate:

"In this behalf, most reverend father in Christ, I think myself most happy that it is my chance to be called to examination before your Reverence, for that you are of such wisdom and learning, of such integrity of life, which all men do confess to be in you, that even yourself cannot choose, (if you do not too lightly esteem God's gifts in you,) as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightways secretly in your heart, to his high praise, say, He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name. I rejoice that I have now happened upon such a judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, who ruleth all things.

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"And albeit (God is my witness) I know not myself guilty of any error in my sermons, neither of any heresy or sedition, which divers do slander me of, seeking rather their own lucre and advantage than the health of souls: notwithstanding I do exceedingly rejoice, that it is so foreseen by God's divine providence, that I should be brought before the tribunal seat of Tostal, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting a Jannes and a Jambres, who will resist the truth; that there shall never be lacking some Elymas, who will go about to subvert the straight ways of the Lord; and finally, that some Demetriuses, Pithonises, Balaams, Nicolaitans, Cains, and Ishmaels, will be always at hand, which will greedily hunt and seek after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then be, that they can suffer Christ to be truly and sincerely preached? for if the people begin wholly in every place once to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them crucified, then straight-ways that which they have hitherto embraced instead of Christ, shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful.

"Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdom of God to be in themselves. Then shall they plainly see, that the Father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, but in all places, in spirit and in truth: which thing if it come once to pass, the beasts of the field will think all their gain and lucre lost. In whom the saying of Ezekiel is fulfilled: My sheep are dispersed because they had no shepherd, and are devoured of the beast of the field, and strayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandered in every mountain, and upon every high hill, and is dispersed throughout all the earth; and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together; no, there was no man which once sought after them. But if any man would seek to reduce those which were gone astray, into the fold of Christ, that is, the unity of faith, by and by there rise up certain against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves; which seek no other thing of their flock, but the milk, wool, and flesh, leaving both their own souls, and the souls of their flock, unto the devil.

"These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, This heretic dissuadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying, that they are not gods which are made with hands. These are they, these I say, most reverend father! are they, which, under the pretence of persecuting heretics, follow their own licentious lives; enemies unto the cross of Christ, which can suffer and bear any thing rather than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sins. These are they unto whom Christ threateneth eternal damnation, where he saith, Woe be unto you, scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites! which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in. These are they that have come in another way to the charge of souls, as it appeareth; For if any man, saith Christ, come in by me, he shall be saved; and shall come in, and go out, and find pasture. These men do not find pasture, for they never teach and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, which alone is the door whereby we must come unto the Father; but set before the people another way, persuading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the salvation of souls: in this point being worse than those which upon Christ (being the foundation) do build wood, hay, and straw. These men confess that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

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"These are those physicians upon whom that woman that was twelve years vexed with the bloody flux had consumed all that she had, and felt no help, but was still worse and worse, until such time as she came at last unto Christ; and after she had once touched the hem of his vesture, through faith she was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her body. O mighty power of the most Highest! which I also, miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt, which, before I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physicians, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession; so that there was but small force of strength left in me, (which of nature was but weak,) small store of money, and very little wit or understanding: for they appointed me fastings, watchings, buying of pardons, and masses; in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of my sick and languishing soul.

"But at the last I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus; which understanding to be eloquently done by him, and being allured rather by the Latin than for the word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant,) I bought it even by the providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive: and at the first reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul, (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul!) in 1 Tim. i. 15, It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am the chief and principal. This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that my bruised bones leaped for joy.

"After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honeycomb; wherein I learned, that all my travails, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without trust in Christ, who only saveth his people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as St. Augustine saith) a hasty and swift running out of the right way; or else much like to the vesture made of fig leaves, wherewithal Adam and Eve went about in vain to cover themselves, and could never before obtain quietness and rest, until they believed in the promise of God, that Christ, the seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpent's head: neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, before I was taught of God that lesson which Christ speaketh of in John iii.: Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of man be exalted, that all which believe on him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

"As soon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to taste and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but only God, who revealed the same unto Peter, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and at last I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his Holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth; and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which sometime was also wicked; which thing, whilst with all my power I did endeavour before my lord cardinal and your fatherhood, Christ was blasphemed in me, (and this is my only comfort in these my afflictions,) whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, being made for us by God his Father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction; who was made sin for us, (that is to

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say, a sacrifice for sin,) that we, through him, should be made the righteousness of God; who became accursed for us, to redeem us from the curse of the law; who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. The righteous, I say, who falsely judge and think themselves so to be, (for all men have sinned, and lack the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveth sins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus,) because that all mankind was grievously wounded in him who fell amongst thieves, between Jerusalem and Jericho. And therefore, with all my whole power, I teach, that all men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, and afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteousness whereof St. Paul speaketh, The righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which believe in him; for there is no difference: all have sinned, and lack the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ: the which whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt they shall at length be so satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

"But, forasmuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to be quenched with the fulness of man's righteousness, which is wrought through the faith of our own elect and chosen works; as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious; and finally all kind of voluntary devotions, (as they call them,) against which God's word speaketh plainly in Dent. iv. 2, saying, Thou shalt not do that which seemeth good unto thyself; but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it. Therefore, I say, oftentimes I have spoken of those works, not condemning them, (as I take God to be my witness,) but reprovng their abuse; making the lawful use of them manifest even unto children; exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they, being satisfied therewith, should loathe or wax weary of Christ, as many do: in whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

"And this is the whole sum. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to do it, so that you will grant me time (for to do it out of hand I am not able for the weakness of my body); being ready always, if I have erred in any thing, to be better instructed."

Another letter of Master Thomas Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London.

"Albeit I do not remember, reverend father in Christ! whether I have either spoken or written that the gospel hath not been sincerely preached now of long time, which your Lordship seemeth to have gathered, either by some Momus and sinister hearers of my sermons, who (like Malchus, having their right ear cut off) only bring their left ear to sermons; or else by some words or writings of mine, which have rashly passed me, rather than upon any evil intent; yet, forasmuch as in this behalf your Reverence doth command me, and that of a good mind I trust, (for how can I think in Tonstal any craft or doubleness to dwell?) I will briefly declare unto you what I have learned of God, through Christ, in the Scriptures; and how that the doctors, even of great fame and renown, have not taught the same of late in their sermons; referring, or rather submitting, all things unto your fatherly judgment, which is more quick and sharp than that it can by any means be blinded; and so sincere, that it will not in any point seek slander or discord. Therefore I do confess, that I have often been afraid that Christ hath not been purely preached now a long time: for who hath been now, a long season, offended through him? Who hath now

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these many years suffered any persecution for the gospel's sake? Where is the sword which he came to send upon the earth? And finally, where are the rest of the sincere and uncorrupt fruits of the gospel? which, because we have not a long time seen, is it not to be feared, that the tree which bringeth forth those fruits hath now a long time been wanting in our region or country? Much less is it to be believed, that it hath been nourished amongst us. Have we not seen all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what saith the church? My grief most bitter is turned to peace, &c. But the malignant church saith, Peace, peace; and there is no peace, but only that whereof it is written, When the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he possesseth all things in quiet; but when he seeth that he shall be vanquished of a stronger than he himself is, he spoileth and destroyeth all things.

"What now-a-days beginneth again to be attempted, I dare not say. God grant us grace that we do not refuse and reject (if it be Christ) him that cometh unto us, lest that we do feel that terrible judgment against us: Because, saith he, they have not received the love of truth, that they might be saved; therefore God will send upon them the blindness of error, that they shall give credit unto lies. O terrible sentence, (which God knoweth whether a great number have not already incurred,) That all they might be judged which have not given credit unto the truth, but consented unto iniquity. The time shall come, saith he, when that they will not suffer the true doctrine to be preached."

"And what shall we then say of that learning, which hath now so long time reigned and triumphed, so that no man hath once opened his mouth against it? shall we think it sound doctrine? Truly iniquity did never more abound, nor charity was ever so cold. And what should we say to be the cause thereof? Hath the cause been for lack of preaching against the vices of men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great clerks sufficiently can witness to the contrary. And yet, all these notwithstanding, we see the life and manners of men do greatly degenerate from true Christianity, and seem to cry out indeed, that it is fulfilled in us, which God in times past threatened by his prophet Amos, saying, Behold, the day shall come, saith the Lord, that I will send hunger upon the earth: not hunger of bread, neither thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God. And the people shall be moved from sea to sea, and from the west unto the east; and shall run about seeking for the word of God, but shall not find it. In those days the fair virgins and young men shall perish for thirst, &c.

"But now, to pass over many things whereby I am moved to fear that the word of God hath not been purely preached, this is not the least argument, that they which come, and are sent, and endeavour themselves to preach Christ truly, are evil spoken of for his name, which is the rock of offence, and stumbling-block unto them which stumble upon his word, and do not believe on him on whom they are builded.

"But you will ask, Who are those men, and what is their doctrine? Truly, I say, whosoever entereth in by the door, Christ, into the sheepfold: which thing all such men shall do, as seek nothing else but the glory of God, and salvation of souls. Of all such it may be truly said, that whom the Lord sendeth, he speaketh the word of God. And why so? Because he representeth the angel of the church of Philadelphia, unto whom St. John writeth, saying, This saith he which is holy and true; which hath the keys of David; which openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth. Behold, saith he, (speaking in the name of Christ, which is the door and door-

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keeper,) I have set before thee an open door, that is to say, of the Scriptures, opening thy senses, that thou shouldest understand the Scriptures; and that, because thou hast entered in by me which am the door: For whosoever entereth in by me, which am the door, shall be saved; ye shall go in and come out, and find pasture: for the door-keeper openeth the door unto him, and the sheep hear his voice. But contrariwise, they which have not entered in by the door, but have climbed in some other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they shall even in a moment go down into hell, except they repent. And by them is the saying of Jeremy verified; All beauty is gone away from the daughter of Zion, because her princes are become like rams, not finding pasture. And why so? because like thieves and robbers they have climbed another way, not being called nor sent.

"And what marvel is it if they do not preach, when they are not sent, but run for lucre; seeking their own glory, and not the glory of God, and salvation of souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the church, that they are not sent inwardly of God; for without this inward calling it helpeth nothing, before God, to be a hundred times elect, and consecrate by a thousand bulls, either by pope, king, or emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whose judgments are according to truth, howsoever we deceive the judgment of men for a time; which also at the last shall see their abomination. This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the church, that we thrust in ourselves into the charge of souls, whose salvation and the glory of God (which is, to enter in by the door) we do not thirst nor seek for, but altogether our own lucre and profit.

"Hereupon it cometh, that we know not how to preach Christ purely; For how should they preach Christ, saith the apostle, except they be sent? for otherwise many thieves and robbers do preach him, but with their lips only, for their heart is far from him: neither yet do we suffer those which do know how to preach, but persecute them, and go about to oppress the Scriptures now springing, under the pretence of godliness; fearing, as I suppose, lest the Romans should come and take our place. Ah! thou wicked enemy Herod! why art thou afraid Christ should come? He taketh not away mortal and earthly kingdoms, which giveth heavenly kingdoms. O blindness! O our great blindness! yea, more than that of Egypt; of which if there be any that would admonish the people, by and by saith Pharaoh, Moses and Aaron! why do ye cause the people to cease from their labours? and truly called their labours. Get you to your burdens. Lay more work upon them, and cause them to do it, that they hearken not unto lies. Thus the people was dispersed throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather up chaff; I say, to gather up chaff. Who shall grant unto us, that God shall say, I have looked down, and beholden the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their sighs, and am come down to deliver them? But whither hath this zeal carried me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it appertaineth to you, reverend father! to judge thereupon.

"Now you do look that I should show unto you at large, (as you write,) how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flock. Here, I confess, I was afraid that you had spoken in some derision, until that I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand.

Then again I began to doubt, for what intent Tonsal should require that of Bilney: an old soldier, of a young beginner; the chief pastor of London, of a poor silly sheep. But for what intent soever you did it, I trust it was of a good mind; and albeit that I am weak of body, yet,

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through the grace of Christ given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far pass my power: under the which burden if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promised nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

"As touching that pertaineth to preaching of the gospel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might speak freely that which I have learned in the Holy Scriptures for the consolation of my conscience; which if you will so do, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shall be submitted unto your judgment; who (except I be utterly deceived) will not break the reed that is bruised, and put out the flax that is smoking; but rather, if I shall be found in any error, (as indeed I am a man,) you, as spiritual, shall restore me through the spirit of gentleness, considering yourself, lest that you also be tempted: for every bishop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to assault those which are ignorant, and do err; for he himself is compassed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, should learn to have compassion upon other miserable people.

"I desire you that you will remember me tomorrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the tribunal seat of my lord cardinal; before whom I had rather stand, than before any of his deputies.

Yours, THOMAS BILNEY."

A letter of Master Bilney, to Tonstal, bishop of London, fruitful and necessary for all ministers to read.

"Most reverend father! salutations in Christ. You have required me to write unto you at large, wherein men have not preached as they ought, and how they should have preached better. This is a burden too heavy for my strength, under the which if I shall faint, it belongeth to you, which have laid this burden upon my shoulders, to ease me thereof. As touching the first part, they have not preached as they ought, which, leaving the word of God, have taught their own traditions; of the which sort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report those which preach the word of God sincerely, to teach new doctrine. This is also no small testimony thereof, that in all England you shall scarce find one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures; and what marvel is it, if all godly things do seem new unto them unto whom the gospel is new and strange, being nursed in men's traditions now a long time? Would to God these things were not true which I utter unto you! but alas, they are too true.

"They have also preached evil, which either have wrested the Scriptures themselves, or have rashly gathered them out of old rotten papers, being wrested by others: and how should it be but that they should wrest them, or else how should they judge them, being falsely interpreted by others, when they have not once read over the Bible orderly? Of this sort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great rabbins or masters shall hardly excuse themselves; whom the people have hitherto revered instead of gods. And these are they that now serve their bellies, seeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be set forth even by Balaam's ass; much less then ought we to contemn such abjects, which preach the word of God. We have, saith St. Paul, this treasure in brickle vessels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us. God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things God hath chosen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and

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despised, hath he chosen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight. But now all men in a manner will be wise, and therefore they are ashamed of the simple gospel; they are ashamed truly to say with Paul, and to perform it indeed, I brethren, when I came unto you, did not come with excellency of words, or of wisdom, preaching the testimony of Christ; for I esteemed not myself to know any thing amongst you, but only Jesus Christ, and him crucified. O voice of a true evangelist! But now we are ashamed of this foolish preaching, by the which it hath pleased God to save all those that believe in him; and being puffed up with our own fleshly mind, we choose rather proudly to walk in those things which we have not seen, preaching fables and lies, and not the law of God, which is undefiled, converting souls.

"But how should they teach the law of God, which they have not once read in the books, much less learned at the mouth of God? But in a pastor and a bishop this is required: Thou, son of man! saith God, lay up in thy heart all my words which I do speak unto thee, &c.: and shortly after he saith, Thou, son of man! I have ordained and given thee a watchman unto the house of Israel. I have given thee, saith he; not coming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thyself, nor climbing in another way, but I gave thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldst attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the watch-tower, if any enemies should approach. I have given thee unto the house of Israel, and not the house of Israel unto thee, that thou shouldst acknowledge thyself to be the servant of the sheep, and not their lord; for I have not given the sheep for the shepherd, but the shepherd for the sheep. He that sitteth down, is greater than he that doth minister and serve unto him: which thing was well known of him who truly said, We are your servants for Christ's cause.

"But for what purpose have I given thee unto the house of Israel? — that thou shouldst only minister the sacraments? consecrate wood, stones, and churchyards? (This, I take God to witness, with great sighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No, truly. What then? First followeth the office of the bishop, Thou shalt hear the word out of my mouth. This is but a short lesson, but such as all the world cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

"And what else meaneth this, Out of my mouth thou shalt hear the word, but that thou shalt be taught of God? Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be ever so well exercised in the Scriptures by man's help, yet are they not watchmen given by God; and much less they that do not understand and know the Scriptures. And therefore such as these be, lest they should keep silence, and say nothing, are always harping upon the traditions and doctrines of men, that is, lies: for he that speaketh of himself, speaketh lies. Of these it is written, They would be doctors of the law, not understanding what they speak, neither of whom they speak. Such of necessity they must all be, who speak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, because they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are persuaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are to be accounted as sheep, although they boast themselves to be shepherds. But contrariwise, touching the true and learned pastors given by God, it may be truly said, We speak that which we know, and that which we have seen (even with the infallible eyes of our faith) we do witness: and these are neither deceived, neither do deceive. Moreover, the deceivers proceed to worse and worse, erring themselves, and bringing others also to error; and because they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear them. They are of the world, saith

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St. John, and therefore they speak those things which are of the world, and the world giveth ear unto them.

"Behold, reverend father! this is the touchstone of our daily preaching. Hath not the world given ear unto them now a long time with great pleasure and delight? But the flesh could never suffer the preaching of the cross, nor yet the wisdom of the flesh, which is an enemy unto God, neither is subject unto his law, nor can be. And why then are they accused to be heretics and schismatics, who will not seek to please men, but only to their edifying? being mindful of that place of Scripture, God hath dispersed the bones of them which please men, saying unto them, Speak unto us pleasant things. But now, letting these matters pass, we will come unto the second point, wherein you ask how a man should preach better? Forsooth, if we had heard Him of whom the Father spake, saying, This is my dearly beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear him; who also, speaking of himself, said, It was meet that Christ should suffer, and rise again the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto all people. What other thing is that, than the same which the other evangelists do write, Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved? What can be more pleasant, sweet, or acceptable unto afflicted consciences, being almost in despair, than these most joyful tidings?

"But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late preach, (I speak even of the most famous,) they have preached such repentance, that if I had heard such preachers of repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous men, (not uttering his name,) after he had sharply inveighed against vice, (wherein he pleased every godly man, forasmuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon,) he concluded, "Behold," said he, "thou hast lien rotten in thine own lusts, by the space of these sixty years, even as a beast in his own dung, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backward from heaven toward hell in sixty years?" Is not this, think you, a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with antichrist's doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour; thou must make satisfaction for thyself, or else thou shalt perish eternally! Then doth St. John lie, who saith, Behold the Lamb of God! which taketh away the sins of the world; and in another place, His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins; and again, He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: besides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter, saying, There shall be false teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, who hath redeemed them? And what followeth upon such doctrine of devils, speaking lies through hypocrisy? A conscience despairing, and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of St. Paul, After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with a greedy desire. For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do not believe him to be so cruel, as they do preach and declare him to be.

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"The want of paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto yourself; whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness) it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your flock, heartily well to fare.

"Your prisoner, and humble beadman unto God for you,
THOMAS BILNEY."

Thus have you the letters, the abjuration, and the articles of Thomas Bilney. After this abjuration, made about A.D. 1529, the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as by the words of Master Latimer is credibly testified; whose words for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh sermon preached before King Edward, which be these: "I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who, what time he had borne his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself, (beholding this image of death,) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome."

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

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said Master Latimer before the duchess of Suffolk, he, yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth "Here I have," said he, "occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God; for I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should he made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Master Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so, and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors, and such fooleries," &c. And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master Latimer.

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By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two years; that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by God's grace and good counsel, came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth which before he had renounced. And thus, being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity Hall, at ten o'clock at night, of certain of his friends, and said, that he would go to Jerusalem; alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospel, going up to Jerusalem, what time he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached first privily in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters, and also to confirm the anchoress, whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends, in causes of religion. And so, setting forward on his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nie sent up for a writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the friars and religious men, with the residue of their doctors and civil canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned body and soul if he so continued; among whom, first, were sent to him of the bishop, Dr. Call, minister (as they call him) or provincial of the Grey Friars; and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Dr. Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side. Dr. Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reform, and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth. Another great doer against him was one Friar Bird with one eye, provincial of the White Friars. This Bird was a suffragan in Coventry, and afterwards bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Bonner, mentioned in the story of Hawkes. Another was a Black Friar, called Hodgkins, who, after being under the archbishop of Canterbury, married, and afterwards, in Queen Mary's time, put away his wife. These four orders of friars were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney; who, notwithstanding, as he had planted himself upon the firm rock of God's word, was at a point; and so continued unto The end.

But here now cometh in Sir Thomas More, trumping in our way with his painted card, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him, being alive; yet now, after his death, by false play they will make him theirs, whether he will or no. This Sir Thomas More, in his railing preface before his book against Tyndale, doth challenge Bilney to his catholic church, and saith, that not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as mill-posts, fetched out of Utopia, from whence thou must know, reader, can come no fictions, but all fine poetry.

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First, he saith, that certain Norwich men, writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterwards, being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he, at his examination, read a bill; but what it was they could not tell, for they stood not so near to hear him. And albeit they stood not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken certain additions of their own, to excuse him from recantation.

First, to answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Master More, let us see with what conveyance he proceedeth in this narration. "At his first examination," saith he, "he waxed stiff in his opinions, but yet God was so good a Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true catholic faith," &c. And when might this goodly conversion begin?" Many days," quoth he, "before his burning." Here is no certain day assigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk invisible. Well then, but how many days these could be, I would fain learn of Master More, when he was not many days in their hands; no longer than they could send up to London for a writ to burn him. Belike then shortly after his apprehension, at the first coming of the friars unto him, by and by he revolted. A strange matter, that he, which two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his first abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the same doctrine again which before he had denied, utterly resigning himself over to death, and taking his leave of his friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to go to Jerusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the scribes and Pharisees for that doctrine's sake, should now so soon, even at the first brunt, give over to the contrary doctrine again. It is not likely. "God was so good a Lord unto him," saith Master More. That God was a good Lord unto him, very true it is: but that God did so turn him indeed, to be a member of that Romish Church, that hath not Master More yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of story, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence, and special demonstration of witnesses, that we may certainly know it so to be.

It followeth moreover in Master More: "And there lacked not some," saith he, "that were sorry for it." No doubt but if our Bilney had so relented, some would have been very sorry therefore. But what one man in all this sum, in all Norwich, was sorry, that Master More must specify unto us before we believe him; so well are we acquainted with his poetical fictions. But how else should this narration of Master More seem to run with probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and saith, "And some wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his heresies at all, but still did abide in them." This soundeth rather to come more near to a truth; and here is a knack of Simon's art, to interlard a tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then among it, that some things being found true, may win credit to the rest which is utterly false. And why then be not the letters of these Norwich men believed, for the not recanting of Bilney?" Because," saith he, "afterward they, being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that Bilney revoked." By whom was it proved?" By those," saith he, "which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his revocation himself," &c. What men were these? or what were their names? or what was any one man's name in all the city of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There Master More will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear Bilney read his revocation as well as these?" Because," saith More, "he read so softly that they could not hear him."

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Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read his revocation so softly that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why Bilney read his revocation so softly; which must needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted against his own mind and conscience: if it were by imbecility of voice and utterance, then how followeth it, Master More! in this your narration, where you say, that the said persons which could not hear him read the bill, yet, notwithstanding could hear him rehearse certain other things spoken by him the same time in the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his errors, &c. Ah Master More! for all your powder of experience, do ye think to cast such a mist before men's eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own narration? unless peradventure you will excuse yourself, *per licentiam poeticam*, after the privilege of poets and painters.

Now if this vein of yours, which so extremely railleth and fareth against the poor martyrs and servants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe, that Bilney died a papist, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial conveyance; that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hanged with itself, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master More is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, lest I may seem to incur the same vice of his. Yet forasmuch as his books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his book-disciples, this would I know, how hangeth his gear together? Bilney was heard, and yet not heard; he spake softly, and yet not softly! Some said he did recant; some said he did not recant. Over and besides, how will this be answered, that forasmuch as the said Bilney (as he saith) revoked many days before his burning, and the same was known to him at London, then how chanced the same could not be as well known to them of Norwich? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution; then, seeing a certain bill in his hand, which some said was a bill of his revocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false: at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected, and coutrared of a great multitude.

I pass now to his second reason, where he reporteth that the said Bilney, forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, kneeled down in the presence of all the people, and asked of the chancellor absolution from the sentence of excommunication; holding him well content with his death, which he confessed himself to have deserved, &c.

As touching the patient receiving of his death, I do well assent, although I do not think that he had deserved any such for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny that he might so do, so I suppose again the cause of his kneeling not to be unto the chancellor, to ask absolution from his excommunication. And if he were assoiled from his excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Master Latimer in his study, humbly to be confessed and assoiled from his sins, as the blindness of that time then led him. But whether he kneeled down, and was assoiled or no, neither was I there to see him, nor yet Master More himself; and therefore, with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, unless

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he brought better demonstration for his assertion than he doth, having no more for himself, but only his own, αἰρὸς ἑαυτοῦ. And yet nevertheless, admit he did so, being a man of a timorous conscience, of a humble spirit, and not fully resolved touching that matter of the church, yet it followeth not thereby, (as is said,) that he revoked his other articles and doctrine by him before professed.

The like answer may also be shaped to his third reason, where he saith, that certain days after his judgment, he made great labour that he might receive the blessed body of Christ in form of bread, which the chancellor, after a great sticking awhile, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is not impossible, but that Bilney might both hear mass, and desire to receive the sacrament: for in that matter it may be that he was not resolved otherwise than common custom then led both him and many others. Neither do I find in all the articles objected against Bilney, that ever he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the mass or the sacrament; which maketh me think that he was yet ignorant, and also devout as others then were.

Also fourthly, be it admitted, as Master More saith, that in receiving of the sacrament, he, holding up his hands, should say the collect, *Domine Jesu Christe*: and coming to these words, *Ecclesiae tuæ pacem et concordiam*, he knocked upon his breast, divers times repeating the same words, &c.: all this being granted to Master More, yet it argueth no necessary alteration of his former doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I listen here to stand dallying with Master More, in the state inficial, and deny what he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he saith? He saith, that Bilney, kneeling before the chancellor, desired absolution: then, coming to mass fully devoutly, required to receive the body of Christ in form of bread, repeating divers times the words of the collect, *Domine Jesu Christe*, &c. By what argument proveth he all this to be so? Master More in his preface before the book against

Tyndale so saith: ergo it is certain. If Master More had never made fictions in his writings beside, or had never broken the head of verity in so many places of his books as I could show him, then might this argument go for somewhat. But here I ask, Was this Master More present at the judgment of Bilney? No. Or else, what registers had he for his direction? None. Or else, by what witnesses will he avouch this to be certain? Go and seek these witnesses, good reader! where thou canst find them; for Master More nameth none. Only because Master More so saith, *that* is sufficient! Well, give this to Master More: although he hath cracked his credit so often, and may almost be bankrupt, yet let his word go for payment at this time, and let us imagine all to be oracles that he saith; yet nevertheless here must needs remain a scruple: for what will Master More, or (because he is gone) what will his disciples say to this; that if Bilney was before assoiled upon his judgment, (as they pretend,) how was he then afterwards degraded? what assoiling is this, to be forgiven first, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they surmise) converted so fully to the catholic faith, and also assoiled, why then did the chancellor stick so greatly for a while, to housel him with the body of Christ in form of bread? I am sure that if Christ had been here himself in form of his own flesh, he would nothing have stuck to receive him, being so converted at the first. To be short: If Bilney was so graciously reduced to the holy mother the Catholic Church, repenting his errors, and detesting his heresies, and now being in no purgatory, but being a very saint in heaven, as ye say he is, why then did ye burn him

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whom ye yourselves knew should be a saint? Thus if ye burn both God's enemies and God's saints too, what cruel men are you!

But here you will allege perhaps your law of relapse, by the which the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into heresy is in no case pardonable; for so standeth your law, I grant. But how this law standeth with the true church of Christ, and with his word, now let us reason. For this being a law not of politic or civil government, (where such laws be expedient for public necessity,) but only being a mere law ecclesiastical, what a cruel mother church is this, that will not and cannot forgive her children, rising and repenting the second fault or error committed, but needs must burn their bodies, that their souls may be saved from the painful passion of purgatory, whom nevertheless they know forthwith shall be blessed in heaven! If God do save them, why do you burn them? If God do pardon them, why do you condemn them? And if this be the law of your church, according to your doctrine, to burn them at the second time, though they be amended; how then doth this church agree with the word of Christ, and the nature of his true spouse, which only seeketh repentance and amendment of sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosom, and motherly receiveth them whensoever they return. Wherefore, if Bilney did return to your church, (as ye did say,) then was your church a cruel mother, and unnatural, which would not open her bosom unto him, but thrust him into the fire, when he had repented.

Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the word of God, who, in express words, teaching all bishops and pastors, by the example of Christ the great bishop of our souls, (being compassed about with temptations, that he might have the more compassion of them that be infirm,) exhorteth all other spiritual persons by the like example, saying, For every bishop which is taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, to offer gifts and sacrifice for sins, that he may be merciful to the ignorant, and to such as err; forasmuch as he himself is compassed about with infirmity, &c. Besides which scripture, add also, that some doctors of the canon law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they which be fallen in relapse, whether it be *vere*, or *ficte*, yet if they earnestly return from their errors before the sentence be given, they may be sent to perpetual prison to some monastery, &c. Wherefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former opinions, so many days (as More saith) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death as he did, but might have been sent to perpetual prison.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer upon this matter, being so plain, and having said enough, yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been said) this I say again: first, if Thomas Bilney was assoiled from excommunication, and after that heard his mass so devoutly, and at the end of the mass was confessed, and consequently after confession was houseled, and lastly, asked mercy for contemning of the church, as Master More doth bear us in hand, (to see now how this tale hangeth together,) why then did the chancellor stick so greatly to give him the sacrament of the altar, whom he himself had assoiled, and received to the sacrament of penance before; which is plain against the canon law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the mother church by the sacraments of penance and of the altar, why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the church, since the canon permitteth no degradation, but to them only which be incorrigible? Furthermore, the said Bilney, if he, being converted so many days before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholic faith, was now no heretic, how then did the

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sentence pronounce him for a heretic? or finally, how could they, or why would they, burn him being a Catholic, especially since the canon law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual prison in some monastery, as is afore touched, if they had pleased?

Wherefore, in three words to answer to Master More: first, All this tale of his may be doubted, because of the matter not hanging together: secondly, It may also well be denied, for the insufficiency of probation and testimony: thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Master More any great advantage against Bilney, to prove him to have recanted; nor yet Master Cope against me, which, by the authority of Master More, seeketh to bear me down, and disprove my former story. For be it granted that Bilney, at his death, did hold with the mass, with confession, and with the authority of the Romish Church, being a humble-spirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. Forasmuch as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premises, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold.

For the better demonstration hereof I will recite out of the registers some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Richard Neal, priest; who, amongst other witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the town of Wilsdon, these words following:

"Put away your golden gods, your silver gods, your stony gods, and leave your offerings, and lift up your hearts to the sacrament of the altar." Also the said Master Bilney said in his sermon, "I know certain things have been offered in such places, which have been afterwards given to abandoned women; and I call them abandoned women, that be naught of their living," &c.

Item, By another witness, named William Cade, it was deposed against him, thus to preach, "Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had not idolatry of Christian men been, by offering of candles, wax, or money to the stocks and stones of images, set and standing in the churches," &c.

Item, By the said deponent against Bilney: that "the priests take away the offerings, and hang them about their women's necks: and after that, they take them again from the women if they please them not, and hang them upon the images; and is not that a great relic, when it is hanged there again?"

Item, By the said deponent it was testified against Bilney: that "going on pilgrimage is naught, and that no man should use it, for it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give somewhat in alms, and offer your hearts, wills, and minds, to the sacrament, and leave your idolatry to saints."

Item, By William Nelms of Wilsdon, that Bilney should preach, "They gild their gods, and bear them about, and men say they do speak; and if they do speak, it is the devil that speaketh in them, and not God," &c.

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Item, By Thomas Daly of Wilsdon, that Bilney thus preached: "You come hither on pilgrimage to stocks and stones. You do naught; keep you at home, and worship the sacrament at home," &c.

Item, By friar John Huggen, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich: "The coming of our Saviour Christ was long desired, and by divers and many prophets prophesied, that he should come. But John the Baptist, more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world! Then if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate and show, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is this bull of the bishop of Rome to our Saviour Jesus Christ, that to be buried in the cowl of St. Francis should or may remit four parts of the penance! What is left to our Saviour Jesus Christ which taketh away the sins of the world? This will I justify to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ," &c.

Item, By another friar, Julles, that Bilney thus preached: "I trust there shall and will come others beside me, the which shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour, whereby you shall be brought from your errors, wherein you have been so long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you and the gospel of our Saviour Christ; of whom speaketh our Saviour Christ, Matt. xviii."

Add moreover to these the testimony of Richard Seman, that Bilney in Ipswich should preach these words: "Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then should we need to seek for remedy to any saint inferior to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the blood of Christ, and deformeth our Saviour Christ; like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and set it under the foot, and to set the foot above.

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to insinuate again out of the registers, touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney; whereby may appear the whole sum of his preaching and doctrine to proceed chiefly against idolatry, invocation of saints, vain worship of images, false trust to men's merits, and such other gross points of religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the mass, and sacrament of the altar, as he never varied from himself, so he never differed therein from the most gross catholics. And as concerning his opinion of the Church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appear by his own hand in Latin, which I have to show, as followeth: "*Credo plerasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias, et ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, et quas legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, et docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore St. Augustinus, et item Gearsonus, qui miratur quomodo non post lapsum inter tot laqueos constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, et ante lapsum, et unicum præceptum non observarint,*" &c. Moreover, concerning the authority of the keys, thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth article, "*Soli sacerdotes, ordinati rite per pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant et solvunt (clave non errante) quod et facere eos*

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non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur," &c.

By these words of Bilney, written by him in Latin, although it may be thought how ignorant and gross he was, after the rudeness of those days, yet by the same, notwithstanding, it may appear, how falsely he is noted and slandered by Master More, and Cope my friend, to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwise in all his life. And therefore, (as I said,) though it be granted to Master More, or in his absence to my friend Cope, that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Now that I have sufficiently, I trust, put off the reasons of Master More and others, whereby they pretend falsely to face us out, that Bilney the second time again recanted at his death, it remaineth, on the other part, that I likewise do infer my probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that Bilney did not the second time recant, as he is untruly slandered. And first, I will begin even with the words and testimony of Master More's own mouth, who, being lord chancellor, when message was sent to him for a writ of discharge to burn Bilney, spake in this wise to the messengers that came, "Go your ways," saith he, "and burn him first; and then afterwards come to me for a bill of my hand." Which words may give us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the lord chancellor would not have been so greedy and hasty, no doubt, to have him despatched. And how standeth this with Master More's words now, which beareth us in hand, that he recanted many days before his burning?

The like evidence we may also take by the verdict of the bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these, (after he had burned him, and then heard tell of Doctor Shaxton,) "Christ's mother!" said he, (that was his oath,) "I fear I have burnt Abel and let Cain go," &c.; as who would say, "I had thought before, that I had punished Cain, and let Abel go; but now I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain escape." Hereby it is plain to understand what the bishop's judgment of Bilney, before his burning; that is, that he was a Cain, and the other an Abel: but after the burning of Bilney, the bishop hearing now of Shaxton, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, swearing now the contrary; that is, lest he had burned Abel, and let Cain go.

Furthermore, where the bishop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abel, what doth this fear of the bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? for who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the case is plain, that Bilney at his burning did not recant, as More reporteth. For then the bishop, knowing Bilney to die a catholic convert, and a true member of the church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have constantly affirmed Bilney to have died a true Abel indeed. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney died an Abel, then the bishop, by his own confession, must needs prove himself to be a Cain, which slew him. What more clear probation could we bring, if there were a thousand, or what need we any other, having this alone?

Now, for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, forasmuch as Master More allegeth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant, I will assay what testimony I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant.

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And forasmuch as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that university in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt but that amongst so many friends as he had in that university, some went thither to hear and see him. Of these one was Thomas Allen, then fellow of Pembroke-hall, who, returning the same time from Bilney's burning, declared to Doctor Turner, dean of Wells, being yet alive, (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted,) that the said Bilney took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the doctrine which he before had professed.

In the city of Norwich, Necton and many others be now departed, who were then present at the burning of Bilney: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the mean time, at the writing hereof there was one Thomas Russel, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of Norwich, who likewise, being there present on horseback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

I could also add hereunto the testimony of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, named Master Baker, a man yet alive, who, being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him and saw him, when a certain friar called him heretic; whereunto Bilney, replying again, made answer, "If I be a heretic," said he, "then are you an antichrist, who of late have buried a certain gentlewoman with you, in St. Francis's cowl, assuring her to have salvation thereby." Which fact, although the friar the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but Bilney spake these words, whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation; according as by the said gentleman it is also testified, that after that, he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lack room in my book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand jury. But what need I to spend time about witness, when one Master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to bear witness to another? And though my friend Cope, pressing me with the authority of Master More, saith, that he will believe him before me; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a seignior, Father Latimer, being both in Bilney's time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than Master More.

Touching the testimonial of which Latimer I have noted before, how he, in three sundry places of his sermons, hath testified of "good Bilney," of "thatblessed Bilney," of "Saint Bilney;" how he died patiently, "against the tyrannical see of Rome," &c. And in another sermon also, how the said Bilney "suffered his body to be burned for the gospel's sake," &c. Item, in another place, how "the said Bilney suffered death for God's word's sake."

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter; but the caused that moved, and half constrained, me thereunto, was Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, and now a great arch-pillar of all our English papists; a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate: esteemed industrious no less in his studies, than well exercised in his

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pen; who, if he had kept himself in his own shop, and applied the faculty, being a layman, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himself to prove masteries in such matters wherein he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forasmuch as he, not contented with his own vocation, hath, with Uzzah, reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with God's ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning; and while he thinketh to help religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemy to Christ, and to his spiritual doctrine, and his poor afflicted church: to the intent therefore that he, being taken for a special ringleader and a chief stay in the pope's church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present history of Bilney's recantation, I have diligently searched out and procured the true certificate of Master Bilney's burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by somesays and by hearsays, (as Master More useth,) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded, by one, who, as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of Master More, (though he were lord chancellor,) so being also both a spiritual person, and there present the same time, coming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, αυτοπτης και μαρτυς [Greek:autoptes kai martys] of his martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of Master More. The order of which martyrdom was this as followeth:

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Dr. Pelles, doctor of law, and chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan Underwood, according to the custom of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed; but such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him: who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death, so, for the time that he was in custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was before the day of his execution, being St. Magnus' day, and on Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said friends, finding him eating of an ale-brew with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "O," said he, "I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see." Then, sitting with his said friends in godly talk to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney, putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them, (as also he did divers times besides,) and feeling the heat thereof, "O," (said he,) "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by

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God's ordinance, is naturally hot: but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some, spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, that howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And here he much treated of this place of Scripture, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel." This he did most comfortably treat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present; of whom some took such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be fairly written in tables, and some in their books; the comfort whereof, in divers of them, was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the manner is) with their glaves and halberts were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's Gate, in a low valley, commonly called The Lollards' Pit, under St. Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the execution,) at the coming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison-door, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but yet, in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, be beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now toward this sailing; and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof, by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he, going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied by one Dr. Warner, doctor of divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he did choose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort, came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves hanging down and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single body in person, but always of a good upright countenance,) and drew near to the stake prepared; and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said: "Good people! I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye may testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith the articles of my creed." And then he began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word "crucified," he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence; and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to these words, "I believe the catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words: "Good people! I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, where I was fellow; earnestly entreated thereunto by the

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curate and other good people of the parish, showing that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good and quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death; and ended at last his private prayers with the Psalm, beginning, Hear my prayer, O Lord! consider my desire. And the next verse he repeated in deep meditation thrice: And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified: and so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping: upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks; and the last were these, "O Master Doctor! Feed your flock, feed your flock; that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing." And, "Farewell, good Master Doctor! and pray for me;" and so Warner departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while Bilney thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses, being there present, (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.,) came to him and said, "O Master Bilney, the people be persuaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter:" whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and said, "I pray you, good people! be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they:" and so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire on the reeds, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visor of his face; he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus!" sometimes, *Credo!* which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great; in which it was said, that the fields were marvellously plagued by the loss of corn; and so, for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him; and then he gave up the ghost, and his body, being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers, with his halberd, smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood upon it; and so he was consumed.

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Thus have ye, good readers! the true history and martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed Saint Bilney, (as Master Latimer doth call him,) without any recantation, testified and ratified by the authority abovesaid: • by which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did never recant, but also that he never had any such bill, or scrip, or scroll, in his hand to read, either softly or apertly, as Master More would bear us down. Wherefore, even as ye see Master More deal in this, so ye may trust him in the residue of his other tales, if ye will.

Master Stafford, of Cambridge.

As the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk, where he was burned; so his diligent travail, in teaching and exhorting other, and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that university, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of whom, and partly also of another, called Master Stafford, the word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish; in the company of whom was Master Latimer, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Thistell of Pembroke-hall, Master Fooke of Benet-college, and Master Soude of the same college, Dr. Warner above-mentioned, with divers others more. This Master Stafford was then the public reader of the divinity lecture in that university; who, as he was an earnest professor of Christ's gospel, so was he as diligent a follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appear.

For as the plague was then sore in Cambridge, and amongst other a certain priest, called Sir Henry Conjurer, lay sore sick of the said plague, Master Stafford, hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his soul was in, was so moved in conscience to help the dangerous case of the priest, that he, neglecting his own bodily death, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring books burned before his face. Which being done, Master Stafford went home, and immediately sickened, and, shortly after, most Christianly deceased.

Concerning which Master Stafford, this moreover is to be noted, how that Master Latimer, being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schools when Master Stafford read, bade the scholars not to hear him; and also, preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him: and yet the said Latimer confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed. And thus much by the way of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney, in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

173. Books Banned by the Papists.

Before the time of Master Bilney, and the fall of the cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the book called The Supplication of Beggars; declaring how, and by what means, it came to the king's hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation, of many things, especially of the clergy. But the missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though that be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this:

After that the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread its beams here also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many; so that coloured hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness, began to be espied more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals, were not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to espy Christ from antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion: in the number of whom was the said Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about A.D. 1525, that there was a certain play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same inn, gentleman, in which play partly was matter against the Cardinal Wolsey; and when none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said cardinal, this aforesaid Master Fish took upon him to do it. Thereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the cardinal's part, insomuch as he, being pursued by the said cardinal the same night that this tragedy was played, was compelled by force to void his own house, and so fled over the sea to Tyndale: upon occasion whereof, the next year following, this book was made (being about the year 1527); and so, not long after, in the year, as I suppose, 1528, was sent over to the Lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which book her brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king, which thing she so did. This was (as I gather) about A.D. 1528.

The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who made it: whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal. After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the king's servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all peril or danger: whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband; who, understanding whose wife she was, showed a marvellous gentle and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it like your Grace, not far off." "Then," saith he, "fetch him, and he shall come and go safe, without peril, and no man shall do him harm:" saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the which mean time the cardinal was deposed, as is afore showed, and Master More set in his place of the chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife, being imboldened by the king's words, went immediately to her husband, (being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court,) and brought him to the king; which appeareth to be about A.D. 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he

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was the author of the book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who after long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together in hunting, the king at length dismissed him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him; who answered the king again, and said, he durst not so do, for fear of Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, and Stokesley, then bishop of London. This seemeth to be about A.D. 1530.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy as to work him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him, if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife? For she, a little before, had by chance displeased the friars, for not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say them in English. Whereupon the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young daughter, which then lay sick of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of the which plague, her husband (the said Master Fish) deceasing within half a year, she afterwards married one Master James Bainham, Sir Alexander Bainham's son, a worshipful knight of Gloucestershire; the which aforesaid Master James Bainham not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the process of this story, shall appear.

And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the author of the Book of Beggars, who also translated a book, called The Sum of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.

Now cometh another note of one Edmund Moddis, the king's footman, touching the same matter.

This Master Moddis, being with the king in talk of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, if it might please his Grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his Grace, he should see such a book as it was a marvel to hear of. The king demanded what they were. He said, "Two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson." The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him. One of them said, that there was a book come to theirhands, which they had there to show his Grace. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yea," said George Elyot, "if it please your Grace to hear it." "I thought so," said the king, "for if need were thou canst say it without book."

The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put it into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the book, &c.

Against this Book of the Beggars, being written in the time of the cardinal, another contrary book or supplication was devised and written shortly upon the same, by one Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, under the name and title of The poor silly Souls pulling out of Purgatory. In the which book, after the said Master More, the writer thereof,

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had first divided the whole world into four parts, that is, into heaven, hell, middle earth, and purgatory; then he maketh the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical prosopopœia, to speak out of purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining of, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at, the author of the Beggars' Book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a mad dog, a heretic, and all that naught is. And no marvel, if these simple souls of purgatory seem so fumish and testy; for heat (ye know) is testy, and soon inflameth choler. But yet these purgatory souls must take good heed how they call a man a fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel doth pronounce them guilty of hell-fire, who say, "Fool!" it may be doubted, lest those poor, simple, melancholy souls of purgatory, calling this man fool so oft as they have done, do bring themselves thereby out of purgatory-fire to the fire of hell, by that just sentence of the Gospel; so that neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor all the merits of St. Dominic, nor yet of all the friars, can release those poor wretches! But yet, forasmuch as I do not, nor cannot think, that those departed souls either would so far overshoot themselves, if they were in purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of purgatory at all, (unless it be in Master More's Utopia,) as Master More's poetical vein doth imagine, I cease therefore to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master More, the author and contriver of this poetical book, for not keeping *decorum personae*, as a perfect poet should have done. They that give precepts of art, do note this, in all poetical fictions, as a special observation, to foresee and express what is convenient for every person, according to his degree and condition, to speak and utter. Wherefore if it be true that Master More saith, in the sequel of his book, that grace and charity increase in them that lie in the pains of purgatory, then is it not agreeable that such souls, lying so long in purgatory, should so soon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their supplication so fumishly, both against this man, with such opprobrious and unsuiting terms, and also against John Badby, Richard Hovedon, John Goose, Lord Cobham, and other martyrs of the Lord, burned for his word: also against Luther, William Tyndale, Richard Hun, and other more, falsely belying the doctrine by them taught and defended; which it is not like that such charitable souls of purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that case; which indeed, though their doctrine were false, should redound to the more increase of their pain. Again, where the bishop of Rochester defineth the angels to be ministers to purgatory-souls, some will think, peradventure, Master More to have missed some part of his decorum, in making the evil spirit of the author and the devil to be messenger, between middle-earth and purgatory, in bringing tidings to the prisoned souls, both of the book, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touching the manner how this devil came into purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnashing his teeth, in sooth it maketh me to laugh, to see the merry antics of Master More. Belike then this was some merry devil, or else had eaten with his teeth some nasturcium before; which, coming into purgatory, to show the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. "But this was," saith he, "an enmious and an envious laughing, joined with grinning and gnashing of teeth." And immediately upon the same, was contrived this scoffing and railing supplication of the puling souls of purgatory, as he himself doth term them. So then, here was enmying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnashing of teeth, puling, scoffing, railing, and begging; and all together to make a very black *sanctus* in purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth in hell, where the souls and bodies of men shall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil angel of this man that made the Book of Beggars, being a spiritual and no corporal substance, hath teeth to gnash, and a mouth to

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grin?, But where then stood Master More, I marvel, all this mean while, to see the devil laugh with his mouth so wide, that the souls of purgatory might see all his teeth? Belike this was in Utopia, where Master More's purgatory is founded; but because Master More is hence departed, I leave him with his merry antics. And as touching his book of purgatory, which he hath left behind, because John Frith hath learnedly and effectuously overthrown the same, I will therefore refer the reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the history.

After the clergy of England, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of The Beggars' Supplication aforesaid, to be strewed abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the said cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also, when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's Majesty, saying, "If it shall please your Grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies;" desiring his Grace to beware of them. Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it unto the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and namely, this Book of the Beggars, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation; which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and divers others; the tenor of which prohibition here followeth

"Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official, health, grace, benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently, with all our power, to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things, which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and specially to the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we, having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people; attempting, by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profanate the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same, of the which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number; which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresy; to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine Majesty. Wherefore, we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, who seek the destruction of our flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for

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the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

"Given under our seal, the three and twentieth of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, anno 1526."

The like commission, in like manner and form, was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, under the bishop's seal.

The names of the books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

The Supplication of Beggars; the Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther; the New Testament of Tyndale; the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; an Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans; a Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son; Christian Economics; The Union of Dissenters; Pious Prayers.; The Babylonish Captivity; John Huss on Hosea; Zwingle on the Anabaptists; On the Education of Children; Brentius on the Government of a State; Luther on the Galatians; On Christian Liberty; Luther's Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer.

Besides these books here before-mentioned, within a short time after there were a great number more of other books in like manner prohibited by the king's proclamation; but yet by the bishop's procurement, A.D. 1529.

The New Testament, in the catalogue above recited, began first to be translated by William Tyndale, and so came forth in print about A.D. 1529, wherewith Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false, erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndale, but showed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, "My lord! I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold." The bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, said, "Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington! get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn and destroy them all at Paul's Cross." This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money. After this, Tyndale corrected the New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, "How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely, I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters

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and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure:" at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies during the time that he was in the custody of Master More, After divers communications, amongst other things, Master More asked of him, saying, "Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee, I will show thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?" "My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my troth," quoth More, "I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it."

Of this George Constantine, moreover, it is reported by Sir Thomas More, that he, being taken and in hold, seemed well content to renounce his former doctrine; and not only to disclose certain other of his fellows, but also studied and devised, how these books, which he himself, and other of his fellows, had brought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burned, and showed to the aforesaid Sir Thomas More, chancellor, the ship-man's name that had them, and the marks of the fardels, by which the books afterwards were taken and burned. Besides this, he is reported also to have disclosed divers of his companions, of whom some were abjured after, some had abjured before; as Richard Necton, who was committed to Newgate upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else he had not escaped their hands, but should have suffered burning, if the report of Master More be to be credited.

Notwithstanding the same Constantine afterwards, by the help of some of his friends, escaped out of prison over the seas, and after that, in the time of King Edward, was one of them that troubled the good bishop of St. David's, which after, in Queen Mary's time, was burned. But of Constantine enough.

Mention was made, how the bishops had procured of the king a proclamation to be set forth A.D. 1529, for the abolishing of divers books afore-named, and also for the withstanding of all such as taught or preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the Church of Rome. Upon this proclamation ensued great persecution and trouble against the poor innocent flock of Christ.

The books which in this proclamation generally are restrained and forbidden, be afterwards in theregister, more specially named by the bishops; whereof the most part were in Latin, as are above recited, and some were in English, as these and others, partly also above expressed:

A Disputation between the Father and the Son; a Book of the old God and new; Godly Prayers; the Christian state of Matrimony; the burying of the Mass; the Sum of the Scripture;

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Mattens and Even-song, Seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations, in English; an Exposition upon the seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the chapters of Moses called Genesis; the chapters of Moses called Deuteronomy; the Matrimony of Tyndale; David's. Psalter in English; the Practice of Prelates; Hortulus animæ, in English; A.B.C. against the Clergy; the Examination of William Thorpe, &c.

Although these books, with all other of the like sort, by the virtue of this proclamation were inhibited to all Englishmen to use or to read; yet licence was granted before to Sir Thomas More, by Tonsal, bishop of London, A.D. 1527, that he, notwithstanding, might have and peruse them; with a letter also sent to him from the said bishop, or rather by the advice of other bishops, desiring him, that he would show his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a Demosthenes, in expugning the doctrine of these books and opinions: who, albeit he was no great divine, yet because he saw some towardness in him by his book of Utopia, and other fine poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpose, to withstand the proceedings of the gospel, either in making some appearance of reason against it, or at least to outface it, and dash it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to serve the bishop's turn, so far forth as all his rhetoric could reach; filling up with fineness of wit, and scoffing terms, where true knowledge and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings against Bilney, Tyndale, Frith, Fish, Barnes, Luther, &c., may soon be discerned, if the reasons and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchstone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our story again.

Upon this fierce and terrible proclamation aforesaid, thus devised and set out in the king's name, A.D. 1529, the bishops, which were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have; neither did there lack on their part any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same: whereupon ensued a grievous persecution, and slaughter of the faithful; of whom the first that went to rack was Thomas Bilney, of whom sufficiently afore hath been said; and the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the story shall shortly follow.

174. Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

Following the order of years and of times, as the course of our history requireth, next after the consummation of Thomas Bilney, we have to treat of the martyrdom of Richard Bayfield, which in the month of November, the same year, which was A.D. 1531, was burned in Smithfield.

This Richard Bayfield, sometime a monk of Bury, was converted by Dr. Barnes, and two godly men of London, brickmakers, Master Maxwell and Master Stacey, wardens of their company, who were grafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation of life, converted many men and women, both in London and in the country; and once a year, of their own cost, went about to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad. Dr. Barnes, at that time, much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Bayfield was, to one Dr. Ruffam; who had been at Louvaine together students. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the monk was chamberlain of the house, to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained; who delighted much in Dr. Barnes's talk, and in the other laymen's talk afore rehearsed; and at last, Dr. Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, with a book called *The Wicked Mammon*, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*: wherein he prospered so mightily in two years' space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, there sore whipped, with a gag in his mouth, and then stocked; and so continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Dr. Barnes could get him out; which he brought to pass by the means of Dr. Ruffam aforesaid, and so he was committed to Dr. Barnes, to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned home again to his abbey, but went to London, to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly a while, and so conveyed him beyond the sea; Dr. Barnes being then in the Fleet for God's word. This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndale, and Master Frith; for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works, and the works of the Germans, both in France and in England; and at last, coming to London, to Master Smith's house, in Bucklersbury, there he was betrayed, and dogged from that house to his bookbinder's in Mark Lane, and there taken, and carried to Lollards' Tower, and from thence to the coal-house; by reason that one Parson Patmore, parson of Much Haddam in Essex, then lying in Lollards' Tower, was, in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Christ, there confirmed by him. This Parson Patmore, after long trouble, was abjured and condemned by the bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterwards by the king's pardon, as more appeareth in the sequel of his story among abjurers, &c. He was taken because he married his priest in those days. He had always corn in plenty, and when the markets were very dear, he would send plenty of his corn thither, to pluck down the prices thereof.

This Richard Bayfield, being in the coal-house, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' Tower; for there he was tied both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to accuse others that had bought his books. But he accused none, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, unto the very end, and was, in the consistory of Paul's, thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said he would

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dispute for his faith, and so did to their great shame; Stokesley then being his judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops, wherof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

The articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the aforesaid bishops, A.D. 1531, Nov. 10, were these:

"I. That he had been many years a monk professed, of the order of St. Beet, of St. Edmund's Bury, in the diocese of Norwich.

"II. That he was a priest, and had ministered, and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.

"III. That since the feast of Easter last, he, being beyond the sea, brought and procured to have divers and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin Luther's own works, as of divers other of his damnable sect, and of Ecolampadius the great heretic, and divers other heretics, both in Latin and English; the names of which books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.

"IV. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.

"V. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for licence; as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said bishop.

"VI. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and did renounce and forswear them, and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

"VII. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfil such penance as should be enjoined him by the said bishop.

"VIII. After his abjuration it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish church of St. Botolph's at Billingsgate, and to bear a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.

"IX. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide a habit, requisite and meet for his order and profession, as shortly as he might; and that he should come or go no where without such a habit: the which he had not fulfilled.

"X. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that, sometime before the feast of the Ascension then next ensuing his abjuration, he should go home unto the monastery of Bury, and there remain, according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.

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"XI. That he was appointed by the said bishop of London to appear before the said bishop, the twenty-fifth of April next after his abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance; and after his abjuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

"XII. That the twentieth day of June next following his abjuration, he did appear before the said bishop Tonsal, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's place, and there it was newly enjoined him in part of penance, that he should provide him a habit convenient for his order and profession, within eight days then next following: which he had not done.

"XIII. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London; and no more to come within it, without the special licence of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled."

The answer of Richard Bayfield to the articles prefixed.

To the first article he confessed, that he was professed a monk in the monastery aforesaid, A.D. 1514. To the second article he answered, that he was a priest, and took orders, A.D. 1518. To the third article he confessed the bill and schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought over the said books and works a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort.

Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the realm; he answered, "To the intent that the gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm amongst Christian people;" and that he had sold and dispersed many of those books before named, to sundry persons within this realm, and to divers of the diocese of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther were condemned as a heretic by the pope; he answered, that he heard say, that Martin Luther, with all his sect and adherents, were, and are, condemned as heretics by the pope. And being demanded, whether Zuinglius was of Luther's sect; he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether Zuinglius was a catholic; he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the books contained in the schedules did contain any errors in them; he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, that the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that Ecolampadius and Zuinglius be heretics; also that such as lean to Martin Luther be heretics. Also he confessed, that being beyond the sea, he heard say, before he brought into this realm the books contained in the said bills, that the king had by proclamation prohibited, that no man should bring into this realm any of Martin Luther's books or of his sect: which confession thus ended, the bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday, being the eleventh of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers he made in the session the day before. This thing done, the official objected the fourth article unto him: whereunto he answered, that he could not tell whether there be any heresies in them; for he had read no heresies in them. And being demanded, whether he had read any of those books; he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout. He was demanded, whether he believed the aforesaid books to be good, and of the true faith? He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true faith. Being inquired, what books he read in the realm? he said, that he had read the New Testament in

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Latin, and other books mentioned in the bills; but he read none translated: notwithstanding he did confess that he had read a book called Thorp's, in the presence and audience of others, and also a book of John Frith's purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a book called The Practice of Prelates; and also said, that he had read a book called The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, but in the presence and hearing of others which he knew not. Also he confessed that he had read The Obedience of a Christian Man, and The Sum of Scripture, among company, and also The Dialogue betwixt the Ploughman and the Gentleman, among company, as he thought; also he had read a piece of the answer of Tyndale made to Sir Thomas More; likewise he had read the Dialogue of Frith, to himself: he had read also the prologues of the five books of Moses, contained in the long schedule, and in company, as he thought.

All which books he had read in manner aforesaid within these two years last past, and as for the New Testament in English, he read it before he had these books specified in the schedule before rehearsed.

To the third article, as touching Zuinglius and others, he supposed that they held the same doctrine that Luther did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The sixteenth day of November, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the bishop; who inquired of him, of what sect Zuinglius was. He said, he thought that he held with Luther in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought books of the sorts abovenamed into this realm, about Midsummer was a twelvemonth, and landed them at Colchester; and afterwards brought part of them to this city; and some he dispersed and sold in this city. The second time that he brought books was about All-Hallowtide was a twelvemonth, and landed them at St. Catharine's; which books the lord chancellor took from him. Also that at Easter last was the third time that he brought over the books now showed unto him, and contained in these two bills, and landed with them in Norfolk, and from thence brought them to the city of London in a mail.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoined him as is contained in the article; the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoined him that he should go to the abbey of Bury, and there continue; the which, he said, he did three times; but he did not wear his monk's cowl, as he was enjoined.

The eleventh article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, "That he did not wear his monk's habit according to the abjuration;" he referred himself to the acts, whether he were so enjoined or no.

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To the thirteenth article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no licence of the bishop of London to come to the city or diocese of London, nor to make any abode there.

The sentence given against Richard Bayfield in a case of relapse.

"In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, first begun before Master Richard Foxford, doctor of both laws, our official, now depending before us undecided, against thee, Richard Bayfield, priest and monk, professed to the order and rule of St. Benedict, in the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, in the diocese of Norwich, and by means of the causes within written under our jurisdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the cause of this inquisition heard, weighed, understood, and fully discussed by us, the said bishop, reserving unto ourselves that which by law ought to be reserved; have thought good to proceed in this manner, to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

"Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain, errors and heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then thy ordinary, according to the form and order of the church: and that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as a heretic by the authority of Pope Leo the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the apostolic see, and the books, and all writings, schedules, and sermons of the said Master Luther, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in Latin, or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reprov'd, and utterly rejected; and inhibition made, by the authority of the said see, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf to be incurred by the law, that no man by any means presume to read, teach, hear, imprint, or publish, or by any means do defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other public or private places, any such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, as are contained more at large in the apostolic letters, drawn out in form of a public instrument; whereunto, and to the contents thereof, we refer ourselves as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forasmuch as we do perceive that thou didst understand the premises, and yet these things notwithstanding, after thy abjuration made, (as is aforesaid,) thou hast brought in, divers and sundry times, many books of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and complices, and of other heretics, the names, titles, and authors of which books here follow, and are these: Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the private Mass; the Declarations of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Jude; Luther upon Monastical Vows; Luther's Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; Johannes Œcolampadius, upon the exposition of these words, This is my Body; the Annotations of Œcolampadius upon the Epistles of St. Paul unto the Romans; Œcolampadius's Commentary upon the three last Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; the Sermons of Œcolampadius upon the Catholic Epistles of John; a Book of Annotations upon Genesis, gathered by Huldricus Zuinglius; the Commentaries of Pomeran, upon four Chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; Annotations of Pomeran upon Deuteronomy and Samuel;

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Pomeran upon the Psalms; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert of Avignon, upon the Gospel of St. Luke; A Congest of all matters of Divinity, by Francis Lambert; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophet Joel; also the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophets Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Hosea; a new Gloss of Philip Melancthon upon the Proverbs of Solomon; the Commentaries of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians; the Annotations of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and upon the Epistle to the Colossians; Solomon's Sentences, translated according to the Hebrew, by Philip Melancthon; most wholesome Annotations upon the Gospel of St. Mark, by Christopher Hegendorphinus; the Commentaries of John Brentius upon Job; the Commentary of John Brentius upon the Ecclesiastes of Solomon; Homilies of Brentius upon the Gospel of St. John; the Annotations of Andrew Althomarus and Brentius upon the Epistle of St. James; the Commentaries of Bucer upon Zephaniah; Bucer upon the four Evangelists; the Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Huss; a Brief Commendatory of Martin Luther, unto Otho Brunfelsius, as touching the Life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of John Huss; Felinus upon the Psalter; his Exposition upon Isaiah; his Exposition upon Jeremiah; Capito upon Hosea; Capito upon Habakkuk; the Union of Dissentients; the Pandect of Otho; the Catalogue of famous Men; an Answer of Tyndale unto Sir Thomas More; a Disputation of Purgatory, made by John Frith in English; a Prologue to the Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy; the First Book of Moses, called Genesis; a Prologue to the Third Book of Moses, called Leviticus; a Prologue to the Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers; a Prologue to the Second Book of Moses, called Exodus; the Practice of Prelates; the New Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Romans; the Parable of the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; A.B.C. of Thorpe's; the Sum of Scripture; the Primer in English; the Psalter in English; a Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Ploughman.

"Of all which kind of books, both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not only Lutheran heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other heretics condemned, forasmuch as thou hast brought over, from the parties beyond the sea, a great number into this realm of England, and specially to our city and diocese of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over; also hast kept by thee and studied those books, and hast published and read them unto divers men, and many of those books also hast dispersed and given unto divers persons dwelling within our city and diocese of London, and hast confessed and affirmed before our official, that those books of Martin Luther and other heretics his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them, are good and agreeable to the true faith; saying thus, That they are good, and of the true faith; 'and by this means and pretence hast commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and believed their errors, heresies, and opinions: Therefore we, John, the bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes; by the counsel and consent of the divines and lawyers with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee, the aforesaid Richard Bayfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of thy abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned heretics, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving, and dispersing the books and writings, as well of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and disciples, as of other heretics before named; and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthily to be and have been a heretic; and that thou, by the pretence of the premises, art fallen

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again most damnably into heresy; and we pronounce that thou art and hast been a relapsed heretic, and hast incurred, and oughtest to incur, the pain and punishment of relapse: and we so decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereunto; and that by the pretence of the premises, thou hast even by the law incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication: and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive thee of all ecclesiastical office and benefice: also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee, Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege, out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment, to be done upon thee and against thee, in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness; but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics, unto the unity of the catholic faith. This our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in form aforesaid."

On Monday, the twentieth of November, 1531, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, before the said John, bishop of London, judicially sitting, being assisted by John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; and Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church, in London; these honourable lords being also present; Henry, earl of Essex; Richard Gray, brother to the marquis of Somerset; John Lambert, mayor of London; Richard Gresham, and Edward Altam, sheriffs (the which mayor and sheriffs were required to be there present by the bishop of London's letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a statute of King Henry the Fourth, king of England); also in the presence of divers canons, the chancellor, official, and the archdeacon of London, with the bishops' chaplains, and a great number both of the clergy and laity; Matthew Grefton, the registrar, being also there present: Master Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, was brought forth by Thomas Turner the apparitor, his keeper, in whose presence the transumpt of the apostolic bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, upon the condemnation of Martin Luther and his adherents, was brought forth and showed, sealed with the seal of Thomas Wolsey, late legate de Latere, and subscribed with the sign and name of Master Robert Tunnes, public notary; and also the decree upon the condemnation of certain books brought in by him, sealed with the seals of the archbishop of Canterbury, and subscribed by three notaries.

Then the bishop of London repeated in effect before him his abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done, besides his abjuration; and the said Bayfield said, that he was not culpable in the articles that were objected against him; and desired that the heresies contained in the books which he brought over, might be declared in open audience. Then the bishop, after certain talk had with the said Bayfield, as touching the desert of his cause, asked him whether he could show any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said

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Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those books for lack of money, and not to sow any heresies. And incontinent the said Bayfield, with a vehement spirit, (as it appeared,) said unto the bishop of London, "The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye be heretics; and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do let, that what true living is, may not be known;" and said that their living is against Christ's gospel, and that their belief was never taken of Christ's church. Then the said bishop, after long deliberation had, forasmuch as the said Richard Bayfield, he said, could show no cause why he should not be declared a relapse, read the decree and sentence against him; by the which, amongst other things, he condemned him as a heretic, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into heresy; and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

The aforesaid sentence being so read by the bishop of London, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; the which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the ecclesiastical court: whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any writ in that behalf obtained, but only by virtue of the bishop's letters, by the statute of King Henry the Fourth, in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the bishop's seal. The tenor of which letters hereafter follow.

"John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the right honourable lord mayor of the city of London, and the sheriffs of the same, health, grace, and benediction. Whereas we have already, by our vicar-general, proceeded in a certain cause of heresy, and relapse into the same, against one Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and intend upon Monday next, being the twentieth day of this present month of November, to give a sentence definitive against the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power; we require you, the lord mayor and sheriffs aforesaid, the king's Majesty's vicegerents, even in the bowels of Jesu Christ, that according to the form and effect of the statute of our most noble and famous prince in Christ our Lord the lord Henry the Fourth, by the grace of God, late king of England, you will be personally present in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, with your favourable aid and assistance in this behalf, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our officers; and to do further, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute, as far as shall be required of you, according to the canonical sanctions, and the laudable custom of the famous kingdom of England, in this behalf accustomed. In witness whereof we have set our seal unto this present.

"Dated the 19th day of November, anno 1531, and in the first year of our consecration."

On Monday, the 20th day of November, in the year aforesaid, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, the bishop of London calling unto him John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church of the city of London; Master John Cox, auditor and vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury; Peter Ligham, official of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Baghe, chancellor of the church of St. Paul's; William Cliefe, archdeacon of London; John Intent, canon residentiary of the same; William Briton, Robert Birch, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of both laws, in the presence of us, Matthew Grefton, registrar; Anthony Hussie,

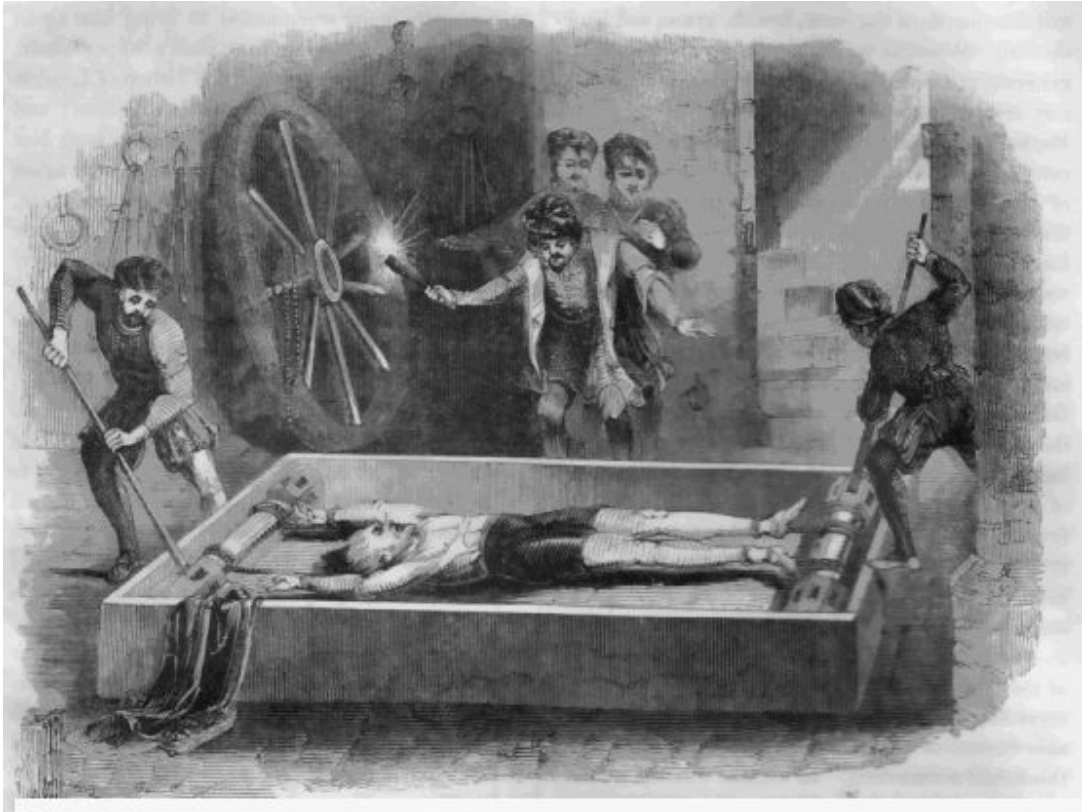
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Richard Martine, and Thomas Shadwell, public notaries and scribes appointed in this behalf; briefly rehearsed the answers of the same Bayfield in effect, and his abjuration, and other his demerits by him done besides his abjuration: which religious persons, and other ecclesiastical men abovesaid, thought it good, and agreed, that the said bishop should proceed against him in this case of relapse, and should pronounce and give forth the sentence against him in case aforesaid.

And so he was delivered to the sheriffs to carry to Newgate, being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into Paul's upper choir, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London with the residue, till they had done with him; and by and by the sheriffs were commanded to have him into the vestry, and then to bring him forth again in antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When the bishop had degraded him, kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier-staff, and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he swooned; and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of antichrist, and that he was come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ, militant here in earth. "And I trust anon," said he, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant for ever." And so was he led forth through the choir to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was two quarters of an hour alive. And when the left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceased not to rave after his death in his ashes, to pry and spy out what sparks he could find of reproach and contumely, whereby to rase out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof he hath found out two things to lay against him: the one is, that this Bayfield went about to assure himself of two wives at once, one in Brabant, another in England: the second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter despair of his pardon, he was content to forswear his doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereof, although there were no more to be said, yet this were enough to say, that Master More thus said of him; a man so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can see nothing but all fair roses and sweet virtue; in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his fantasy, but all is as black as pitch, vice, abomination, heresy, and folly, whatsoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this Bayfield, as also of other more, I will defer the defence of them to a several apology by itself, hereafter, God willing, to be adjoined.

175. John Tewkesbury, Leatherseller, of London, Martyr.



A Victim on the Rack

JOHN Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of Tyndale's Testament, and The Wicked Mammon. He had the Bible written. In all points of religion he openly did dispute in the bishop's chapel in his palace. In the doctrine of justification and all other articles of his faith he was very expert and prompt in his answers, in such sort that Tostal, and all his learned men were ashamed that a leatherseller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him.

This disputation continued a se'nnight.

The process of whose examinations, articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the bishop's register extracted.

"On Wednesday, the twenty-first day of April, A.D. 1529, John Tewkesbury was brought into the consistory at London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, abbot of Westminster; unto whom the bishop of London declared,

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that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother the church: who made answer that in his judgment he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. And at the last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said book called The Wicked Mammon, he answered thus: 'Take ye the book and read it over, and I think in my conscience, ye shall find no fault in it.' And being asked by the said bishop, whether he would rather give credit to his book, or to the gospel, he answered that the gospel is, and ever hath been, true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this article, 'That the Jews of good intent and zeal slew Christ,' he answered, 'Look ye the book through, before and after, as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it than ye make of it;' and further thought, that whosoever translated the New Testament, and made the book, meaning The Wicked Mammon, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

"Also being further asked by the said bishop of London, whether he would stand to the contents of his book, he answered, 'Look ye the book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it.' Then being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing, he answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher or lower in heaven; for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether that Christ, with all his works, did not deserve heaven, he answered and said, that it was plain enough. Which things being done, the bishop said further to John Tewkesbury thus: 'I tell thee, before God and those which are here present, in examination of my conscience, that the articles above named, and many others contained in the same book, are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church: how thinkest thou?' And further, the said bishop of London said unto him again, 'I tell thee, before God and those which are here present,' &c.; and so asked him again, what he thought of those articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately under pain of the law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law. These things so done, the bishop asked John Tewkesbury again, whether the said book, called The Wicked Mammon, were good?

"To which interrogatory he answereth, that he thinketh in his conscience there is nothing in the book but that which is true. And to this article objected, that is, that faith only justifieth without works, he answereth, that it is well said. Whereunto the bishop inferred again, that the articles before objected, with divers others contained in the book called The Wicked Mammon, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reprov'd and condemned by the church: and, before God, and all those that were present, for the discharge of his conscience, he had often, and very gently, exhorted the said John Tewkesbury, that he would revoke and renounce his errors: otherwise if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him a heretic; which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should choose what spiritual or temporal man he would, to be his counsellor; and gave him time, as before, to deliberate with himself until the next sitting."

"Also in the same month of April, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tonstal, sitting in the consistory, with Nicholas of Ely, John of Lincoln, and John of Bath and Wells, &c., this John Tewkesbury was brought before them. After certain articles being repeated unto him, the bishop of London brought before him a certain book, called

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The Wicked Mammon, asking him whether the book was of the same impression and making as were his books that he had sold to others? who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the bishop of London asking him again, whether the book contained the same error or no? who answered again, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the gospel and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the others is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the Holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament he knoweth the faults of his soul. Further, he was examined upon certain points and articles, extracted out of the said book of The Wicked Mammon, as followeth

"First, That antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him; but antichrist is a spiritual thing. — Whereunto he answered and said, that he findeth no fault in it.

"Again, it was demanded of him touching the article whether faith only justifieth a man? — To this he said, that if he should look to deserve heaven by works, he should do wickedly; for works follow faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of his passion.

"That the devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto God's law. — To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

"That the law of God suffereth no merits, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God. — To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the law is; and he saith, that he findeth no ill in it.

"That the law of God requireth of us things impossible. — To that he answered, that the law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his conscience.

"That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no law to him that believeth and is justified through faith. — To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

"All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof. — To that he answered, 'It is truth.'

"Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven. — To that he answered, that the text is true as it lieth, and findeth no fault in it.

"Peter and Paul, and saints that be dead, are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive. — To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

"Alms deserve no reward of God. — To that he answered, that the text of the book is true.

"The devil is not cast out by merits of fasting or prayer. — To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

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"We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of God upon us, yea, where we were damned before we were born, we cannot love God, and cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous and unjust; and flee from him, as did Cain. — To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

"We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature, and a serpent is a serpent by nature. — To that he answered, that it is true, as it is in the book.

"Item, As concerning the article of fasting. — To that he answered and said, 'The book declareth itself.'

"Every one man is a lord of whatsoever another man hath. — To that he answered; 'What law can be better than that? for it is plainly meant there.'

"Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another. — To that he answered and said, 'It is plain enough of itself.'

"As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and washing of dishes, there is no difference as concerning salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God. — To that he answered, saying, 'It is a plain text, and as for pleasing God, it is all one.'

"That the Jews of good intent and zeal put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the text is plain enough.

"The sects of St. Francis, and St. Dominic, and others, be damnable. — To that he answered and said, 'St. Paul repugneth against them.'

These articles being so objected, and answer made unto them by John Tewkesbury, the said bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them? who answered thus: "I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think the book is good enough."

Further, the bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To this the said John Tewkesbury answered as is above written; to wit, "I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think it is good enough." This thing being done, the bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master John Cox, vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Galfride Warton, Rowland Philips, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of divinity.

On the thirteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord abovesaid, in the chapel within the palace of London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, with his assistants, Nicholas, bishop of Ely, &c., Tewkesbury again appeared, and was examined upon the articles drawn out of the book called The Wicked Mammon, as followeth:

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First, "Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Christ is in thee, and thou so knit to him inseparably, that neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved, except Christ be saved with thee." — To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, "We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that he trust not in his holiness." — To this he answered, "Take ye it as ye will; I will take it well enough."

Item, "Now seest thou what alms meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he owed him; the same is blind, and seeth not Christ's blood." Here he answereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the book, but that all the book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his conscience.

Item, "That ye do do nothing to please God, but that he commanded." — To that he answereth, and thinketh it good, by his troth.

Item, "So God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances: and to worship him otherwise than so, it is idolatry." — To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these articles being done, the bishop of London did exhort the said John Tewkesbury to recant his errors abovesaid; and after some other communication had by the bishop with him, the said bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next session what he would do.

In the next session he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance, as followeth: which was the eighth of May.

Imprimis, That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in Paul's church, in the open procession, he should carry a faggot, and stand at Paul's Cross with the same.

That the Wednesday following, he should carry the same faggot about Newgate Market and Cheap-side.

That on Friday after, he should take the same faggot again at St. Peter's church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leadenhall.

That he should have two signs of faggots embroidered, one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve; which he should wear all his lifetime, unless he were otherwise dispensed withal.

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That on Whitsunday-eve he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and there to abide; and not come out unless he were released by the bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special licence of the bishop or his successors.



John Tewkesbury carrying a faggot

The which penance he entered into the eighth day of May, A.D. 1529. And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Notwithstanding, the same John Tewkesbury, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield aforesaid, that was burned in Smithfield, did return, and constantly abide in the

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testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same; who, recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before Sir Thomas More, and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected to him, the chief whereof we intend briefly to recite; for the matter is prolix.

"Imprimis, That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the catholic faith.

"Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration oath and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

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

"Fourthly, That he affirmeth that he suffered the two faggots that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

"Fifthly, He saith, that faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

"Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem: 'Hail Queen our advocate,' &c.; to which he answered, that he knew none other advocate but Christ alone.

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

"Eighthly, He affirmeth, that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

"Ninthly, He affirmeth, that a priest, by receiving of orders, receiveth more grace, if his faith be increased; or else not.

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

"Whereupon the bishop's chancellor asked the said Tewkesbury, if he could show any cause why he should not be taken for a heretic, falling into his heresy again, and receive the punishment of a heretic. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again."

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; the which the said Tewkesbury confessed; and thereupon the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him unto the sheriffs of Loudon for the time being, who were Richard Gresham and Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield upon St. Thomas's eve, being the twentieth of December, in the year aforesaid; the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

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"In the name of God, Amen. The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical pravity, and falling again thereunto by thee John Tewkesbury, of the parish of St. Michael's in the Quern, of the city of London, and of our jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard, seen, and understood, and fully discussed by us John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London; because we do find by inquisitions, manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, thy ordinary, divers and sundry heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our mother holy church, as well special as general, and that since and beside the aforesaid abjuration thou art again fallen into the same damnable heresies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented,) and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore, John, the bishop aforesaid, the name of God first being called upon, and the same only God set before our eyes; and with the counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf, (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final decree, in this behalf to be done,) do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the aforesaid John Tewkesbury, of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration; and moreover, before and after the aforesaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be a heretic fallen, and to have incurred the pain of such fallen heretics: we do pronounce, determine, declare, and condemn thee of the premises, to have incurred the guilt of the great excommunication; and do pronounce thee to be excommunicated; and also do declare thee, the said Tewkesbury, so damnably fallen again into heresy, to be in the secular power and in their judgment (as the holy canons have decreed); and here we do leave thee to the aforesaid secular power, and to their judgment; beseeching them earnestly, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution as in this behalf is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigour be used, but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror, fear, and rooting out of heretics, and their conversion to the catholic faith and unity, by this our final decree which we declare by these our writings."

This aforesaid sentence definitive against John Tewkesbury was read and pronounced by the bishop of London, the sixteenth day of the month of December, in the year aforesaid, in the house of Sir Thomas More, high chancellor of England, in the parish of Chelsea. After this sentence, the sheriffs received the aforesaid Tewkesbury into their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterwards burned him in Smithfield, as is aforesaid; having no writ of the king for their warrant.

176. John Randall and Edward Freese.

Now also it cometh into my remembrance to speak of another, one John Randall my kinsman, who, through the privy malice of divers, had not a far unlike tragical end and death to that of Richard Hun, before mentioned.

This John Randall being a young scholar in Christ's college, in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1531, had one Wyer for his tutor, unto whom, for the love of the Scriptures and sincere religion, he began not only to be suspected but also to be hated. And as this was unknown unto any man, so it is uncertain, whether he were afterwards hanged up by him or no; because as yet it is not come to light. But the matter happened in this sort: the young man, being studious and scarcely twenty-one years old, was long lacking among his companions; at last, after four days, through the stench of the corpse, his study door being broken open, he was found hanged with his own girdle within the study, in such sort and manner that he had his face looking upon his Bible, and his finger pointing to a place of Scripture, where predestination was treated of. Surely this matter lacked no singular and exquisite policy and craft of some old naughty and wicked man, whosoever he was that did the deed, that it should seem that the poor young man through fear of predestination was driven to despair; that other young men being feared through that example should be kept back from the study of the Scriptures as a thing most perilous. And albeit this brief history do not pertain to these times, yet I thought it by no means to be omitted, both for the profitable memory of the thing, as also for the similitude of the story that it seemeth not to be so fit in another place.

The apprehension of one Edward Freese, a painter.

Edward Freese was born in York, and was apprentice to a painter in the same city; and by the reason of working for his master in Bearsy abbey, or by some such occasion, was known unto the abbot of the same house; for he was a boy of a pregnant wit, and the abbot favoured him so much, that he bought his years of his master, and would have made him a monk. And the lad not liking that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out, because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to Colchester, in Essex, and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new inn, in Colchester, which is in the middle of the market-place; and in the upper border of the cloths, he wrote certain sentences of the Scripture; and by that he was plainly known to be one of them that they call heretics.

And on a time, he being at his work in the same inn, they of the town, when they had seen his work, went about to take him; and he, having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the yard of the same inn; and after this he was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of Essex, that is to wit, one Johnson and his wife; Wylie, and his wife and son; and Father Bate, of Rowshedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of saw-dust, or at least a great part thereof; and were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long space, by much suit he was removed to Lollard's Tower. His

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wife, in the time of the suit, while he was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate, being then great with child, the porter lifted up his foot and struck her on the body, that at length she died of the same; but the child was destroyed immediately. After that, they were all stocked for a long time, and then they were let loose into their prisons again. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some other irons. This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, "Doctor Dodipall would make me believe the moon were made of green cheese." And because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the wrists so long that the flesh of his arms was grown higher than his irons. By means of his manacles he could not comb his head, and he remained so long manacled, that his hair was folded together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and after a long suit he was brought out into the consistory at Paul's, and (as his brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man; and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing but "My lord is a good man." And thus, when they had spoiled his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to Bearsy abbey; but he came away from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day. His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the wife of the said Father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress, and at the last she delivered one into his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go to Chancery-lane, to one whose name (as is thought) was Master Selyard; and at last she got a letter of the said Selyard to the bishop; and when she had it, she thought all her suit well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked officers in those days were crafty, and desirous of his blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed; for it was after this manner: — After commendations had, &c., Look, what you can gather against Father Bate, send me word by your trusty friend, Sir William Saxie, that I may certify the king's Majesty," &c. Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband's life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him; for he got out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old registers and otherwise, Friar Roy was burned in Portugal; but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death was, we can have no understanding: but what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies which he left here in England.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the clergy made to the king, the translation of the New Testament, with a great number of other books, were forbidden. For the bishops coming into the Star Chamber the twenty-fifth day of May, and communing with the king's counsel, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the

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translations of Tyndale and Joye were not truly translated; and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops: wherefore all such books were prohibited, and commandment given by the king to the bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tyndale's translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

This year also, in the month of May, the bishop of London caused all the New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, and many other books which he had bought, to be brought unto Paul's Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

177. James Bainham, Lawyer, and Martyr.

James Bainham, gentleman, son to one Master Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, being virtuously brought up by his parents in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the law, being a man of virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of the prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money or reward; briefly, a singular example to all lawyers.

This Master Bainham, as is above noted, married the wife of Simon Fish aforesaid, for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and arrested with a serjeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor's house at Chelsea, where he continued in free prison awhile, till the time that Sir Thomas More saw he could not prevail in perverting him to his sect. Then he cast him into prison in his own house, and whipping him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of Troth, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked; and so he was, Sir Thomas More being present himself, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would show where his books lay; and because his wife denied them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the fifteenth day of December, A.D. 1531, in the said town of Chelsea, and there examined upon these articles and interrogatories ensuing.

I. Whether he believed there were any purgatory of souls hence departed? — Whereunto he made answer as followeth: "If we walk in light, even as he is in light, we have society together with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities.

II. Whether that the saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us? — To this he answered on this wise: "My little children, I write this unto you, that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for our sins, but also for the sins of the whole world." And further, upon occasion of these words, Let all the saints of God pray for us; being demanded what he meant by these words, All the saints, he answered, that he meant by them, those that were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians, and not those that be dead: for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole church is gathered together, they used to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: "and I pray,"

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said he, "as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour: Father, take this cup from me if it be possible; yet thy will be fulfilled."

III. He was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven or no? — To this he answered and said, that he believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and that herein he would commit himself to the church.

IV. It was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest? — Whereunto his answer was this: that it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another: as for any other confession, he knew none. And further he said, that if he came to a sermon, or any where else, where the word of God is preached, and there took repentance for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confession.

V. That he should say and affirm, that the truth of the Holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared not these eight hundred years, neither was known before now. — To this he said, that he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of Holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred years past, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these six years.

VI. He was demanded further, for what cause Holy Scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these eight hundred years before? — Whereunto he answered, To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and after the vein of Scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer. And he said, moreover, that the New Testament now translated into English, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks should believe as the church did believe; and then if the church erred, men should err too. Howbeit the church of Christ, said he, cannot err: and that there were two churches, that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of antichrist; and that this church of antichrist may and doth err; but the church of Christ doth not.

VII. Whether he knew any person that lived in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time? — He said he knew Bayfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

VIII. He was asked what he thought of purgatory and of vows? — He answered, if any such thing had been moved to St. Paul of purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for a heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say, that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that the said Master Crome lied, and spake against his conscience; and that there were a hundred more who thought the same as he did: saying moreover, that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, God wot, a very foolish thing, as he judged.

And as concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed, for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, is given of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God. And therefore, a monk, friar, or

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nun, that hath vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go forth and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise that they made at baptism. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of baptism.

IX. He was demanded, whether Luther, being a friar, and taking a nun out of religion, and afterwards marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein? — He answered, That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no? he made answer he could not say so.

As concerning the sacrament of anointing, being willed to say his mind, he answered and said. "It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better for such anointing and anointing. The best was, that some good prayers, he saw, were said thereat.

Likewise touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these: "That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shall be saved; that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so, whether we live or die, we are God's by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: that is, by keeping the promise made. For ye are kept by grace and faith, saith St. Paul, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God."

He was asked moreover of matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace; being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away? — His answer was, that matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women, and not sin.

Lastly, for his books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tyndale, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said, that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the king's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church, at Paul's Cross; but, for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbid it. Confessing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books; the Wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Christian Man, the Practice of Prelates, the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue, the book of Frith against Purgatory; the Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk: adding furthermore, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books. And as concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it utterly good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (said he) that Tyndale was a naughty fellow.

Also to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination, as is said, was the fifteenth of December. The next day following, namely, the sixteenth of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the bishop of London, in the aforesaid place of Sir Thomas More at Chelsea; where, after the guise and form of their proceedings, first his former articles with his answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. This done, they asked him whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the catholic

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church, from whence he was fallen, and to which he might be yet received, as they said: adding, moreover, many fair, enticing, and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself, saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of his mother was open for him: otherwise, if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy. Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was there ready to be read, &c.

To conclude long matter in few words, Bainham, wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand and death on the other, at length giving over to the adversaries, gave answer unto them, that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance.

Then the bishop, requiring him to say his mind plainly of his answers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no. To this Bainham said, that it was too high for him to judge. And then asked of the bishop, whether there was any purgatory, he answered and said, he could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life. Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth:

"That he could not judge whether Bayfield died in the true faith of Christ or no: that a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin: that a priest, promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife: that he thinketh the apostles to be in heaven: that Luther did naught, in marrying a nun: that a child is the better for confirmation: that it is an offence to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king: and he said, that he pondered those points more now than he did before."

Upon these answers, the bishop, thinking to keep him in safe custody to further trial, committed him to one of the compters.

The time thus passing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of February next following, A.D. 1532, the aforesaid James Bainham was called for again to the bishop's consistory, before his vicar-general and other his assistants; to whom Foxford, the bishop's chancellor, recited again his articles and answers above mentioned; protesting, that he intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy mother church, unless he knew the said Bainham to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the catholic faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the church. To whom Bainham spake to this effect, saying, that he hath and doth believe the holy church, and holdeth the faith of the holy mother, the catholic church.

Wherefore the chancellor, offering to him a bill of his abjuration, after the form of the pope's church conceived, required him to read it; who was contented, and read to the clause of the abjuration containing these words: "I voluntarily, as a true penitent person returned from my heresies, utterly abjure" — And there he stayed and would read no further, saying, that he knew not the articles contained in his abjuration to be heresy, therefore he could not see why he should refuse them. This done, the chancellor proceeded to the reading of the sentence definitive, coming to this place of the sentence, "the doctrine of the determination of the church," &c., and there paused, saying, he would reserve the rest till he saw his time: whom then Bainham desired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a purgatory; that the souls

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of the apostles were in heaven, &c. Then began he again to read the sentence, but Bainham again desired him to be good unto him; whereupon he ceased the sentence, and said that he would accept this his confession for that time, as sufficient.

So Bainham, for that present, was returned to his prison again; who then, the fifth day after, which was the eighth of February, appeared, as before, in the consistory; whom the aforesaid chancellor, repeating again his articles and answers, asked if he would abjure and submit himself. Who answered that he would submit himself, and as a good Christian man should. Again, the chancellor the second time asked if he would abjure. "I will," said he, "forsake all my articles, and will meddle no more with them;" and so being commanded to lay his hands upon the book, read his abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burst out into these words, saying, that because there were many words in the said abjuration which he thought obscure and difficile, he protested that by his oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his oath. Which done, the chancellor asked him why he made that protestation. Bainham said, for fear lest any man of ill will do accuse me hereafter. Then the chancellor, taking the definitive sentence in his hand, posing himself (as appeared) to read the same, "Well, Master Bainham," said he, "take your oath, and kiss the book; or else I will do mine office against you:" and so immediately he took the book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

Which done, the chancellor, receiving the abjuration at his hand, put him to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at Paul's Cross, with a faggot upon his shoulder, the next Sunday; and so to return with the sumner to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination: and so, the seventeenth day of February, he was released and dismissed home; where he had scarce continued a month, but he bewailed his fact and abjuration; and was never quiet in mind and conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before the congregation in those days, in a warehouse in Bow-lane. And immediately, the next Sunday after, he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the Obedience of a Christian Man in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with weeping tears, that he had denied God; and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did: "for," said he, "if I should not return again unto the truth, (having the New Testament in his hand,) this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel such a hell again as he did feel, for all the world's good. Besides this, he wrote also certain letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others; so that shortly after he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

The process against James Bainham in case of relapse.

The nineteenth day of April, 1532, Master Richard Foxford, vicar-general to the bishop of London, accompanied by certain divines, and Matthew Grefton the registrar, sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the lieutenant of the Tower; before whom the vicar-general rehearsed the articles contained in his abjuration before made, and showed him a bound book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, that it was good.

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Then he showed him more of a certain letter sent unto the bishop of London, the which also he acknowledged to be his; objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the abjuration which he had before recited: showing him moreover certain letters which he had written unto his brother, the which he confessed to be his own writing; saying moreover, that though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the same that is naught, if it be as my lord chancellor saith. Then he asked of Bainham, how he understood this which followeth, which was in his letters: "Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man; yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And Bainham said it was naught. Which things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words, that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our Lady. The which article Bainham denied. The said Bainham, amongst other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, said, "Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, but received by faith." Further it was objected against him, that notwithstanding his abjuration, he had said, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical or memorial body. The which article Bainham denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief, and a murderer, and a devil in hell: whereunto he answered thus: that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a murderer; and if he did not repent him of his murder, he was rather a devil in hell, than a saint in heaven.

The twentieth day of April, in the year aforesaid, the said James Bainham was brought before the vicar-general, in the church of All Saints, of Barking, where he ministered these interrogatories unto him:

First, That since the feast of Easter last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical body of Christ; and afterwards he said, it was but a memorial. Which article Bainham denied. Then the vicar-general declared unto him, that our holy mother the catholic church determineth and teacheth in this manner: that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth no bread. The official asked Bainham, whether he did so believe or not? To this Bainham answered, saying, that St. Paul calleth it bread, rehearsing these words, As oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death: and in that point he saith as St. Paul saith, and believeth as the church believeth. And being demanded twice afterwards, what he thought therein, he would give no other answer.

Item, That since the feast of Easter aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every man that would take upon him to preach the gospel of Christ clearly, had as much power as the pope. To this article he answered thus: "He that preacheth the word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looseth both in heaven and earth; which key is the same Scripture that is preached: and the pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the key of the Scripture.

Item, That he affirmed that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief and a murderer, and in hell. — To this he answered as before.

Item, That he said, that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our Lady. This he denied as before.

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Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Christ himself was but a man. — This article he also denied.

The premises thus passed, the vicar-general received Francis Realms, John Edwards, Ralph Hilton, John Ridley, Francis Driland, and Ralph Noble, as witnesses to be sworn upon the articles aforesaid, and to speak the truth before the face of the said James Bainham, in the presence of Master John Nayler, vicar of Barking; Master John Rode, bachelor of divinity; William Smith, Richard Grivel, Thomas Wimple, and Richard Gill.

The twenty-sixth day of April, in the year aforesaid, before Master John Foxford, vicar-general of the bishop of London, in the presence of Matthew Grefton, registrar; and Nicholas Wilson and William Philley, professors of divinity; John Oliver, William Middleton, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of the law: Master Richard Gresham, sheriff of London, and a great company of others: James Bainham, was brought forth by the lieutenant of the Tower, in whose presence the vicar-general rehearsed the merits of the cause of inquisition of heresy against him, and proceeded to the reading of the abjuration. And when the judge read this article following, contained in the abjuration: "Item, That I have said, that I will not determine whether any souls departed be yet in heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and I wot not whether the souls of the apostles or any others be in heaven or no:" to this James answered, "That I did abjure, and if that had not been, I would not have abjured at all."

After all the articles were read contained in the abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the sacrament of baptism, the said James Bainham spake these words: "If a Turk, a Jew, or a Saracen, do trust in God, and keep his law, he is a good Christian man." Then the official showed unto him the letters which he sent unto his brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this clause following: "Yet could they not see and know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man, yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Whereunto Bainham said that it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not oversee his letters. Then Master Nicholas Wilson, among other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, declared unto him that the church did believe the very body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. Bainham answered, "The bread is not Jesus Christ, for Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread." Being further demanded whether in the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, God and man in flesh and blood; after divers doubtful answers, Bainham answered thus: "He is there very God and man, in form of bread."

This done, the official declared unto him the depositions of the witnesses which were come in against him; and objected unto him that a little before Easter, he had abjured all heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his assistants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing; whereby, amongst other things, besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left unto the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of this sentence, Master Nicholas Wilson counselled and admonished the said James, that he would conform himself unto the church; to whom he

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answered, that he trusted that he is the very child of God: "which ye blind asses," said he, "do not perceive." And last of all, departing from his judgment, he spake these words: "Master Wilson, nor you, my lord chancellor, shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any purgatory."

Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, the which here to repeat word for word is not necessary, forasmuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of Bayfield, alias Somersam. Here also should ensue the letter of the bishop of London, directed unto the mayor and sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is also of like effect to that before written in the story of Bayfield. After this sentence given, James Bainham was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his officers to be carried unto Newgate, and the said James Bainham was burned in Smithfield the last day of April, in the year aforesaid, at three of the clock at afternoon.

This Master Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled; for almost the space of a fortnight, he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights: then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a week; then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking; then to Chelsea, and there condemned; and so to Newgate to be burned.



James Bainham at the stake

At whose burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the stake, in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his arms and legs, he spake these words:

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"O ye papists behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a bed of down: but it is to me as a bed of roses." These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms, as I said, were half consumed.

178. John Bent and Others.

John Bent, martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one John Bent, who about this present time, or not long before, being a tailor, and dwelling in a village called Urchevant, was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying the sacrament of the altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, martyr.

Also much about the same time, was one Trapnel burned in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

The history of three men hanged for the burning of the rood of Dover-court; collected out of a letter of Robert Gardner, who was one of the doers of the same.

In the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an idol named the Rood of Dover-court, whereunto was much and great resort of people: for at that time there was a great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dovercourt was so great, that no man had power to shut the church door where he stood; and therefore they let the church door, both night and day, continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumour. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great marvel unto many men; but to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, specially unto these, whose names here follow: as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whose consciences were sore burdened to see the honour and power of the Almighty living God so to be blasphemed by such an idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before, and the night after, were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the town of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Rood stood, ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprise, that they went these ten miles without pain, and found the church door open, according to the blind talk of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithful body shut it. Which happened well for their purpose, for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut, as to keep it open; and for proof thereof, they took the idol from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said idol. Whereupon they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set him on fire, who burned out so brim, that he lighted them homeward one good mile of the ten.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterward confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his coat, his shoes, and the tapers. The tapers did help to burn him, the shoes they had again, and the coat one Sir Thomas Rose did burn; but they had neither penny, halfpenny, gold, groat, nor jewel.

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Notwithstanding, three of them were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains within half a year after, or thereabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; Robert Debnam was hanged at Cataway-Causey; Nicholas Marsh was hanged at Dover-court: which three persons, through the Spirit of God, at their death, did more edify the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardner, escaped their hands and fled; albeit he was cruelly sought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end!

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the image of the crucifix in the highway by Coggeshall, the image of St. Petronal in the church of Great Horksleigh, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronal in a chapel of Ipswich.

Also John Seward of Dedham overthrew a cross in Stoke park, and took two images out of a chapel in the same park, and cast them into the water.

179. John Frith and Andrew Hewet.

The story, examination, death, and martyrdom of John Frith.



AMONGST all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a great time which seemed unto me more grievous, than the lamentable death and cruel handling of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man; which had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that scarcely there was his equal amongst all his companions; and besides, withal, had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both: but as touching his doctrine, by the grace of Christ we will speak hereafter.

Of the great godliness which was in him, this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind, in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an easy way unto honour and dignity, notwithstanding he chose rather wholly to consecrate himself unto the church of Christ, excellently showing forth, and practising in himself, the precept so highly commended of the philosophers, touching the life of man: which life, they say, is given unto us in such sort, that how much the better the man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto other, serving for the common utility; and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men. First of all he began his study at Cambridge; in whom nature had planted, being but a child, marvellous instinctions and love unto learning, whereunto he was addicted. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, insomuch that he seemed not to be sent unto learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardness, or worthy of his disposition; whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man; in the which exercise when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of Latin and Greek, at the last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tyndale, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, marvellously sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but now named Christ's-church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto posterity. But that building, he being cut off by the stroke of death, (for he was sent for unto the king, accused of certain crimes, and in the way, by immoderate purgations, killed himself,) was left partly begun, partly half ended and imperfect, and nothing else save only the kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon Rodolph Gualter, a learned man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the college, said these words in Latin: *Egregium opus, cardinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolvit popinam.* How large and ample those buildings should have been, what sumptuous cost should have been bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the

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kitchen, the hall, and certain chambers, where there is such curious graving and workmanship of stone-cutters, that all things on every side did glister for the excellency of the workmanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt antics and embossings; insomuch that if all the rest had been finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all colleges of students, but also palaces of princes. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge; whose names to recite all in order would be too long. The chief of them which were called from Cambridge were these: Master Clerk, master of arts, of thirty-four years of age; Master Frier, afterwards doctor of physic, and after that a strong papist; Master Sumner, master of arts; Master Harman, master of arts, afterwards fellow of Eton college, and after that a papist; Master Bettes, master of arts, a good man and zealous, and so remained; Master Cox, master of arts, who conveyed himself away toward the north, and after was schoolmaster of Eton, and then chaplain to Doctor Goodrich, bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to King Henry, and, of late, bishop of Ely; John Frith, bachelor of arts; Bayly, bachelor of arts; Goodman, who being sick in the prison with the others, was had out, and died in the town; Drumme, who afterwards fell away and forsook the truth; Thomas Lawney, chaplain of the house, prisoner with John Frith.

To these join also Taverner of Boston, the good musician, besides many other called also out of other places, most picked young men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, being at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy unto the cardinal, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave under the ground of the same college, where their salt-fish was laid; so that, through the filthy stench thereof, they were all infected, and certain of them, taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

The troublers and examiners of these good men, were these: Dr. London; Dr. Higdon, dean of the said college; and Dr. Cottesford, commissary.

Master Clerk, Master Sumner, and Sir Bayly, eating nothing but salt-fish from February to the midst of August, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master Bettes, a witty man, having no books found in his chamber, through entreaty and surety got out of prison, and so remaining a space in the college, at last slipped away to Cambridge, and afterwards was chaplain to Queen Anne, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of Clerk's books under the boards in his school, yet the cardinal, for his music, excused him, saying that he was but a musician: and so he escaped.

After the death of these men, John Frith with others, by the cardinal's letter, which sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford; which Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, which bare then faggots, went over the sea, and after two

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years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading, (as is thought,) and had the prior over with him.

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

The schoolmaster, by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such a state and misery. Afterwards, conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from the Latin into the Greek, wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that schoolmaster towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad; whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did show unto so excellent and innocent a young man.

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

Thus Frith, being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeting from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no, not long amongst his friends; so that at the last, being traitorously taken, (as ye shall after hear,) he was sent unto the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with Sir Thomas More.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and excellency of doctrine, it may appear not only by his books which he wrote of the sacrament, but also in them which he entituled Of Purgatory. In the which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies; that is to say, of Rochester, More, and Rastal, whereof the one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, had conspired against him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal to his part.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness; which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that, without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they ever so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God that all things, in all places, were so free from all kinds of dissension, there were no

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mention made amongst Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, when neither Zuinglius nor Luther died for us; but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing more grievous could happen unto these worthy men, than their names so to be abused to sects and factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth, neither so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might join either part unto the other.

But now, forasmuch as we treat of the story of John Frith, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who, maintaining this quarrel of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, no less godly than learnedly, (and so as no man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily,) yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the papists, except he had been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters; where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness' sake, as his most modest reason and answers did declare. For when More, disputing in a certain place upon the sacrament, laid against him the authority of Doctor Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, he answered unto More and his companions, that he would promise under this condition, that if the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it: for in that point they did both agree with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped; and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore, if they did agree in that which was the chief point of the sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the rest.

Thus much he wrote, in the treatise entitled *The Exile*, of Barnes against More; which words of this most meek martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the seditious divisions and factions of these our days, with great ease and little labour men might be brought to a unity in this controversy; and much more concord and love should be in the church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

But to our story again of John Frith. After he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester, and Rastal, More's son-in-law, he was at last carried to Lambeth, first before the bishop of Canterbury, and afterward unto Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the bishops, in a common assembly at London, where he constantly defended himself, if he might have been heard.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination and the articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a letter written and sent unto his friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A letter of John Frith to his friends, concerning his troubles; wherein, after he had first with a brief preface saluted them, entering then into the matter, thus he writeth:-

"I doubt not, dear brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the others to be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently.

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But refer your matters unto God, who shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that ye might understand the matter certainly.

"The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, Of Purgatory, and Of the Substance of the Sacrament.

"And first of all, as touching purgatory, they inquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life? But I said, that I thought there was no such place: for man (said I) doth consist and is made of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this world, by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child that he receiveth; as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. The last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soul. Now if ye can show me a third part of a man besides the body and the soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a purgatory or no?

"Secondly, They examined me touching the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the body of Christ or no?

"I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body, and also our body, as St. Paul teacheth us in 1 Cor. x.16. For in that it is made one bread of many corns, it is called our body, which, being divers and many members, are associate and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, and is made into one liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the body Christ; declaring his body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

"Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily are Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

"In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man, through faith, receive Christ's body and the fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eateth.

"Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, (said I,) I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any article of faith. For even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part, (which is the affirmative,) so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as

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God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love; and one to bear another's infirmity.

"After this they alleged the place of St. Augustine, where he saith, 'He was carried in his own hands.'

"Whereunto I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he hath in another place, 'He was carried on as it were in his own hands:' which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet he, writing unto Boniface, doth plainly admonish all men, that the sacraments do represent and signify those things whereof they are sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they do take their names. And therefore, according to this rule it may be said, he was borne in his own hands, when he bare in his hands the sacrament of his body and blood.

"Then they alleged a place of Chrysostom, which, at the first blush, may seem to make much for them, who, in a certain Homily upon the supper, writeth thus: 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid; for as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth or abideth; so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body,' &c.

"These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who, in another Homily, saith on this manner; 'The inward eyes,' saith he, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked by the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' Now confer these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. For he saith, Dost thou see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, do pass over all creatures, and do not any longer think upon the bread, but upon him which is signified by the bread. And after this manner he seeth it, and again he seeth it not: for as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not; that is to say, regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do; not that indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the eyes do see.

"In like manner may it be answered unto that which followeth; 'Do they avoid from thee,' saith he, 'into the draught as other meats do?' I will not so say, for other meats, passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the body, be voided into the draught: but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourisheth both body and soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.

"And as before I said that the external eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes, being otherwise occupied, do not behold or think upon, even so our outward man doth digest the bread, and void it into the draught; but the inward man doth neither regard nor think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing itself that is signified by that bread. And therefore Chrysostom, a little before the words which they alleged, saith, 'Lift up your minds and hearts:' whereby he

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admonisheth us to look upon and consider those heavenly things which are represented and signified by the bread and wine, and not to mark the bread and wine itself.

"Here they said, that was not Chrysostom's mind; but that by this example he declared that there remained no bread nor wine. I answered, that was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spiritual eyes from the beholding of visible things, and to transport them another way, as if the things that are seen were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our mind from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him which is signified unto us by the same. The very words which follow, sufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the author, where he commandeth us to consider all things with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

"But whether Chrysostom's words do tend either to this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way so-ever we do understand them. For if he thought that the bread and wine do remain, we have no further to travel: but if he meant contrariwise, that they do not remain, but that the natures of the bread and wine are altered, then are the bread and wine falsely named sacraments and mysteries, which can be said in no place to be in the nature of things: for that which is in no place, how can it be a sacrament, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, if he speak only of the outward forms and shapes, (as we call them,) it is most certain that they do continually remain, and that they by the substance of the body are not consumed in any place: wherefore it must necessarily follow the words of Chrysostom to be understood in such sense as I have declared.

"Here peradventure many would marvel, that forasmuch as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament is separate from the articles of faith, and bindeth no man of necessity either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do contemn or despise the other, but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions; what then is the cause, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this: for that I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing if it were most true, (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or doctors,) yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that doctrine, were it ever so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things, both in the Scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an article of faith. So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet, for all that, I will not hold it as an article of faith, but that you may, without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

"But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, divers reasons do lead me thereunto: first, for that I do plainly see it to be false and vain, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures, or of approved doctors. Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more than the necessary points of their creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth

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consist, especially such things, the belief whereof have no certain argument of authority or reason. I added moreover, that their church (as they call it) hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us, under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such articles. Thirdly, because I will not, for the favour of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point unto so many nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and others, which, altogether rejecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion as I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with Œcolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience, which will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to be established for an article of faith."

And thus much hitherto as touching the articles and whole disputation of John Frith, which was done with all moderation and uprightness. But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the twentieth day of June, A.D. 1533, he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who, sitting in St. Paul's, on Friday the twentieth day of June, ministered certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper, and purgatory, Unto the said Frith, as is above declared; to the which when he had answered, and showed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterwards subscribed to his answers with his own hand, in these words: "I, Frith, thus do think; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published."

But when Frith by no means could be persuaded to recant these articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, but said, *Fiat judicium et justitia*; he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him.

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

This truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his holy name! Amen.

The day before the burning of these worthy men of God, the bishop of London certified King Henry the Eighth of his worthy, yea, rather wolfish, proceeding against these men.



Frith and Hewet at the stake

Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith.

Andrew Hewet, born in Feversham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, was apprentice with one Master Warren, a tailor in Watling Street. And as it happened that he went upon a holyday into Fleet Street, towards St. Dunstan's, he met with one William Holt, which was foreman with the king's tailor, at that present called Master Malte; and being suspected by the same Holt, which was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet Bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Then Holt, thinking he had found good occasion to show forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding the said Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest man, he had a file conveyed unto him, wherewith he filed off his irons, and when he spied his time, he got out of the gate. But being a man unskilful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, which was a hypocrite, as Holt was. Which Withers, understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the country where he had to do, from Low Sunday till Whitsuntide, and then

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brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman in Hosier Lane beside Smithfield, and there left him by the space of two days.

Then he came to the said Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him. And when they met with the said Andrew, they seemed as though they meant to do him very much good; and Holt, for his part, said that if he should bring any man in trouble, (as the voice was that he had done the said Andrew,) it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up: insomuch that they would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat of their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain guests with them, because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, which was banished from his own house by an injunction, for he had been four times in prison for Christ's cause. And within an hour after that Holt and Withers were gone, the bishop's chancellor, and one called Sergeant Weaver, came, and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found the said John Chapman and the before-named Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes which Sergeant Weaver had brought with him, and so carried them to the bishop's house: but Andrew Hewet they sent unto the Lollard's Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder, watched by two priests' servants. The next day Bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, and after they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat, that he should tell another tale, or else he should sit there till his heels did drop off, &c.: and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber; but, by God's provision, he was well delivered out of prison, albeit he could not enjoy his house and land because of the bishop's injunction, but was fain to sell all that he had in Essex; for the tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house. And the aforesaid Chapman, after five weeks' imprisonment, (whereof three weeks he sat in the stocks,) by much suit made unto the lord chancellor, which at that time was Lord Audley, after many threatenings, was delivered: but the said Andrew Hewet, after long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith. The examination of Hewet here followeth.

On the twentieth day of the month of April, Andrew Hewet was brought before the chancellor of the bishop of London, where was objected against him, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. Now, forasmuch as this article seemed heinous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the consent of learned counsel: whereupon the bishop of London, associated with the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, called him again before them; where, it being demanded of him what he thought as touching the sacrament of the last supper; he answered, "Even as John Frith doth." Then said one of the bishops unto him, "Dost thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary?"

"So," saith he, "do not I believe." "Why not?" said the bishop. "Because," said he, "Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men, who say, Behold, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord."

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

When they were at the stake, one Doctor Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog; at which words Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. These his words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

180. Thomas Benet

The history of the persecution and death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter: collected and testified by John Dowel, alias Hoker.

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and, by order of degree, of the university there made master of arts, and, as some think, was also a priest; a man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Christ. This man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did mislike and abhor the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore, thinking his own country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the university, and went into Devonshire, A.D. 1524, and first dwelled in a market-town, named Torrington, both town and country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all men there; where, for the better maintenance of himself and his wife, he did practise to teach young children, and kept a school for the same purpose. But that town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year there, he came to the city of Exeter; and there, hiring a house in a street called the Butcher Row, did exercise the teaching of children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to join himself unto them. And therefore, understanding that one William Strowd, esquire, of Newnbam, in the county of Devonshire, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter, upon suspicion of heresy, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his letters of comfort and consolation unto him; wherein, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the causes of his being in the country, writing among other things these words: "Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an unclean person, therefore I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire, from the tyranny of the antichristians, these six years."

But, as every tree and herb hath its due time to bring forth its fruit, so did it appear by this man. For he, daily seeing the glory of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome so extolled, was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore, dealing privately with certain of his friends, he did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were, by blind guides, carried headlong to everlasting damnation: and therefore he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would, utter their abominations; and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God,

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and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose persuasions when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end: which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such books as he had, and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind in certain scrolls of paper, which, in secret manner, he set upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city; in which was written, "The pope is antichrist; and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills were found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the inquiry of the heretic that should set up these bills: and the mayor and his officers were not so busy to make searches to find this heretic, but the bishop and all his doctors were as hot as coals, and enkindled as though they had been stung with a sort of wasps. Wherefore, to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should in haste up to the pulpit every day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless this Thomas Benet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sat down by two men, who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for this heretic; and they, beholding this Benet, said the one to the other, "Surely this fellow, by all likelihood, is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed, and left him reading in his book. As touching this point of Benet's behaviour in the church, I find the reports of some others a little to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiving the letters and writings of a certain minister, who at the same time was present at the doing hereof in Exeter, thus I find moreover added, concerning the behaviour of this Thomas Benet in the church:

At that time, saith he, as I remember, Dr. Moreman, Crispin, Caseley, with such others, bare the swinge there. Besides these, were also preachers there, one Dr. Bascavild, an unlearned doctor, God knoweth: and one Dr. David, as well learned as he, both Grey Friars, and Doctor I-know-not-who, a Black Friar, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one bachelor of divinity, a Grey Friar named Gregory Basset, more learned indeed than they all, but as blind and superstitious as he which was most; which Gregory, not long before, was revolted from the way of righteousness, to the way of Belial: for in Bristol, saith the author, he lay in prison long, and was almost famished, for having a book of Martin Luther, called his Questions, which he a long time privily had studied, and for the teaching of youth a certain catechism. To he short, the brains of the canons and priests, the officers and commons of that city, were very earnestly busied, how, or by what means, such an enormous heretic, who had pricked up those bills, might be espied and known: but it was long first. At last, the priests found out a toy to curse him, whatsoever he were, with a book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort:

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua, There is blasphemy in the army; and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and

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superstitious: and so concluded that that foul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was, for that his blasphemy, damnably accursed; and besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a sheerman or two, whose houses, I well remember, were searched for bills at that time, and for books, that knew any thing of God's matters, or how God doth bless their curses in such cases. Then said the prelate thus:

The pope's curse, with book, bell, and candle.

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have, — in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John, our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, who serve God daily in this cathedral church, — fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he, or she, or they, plenarily, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him, or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers, of the church; from the participation of the holy mass; from all sacraments, chapels, and altars; from holy bread and holy water; from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters; from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend: and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles): and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle); and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, (and so he put out the third candle,) except they, he, or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church: and as this holy cross-staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent."

[Note: "So far is this horrible curse from being obsolete, that there are several yet snore instinct with cursing in the Pontificale Romanum; a book in the possession of every Romish bishop and priest, and embodying the formulas according to which they bless and curse at this day. Popery accommodates itself to circumstances, but never changes.]

Now this fond foolish fantasy and mockery being done and played, which was to a Christian heart a thing ridiculous; Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, and

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within himself, and for a great space could not cease; by which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cause he should so laugh. "My friends," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast! With that there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or no. Some say, that upon the same he was taken and apprehended. Others report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house; where he, being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the morning following, to set the said bills upon the gates of the churchyard. As the boy was setting one of the said bills upon a gate, called The little Stile, it chanced that one W. S., going to the cathedral church to hear a mass, called Barton's Mass, which was then daily said about five o'clock in the morning, found the boy at the gate, and asking him whose boy he was, did charge him to be the heretic that had set up the bills upon the gates: wherefore, pulling down the bill, he brought the same, together with the boy, before the mayor of the city; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to ward.

On the morrow began both the canons and the heads of the city joined with them, to fall to examination; with whom, for that day, he had not much communication, but confessed and said to them, "It was even I that put up those bills; and if it were to do, I would yet do it again; for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth." "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

The next day after, he was sent unto the bishop, who first committed him to prison, called The Bishop's Prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favour as a dog should find. Then the bishop, associating unto him one Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and other of his lewd clergy and friars, began to examine him and burden him, that, contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and also denied the supremacy of the pope. Whereunto he answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him; the most part having pity and compassion on him. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him from his erroneous opinions, to recant and acknowledge his fault, touching the bills; but they did but dig after day; for God had appointed him to be a blessed witness of his holy name, and to be at defiance with all their false persuasions.

To declare here with what cruelty the officers searched his house for bills and books, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his wife, charging her with divers enormities, it were too long to write. But she, like a good woman, took all things patiently that they did unto her; like as in other things she was contented to bear the cross with him, as to fare hardly with him at home,

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and to live with coarse meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the poor, as they did to the uttermost of their power.

Amongst all other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was most busy with him. This Gregory Basset, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleasant tongue, and not long before was fallen from the truth, for the which he was imprisoned in Bristol a long time; at whose examination was ordained a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burn his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterwards a mortal enemy to the truth all his life. This Gregory, as it is said, was fervent with the poor man, to please the canons of that church, and marvellously tormented his brains, how to turn him from his opinions; yea, and he was so diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day, who notwithstanding lost his labour; for good Benet was at a point not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as well as the other holy fathers, lost his spurs, insomuch that he said in open audience, that there never was so obstinate a heretic.

The matter between Gregory Basset and Thomas Benet.

The principal point between Basset and Benet was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he named antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, and the murderer of Christ's flock: and these disputations lasted about eight days, where, at sundry times, repaired to him both the Black and Grey Friars, with priests and monks of that city. They that had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The others unlearned railed, and said that the devil tempted him, and spat upon him, calling him heretic; who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: "For," said he, "I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings." They asked, What he did, that he had not power and authority to do, being God's vicar? "He doth," quoth he, "sell the sacraments of the church for money, he selleth remissions of sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls in feigned purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole world doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame." "The shame," said they, "shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul heretic! Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church? what a perverse heretic art thou!" "I am," said he, "no heretic, but a Christian man, I thank Christ; and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in your church, but what maintaineth the devil." "What is our church?" said they. "It is not my church," quoth Benet, "God give me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plain church of antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and an awmbry of poison, and as far wide from the true, universal, and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth."

"Dost not thou think," said they, "that we pertain to the universal church?" "Yes," quoth he, "but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial; for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation: for ye say and preach that the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree." "Why," said they, "did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" "He said that," quoth he, "to all, as well as to

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Peter; and Peter had no more authority given to him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, Upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets? Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince the supreme governor under God, so, to say that all the churches with their princes and governors be subject unto one bishop, is detestable heresy; and the pope, your god, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in the church, and the most foul whore; of whom John, in the Revelation, speaketh."

"O thou blind and unlearned fool!" said they, "is not the confession and consent of all the world, as we confess and consent — That the pope's Holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is," said Benet, "because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay." "We think," said they, "thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church." "Look!" said he, "where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ; and where only Christ is the Head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God; and where it is preached that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth: — of that church will I be! "

"Doth not the pope," said they, "confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?" "Yes," said he, "but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock." "And wilt thou not believe indeed," said they, "that the pope is God's vicar?" "No," said he, "indeed." "And why?" said they. "Because," quoth he, "he usurpeth a power not given to him by Christ, no more than to other apostles; and also because, by force of that usurped supremacy, he doth blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded." "What," said they, "if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment: should he then be his vicar?" "Then," said he, "would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in his diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no such seditious therein. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it were a goodly thing. Now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom. And what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintaineth the truth, is a true bishop of the church." "And doth not," said they, "our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?" "Yea," said he, "I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also: but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knoweth how you handle it; insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel well-near, but the pope's gospel; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true gospel of Christ, confidence is none; but only in your popish traditions and fantastical inventions."

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Then said a Black Friar unto him, (God knoweth, a blockhead,) "Do we not preach the gospel daily?" "Yes," said he, "but what preaching of the gospel is that, when therewith ye extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls of Rome, and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters; ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them; yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more: a man may be weary to speak of them." "I see," said the friar, "that thou art a damned wretch; I will have no more talk with thee."

Then stepped to him a Grey Friar, a doctor, (God knoweth of small intelligence,) and laid before him great and many dangers. "I take God to record," said Benet, "my life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and, for my part, I can no longer forbear; I had rather, by death, (which I know is not far off,) depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto antichrist, your pope." "Our pope," said the friar, "is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God." "I pray you," said Benet, "depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way, who saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In his way will I walk, his doings shall be my example; not your's, nor your false pope's. His truth will I embrace; not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you this day, everlasting death should hang over me, a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me: your company liketh me not."

Thus a whole week, night and day, was Benet plied by these and such other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done and said to him in the time of his imprisonment; and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience; he answered to every matter soberly, and that, more by the aid of God's Spirit, than by any worldly study. I think he was at the least fifty years old. Being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his adversaries.

Thus when these godly canons and priests, with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they, proceeding unto judgment, drew out their bloody sentence against him, condemning him, as the manner is, to be burned. Which being done, and the writ which they had procured being brought from London, they delivered him on the fifteenth of January, 1531, unto Sir Thomas Denis, knight, sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned. The mild martyr, rejoicing that his end was approaching so near, as the sheep before the shearer, yielded himself with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery-dole, without Exeter, he made his most humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him; whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the devices, fantasies, and imaginations of man's inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonied and in great admiration; insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the

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scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Nevertheless two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length through rough threatenings, willed him to revoke his errors, and to call to our Lady and the saints, and to say, I pray holy Mary, and all the saints of God, &c. To whom, with all meekness, he answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call; and we have no other advocate unto him, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of his Father, to be an advocate for us; and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and to be heard." With which answer the aforesaid Barnehouse was so enkindled, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and having set it on fire, he thrust it unto his face, saying, "Ah! whoreson heretic! pray to our Lady, and say, Holy Mary, pray for us, or, by God's wounds, I will make thee do it." To whom the said Thomas Benet, with a humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir! trouble me not. And holding up his hands, he said, "Father, forgive them." Whereupon the gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Lord, receive my spirit." And so, continuing in his prayers, did never stir nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until his life was ended. For this the Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a jerkin of neat's leather; at whose burning, such was the devilish rage of the blind people, that well was he or she that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

181. Persons Abjured in London

Hitherto we have run over, good reader, the names and the acts and doings of them, which have sustained death, and the torment of burning, for Christ's cause, through the rigorous proclamation above specified, set out, as is said, in the name of King Henry, but indeed procured by the bishops. Which proclamation was so straitly looked upon, and executed so to the uttermost in every point, by the said popish prelates, that no good man that breathed, whereof Esdras speaketh, could peep out with his head ever so little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were these above mentioned; or else compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whose names, if they were sought out through all registers in England, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Nevertheless, omitting the rest, it shall content us at this present, briefly, as in a short table, to insinuate the names, with the special articles, of such as, in the diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley, were molested and vexed, and, at the last, compelled to abjure, as here may appear.

A table of certain persons, abjured within the diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley, with the articles alleged against them.

Jeffery Lome, A.D. 1528.

Imprimis, for having and dispersing sundry books of Martin Luther's, as also for translating into the English tongue certain chapters of the work of Luther, De Bonis Operibus: as also, certain chapters of a certain book called Piæ Predicationes, wherein divers works of Luther be comprehended.

Item, For affirming and believing that faith only, without good works, will bring a man to heaven.

Item, That men be not bound to observe the constitutions made by the church.

Item, That we should pray to God only, and to no saints.

Item, That Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

Item, That pilgrimages be not profitable for man's soul, and should not be used.

Item, That we should not offer to images in the church, nor set any lights before them.

Item, That no man is bound to keep any manner of fasting days, instituted at the church.

Item, That pardons granted by the pope or the bishop do not profit a man.

For these articles Jeffery Lome was abjured before the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln; no mention being made of any penance enjoined him.

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Sigar Nicholson, stationer, of Cambridge, A.D. 1528.

His articles were like; and moreover for having in his house certain books of Luther, and other prohibited, and not presenting them to the ordinary. The handling of this man was too, too cruel, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up in such a manner as well suffereth not to be named.

John Raimund, a Dutchman, A.D. 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England.

Paul Luther, Grey Friar, and warden of the house at Ware, A.D. 1529.

His articles were for preaching and saying that it is pity that there be so many images suffered in so many places, where indiscreet and unlearned people be; for they make their prayers and oblations so entirely and heartily before the image, that they believe it to be the very self saint in heaven.

Item, That if he knew his father and mother were in heaven, he would count them as good as St. Peter and Paul, but for the pain they suffered for Christ's sake.

Item, That there is no need to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, and no saint; for saints in heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in this world, than a man in the north country knoweth what is done in the south country.

Roger Whaplod, merchant tailor, sent, by one Thomas Norfolk, unto Dr. Goderidge, this bill following, to be read at his sermon in the Spital. A.D. 1529.

"If there be any well-disposed person willing to do any cost upon the reparation of the conduit in Fleet Street, let him or them resort unto the administrators of the goods and chattels of one Richard Hun, late merchant tailor of London, which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, and a better penny, of the goods of the said Richard Hun; upon whose soul, and all Christian souls, Jesus have mercy!"

For the which bill, both Whaplod and Norfolk were brought and troubled before the bishop; and also Dr. Goderidge, which took a groat for reading the said bill, was suspended for a time from saying mass, and also was forced to revoke the same at Paul's Cross; reading this bill as followeth.

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The revocation of Dr. William Goderidge, read at Paul's Cross.

"Masters! so it is, that where in my late sermon at St. Mary Spital, the Tuesday in Easter-week last past, I did pray specially for the soul of Richard Hun, late of London, merchant tailor, a heretic, by the laws of holy church justly condemned: by reason whereof I greatly offended God and his church, and the laws of the same, for which I have submitted me to my ordinary, and done penance there-for: forasmuch as, peradventure, the audience that was there offended by my said words, might take any occasion thereby to think that I did favour the said heretic, or any other, I desire you, at the instance of Almighty God, to forgive me, and not so to think of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore, here before God and you, I declare myself that I have not favoured him or any other heretic, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times shall defend the Catholic faith of holy church, according to my profession, to the best of my power.

Robert West, priest, A.D. 1529.

Abjured for books and opinions contrary to the proclamation.

Nicholas White of Rye, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — For speaking against the priests' saying of matins; against praying for them that be dead; against praying to God for small trifles, as for the cow calving, the hen hatching, &c.: for speaking against the relic of St. Peter's finger; against oblations to images; against vowing of pilgrimage; against priesthood; against holy bread and holy water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, priest, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — That pardons granted by the pope are naught, and that men should put no trust in them, but only in the passion of Christ: that he, being led by the words of the gospel, in Matt. vii., concerning the broad and narrow way, and also by the epistle of the mass, beginning, Vir fortissimus Judas, had erred in the way of the pope, and thought, that there were but two ways, and no purgatory: that men ought to worship no images, nor set up lights before them: that pilgrimage doth nothing avail: that the gospel was not truly preached for the space of three hundred years past, &c.

William Wegen, priest at St. Mary Hill, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — That he was not bound to say his matins nor other service, but to sing with the choir till they came to prime; and then, saying no more service, thought he might well go to mass: that he had said mass oftentimes, and had not said his matins and his divine service before: that he had gone to mass without confession made to a priest: that it was sufficient for a man, being in deadly sin, to ask only God mercy for his sin, without further confession made to a priest: that he held against pilgrimages, and called images, stocks, stones, and witches.

Item, That he being sick, went to the Rood of St. Margaret Patens; and said before him twenty Pater-nosters; and when he saw himself never the better, then he said, "A foul evil take him, and all other images."

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Item, That if a man keep a good tongue in his head, he fasteth well.

Item, For commending Luther to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c.

Item, For saying that the mass was but a ceremony, and made to the intent that men should pray only.

Item, For saying, that if a man had a pair of beads or a book in his hand at the church, and were not disposed to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale, holy water clerk of Tolenham, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — That offering of money and candles to images did not avail, since we are justified by the blood of Christ.

Item, For speaking against worshipping of saints, and against the pope's pardons. For saying, that since the sacraments that the priest doth minister be as good as they which the pope doth minister, he did not see but the priest hath as good authority as the pope.

Item, That a man should confess himself to God only, and not to a priest, &c.

William Blomfield, monk of Bury.

Abjured for the like causes.

John Tyndale, A.D. 1530.

For sending five marks to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain letters from his brother.

William Worsley, priest and hermit, A.D. 1530.

His articles: — Forpreaching at Halestede, having the curate's licence, but not the bishop's.

Item, For preaching these words, "No man riding on pilgrimage, having under him a soft saddle, and an easy horse, should have any merit thereby, but the horse and the saddle," &c.

Item, For saying that hearing of matins and mass is not the thing that shall save a man's soul, but only to hear the word of God.

John Stacy, tiler, A.D. 1530.

His articles were against purgatory, which, he said, to be but a device of the priests to get money: against fasting days by man's prescription, and choice of meats: against superfluous holy days: Item, against pilgrimage, &c.

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Lawrence Maxwell, tailor, A.D. 1530.

His articles: — That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood; but that he received him by the word of God, and in remembrance of Christ's passion.

Item, That the order of priesthood is no sacrament: that there is no purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curson, monk of Eastacre, in Norfolk, A.D. 1530.

His articles were these: — For going out of the monastery, and changing his weed, and letting his crown to grow; working abroad for his living, making copes and vestments. Also for having the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and another book containing certain books of the Old Testament, translated into English, by certain whom the papists call Lutherans.

Thomas Cornewell or Austy, A.D. 1530.

His articles: — It was objected, that he, being enjoined afore, by Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London, for his penance to wear a faggot embroidered upon his sleeve under pain of relapse, he kept not the same; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual custody in the house of St. Bartholomew, from whence afterwards he escaped and fled away.

Thomas Philip, A.D. 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir Thomas More, to Bishop Stokesley by indenture. Besides other articles of purgatory, images, the sacrament of the altar, holy-days, keeping of books, and such like, it was objected unto him, that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him Tracy's Testament; and in his chamber in the Tower was found cheese and butter in Lent-time. Also, that he had a letter delivered unto him going to the Tower. Which letter, with the Testament also of Tracy, because they are both worthy to be seen, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the story of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentimes examined before Master More and the bishop, he always stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly against him, but only Tracy's Testament, and his butter in Lent. One Stacy first bare witness against him, but after, in the court, openly he protested that he did it for fear. The bishop then willing him to submit himself, and to swear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy church, he said "he would:" and when the form of his abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and said, He would appeal to the king as supreme head of the church, and so did. Still the bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, That he would be obedient as a Christian man should, and that he would swear never to hold any heresy during his life, nor to favour any heretics.

But the bishop, not yet content, would have him to read the abjuration after the form of the church conceived, as it was given him. He answered again, that he would forswear all heresies, and that he would maintain no heresies, nor favour any heretics. The bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the abjuration formed after the pope's church: to whom he said, If it were the same abjuration that he read, he would not read it, but

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stand to his appeal made to the king, the supreme head of the church under God. Again the bishop asked him, if he would abjure or not. "Except," said he, "you will show me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my appeal;" and he required the bishop to obey the same. Then the bishop, reading openly the bill of excommunication against him, denounced him for *contumax*, and an excommunicated person, charging all men to have no company, and nothing to do with him. After this excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeal, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the registers.

A letter directed to Thomas Philip in the name of the brethren, and given him by the way going to the Tower.

"The favour of him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to confess your name in the kingdom of glory, and to give you strength by his Spirit to confess him before all his adversaries, be with you ever. Amen.

"Sir, the brethren think that there be divers false brethren craftily crept in among them, to seek out their freedom in the Lord, that they may accuse them to the Lord's adversaries, as they suppose they have done you. Wherefore, if so it be, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they, as counsellors, desire you above all things to be stedfast in the Lord's verity, without fear; for he shall and will be your help, according to his promise, so that they shall not minish the least hair of your head without his will; unto the which will, submit yourself and rejoice: for the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished: and therefore cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. And in that you suffer as a Christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorify God on that behalf; Looking upon Christ the author and finisher of our faith, which, for the joy that was set before him, abode the cross and despised the shame. Notwithstanding, though we suffer the wrong after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himself suffered it not, but reproveth him that smote him wrongfully. And so likewise saith St. Paul also. So that we must not suffer the wrong, but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous judges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore, according both to God's law and man's, ye be not bound to make answer in any cause, till your accusers come before you; which if you require, and thereon do stick, the false brethren shall be known, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust; and also it shall be a mean that they shall not craftily, by questions, take you in snares. And that you may this do lawfully, in Acts xx. it is written, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man that he should perish, before that he which is accused have his accusers before him, and have licence to answer for himself, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accused. And also Christ willeth that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things shall stand. And in 1 Tim. v. 19, it is written, Against a senior receive none accusation, but under two or three witnesses. A senior, in this place, is any man that hath a house to govern. And also their own law is agreeable to this. Wherefore, seeing it is agreeable to the word of God, that in accusations such witnesses should be, you may with good conscience require it. And thus the God of grace, which hath called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and stablish you, that to him may be glory and praise for ever. Amen."

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Thus ye have heard the letter delivered to Thomas Philip. Now followeth the testament of William Tracy.

A little before this time, William Tracy, a worshipful esquire in Gloucestershire, and then dwelling at Toddington, made, in his will, that he would have no funeral pomp at his burying, neither passed he upon mass; and he further said, that he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saved, and not by any saint. This gentleman died, and his son, as executor, brought the will to the bishop of Canterbury to prove: which he showed to the convocation, and there most cruelly they judged that he should be taken out of the ground, and be burned as a heretic, A.D. 1532. This commission was sent to Dr. Parker, chancellor of the diocese of Worcester, to execute their wicked sentence; which accomplished the same. The king, hearing his subject to be taken out of the ground and burned, without his knowledge or order of his law, sent for the chancellor, and laid high offence to his charge; who excused himself by the archbishop of Canterbury which was lately dead; but in conclusion it cost him three hundred pounds to have his pardon.

The will and testament of this gentleman, thus condemned by the clergy, was as hereunder followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, William Tracy of Toddington in the county of Gloucester, esquire, make my testament and last will as hereafter followeth: First, and before all other things, I commit myself to God and to his mercy, believing, without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace, and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his passion and of his resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosom.

And touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient, (as I suppose,) without any other man's works or merits. My ground and belief is, that there is but one God and one Mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in heaven or in earth to be mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ: all others to be but as petitioners in receiving of grace, but none able to give influence of grace: and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or do to help my soul; for therein I trust only to the promises of Christ: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.

"As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; for St. Augustine saith, concerning the respect due to the dead, that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead: and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine executors.

"As touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat, &c. And it followeth, That ye have done to the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me, &c. And ever we should consider that true saying, that a good work maketh not a good man, but a

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good man maketh a good work; for faith maketh a man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liveth by faith, and whatsoever springeth not of faith is sin, &c.

"And all my temporal goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to Margaret my wife, and Richard my son, whom I make mine executors. Witness hereof mine own hand the tenth of October, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth."

This is the true copy of his will, for which, (as you heard before,) after he was almost two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

The table continued.

John Perlman, skinner, A.D. 1531.

His articles were much like unto the others before; adding, moreover, that all the preachers then at Paul's Cross preached nothing but lies and flatterings, and that there was never a true preacher but one; naming Edward Crome.

Robert Goldstone, glazier, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That men should pray to God only, and to no saints: that pilgrimage is not profitable: that men should give no worship to images. Item, for saying, that if he had as much power as any cardinal had, he would destroy all the images that were in all the churches in England.

Lawrence Staple, serving-man, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For having the Testament in English, the five books of Moses, the Practice of Prelates, the Sum of Scripture, the A.B.C.

Item, About the burning of Bainham, for saying, "I would I were with Bainham, seeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me."

Item, That he moved Henry Tomson to learn to read the New Testament, calling it The Blood of Christ.

Item, In Lent past, when he had no fish, he did eat eggs, butter, and cheese. Also, about six weeks before Master Bilney was attached, the said Bilney delivered to him at Greenwich four New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, which he had in his sleeve, and a budget besides of books, which budget he, shortly after riding to Cambridge, delivered unto Bilney, &c.

Item, On Fridays he used to eat eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

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Henry Tomson, tailor, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That which the priest lifteth over his head at the sacring-time, is not the very body of Christ, nor is it God; but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor Tomson, although at the first he submitted himself to the bishop, yet they with sentence condemned him to perpetual prison.

Jasper Wetzell, of Cologne, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That he cared not for going to the church to hear mass, for he could say mass as well as the priest: That he would not pray to our Lady, for she could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear mass, he said, he had as lieve go to the gallows, where the thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at St. Margaret Patens, and there holding his arms across, he said unto the people, that he could make as good a knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

Robert Man, serving-man, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — There is no purgatory: That the pope hath no more power to grant pardon than another simple priest: That God gave no more authority to St. Peter than to another priest: That the pope was a knave, and his priests knaves all, for suffering his pardons to go abroad to deceive the people: That St. Thomas of Canterbury is no saint: That St. Peter was never pope of Rome.

Item, He used commonly to ask of priests where he came, whether a man were accursed, if he handled a chalice, or no? If the priest would say, Yea: then would he reply again thus; "If a man have a sheep-skin on his hands," meaning a pair of gloves, "he may handle it." The priests saying, Yea. "Well then," quoth he, "ye will make me believe, that God put more virtue in a sheep-skin, than he did in a Christian man's hand, for whom he died."

Henry Feldon, A.D. 1531.

His trouble was for having these books in English: A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Husbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Prologue of Mark, a written book containing the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and the Creed, in English; The Ten Commandments, and The Sixteen Conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, priest, A: D. 1531.

His article was only this: — For saying that the blessing with a shoe-sole, is as good as the bishop's blessing, &c.

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Thomas Roe, A.D. 1531.

His articles were, for speaking against auricular confession and priestly penance, and against the preaching of the doctors.

William Wallam, A.D. 1531.

His opinion: That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ in flesh and blood; and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood, in the form of bread.

Grace Palmer, A.D. 1531.

Witness was brought against her by her neighbours, John Rouse, Agnes his wife, John Pole, of St. Osithe's, for saying, "Ye use to bear palms on Palm-Sunday: it skilleth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing used, and need not."

Also, " Ye use to go on pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of Walsingham and other places: ye were better tarry at home, and give money to succour me and my children, and other of my poor neighbours, than to go thither; for there you shall find but a piece of timber painted: there is neither God nor Lady.

Item, For repenting that she did ever light candles before images.

Item. That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ; it is but bread, which the priest there showeth for a token or remembrance of Christ's body.

Philip Brasier, of Boxted, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That the sacrament holden up between the priest's hands is not the body of Christ, but bread, and is done for a signification: That confession to a priest needeth not: That images be but stocks and stones: That pilgrimage is vain: Also for saying, that when there is any miracle done, the priests do anoint the images, and make men believe that the images do sweat in labouring for them; and with the offerings the priests find their harlots.

John Fairestede, of Colchester, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For words spoken against pilgrimage and images. Also for saying these words, "That the day should come that men should say, Cursed be they that make these false gods" (meaning images).

George Bull, of Much Hadham, draper, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That there be three confessions; one principal to God; another to his neighbour whom he had offended; and the third to a priest; and that without the two first confessions, to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a priest, is necessary for counsel to such as be ignorant and unlearned, to learn how to make their

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confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for forgiveness; and also in what manner they should ask forgiveness of their neighbour whom they have offended, &c. Item, For saying that Luther was a good man. Item, That he reported, through the credence and report of Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, that where Wickliff's bones were burnt, sprang up a well or well-spring.

John Haymond, millwright, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For speaking and holding against pilgrimage and images, and against prescribed fasting days.

That priests and religious men, notwithstanding their vows made, may lawfully forsake their vows and marry.

Item, For having books of Luther and Tyndale.

Robert Lambe, a harper, A.D. 1531.

His article: — For that he, standing accursed two years together, and not fearing the censures of the pope's church, went about with a song in commendation of Martin Luther.

John Hewes, draper, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For speaking against purgatory, and Thomas Becket.

Item, At the town of Farnham, he, seeing Edward Frensham kneeling in the street to a cross carried before a corse, asked, To whom he kneeled? He said, To his Maker. "Thou art a fool," said he, " it is not thy Maker; it is but a piece of copper or wood," &c.

Item, For these words, "Masters! ye use to go on pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon your poor neighbours, who lack succour," &c.

Also for saying, that he heard the vicar of Croydon thus preach openly, That there was much immorality kept up by going on pilgrimage to Wilsdon or Mouswell, &c.

Thomas Patmore, draper, A.D. 1531.

This Patmore was brother to Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, who was imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower for marrying a priest, and in the same prison continued three years.

This Patmore was accused by divers witnesses, upon these articles:

That he had as lieve pray to yonder hunter (pointing to a man painted there in a stained cloth) for a piece of flesh, as pray to stocks that stand in walls (meaning images).

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Item, That men should not pray to saints, but to God only: "For why should we pray to saints?" said he, "they are but blocks and stocks."

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a tree wherein stood an image, he took away the wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talk with the curate of St. Peter's, he defended that priests might marry.

This Patmore had long hold with the bishop of London. First, he would not swear, *Infamia non præcedente*. Then he would appeal to the king: but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the bishop's nets, that he could not get out: but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the king a hundred pounds.

Note in the communication between this Patmore and the priest of St. Peter's, that whereas the priest objected against him (as is in the register) that priests have lived unmarried and without wives these fifteen hundred years in the church; he, and all other such priests, therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in these volumes, that priests here in England had wives by law within these five hundred years and less.

Simon Smith, master of arts, of Gunwell-hall, Cambridge, and Joan Bennore his wife, A.D. 1531.

This Simon Smith, and Bennore his wife, were the parties whom Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, above mentioned, did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual prison. For the which marriage, both the said Simon, and Bennore his wife, were called to examination before the bishop, and he caused to make the whole discourse of all his doings, how and where he married; then, after his marriage, how long he tarried; whether he went beyond sea; where he was, and with whom; after his return whither he resorted; how he lived; what mercery-ware he occupied; what fairs he frequented; where he left his wife; how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how she was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their register. And though they could fasten no other crime of heresy upon him, but only his marriage, yet, calling both him and her (being great with child) to examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer penance.

Thomas Patmore, parson of Hadham, A.D. 1530.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the parsonage of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flock during the time of the said Fitz-James, and also of Tonstal his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more; behaving himself in life and conversation without any public blame or reproach; until John Stokesley was preferred unto the said bishopric,

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who, not very long after his installing, either for malice not greatly liking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the benefice, (as it is supposed and alleged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the king, as also unto Queen Anne, then marchioness of Pembroke,) caused him to be attached and brought before him; and then, keeping him prisoner in his own palace, a certain time afterwards committed him to Lollard's Tower, where he kept him most extremely above two years, without fire or candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends sent him; not suffering any of them, notwithstanding, to come unto him, no, not in his sickness. Howbeit sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially either before himself, or else his vicar-general Foxford, that great persecutor, charging him with these sundry articles, viz. first, whether he had been at Wittenberg; secondly, and had seen or talked with Luther; thirdly, or with any Englishman, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what books he bought there, either Latin or English; sixthly, and whether he had read or studied any works of Luther, Ecolampadius, Pomerane, or Melancthon.

Besides these, he ministered also other articles unto him, touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith (before mentioned) with one Joan Bennore, charging him that he both knew of and also consented unto their marriage, the one being a priest and his curate, and the other his maid-servant; and that he had persuaded his maid-servant to marry with his said curate, alleging unto her, that though it were not lawful in England for priests to marry, yet it was, in other countries beyond seas. And that after their said marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said Smith to minister in his cure all Easter-time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of England, he supped with them at the Bell in New Fish Street; and again, at their return into England, did meet them at the said Bell, and there lent unto the said Smith a priest's gown.

He objected, moreover, against him in the said articles, that he had affirmed at Cambridge, first, that he did not set a bottle of hay by the pope's or bishop's curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that he may save us only by his mercy; also thirdly, that though young children he baptized, yet they cannot be saved except they have faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against God's law to burn heretics.

Unto these articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the bishop and his vicar, he at last answered, making first his appeal unto the king, wherein he showed, that forasmuch as the bishop had most unjustly, and contrary to all due order of law, and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsely defaming him with the crime of heresy, without having any just proof or public defamation thereof; as also, contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strait prison so long time (both to the great danger of his life, by grievous sickness taken thereby, as especially to his no small grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the word of God and his sacraments as he would); and then, to minister unto him such articles, mingled with interrogatories, as neither touched any heresy nor transgression of any law, but rather showing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alleged, was compelled, and did, appeal from him and all his officers unto the king's Majesty, whom, under God, he had for his most just and lawful refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not show himself obstinate against the bishop, being his ordinary, (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceeding against him,) he was

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nevertheless content to exhibit unto him this his answer: First, that howsoever the bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not publicly defamed among good and grave men, according to law, he was not, by the law, bound to answer to any of those articles.

And as touching the first six articles, (as whether he was at Wittenberg, and spake with Luther, or any other, or bought or read any of their books, &c.) because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publicly accused of them, (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them,) he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith with Joan Bennore, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Master Smith; but, that he gave his maid counsel thereunto, he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the marriage between them, he thought it not at all against God's law, who at the first creation made marriage lawful for all men: neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their marriage, either to keep him as his curate, or else to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he said he showed more charity than the bishop, who had taken all things from them); and therefore he desired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that priests' marriages were not lawful.

Against whom, Foxford, the bishop's vicar, often alleged general councils, and determinations of the church, but no Scriptures, still urging him to abjure his articles; which Patmore long time refused, and sticking a great while to his former answers, at last was threatened by Foxford, to have the definitive sentence read against him. Whereupon he answered, that he believed the holy church as a Christian man ought to do; and because it passed his capacity, he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a priest might marry a wife; howbeit, by the laws of the church, he thought that a priest might not marry. But the chancellor still so urged him to show whether a priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that priests might not marry without offence to God, because the church had forbidden it, and therefore a priest could not marry without deadly sin.

Now as touching the four last articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might perhaps jestingly say, That a bottle of hay were more profitable to him than the pope's curse, which he thought true. Also to the second, he affirmed that God had set before us, by his precepts and commandments, the way to righteousness, which way was not in man's power to go and keep; therefore Paul saith, Gal. iii. 19, that the law was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator; but yet, to fulfil it, it was in the hand, that is, power, of the Mediator. That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the law; for it was in no man's power to observe it: but shall give all thanks to the mercies and goodness of God; according to the psalm, Praise the Lord, all ye nations; and according to the saying of Paul, that he that glorieth may glory in the Lord; who hath sent his Son to do for us that which it was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing which we ourselves could have done, that is to say, fulfil the law. As for the third, he spake not, for he did never know that any may be baptized without faith; which faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given to infants? To the last he said, that if he spake it, he meant it not of those that St. Bernard called heretics, (with more adulterers, thieves, murderers, and other open sinners, who blaspheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good,

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making light darkness, and darkness light,) but he meant it of such as men call heretics, according to the testimony of St. Paul, Acts xxiv. 14, I live after the way, saith he, that men call heresy, whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.

After these answers thus made, the bishop, with his persecuting Foxford, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strait imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was fain, through human infirmity, to submit himself, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison; with loss, both of his benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwards made such suit unto the king, (by means of the queen,) that after three years' imprisonment, he was both released out of prison, and also obtained of the king a commission unto the Lord Audley, being then lord chancellor, and to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Cromwell, then secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjust dealings of the bishop and his chancellor against the said Patmore, notwithstanding his appeal unto the king; and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said Patmore again unto his said benefice. But what was the end and issue of this commission, we find not as yet.

John Row, book-binder, a Frenchman, A.D. 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of books inhibited, was enjoined, besides other penance, to go to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them into the fire, and there to abide till they were all burned to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, A.D. 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in English, to John Row aforesaid, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died.

W. Nelson, priest, A.D. 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of Periman certain books of Luther, Tyndale, Thorp, &c., and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the king's proclamation, for which he was abjured. He was priest at Leith.

Thomas Eve, weaver, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That the sacrament of the altar is but a memory of Christ's passion. That men were fools to go on pilgrimage, or to set any candle before images. Item, It is as good to set up staves before the sepulchre, as to set up tapers of wax. That priests might have wives.

Robert Hudson of St. Sepulchre's, A.D. 1531.

His article: — On Childermas-day (saith the register) he offered in Paul's church at offering-time, to the child bishop (called St. Nicholas) a dog for devotion, (as he said,) and meant no hurt; for he thought to have offered a halfpenny, or else the dog, and thought the dog to be

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better than a halfpenny, and the dog should raise some profit to the child; and said moreover, that it was the tenth dog, &c.

Edward Hewet, serving-man, A.D. 1531.

His crime: — That after the king's proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in English; also the book of John Frith against purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, servant, A.D. 1531.

His article: — That he, after the king's proclamation, had and used these books; The Testament in English, The Sum of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in English, hidden in his bed-straw at Worcester.

Michael Lobley, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That he, being at Antwerp, bought certain books inhibited, as The Revelation of Antichrist, The Obedience of a Christian Man, The Wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, For speaking against images and purgatory. Item, For saying, that Bilney was a good man, and died a good man, because of a bill that one did send from Norwich, that specified that he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

A boy of Colchester, A.D. 1531.

A boy of Colchester, or Norfolk, brought to Richard Bayfield a budget of books, about four days before the said Bayfield was taken; for which the lad was taken, and laid in the Compter by Master More, chancellor, and there died.

William Smith, tailor, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That he lodged oftentimes in his house Richard Bayfield, and other good men: that he received his books into his house, and used much reading in the New Testament: he had also the Testament of William Tracy: he believed that there was no purgatory.

William Lincoln, prentice, A.D. 1532.

His articles: — For having and receiving books from beyond the sea, of Tyndale, Frith, Thorp, and others. Item, He doubted, whether there were any purgatory; whether it were well done to set up candles to saints, to go on pilgrimage, &c.

John Mel, of Bosted, A.D. 1532.

His heresy was this: — For having and reading the New Testament in English, the Psalter in English, and the book called A B C.

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John Medwel, servant to Master Carket, scrivener.

This Medwel lay in prison twenty-four weeks, till he was almost lame. His heresies was these: — That he doubted whether there was any purgatory. He would not trust in pardons, but rather in the promises of Christ. He doubted whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him. He doubted whether pilgrimages, and setting up of candles to images, were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any saint. Item, he had in his custody, the New Testament in English, the Examination of Thorp, The Wicked Mammon, a book of Matrimony.

Christopher Fulman, servant to a goldsmith, A.D. 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain books at Antwerp of George Constantine, and transporting them over into England, and selling them to sundry persons, being books prohibited by the proclamation. Item, He thought then those books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times past.

Margaret Bowgas, A.D. 1532.

Her heresies were these: — Being asked if she would go on pilgrimage. she said, " I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or any other saint; and as for them, they shall come to me, if they will," &c. Then Richard Sharpies, parson of Milend, by Colchester, asked her if she said her Ave Maria. "I say," said she, "Hail Mary, but I will say no further." Then said he, if she left not those opinions, she would bear a faggot. "If I do, better, then, I shall," said she; adding moreover, "that she would not go from that, to die there-for:" to whom the priest answered and said, She would be burned. Hereunto Margaret, again replying, asked the priest, "Who made martyrs?" "Tyrants," quoth the priest, "make martyrs, for they put martyrs to death." "So they shall, or mar, me," quoth Margaret. At length. with much ado, and great persuasion, she gave over to Foxford, the chancellor, and submitted herself.

John Tyrel, an Irishman, of Billerica, tailor.

His articles were these: — That the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ, but only a cake of bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into that heresy, he answered and said, that about three weeks before Midsummer last past, he heard Master Hugh Latimer preach at St. Mary, Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and do their pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said Master Latimer in his sermon did set at little the sacrament of the altar.

William Lancaster, tailor, A.D. 1532.

The case laid to this man was, that he had in his keeping the book of Wickliff's Wicket. Item, That he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, not to be the body of Christ really, &c. Item, Upon the day of Assumption, he said, that if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the sacrament of the altar.

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Robert Topley, friar, A.D. 1532.

His articles: — He being a Friar Augustine of Clare, forsook his habit, and going in a secular man's weed ten years, married a wife, called Margaret Nixon, having by her a child; and afterwards, being brought before the bishop, he was by him abjured, and condemned to be imprisoned in his former monastery; but at last he escaped out, and returned to his wife again.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Friar, at Stoke-clare.

By the occasion of this Robert Topley aforesaid, place is offered to speak something likewise of Thomas Topley, his brother belike, and also a friar of the same order and house of Stoke-clare. This Thomas Topley had been converted before by one Richard Foxe, priest of Bumstead, and Miles Coverdale, insomuch that he, being induced, partly by them, partly by reading certain books, cast off both his order and habit, and went like a secular priest. Whereupon he was espied, and brought to Cuthbert, bishop of London, A.D. 1528, before whom he made this confession as followeth:

"All Christian men, beware of consenting to Erasmus's Fables, for by consenting to them, they have caused me to shrink in my faith, that I promised to God at my christening by my witnesses. First, as touching these Fables, I read in Colloquium, by the instruction of Sir Richard Foxe, of certain pilgrims, which, as the book doth say, made a vow to go to St. James, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to salute St. James in his name; and another died homeward, and he desired that they would salute his wife and his children; and the third died at Florence, and his fellow said, he supposed that he was in heaven, and yet he said that he was a great liar. Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from devotion to saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine service of them was very good, and is; though I have not had such sweetness in it as I should have had, because of such fables, and also because of other foolish pastimes; as dancing, tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Moreover, it fortuneth thus, about half a year ago, that the said Sir Richard went forth, and desired me to serve his cure for him; and as I was in his chamber, I found a certain book called Wickliff's Wicket, whereby I felt in my conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterwards, also, when I remembered it, it wounded my conscience very sore. Nevertheless, I consented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon St. Anthony's day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said book, (which did make the sacrament of Christ's body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christ's passion,) till I heard Sir Miles Coverdale preach, and then my mind was sore withdrawn from that blessed sacrament, insomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ's body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, for because I have not been stedfast in that holy order that God hath called me unto by baptism, neither in the holy order that God and St. Augustine have called me to by my religion," &c.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, that in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at Bumstead, with Sir Miles Coverdale, late friar of the same order, going in the habit of a

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secular priest, which had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at Bumstead, they did commune together of Erasmus's works, and also upon confession. The which Sir Miles said, and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a priest; which opinion this respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he saith, that at the said sermon, made by the said Sir Miles Coverdale at Bumstead, he heard him preach against worshipping of images in the church, saying and preaching, that men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

William Gardiner, Augustine Friar, of Clare.

With this Topley I may also join William Gardiner, one of the same order and house of Clare, who likewise, by the motion of the said Richard Foxe, curate of Bumstead, and by showing him certain books to read, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgment, and was for the same abjured by Cuthbert, bishop, the same year, 1528.

Richard Johnson, of Boxted, and Alice his wife.

This Richard and his wife were favourers of God's word, and had been troubled for the same of long time. They came from Salisbury to Boxted by reason of persecution, where they continued a good space. At length, by resort of good men, they began to be suspected, and especially for a book of Wickliff's Wicket, which was in their house, they were convented before Stokesley, bishop of London, and there abjured.

So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them which during those bitter days, before the coming in of Queen Anne, either were driven out of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. Such decrees and injunctions then were set forth by the bishops, such laws and proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such ways were taken by force of oath to make one detect another so subtilly, that scarcely any good man could or did escape their hands, but either his name was known, or else his person was taken. Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God's gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather increased, in such sort as our story also almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the same cross of affliction and persecution of those days; of which number were these:

Arthur and Gefferey Lome.

John Tibauld, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.

Edmund Tibauld, and his wife.

Henry Butcher, and his wife.

William Butcher, and his wife.

George Preston, and his wife.

Joan Smith, widow; also her sons Robert and Richard, and her daughters Margaret and Elizabeth.

Robert Hempstead, and his wife.

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Thomas Hempstead, and his wife.
John Hempstead, their son.
Robert Faire.
William Chatwals.
Joan Smith, widow, otherwise called Agnes, widow; also her sons John, Thomas, and Christopher, and her daughters Joan and Alice. John Wiggen.
Nicholas Holden's wife.
Alice Shipwright.
Henry Brown.
John Craneford.

All these were of the town of Bumstead, who being detected by Sir Richard Foxe, their curate, and partly by Tibauld, were brought up to the bishop of London, and all put together in one house, to the number of thirty-five, to be examined and abjured by the said bishop.

Moreover, in other towns about Suffolk and Essex, others also were detected, as in the town of Byrbrook, these following:

Isabel Choote, widow; also her sons John, William, Christopher, and Robert; her daughter Margaret, and Katharine her maid.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Harvie, and his wife.
Thomas, his son.
Agnes, his daughter.
Bateman, and his wife.
John Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlin, a spoon-maker.
Christmas, and his wife.
William Bechwith, his wife and his two sons. John Pickas, and his wife.
William Pickas, his brother.
Girling, his wife and his daughter.
Matthew's wife.
Johnson, his wife and his son.
Thomas Hills.
Roger Tanner.
Christopher Raven, and his wife.
John Chapman, his servant.
Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to John Chapman.

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distress, and received them to his house, as Thomas Bate, Simon Smith, the priest's wife, Roger Tanner, with a number more, which ye may see and read in our first edition.

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Touching this Richard Chapman, this, by the way, is to be noted, that as he was in his coat and shirt enjoined, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-leg, to go before the procession, and to kneel upon the cold steps in the church all the sermon time, a little lad, seeing him kneel upon the cold stone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing else to give him, brought him his cap to kneel upon; for which the boy was immediately taken into the vestry, and there unmercifully beaten, for his mercy showed to the poor penitent.

Beside these, divers others were about London, Colchester, and other places also, partakers of the same cross and affliction for the like cause of the gospel, in which number come in these which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, priest. Robert Best.
John Turke.
William Raylond of Colchester.
Henry Raylond, his son.
Marion Matthew, or Westden.
Dorothy Long.
Thomas Parker.
M. Forman, bachelor of divinity, parson of Honey Lane.
Robert Necton.
Katharine Swane.
Mark Cowbridge of Colchester.
Widow Denby.
Robert Hedil of Colchester.
Robert Wigge, William Bull, and George Cooper, of London.
John Toy, of St. Faith's, London.
Richard Foster of London.
Sebastian Harris, curate of Kensington.
Alice Gardener, John Tomson, and John Bradley and his wife, of Colchester.
John Hubert, of Esdonland, and his wife.
William Butcher, whose father's grandfather was burned for the same religion.
Abraham Water of Colchester.

All these in this table contained, were troubled and abjured, A.D. 1527, and A.D. 1528.

John Wily the elder.
Katharine Wily, his wife.
John Wily, son of John Wily the elder. Christian Wily, his wife.
William Wily, another son.
Margaret Wily, his wife.
Lucy Wily, and Agnes Wily, two young girls.

These eight persons were accused A.D. 1532, for eating pottage and flesh-meat, five years before, upon St. James's even.

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Also another time, upon St. Peter's even, as Katharine Wily did lie in childbed, the other wives, with the two girls, were found eating all together of a broth made with the fore-part of a rack of mutton.

Item, The aforesaid John Wily the elder had a primer in English in his house, and other books.

Also he had a young daughter of ten years old, which could render by heart the most part of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew. Also could rehearse without book, The Disputation between the Clerk and the Friar.

Item, The said John Wily had in his house a treatise of William Thorp, and Sir John Oldcastle.

A note of Richard Bayfield above mentioned.

Mention was made before of Richard Bayfield, monk of Bury, who in these perilous days, amongst other good saints of God, suffered death, as ye have heard; but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been showed; which now, as in searching out of registers we have found, so we thought good here to adjoin the same, with the words and confession of the same Edmund Peerson, which detected him in manner as followeth:

The accusation of Edmund Peerson against Richard Bayfield.

"The thirteenth day of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, A.D. 1527, Sir Richard Bayfield said, that my lord of London's commissary was a plain Pharisee; wherefore he would speak with him, and by his wholesome doctrine, he trusted in God, he should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a Pharisee as yet, he said.

"Also he said that he cared not even if the commissary and the chancellor both heard him; for the chancellor, he said, was also a Pharisee, and he trusted to make him a Christian man.

"Also he said he was entreated by his friends, and, in a manner, constrained to abide in the city against his will, to make the chancellor, and many more, perfect Christian men; for as yet many were Pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

"Also he said that Master Arthur and Bilney were, and be, more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the commissary, the chancellor, my lord of London, or my lord cardinal.

"Also he said that if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in or hold, they shall be martyrs before God in heaven.

"Also he said, After Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.

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"Also he said that he would favour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their living to be so good; for they did wear no shirts of linen cloth, but shirts of hair, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever he have of money in his purse, he will distribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.

"Also he said that no man should give laud or praise, in any manner of wise, to any creature, or to any saint in heaven, but only to God; To God alone be all honour and glory.

"Also he said, 'Ah, good Sir Edmund! ye be far from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Pharisee, with many others of your company: but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect Christian men, ere I depart from the city; for I purpose to read a common lecture every day at St. Foster's church, which lecture shall be to the edifying of your souls that be false Pharisees.'

"Also he said that Bilney preached nothing at Wilsdon, but what was true.

"Also he said that Bilney preached true at Wilsdon, if he said that our Lady's crown of Wilsdon, her rings and beads that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst harlots, by the ministers of Christ's church; 'for that I have seen myself,' he said, 'here in London, and that will I abide by.'

"Also he said, He did not fear to commune and argue in Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, even if it were with my lord cardinal.

"Also he said that he would hold Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, and abide by them, that they were true opinions, to suffer death therefor; 'I know them,' said he, 'for such noble and excellent men in learning.'

"Also he said, If he were before my lord cardinal, he would not let to speak to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naughtily in imprisoning Arthur and Bilney, who were better disposed in their livings to God, than my lord cardinal, or my lord of London, as holy as they make themselves.

"Also he said, My lord cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God; for Christ (he said) never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotions or dignities of this world, nor did Christ ever teach him to wear shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearl and precious stones; nor bad Christ ever two crosses of silver, two axes, or a pillar of silver and gilt.

"Also he said that every priest might preach the gospel without licence of the pope, my lord cardinal, my lord of London, or any other man; and that he would abide by: and thus he verified it, as it is written, Mark xvi., Christ commanded every priest to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the word of God by the authority of this gospel; and not to run to the pope, nor to any other man, for licence: and that he would abide by, he said.

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"Also he said, 'Well, Sir Edmund! say you what you will, and every man, and my lord cardinal also, and yet will I say, and abide by it, my lord cardinal doth punish Arthur and Bilney unjustly, for there be no truer Christian men in all the world living, than they two be; and that punishment that my lord cardinal doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as one who would say, This may I do, and this will I do: who shall say nay? but he doth it of no justice.'

"Also about the fourteenth day of October last past, at three o'clock at afternoon, Sir Richard Bayfield came to St. Edmund's in Lombard Street, where he found me, Sir Edmund Peerson, Sir James Smith, and Sir Miles Garnet, standing at the uttermost gate of the parsonage; and Sir Edmund said to Sir Richard Bayfield, 'How many Christian men have ye made, since ye came to the city?' Quoth Sir Richard Bayfield, 'I came even now to make thee a Christian man, and these two other gentlemen with thee; for well I know ye be all three Pharisees as yet.'

"Also he said to Sir Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better Christian men than he was, or any of them that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

"By me, EDMUND PEERSON."

182. King Henry's Breach with Rome

And thus we have, as in a gross sum, compiled together the names and causes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great, a number of good men and good women, which in those sorrowful days (from the year of our Lord 1527, to this present year 1533, that is, till the coming in of Queen Anne) were manifold ways vexed and persecuted under the tyranny of the bishop of Rome. Where again we have to note, that from this present year of our Lord 1533, during the time of the said Queen Anne, we read of no great persecution, nor any abjuration to have been in the church of England, save only that the registers of London make mention of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists, of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the realm, A.D. 1535; other ten repented and were saved. Where note again, that two also of the said company, albeit the definitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the king; which was contrary to the pope's law.

Now to proceed forth in our matter; After that the bishops and heads of the clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure, exercising their cruel authority against the poor wasted flock of the Lord, and began, furthermore, to stretch forth their rigour and austerity, to attach and molest also other great persons of the temporality; so it fell, that in the beginning of the next or second year following, which was A.D. 1534, a parliament was called by the king about the fifteenth day of January: in which parliament, the commons, renewing their old griefs, complained of the cruelty of the prelates and ordinaries, for calling men before them *ex officio*. For such was then the usage of the ordinaries and their officials, that they would send for men, and lay accusations to them of heresy, only declaring to them that they were accused; and would minister articles to them, but no accuser should be brought forth: whereby the commons were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the Aparty so cited must either abjure or do worse: for purgation he might none make.

As these matters were long debating in the commons' house, at last it was agreed that the temporal men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the king. Whereupon, on the eighteenth day of March, the common speaker, accompanied with certain knights and burgesses of the commons' house, came to the king's presence, and there declared how the temporal men of his realm were sore aggrieved with the cruel demeanour of the prelates and ordinaries, which touched their bodies and goods so nearly, that they of necessity were enforced to make their humble suit, by their speaker, unto his Grace, to take such order and redress in the case, as to his high wisdom might seem most convenient, &c.

Unto this request of the commons, although the king at that time gave no present grant, but suspended them with a delay, yet notwithstanding, this sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the temporal men against the spiritually, lacking nothing but God's helping hand to work in the king's heart for reformation of such things, which they all did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lord's divine providence fail in time of need, but eftsoons ministered a ready remedy in time expedient. He saw the pride and cruelty of the spiritual clergy grown to such a height as was intolerable. He saw again, and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter afflictions, of his oppressed flock; his truth decayed, his religion profaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his

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church lamentably wasted. Wherefore it was high time for his high majesty to look upon the matter (as he did indeed) by a strange and wondrous means, which was through the king's divorcement from Lady Katharine, dowager, and marrying with Lady Anne Bullen, in this present year; which was the first occasion and beginning of all this public reformation which hath followed since, in this church of England, and to this present day, according as ye shall hear.

The marriage between King Henry and Queen Anne Bullen; and Queen Katharine divorced.



IN the first entry of this king's reign ye heard before, how, after the death of Prince Arthur, the Lady Katharine, princess dowager, and wife to Prince Arthur, by the consent both of her father and his, and also by the advice of the nobles of this realm, to the end her dowry might remain still within the realm, was espoused, after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, which was this King Henry.

Thus then, after the declaration of these things gone before, next cometh to our hands (by the order and process of the time we are now about) to treat of the marvellous and most gracious work of the holy providence of God, beginning now to work, at this present time, here in England, that which neither durst be attempted before by any prince within this realm, nor yet could ever be hoped for by any subject; concerning the abolishing and overthrow of the pope's supremacy here in the English church: who through the false pretended title of his usurped authority, and through the vain fear of his keys, and cursed cursings and excommunications, did so deeply sit in the consciences of men; did keep all princes and kings so under him; briefly, did so plant himself in all churches, taking such deep root in the hearts of all Christian people so long time, that it seemed not only hard, but also impossible, for man's power to abolish the same. But that which passeth man's strength, God here beginneth to take in hand, to supplant the old tyranny, and subtle supremacy of the Romish bishop. The occasion hereof began thus, (through the secret providence of God,) by a certain unlawful marriage between King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine, his brother's wife; which marriage, being found unlawful, and so concluded by all universities, not to be dispensed withal by any man, at length brought forth a verity long hid before; that is, that the pope was not what he was accounted to be; and, again, that he presumptuously took more upon him than he was able to dispense withal.

These little beginnings being once called into question, gave great light to men, and ministered withal great occasion to seek further: insomuch that at length the pope was espied, both to usurp that which he could not claim, and to claim that which he ought not to usurp. As touching the first doubt of this unlawful marriage, whether it came of the king himself, or of the cardinal, or of the Spaniards, as the chronicles themselves do not fully express, so I cannot assuredly affirm. This is certain, that it was not without the singular providence of God, (whereby to bring greater things to pass,) that the king's conscience herein seemed to be so troubled, according as the words of his own oration, had unto his commons, do declare; whose oration hereafter followeth, to give testimony of the same.

This marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith the pope, the omnipotent vicar of

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Christ, cannot by favour dispense, if it please him? The pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Julius the Second, by whose dispensation, this marriage, which neither sense of nature would admit, nor God's law would bear, was concluded, approved, and ratified; and so continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, the space of nearly twenty years, till about the time that a certain doubt began first to be moved by the Spaniards themselves, of the emperor's council, A.D. 1523; at what time Charles the emperor, being here in England, promised to marry the Lady Mary, daughter to the king of England; with which promise the Spaniards themselves were not well contented, objecting this, among many other causes, that the said Lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife.

Whereupon the emperor, forsaking that marriage, did couple himself with Lady Isabel, daughter to King Emanuel of Portugal. This marriage was done A.D. 1526. After this marriage of the emperor, the next year following, King Henry, being disappointed thus of the emperor, entered talk, or rather was laboured to by the French ambassadors, for the said Lady Mary to be married to the French king's son, duke of Orleans; upon the talk whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certain doubt of the president of Paris, casting the like objection as the Spaniards had done before; which was, Whether the marriage between the king, and the mother of this Lady Mary, which had been his brother's wife before, were good or no? And so the marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like sort brake off again, and was rejected, which happened A.D. 1527.

The king, upon the occasion hereof casting many things in his mind, began to consider the cause more deeply, first, with himself, after, with certain of his nearest council; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage with his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his conscience clear in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the realm firm by succession of the daughter. It happened the same time that the cardinal, which was then nearest about the king, had fallen out with the emperor, for not helping him to the papacy, as ye before have heard; for which cause he helped to set the matter forward by all the practice he might. Thus the king, perplexed in his conscience, and careful for the commonwealth, and partly also incited by the cardinal, could not so rest; but inquired further to feel what the word of God, and learning, would say unto it. Neither was the case so hard, after it began once to come in public question, but that by the word of God, and the judgments of the best learned clerks, and also by the censure of the chief universities of all Christendom, to the number of ten and more, it was soon discussed to be unlawful.

All these censures, books, and writings, of so many doctors, clerks, and universities, sent from all quarters of Christendom to the king, albeit they might suffice to have fully resolved, and did indeed resolve, the king's conscience touching this scruple of his marriage; yet would he not straightway use that advantage which learning did give him, unless he had withal the assent as well of the pope, as also the emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was authorized before by the dispensation of his predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about to undo that which the pope before him had locked; and much less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, or to come in any doubt; which was like to come, if that marriage were proved undispensable by God's word, which his predecessor, through his plenary power, had licensed before. Again, the emperor, he thought, would be no less hard for his part,

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on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady Katharine was the emperor's near aunt, and a Spaniard born. Yet, nevertheless, his purpose was to prove and feel what they both would say unto it; and therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome, to weigh with Pope Clement. To the emperor was sent Sir Nicholas Harvey, knight, ambassador in the court of Gaunt. First, Pope Clement, not weighing belike the full importance and sequel of the matter, sent Cardinal Campeius (as is said) into England, joined with the cardinal of York.

At the coming of these legates, the king, first opening unto them the grief of his conscience, seemed with great reasons and persuasions sufficiently to have drawn the good will of those two legates to his side; who also, of their own accord, pretended no less but to show a willing inclination to further the king's cause. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in especial of women, and such others as favoured the queen, and talked their pleasure, were not stopped. Wherefore, to satisfy the blind surmises and foolish communication of these also, who, seeing the coming of the cardinals, cast out such lewd words, as that the king would, "for his own pleasure," have another wife, with like unbeseeing talk; he therefore, willing that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with divers other persons, to resort to his palace of Bridewell, the eighth day of November, A.D. 1529, where, openly speaking in his great chamber, he had these words in effect, as followeth:

The king's oration to his subjects.

"Our trusty and well-beloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort: it is not unknown unto you, how that we, both by God's provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this realm of England almost the term of twenty years; during which time, we have so ordered us (thanked be God!) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have we invaded any realm, but we have had victory and honour, so that we think that neither you, nor any of your predecessors, ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, or in more estimation, under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death; for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you, and to your children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, King Edward the Fourth; and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which dissension this realm was like to have been clearly destroyed.

"And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our great comfort and joy; yet it hath been told us, by divers great clerks, that neither she is our lawful daughter, nor her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery; insomuch that when our ambassador was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done, to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his brother's wife, which is directly against God's law and his precept. Think you, my lords, that these words touch not my body and soul? Think you that these doings do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would

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seek remedy, when the peril of your soul and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cause I protest before God, and on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom; and for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the queen, if it be adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never thing more pleasant, or more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of which she is descended, (as you well know,) she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and in all good qualities appertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I, these twenty years almost, have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God's law, and clearly void, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving a companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery, to God's great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These be the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, and for these griefs I seek a remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning; and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of our conscience, and saving of our soul: and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart."

Shortly after this oration of the king, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two legates, being requested of the king, for discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen lying then in the palace of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed judges indifferent, between the king and her, to hear and determine, whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not.

When she understood the cause of their coming, being thereat something astonished at the first, after a little pausing with herself, thus she began, answering for herself.

"Alas, my lords, (said she,) is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and in the mean season question was never made before? Divers prelates yet being alive, and lords also, and privy councillors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest; and now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think it great marvel: and, in especial, when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection that King Ferdinand, my father, bare unto me, I think in myself, that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might follow of our marriage; and in especial, the king, my father, sent to the court of Rome, and there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a licence and dispensation, that I, being the one brother's wife, and peradventure carnally known, might, without scruple of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which licence, under lead, I have yet to show: which things make me to say, and surely believe, that our marriage was both lawful, good, and godly.

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"But of this trouble I may only thank you, my lord cardinal of York. For because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable lechery, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore, of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroad; and, in especial, for the great malice that you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you pope by force: and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends; and you have kept him true promise; for all his wars and vexations he may only thank you. And as for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to, by this new-found doubt, God knoweth; to whom I commit my cause, according to the truth."

The cardinal of York excused himself, saying, That he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was sore against his will that ever the marriage should come in question; but he said that by his superior, the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a judge to hear the cause; which he swore on his profession to hear indifferently. But whatsoever was said, she believed him not; and so the legates took their leave of her, and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by Cardinal Campeius's secretary, who was present; and afterwards, by Edward Hall, translated into English.

By these premises it is sufficient to judge and understand what the whole occasion was, that brought this marriage first into doubt, so that there needeth not any further declaration in words upon this matter. But this one thing will I say, if I might be bold to speak what I think: other men may think what they list. This I suppose, that the stay of this marriage was taken in good time, and not without the singular favour of God's providence. For if that one child, coming of this aforesaid marriage, did so greatly endanger this whole realm of England to be entangled with the Spanish nation, that if God's mighty hand had not been betwixt, God only knoweth what misery might have ensued; what peril then should thereby have followed, if, in the continuance of this marriage, more issue had sprung thereof!

But to return again to our matter concerning the whole process and discourse of this divorcement, briefly to comprehend in few words, that which might be collected out of many; after this answer was given of the queen, and her appeal made to the pope, the king, to try out the matter by Scriptures and by learning, sent first to the pope, then to most part of all universities, to have it decided to the uttermost.

In the next year ensuing, A.D. 1530, at the Black Friars' of London was prepared a solemn place for the two legates: who, coming with their crosses, pillars, axes, and all other Romish ceremonies accordingly, were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were ascited by Dr. Sampson to appear before the said legates the twenty-eighth day of May; where (the commission of the cardinals first being read, wherein it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both) the king was called by name, who appeared by two proctors. Then the queen was called, who being accompanied with four bishops, and others of her council, and a great company of ladies, came personally herself before the legates; who there, after her obeisance, with a sad gravity of countenance, having not many

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words with them, appealed from the legates, as judges not competent, to the court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat weekly, and every day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined.

As the time passed on, in the month of June, the king being desirous to see an end of the controversy, came to the court, and the queen came also, where he, standing under his cloth of estate, uttered these or like words, which can best declare his own mind, and which here I thought to notify, that they who have not the chronicles present, may here read his mind, and the better understand the matter.

The king's oration to the legates.

"My lords, legates of the see apostolic, who be deputed judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good Christian man knoweth what pain and what unquietness he suffereth, which have his conscience grieved. For I assure you, on my honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scanty study any thing which should be profitable for my realm and people: and for to have a quietness in body and soul is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, never prince had such another: and therefore, if I would willingly change, I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you, my lords, at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knoweth."

When the king had thus said, the queen departed without saying any thing. The queen again, on the other part, (who had before appealed to the pope,) assisted with her councillors and doctors, who were four bishops, that is, Warham of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of St. Asaph, with other learned men whom the king had licensed her to choose, was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered, that she would abide by her appeal. That notwithstanding, the councillors on both sides every day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at last the divines were all of one opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother, which thing she clearly denied. But to that was answered, that Prince Arthur, her husband, confessed the act done, by certain words spoken; which, being recorded in other chronicles, I had rather should there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the prince of Wales almost half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if she had not been carnally known.

Also she herself caused a bull to be purchased, in which were these words, "peradventure carnally known;" which words were not in the first bull granted by July, at her second marriage to the king. Which second bull, with that clause, was only purchased to dispense with the second matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before: which bull needed not to have been purchased, if there had been no carnal copulation, for then the first bull had been sufficient.

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Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that Prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the said Lady Katharine his wife, it appeareth in a certain book of records which we have to show touching this marriage, that the same time when Prince Arthur was first married with this Lady Katharine, daughter to King Ferdinand, certain ambassadors of Ferdinand's council were then sent hither into England for the said purpose, to see and to testify concerning the full consummation of the said matrimonial conjunction; which councillors here resident, being solemnly sworn, not only did affirm to both their parents, that the matrimony was consummated by that act, but also did send over into Spain, to her father, such demonstrations of their mutual conjunction as here I will not name, sparing the reverence of chaste ears. Which demonstrations otherwise, in those records being named and testified, do sufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and question.

Besides that, in the same records appeareth that both he and she not only were of such years as were meet and able to explete the consummation hereof, but also they were and did lie together both here and in Wales, by the space of three quarters of a year.

Thus, when the divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three causes. One was, because, if it should be broken, the only child of the king should be a bastard, which were a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation should be cause of great unkindness between her kindred and this realm. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space had made the marriage honest. These persuasions, with many others, were set forth by the queen's council, and in especial by the bishop of Rochester, which stood stiff in her cause. But yet God's precept was not answered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, that the court of Rome had dispensed with that marriage. To this some lawyers said, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God.

When the legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw whereunto the end of this question would tend, forasmuch as men began so to dispute of the authority of the court of Rome, and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king to cast favour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to wind themselves out of that brake betimes; and so Cardinal Campeius, dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to Rome again, as is partly above touched. The king, seeing himself thus to be deferred and deluded by the cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the cardinal of York followed not long after.

This was A.D. 1530. Shortly after it happened, the same year, that the king by his ambassadors was advertised, that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bologna. Wherefore he directed Sir Thomas Bullen, lately created earl of Wiltshire, and Dr. Stokesley, afterwards bishop of London, and Dr. Lee, afterwards bishop of York, with his message to the pope's court, where also the emperor was. Pope Clement, understanding the king's case and request, and fearing what might follow after, if learning and Scripture here should take place against the authority of their dispensations; and moreover doubting the emperor's displeasure, bare himself strange off from the matter, answering the ambassadors with this delay, that he presently would not define in the case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do justice.

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Although the king owed no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitrement either in this case, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet, for quietness' sake, and for that he would not rashly break order, (which rather was a disorder indeed,) he bare so long as conveniently he might. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was best both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his realm to do.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, as afterwards followed, which his divine providence was disposed to work. For else, as touching the king's intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the pope, but rather sought all means contrary, how both to establish the see of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of the same see and court of Rome, if it might have been gotten. And therefore, intending to sue his divorce from Rome, at the first beginning, his device was, by Stephen Gardiner, his ambassador at Rome, to exalt the cardinal of York, as is before showed, to be made pope and universal bishop, to the end that he, ruling that apostolic see, the matter of his unlawful marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, without any further rumour of the world: which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the English cardinal had once been made pope, no doubt but the authority of that see had never been exterminated out of England. But God, being more merciful unto us, took a better way than so; for both without and contrary to the king's expectation, he so brought to pass, that neither the cardinal of York was pope, (which should have been an infinite cost to the king,) and yet nevertheless the king sped for his purpose too, and that much better than he looked for. For he was rid, by lawful divorcement, not only from that unlawful marriage which clogged his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the pope's usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm; and all at one time.

Thus God's holy providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the king could get no favourable grant of the pope touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was forced to take the redress of his right into his own hands, and seeing this Gordian knot would not be loosed at Rome, he was driven against his will, as God would, to play the noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his princely authority knapped the knot at one stroke clean asunder, loosing, as it were, with one solution infinite questions. For where the doctors and canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and fulness of the pope's two swords, both temporal and spiritual; the king, with one sword, did so cut off both his swords, that he despatched them both clean out of England, as ye shall see more anon. But first the king, like a prudent prince, before he would come to the head of the sore, thought best to pare away such rank flesh and putrefied places as were about it; and therefore, following his own proverb, like as one going about to cast down an old rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie at the top, so he, to prepare his way better unto the pope, first began with the cardinal, casting him, by the law of præmunire, out of his goods and possessions: and so at length, by poisoning himself, he procured his own death; which was A.D. 1530.

This done, shortly after, about the year 1532, the king, to provide betimes against mischiefs that might come from Rome, gave forth eftsoons this proclamation, touching the

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abolishing of the pope, and establishing of the king's supremacy; the tenor whereof here followeth:

"The king's Highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, or use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore, within this year past purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royal of this his said realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his Grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his Highness's indignation, and imprisonment and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his Grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others."

It chanced about the same time, or a little before, that the king, taking more heart unto him, partly encouraged by the treatise afore mentioned, called "The Supplication of Beggars," which he had diligently read and perused, and partly provoked by the pride and stoutness of the clergy, brake off with the cardinal, caused him to be attainted in the præmunire, and afterwards also to be apprehended.

After this was done, the king, then proceeding further, caused the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the king's bench to make their appearance, forasmuch as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the power legantine of the cardinal, by the reason thereof were all entangled likewise in the præmunire, and therefore were called into the king's bench to answer. But before the day of their appearance, the prelates together in their convocation concluded among themselves a humble submission in writing, and offered the king for a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord, and release them of their præmunire by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury a hundred thousand pounds; and in the province of York, eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence: the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which thing they never confessed before; whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye shall hear.

But first, forasmuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way a few words of the reader, to speak of this clergy-money, of one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence, to be levied to the king, as is above touched. For the levying of which sum an order was taken among the prelates, that every bishop in his diocese should call before him all the priests, parsons, and vicars, among whom Dr. Stokesley, bishop of London, a man then counted to be of some wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity, (which caused him to be out of the favour of the common people,) called before him all the priests within the city of London, whether they were curates or stipendiaries, the first day of September, being Friday, in the chapter-house of St. Paul; at which day the priests appeared, and the bishop's policy was to have only six or eight priests together, and by persuasions to have caused them to grant some portion towards the payment of the aforesaid hundred thousand pounds. But the number of the priests was so great, (for they were six hundred at least, and with them came many temporal men to hear the matter,) that the bishop was disappointed of his

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purpose; for when the bishop's officers called in certain priests by name into the chapter-house, with that a great number entered, for they put aside the bishop's officers that kept the door.

After this the officers got the door shut again. Then the priests without said, "We will not be kept without, and our fellows be within: we know not what the bishop will do with them." The temporal men, being present, comforted and encouraged the priests to enter, so that by force they opened the door, and one struck the bishop's officer over the face, and entered the chapter-house, and many temporal men with them; and long it was ere any silence could be made. At last, when they were appeased, the bishop stood up and said, "Brethren! I marvel not a little why you be so heady, and know not what shall be said to you; therefore I pray you to keep silence, and to hear me patiently. My friends all, you know well that we be men frail of condition, and no angels; and by frailty and lack of wisdom we have misdemeaned ourselves towards the king, our sovereign lord, and his laws, so that all we of the clergy were in the præmunire; by reason whereof, all our promotions, lands, goods, and chattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be imprisoned: yet his Grace, moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what we could say, why he should not extend his laws upon us. Then the fathers of the clergy humbly besought his Grace of mercy: to whom he answered, that he was ever inclined to mercy. Then, for all our great offences we had little penance; for where he might, by the rigour of his law, have taken all our livelihood, goods, and chattels, he was contented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in five years. And although this sum be more than we may easily bear, yet by the rigour of his laws we should have borne the whole burden. Wherefore, my brethren! I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelihood and salary, toward the payment of this sum granted."

Then it was shortly said to the bishop,

"My Lord! twenty nobles a year is but bare living for a priest; for now victuals and every thing are so dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to say nay. Besides that, my Lord, we never offended in the præmunire; for we never meddled with the cardinal's faculties: let the bishops and abbots who have offended pay."

Then the bishop's officers gave to the priests high words, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also divers temporal men who were present comforted the priests, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumour divers of the bishop's servants were buffeted and stricken, so that the bishop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeased the noise; and for all things which were done or said there he pardoned them, and gave to them his blessing, and prayed them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived; for the bishop went to Sir Thomas More, then being lord chancellor, (who greatly favoured the bishop and the clergy,) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievously. Whereupon commandment was sent to Sir Thomas Pargitor, mayor of the city, to attach certain priests and temporal men: and so fifteen priests and five temporal men were arrested; of the which some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleet and other prisons, where they remained long after.

This being done A.D. 1532, it followeth moreover the same year, that divers preachings were in the realm, one contrary to another, concerning the king's marriage; and in especial one

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Thomas Abel, clerk, which was the queen's chaplain, to please her withal, both preached, and also wrote a book, in defence of the said marriage; whereby divers simple men were persuaded. Wherefore the king caused to be compiled and reduced into a book the determination of the universities, with the judgments of great clerks; which book being printed and set abroad, did again satisfy all indifferent and reasonable persons, which were not too much wedded to their wills.

Mention was made a little before, of a parliament begun the fifteenth day of January, A.D. 1533, in the which parliament the commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the clergy in their proceeding ex officio. This complaint, although at first it seemed not to be greatly tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament the time so wrought withal, that the king, having more clear understanding of the abuses and enormities of the clergy, and, in especial, of the corrupt authority of the see of Rome, provided certain acts against the same.

"First, as concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that whoso did or spake any thing either against their usurped power, or against the said laws, decrees, or constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon Holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's prerogative royal, should therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of heresy. And likewise touching such constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which were made in this realm in the convocation of bishops, being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before by the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the examination and judgment of thirty-two persons chosen by the king out of the higher and lower house, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogated at their discretions: and further, that all the clergy of this realm, submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise never hereafter to presume to assemble in their convocations without the king's writ, or to enact or execute such constitutions without his royal assent, &c.

Further, in the same parliament was enacted and decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention, no person should appeal, provoke, or sue, out of the king's dominions to the court of Rome, under pain of provisors, provision, or præmunire.

Item, In the same parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of annates and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the see of Rome, for any bulls, breves, or palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also, for the investing of archbishops, bishops, or other of any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said parliament was taken, that the king should send a licence under the great seal, with a letter missive, to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of those cathedral churches where the see was vacant, by the virtue of which licence or letters missive, they, within twelve days, should choose the said person nominated by the king, and no other; and that election to stand effectual to all intents: which election being done, then the party elect to make first his oath and fealty to the king, if it were a bishop that was elect; then the king, by his letters patent, to signify the said election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or

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else to four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, breves, or other things from the see of Rome.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intolerable exactions and great sums of money used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome, in pensions, censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeals, jurisdictions legative; also for dispensations, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called *perinde valere*, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said parliament it was ordained, that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence, wont to be paid to the see of Rome, should utterly surcease, and never more to be levied; so that the king, with his honourable council, should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, &c., within this realm.

Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these Peter-pence aforesaid, that the same were first brought in and imposed by King Ina, about A.D. 720; which Ina, king of the West Saxons, caused through all his dominion, in every house having a chimney, a penny to be collected and paid to the bishop of Rome in the name of St. Peter; and thereof were they called Peter-pence. The same likewise did Offa, king of Mercians, after him, about A.D. 794. And these Peter-pence ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custom to be gathered and summoned by the pope's collectors here in England, from the time of Ina aforesaid, to this present parliament, A.D. 1533.

Finally, by the authority of the parliament it was consulted and considered concerning the legality of the lawful succession unto the crown, in ratifying and enabling the heirs of the king's body, and Queen Anne. In the which parliament, moreover, the degrees of marriage plainly and clearly were explained and set forth, such as be expressly prohibited by God's laws, as in this table may appear.

A table of degrees prohibited, by Gods law, to marry.

The son not to marry the mother, nor step-mother.

The brother not to marry the sister.

The father not to marry his son's daughter, nor his daughter's daughter.

The son not to marry his father's daughter, gotten by his step-mother.

The son not to marry his aunt, being either his father's or his mother's sister.

The son not to marry his uncle's wife.

The father not to marry his son's wife.

The brother not to marry his brother's wife.

No man to marry his wife's daughter.

No man to marry his wife's son's daughter.

No man to marry his wife's daughter's daughter.

No man to marry his wife's sister.

All these degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

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All these things thus being defined and determined in this aforesaid parliament, and it also being in the same parliament concluded, that no man, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispense with God's laws; it was therefore, by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented that the marriage aforesaid solemnized between the king and the Lady Katharine, being before wife to Prince Arthur the king's brother, and carnally known by him, (as is above proved,) should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value or effect; and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the Lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further, also, for the establishing of this king's lawful succession, it was fully by the said parliament adjudged, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king, and Queen Anne his wife.

During the time of this parliament, before the marriage of Queen Anne, there was one Temse in the commons house, who moved the commons to sue to the king to take the queen again into his company; declaring certain great mischiefs like to ensue thereof, as in bastardizing the Lady Mary, the king's only child, and divers other inconveniences. This being reported to the king's ears, he sent immediately to Sir Thomas Audley, speaker then of the parliament, expressing unto him, amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the parliament did so openly speak of the absence of the queen from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soul; and he wished the matrimony were good, for then had he never been so vexed in conscience. But the doctors of universities (said he) have determined the marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudge of conscience (he said) caused him to abstain from her company, and no foolish or wanton appetite. "For I am," said he, "forty-one years old, at which age the lust of man is not so quick as it is in youth. And, saving in Spain and Portugal, it hath not been seen, that one man hath married two sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the brother to marry the brother's wife, was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I never heard that any Christian so did, but myself. Wherefore you see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report." And so the speaker, departing, declared to the commons the king's saying.

It was touched, a little before, how that the pope had lost great part of his authority and jurisdiction in this realm of England; now it followeth to infer, how, and by what occasion, his whole power and authority began utterly to be abolished, by the reason and occasion of the most virtuous and noble lady, Anne Bullen, who was not as yet married to the king, howbeit in great favour: by whose godly means and most virtuous counsel the king's mind was daily inclined better and better. Insomuch that, not long after, the king, belike perceiving the minds of the clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the speaker again, and twelve of the commons house, having with him eight lords, and said to them, "Well-beloved subjects! we had thought the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects, yea, and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, clean contrary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seem to be his subjects, and not ours." And so the king, delivering to them the copy of both the oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his spiritual subjects.

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The speaker thus departed, and caused the oaths to be read in the commons house, the very tenor whereof here ensueth.

The oath of the clergy to the pope.

"I, John, bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel or consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rulers of the holy fathers, and regalities of St. Peter, I shall help and retain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted; I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act, in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, estates, honours, or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power; I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The lights of the apostles I shall visit personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's council. So God me help, and the holy evangelists."

This oath of the clergymen, which they were wont to make to the bishop of Rome, (now Pope Quondam,) was abolished and made void by statute, and a new oath ministered and confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head, under Christ, in this Church of England, as by tenor thereof may appear hereunder ensuing.

The oath of the clergy to the king.

"I, John B., of A., utterly renounce, and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have or shall have hereafter of the pope's Holiness, of and for the bishopric of A., that in any wise have been, are, or hereafter may be, hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege, or estate royal: and also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear, to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs, kings of the same, of life and limb, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people: and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power: and your counsel I shall keep and hold, acknowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same; promising (as before) that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject unto your said Highness, heirs, and successors, during my life: and the services and other things due to your Highness, for the restitution of the temporalities of the same bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help, and all saints."

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These oaths thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the pope lost all his interest and jurisdiction here in England within a short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the pope, Sir Thomas More, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the pope, and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not liking well of this oath, by God's good work was enforced to resign up his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After whom succeeded Sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no less incomparable, than also for his godly-disposed mind; and for his favourable inclination to Christ's religion, worthy of much commendation.

These things being done in the parliament, the king, within short time after, proceeded to the marriage of the aforesaid Lady Anne Bullen, mother to our most noble queen now, who, without all controversy, was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly alms did manifestly declare; who, besides the ordinary of a hundred crowns, and other apparel that she gave weekly, a year before she was crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderfully much privy alms to widows and other poor householders, continually, till she was apprehended; and she ever gave three or four pounds at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine withal, and sent her sub-almoner to the towns about where she lay, that the parishioners should make a bill of all the poor householders in their parish; and some towns received seven, eight, or ten pounds to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the towns were. She also maintained many learned men at Cambridge. Likewise did the earl of Wiltshire, her father, and the Lord Rochford, her brother, and by them these men were brought in favour with the king; of whom some are yet alive, and can testify the same; would to God that they were now as great professors of the gospel of Christ, as then they appeared to be; who were Dr. Heath and Dr. Thirlby; with whom was joined the Lord Paget, who, at that present, was an earnest protestant, and gave unto one Raynold West, Luther's books, and other books of the Germans, as Francis. Lambert. De Sectis; and at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetoric openly in Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, and was with his Master Gardiner, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the protestants that were then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons out of their cowls.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible persons which were about this queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful distribution to the poor, how her Grace carried ever about her a certain little purse, out of the which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some alms to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherein some man had not fared the better by some benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble personages which were the chief and principal of her waiting maids about her, specially the duchess of Richmond by name.

Also concerning the order of her ladies and gentlewomen about her, one that was her silk woman, a gentlewoman not now alive, but of great credit, and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never saw better order among the ladies and gentlewomen of the court, than was in this good queen's days, who kept her maids and such as were about her so occupied in sewing and working of shirts and smocks for the poor, that neither was there seen any idleness then among them, nor any leisure to follow such pastimes as daily are seen now-a-days to reign in princes' courts.

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Thus the king, been divorced from the lady dowager, his brother's wife, married this gracious lady, making a prosperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the aforesaid princess, and also from the pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are never without some incommmodity or trouble following, so it happened in this divorcement, that the said princess, procuring from Rome the pope's curse, caused both the king and the realm to be interdicted, whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

In the mean time, Queen Anne, shortly after her marriage, being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the first divorcement publicly proclaimed, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster; and not long, after her coronation, the seventh day of September, she was brought to bed, and delivered of a fair lady; for whose good deliverance *Te Deum* was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the christening.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens, were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, and all the walls between that and the Friars, were hanged with arras, as was the Friars' church. Also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin, fringed with gold. About it was a rail covered with say. Between the quire and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward. First the citizens, two and two: then, the gentlemen, esquires, and chaplains: next after followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next the mayor followed the king's council: then the king's chappel: then barons, bishops, and earls. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered basons, gilt. After him the marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next him the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the Lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the chrism, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bare the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk, with his marshal-rod, went on the right hand of the said duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them went the officers of arms. The countess of Kent bare the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child went the earl of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the said train. In the midst, over the child, was borne a canopy by the Lord Rochford, the Lord Hussey, the Lord William Howard, and the Lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came unto the church door, where the bishop of London met it, with divers abbots and bishops, and began the observances of the sacrament. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather, and the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers, and the child was named Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font, and christened. This done, Garter, the chief king-at-arms, cried aloud, "God, of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty princess of England, ELIZABETH." Then the trumpets blew, and the child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave the princess a standing cup of gold. The duchess of Norfolk gave her a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl. The marchioness of Dorset gave three gilt bowls, pounced, with a cover. The marchioness of Exeter, three standing bowls, gilt, and graven, with a cover. And so, after a

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solemn banquet, ended with hypocras, wafers, and such like, in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the court with the princess; and so departed

At the marriage of this noble lady, as there was no small joy unto all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to God's true religion, so in like manner, on the contrary part, the papists wanted not their malicious and secret attempts, as by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false feigned hypocrite, this year being espied and found out, may sufficiently appear what their devilish devices and purposes were. For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, of a devilish intent, had put into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had a revelation of God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with King Henry for the divorcement of the Lady Katharine; and surmised, among other things, that God had revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called The holy maid of Kent, that in case the king proceeded in the said divorce, he should not be king of this realm one month after, and in the reputation of God, not one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation, practised and showed to the people marvellous alteration of her visage and other parts of her body, as if she had been rapt, or in a trance; and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrisy, (as though she had been inspired of God,) she spake many words in rebuking of sin, and reproving the gospel, which she called heresy; and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the king and queen, and to the establishing of idolatry, pilgrimage, and the derogation of God's glory: which her naughtiness being espied out by the great labour and diligence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counsel, in the month of April, A.D. 1533. The names of which conspirators with her were these: Edward Bocking, monk, of Canterbury; Richard Master, parson, of Aldington; John Dering, monk, of Canterbury; Hugh Rich, friar, warden of the Grey Friars, of Canterbury; Richard Risby; Henry Gold, bachelor of divinity, and parson of Aldermar; Fisher, bishop of Rochester; John Adeson, priest, his chaplain; Thomas Laurence, the bishop's registrar, of Canterbury; Edward Thwaites; Thomas Abel: of which persons, the said Elizabeth Barton, Henry Gold, Richard Master, Edward Bocking, John Dering, Hugh Rich, Richard Risby, were attainted of treason by act of parliament, and put to execution.

The residue, as Fisher bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaites, John Adeson, Thomas Abel, being convicted and attainted of misprision, were condemned to prison, and forfeited their goods and possessions to the king.

Edward Hall, a writer of our English stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforesaid, adjoineth next in his book the narration of one Pavier, or Pavy, a notorious enemy, no doubt, to God's truth. This Pavier, being the town-clerk of the city of London, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the gospel should be in English: insomuch that the said Hall himself heard him once say unto him, and to others by swearing a great oath, that if he thought the king's Highness would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own throat. But he broke promise, saith Hall; for he did not cut his throat with a knife, but with a halter did hang himself. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge. My information further addeth this, touching the said Pavier or Pavy, that he was a bitter enemy, very busy at the burning of Richard Bainham above mentioned; who, hearing the said Bainham at the stake speaking against

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purgatory and transubstantiation, "Set fire," said he, "to this heretic, and burn him." And as the train of gunpowder came toward the martyr, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying to Pavier, "God forgive thee, and show thee more mercy than thou dost to me. The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More, and pray for me, all good people;" and so continued he praying, till the fire took his bowels and his head, &c.

After Bainham's martyrdom, the next year following, this Pavier, the town-clerk of the city, went and bought ropes. Which done, he went up to a high garret in his house to pray, as he was wont to do, to a rood which he had there, before which he bitterly wept: and as his own maid; coming up, found him so doing, he bade her take the rusty sword, and go make it clean, and trouble him no more and immediately he tied up the rope, and hung himself. The maid's heart still throbb'd, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then, having no power to help him, she ran crying to the church to her mistress to fetch her home. His servants and clerks he had sent out before to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, serjeant to the lord mayor, dwelling over Bishop's-gate, to tarry for him at Finsbury-court till he came: but he had despatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. This was A.D. 1533.

To this story of Pavier may also be added the like terrible example of Doctor Foxford, chancellor to the bishop of London, a cruel persecutor, and a common butcher of the good saints of God; who was the condemner of all those afore named, who were put to death, troubled, or abjured under Bishop Stokesley, through all the diocese of London. This Foxford died about this present year and time; of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons, of whom some be yet alive, that he died suddenly sitting in his chair, his belly being burst, and his entrails falling out before him.

About the same time died William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; in whose room succeeded Thomas Cranmer, which was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the unlawful marriage of the Lady Katharine, princess dowager; being then so called by act of parliament.

Ye heard before, how the parliament had enacted that no person, after a certain day, should appeal to Rome for any cause: notwithstanding which act, the queen, now called princess dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome before that act made; so that it was doubted whether that appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house, but much better in the convocation house; and yet in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by books showed, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and divers other famous councils in the primitive church, yea, in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved into the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor any bishop should intermeddle within another's province or country. Which things were so clerkly opened, and so cunningly set forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void, and of none effect: which doctrines and counsels were showed to the Lady Katharine, princess dowager; but she (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old song, trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's verity.

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Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer above named, accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and divers other great clerks in a great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Ampthill, where the princess dowager lay and there, by a doctor, called Dr. Lee, she was ascited to appear before the said archbishop, in cause of matrimony, in the said town of Dunstable. And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day, fifteen days together; and at last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being present, she was divorced from the king, and their marriage declared to be void and of none effect; which sentence given, the archbishop and all the others returned back again.

Here note, that although this divorce following after the new marriage needed not at all to be made, the first marriage being no marriage at all before God, yet, to satisfy the voice of the people, more than for any necessity, the king was contented, through the persuasions of some, so to do. For else, as touching God and conscience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable adultery, as the act of parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the dissolution of this first marriage made between the king and the lady princess dowager, she nevertheless, bearing a stout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the universities, nor to the censure of the clergy, nor of the whole realm; but, following the counsel rather of a few Spaniards, to molest the king and the realm by suit and means made to the pope, procured certain writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of excommunication and interdiction, to be sent down from Rome, wherein the pope had interdicted both the king and the whole realm. But the pope's curser being not the hardiest man, belike, that ever showed his head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his popish carriage without the king's reach; and so, keeping himself aloof off, (like a pretty man,) set up his writings in the town of Dunkirk in Flanders: in which town first, upon the north door of the church was set up a monition, that the king of England should surcease the suit of divorce; which John Butler, clerk, then commissary of Calais, by commandment, took down in the night.

After that, before Whitsun-week, there was set up in the same place an excommunication, aggravation, reagravation, and interdiction; for which also the said Butler, by commandment, was sent to Dunkirk, to take it down. And because the council of Calais would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a servant of the Lord Lisle, then deputy of Calais, whose name was Cranvel; and upon Wednesday in Whitsun-week, at seven o'clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the lord deputy aforesaid: which was about the year 1533.

This being known and certified unto the king, he was motioned by his council, that such as were about her, and moved her thereunto, should be put from her. And therefore the duke of Suffolk was sent to Bugden, beside Huntingdon, where the said Lady Katharine lay; who, perceiving her stomach to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her privy chamber, and shut the door, brake up the order of her court, and discharged a great sort of her household servants; and yet left her a convenient number to serve her like a princess. They that remained still, were sworn to serve her as princess only, and not as queen; of whom some said, they were once sworn to serve her as

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queen, and otherwise would not serve; and so were dismissed. The others who were sworn to serve her as princess, she utterly refused for her servants, and so she remained with the fewer, living after this about the space of two years.

And thus much hast thou, good reader, touching the king's divorcement; by occasion whereof it pleased God so to work, through his secret and unsearchable wisdom, that the pope, who so long had played rex in England, lost his whole jurisdiction and supremacy.

The abolishing of the pope out of England.



THESE things thus finished and despatched concerning the marriage of Queen Anne, and divorce of Lady Katharine, dowager, next followeth the year 1534; in the which was assembled the high court of parliament again, after many prorogations, upon the third day of February; wherein was made an act of succession, for the more surety of the crown, to the which every person being of lawful age should be sworn. During this parliament time, every Sunday preached at Paul's Cross a bishop, which declared the pope not to be head of the church.

After this, commissions were sent over all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the act of succession; at which few repined, except Pr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, parson of St. Thomas the Apostle's in London. Wherefore these three persons, after long exhortation to them made by the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the Tower, where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworn. But the bishop and Sir Thomas More excused them by their writings, in which they said that they had written before that the said Lady Katharine was queen, and therefore could not well go from that which they had written. Likewise the doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her queen, and therefore now could not well unsay it again. Howbeit, at length, he was well contented to dissemble the matter, and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the realm in their opinion.

From the month of March this parliament furthermore was prorogued to the third day of November abovesaid; at what time, amongst divers other statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, that the pope, and all his college of cardinals, with his pardons and indulgences, which so long had clogged this realm of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, were now abolished, eradicated, and exploded out of this land, and sent home again to their own country of Rome, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised therefore, Amen!

183. Papal Documents Relating To King Henry's Divorce.

In the mean season, amongst other omissions here overpast, forasmuch as a certain instrument of the pope's sentence definitive against King Henry's first divorce with Lady Katharine, dowager, hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor unmeet to be committed to history, I thought here presently to place the same, to the intent that the reader, seeing the arrogant and impudent presumption of the pope in the said sentence, going about by force and authority so to constrain and compel kings and princes against their wills, and against right and Scripture, to apply to his imperious purpose, may the better understand thereby, what was the true cause and ground why the king first began to take stomach against the pope, and to send him clean packing out of this realm. But before I shall produce this aforesaid sentence definitive of the pope, to make the matter more plain to the reader, it shall not be amiss, first, to decipher and rip up the original of such occasions as shall induce the reader to the better understanding of this falling out between the king and the pope.

For so I find by the letters of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, written to Cardinal Wolsey from Rome, (at what time he and Foxe were sent ambassadors by the king to Pope Clement the Seventh, about the expedition of the kings divorce, A. D. 1532,) that the said Pope Clement, with the counsel of the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor and other cardinals, at first was well willing, and very inclinable, to the accomplishment and satisfaction of the king's desire in that behalf, and that for divers respects.

As first, for the great benefits received, and the singular devotion of the king toward the see apostolic, in taking war for the church's cause: in surceasing war at the pope's desire; and, especially, in procuring the pope's deliverance, whereby the pope then thought himself with his whole see much obliged to the king, in all respects, to pass by his authority whatsoever reasonably might be granted in gratifying the king's so ample merits and deserts.

Secondly, for the evident reasons and substantial arguments in the king's book contained, which seemed well to satisfy the pope's liking, and to remove away all scruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the pope had in the excellent wisdom, profound learning, and mature judgment of the king, which the pope (as he said in formal words) would sooner lean unto, than unto any other learned man's mind or sentence, so that the king's reasons, he said, must needs be of great efficacy and strength of themselves to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cause moving the pope to favour the king's request, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his conscience, which, otherwise, in that unlawful marriage with his brother's wife, could not be settled.

The fifth cause was, for the consideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwise might happen to the realm, by the pretended titles of the king of Scots, and others, without any heir male to establish the king's succession: for the avoiding of which perils, and also for the other causes above rehearsed, the pope showed himself at that time propense and forward to promote and set forward the king's desired purpose in that behalf.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to suggest and repeat to the reader, albeit the same is also sufficiently expressed before: to the end that the studious reader,

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pondering these first proceedings of the pope, and comparing them with this sentence definitive which under followeth, may the better understand what inconstant levity, what false dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in itself, are in this pope's holy see of Rome, as by this case of the pope may well appear; who, in short time after all this, was so clean altered from what he was, that whereas before, he pretended to esteem so gratefully the king's travail, and benefits exhibited to the see apostolic, in his defence against the emperor and the Spaniards, now he joineth utterly with the Cæsarians against the king. And whereas before, he so greatly magnified the king's profound learning and mature judgment, esteeming his mind and sentence above all other learned men, to be as a judge sufficient in the direction of this case; now, turning head to the tail, he utterly refuseth to bring the matter *in judicium orbis*, but will needs detain it at home.

Again, where before he pretended a tender provision for the state of this realm, now he setteth all other realms against it; and finally, whereas he before seemed to respect the quiet and tranquillity of the king's conscience, now he goeth about to command and compel the king, against his will and conscience, to do clean contrary to that which he himself before in his judgment had allowed, thinking to have the king at his beck, and to do and undo what he listed and commanded; as by the tenor and true copy of this his sentence definitive ye may understand; which, as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might see what just cause the king had (being so presumptuously provoked by the pope) to shake off his proud authority, and utterly to exile him out of his realm. Mark, I pray thee, the manner of the pope's proud sentence, how presumptuously it proceedeth.

The effect of this sentence is as much as to mean, "that Pope Clement the Seventh, with the consent of his other brethren, the cardinals assembled together in this consistory, sitting there in the throne of justice, calling upon the name of Christ, and having God only before his eyes, doth pronounce, define, and declare – in the cause and causes between his dear daughter, Katharine, queen of England, appealing to the see apostolic, and his beloved son, Henry the Eighth, king of England, concerning the validity and invalidity of the matrimony heretofore contracted between them, and yet depending in the consistory court of the said Pope Clement – that the said matrimony always hath stood, and still doth stand, firm and canonical; and that the issue proceeding, or which shall proceed, of the same, standeth, and shall stand, lawful and legitimate; and that the aforesaid Henry, king of England, is and shall be bound and obstruct to the matrimonial society and cohabitation with the said Lady Katharine, his lawful wife and queen, to hold and maintain her with such love and princely honour, as becometh a loving husband, and his kingly honour, to do."

Also, "that the said Henry king of England, if he shall refuse so to perform and accomplish all and singular the premises, in all effectual manner, is to be condemned and compelled thereunto by all remedies of the law, and enforced, according as we do condemn, compel, and enforce him so to do; providing, all molestations and refusals whatsoever, made by the said King Henry against the said Queen Katharine, upon the invalidity of the said marriage, to have been and be judged unlawful and unjust; and the said king, from henceforth for ever to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any court hereafter to speak, touching the invalidity of the said matrimony: like as we also do here will and charge him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetual silence herein; willing, moreover, and adjudging the said King Henry to be condemned, and presently here do condemn him, in the expenses, on the said Queen Katharine's behalf, here in our court expended and employing in traversing the aforesaid cause, the valuation

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of which expenses we reserve to ourselves to be limited and taxed, as we shall judge meet hereafter.

We do so pronounce,

"At Rome, in our apostolical palace, publicly in our consistory the twenty-third of March, 1534.

Blosius."

184. Arguments against the Pope's Supremacy

The book of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, "De vera Obedientia."

You have heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonal, and of Stokesley, how of their voluntary mind they made their profession unto the king, every one severally taking and accepting a corporal oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the usurped superiority of the bishop of Rome. Now, for a further testimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall hear, over and besides their oaths, what the aforesaid bishops in their own books, prologues, and sermons, do write, and publish abroad in print, touching the said cause of the pope's supremacy.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen Gardiner's book, "De vera Obedientia," we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein, with great Scripture proofs and good deliberation, he not only confuteth the pope's usurped authority, but also proveth the marriage between the king and Queen Katharine, his brother's wife, not to be good nor lawful, in these words:

"Of the which moral precepts in the old law, to speak of some, (for to rehearse all it needs not,) the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous marriages, as far as they concern chaste and pure wedlock, wherein the original of man's increase consisteth, are always to be reputed of such sort, that although they were first given to the Jews, yet because they appertain to the law of nature, and expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless both the voice of nature and God's commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and diverse from the one and from the other. And amongst these, since there is commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent Majesty do, otherwise than he did, by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his church; that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation? and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, cast off her, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaste and lawful marriage? Wherein although the sentence of God's word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed, yet his Majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both what he might do, and ought to do, uprightly; seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto it; showing therein such obedience as God's word requireth of every good and godly man; so it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly: of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak."

Moreover, the said Gardiner, in the before-named book "De vera Obedientia," what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on

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the king's side, against the usurped state of the bishop of Rome's authority, by the words of his book it may appear: whereof a brief collection here followeth.

Reasons of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the pope's supremacy.

In the process of his aforesaid book, he, alleging the old distinction of the papists, wherein they give to the prince the regiment of things temporal, and to the church that of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the church to extend no further than to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all preeminence to the sword of the prince; alleging for this the second Psalm: And now, you kings, be wise, and be learned, ye that judge the earth, &c.

Also the example of Solomon, who, being a king according to his father's appointment, ordained the offices of the priests in their ministries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and minister before the priests, after the order of every day, and porters in their divisions, gate by gate. And speaking more of the said Solomon, he saith, "For so commanded the man of God; neither did the priests nor Levites omit anything of all that he had commanded," &c.

Beside this, he allegeth also the example of King Hezekiah. He allegeth moreover the example and fact of Justinian, which made laws touching the faith, bishops, clerks, heretics, and such others.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moses: Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest.

Alexander the king, in the Maccabees, writeth thus to Jonathan: Now we have made thee this day the high priest of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.

Then, coming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c., upon which words the pope pretendeth to build all his authority: to this he answereth, that if Christ, by those words, had limited to Peter any such special state or pre-eminency above all princes, then were it not true that is written, Jesus began to teach and to do; forasmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his own facts and example, who, in all his life, never either usurped to himself any such domination above princes, (showing himself rather subject unto princes,) nor yet did ever permit in his apostles any such example of ambition to be seen; but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of priority amongst them.

And where he reasoneth of the king's style and title, being called king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the Church of England immediately under Christ, &c., thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this title, why any man should be offended, that the king is called head of the Church of England, rather than of the realm of England; and addeth his reason thereunto, saying, "If the prince and king of England be the head of his kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen that be his subjects, is there any cause why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same

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head likewise in this respect, because they are Christians; that is to say, for the title of godliness? as though that God, who is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion?"

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation saying, "To say," saith he, "that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this!"

And further, adding further for example the subjection of the servant and wife: "If the servant, saith he, "be subject to his master, or wife to her husband, being infidels, doth their conversion afterwards, or the name of Christians, make them less subjects than they were before? As religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the master over the servant, nor of the husband over the wife; no more," saith he, "doth it between the prince and subject.

"Paul, making no exception or distinction of subjection, save only of that which belonged to God, willeth all men to obey their princes; and what princes? Those princes which bear the sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our bishops and spiritual pastors of the church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chief and head authority that ought to be given to the prince, no more than the obedience of the servant to his master, or of the wife to her husband, exempteth them from subjection due to their superior powers."

And herewithal he inferreth a principle of the law: "Divers jurisdictions," saith he, "proceeding from one person, do not mar nor hinder themselves, but rather do confirm and fortify one another."

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome, under the name of Peter, doth appropriate to himself the highest place in the church, for that he is the successor of Peter; thereunto he answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough, and to the full: "I would," saith he, "he were; for so in very deed he might well exceed and pass all kings and princes, if not in pre-eminency of dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of virtue: in which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his apostles and ministers to go before all kings and emperors in the whole world."

After this, in prosecuting the argument of Peter's confession, he argueth thus, and saith, that as flesh and blood did not reveal to Peter that confession, so neither was that prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter; which is to mean in respect of the spiritual confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

Item, If the scholar ought not to be above the master, how then could either Peter take that upon him, which Christ his Master so constantly did refuse; or how can the bishop of Rome now claim that by succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his predecessor before him? for so we read in Eusebius, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did arrogate no such primacy unto them, but were content that James, surnamed Justus, should be the bishop of the apostles.

And as for the name and signification of the word primacy, if it be taken for the nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth that Peter had the preferment of the first name

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and place in the order of the apostles, But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had also a kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an empery upon his brethren: for so were they not his brethren, but his subjects.

That Peter was first or chief in the number of those who confessed Christ, it is not to be denied; for first he confessed, first he taught the Jews, first he stood in defence of the verity, and was the first and chief prolocutor among them. But yet that maketh not, that he should therefore arrogate a general primacy and rule over all other states and authorities of the world; no more than Apelles, because he is noted the first and chief of all painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all painters: or because the university of Paris is nominated for the first and chief of other universities, shall therefore the French king, and all other princes in their public administration, wherein they are set of God, become subjects and underlings to that university?

Thus, after many other reasons and persuasions contained in said book De Obedientia, (for I do but superficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments,) finally, in the end of his probation, he concludeth the whole sum of his mind in this effect; first, denying that the bishop of Rome had ever any such extern jurisdiction assigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over kings and princes: for the peroration whereof he hath alleged sufficiently, as he saith, the examples and doings of Christ himself, which ought to be to us all a sufficient document.

As concerning the term of "primacy," albeit it be used sometimes by the fathers, yet the matter, being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the bishop of Rome, which now he doth usurp.

Also as for the prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which prerogatives our Saviour would crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and blood of Peter, but the marvellous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothing for the pope's purpose.

Likewise as concerning the local succession of Peter, the pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be successor of Peter, he must succeed him in faith, doctrine, and conditions, and in so doing, he neither will seek, nor yet shall need to seek, for honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be; and that much more than he, being a good man, would require.

And thus Stephen Winchester, taking his leave, and bidding the pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. "The light of the gospel," saith he, "so spreadeth his beams in all men's eyes, that the works of the gospel be known, the mysteries of Christ's doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being Englishmen born, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with Rome, or with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince, in his own dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds." And therefore, seeing this order is taken of God, and one in the church should bear the office of teaching, another should bear the office of ruling, (which office is only limited to princes,) he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the same, wherein consisteth our true and special obedience, &c.

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To this book of Stephen Winchester, *De Obedientia*, we will adjoin, for good fellowship, the Preface also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, prefixed before the same; to the intent that the reader, seeing the judgments of these men as they were then, and again the sudden mutation afterwards of the said parties to the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain-glory and pomp of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where God's grace lacketh to sustain. The Preface of Bonner, before the said book of Winchester, *De Obedientia*, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

"Forasmuch as some there be, no doubt, (as the judgments of men be always variable,) which think the controversy which is between the king's royal Majesty and the bishop of Rome consisteth in this point, for that his Majesty hath taken the most excellent and most virtuous Lady Anne to wife, which in very deed is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favourers of the gospel of Christ, who hate not, but love the truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that cause of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel; here shall be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester, (a man excellently learned in all kinds of learning,) entitled, *De Vera Obedientia* that is, Concerning True Obedience. But as touching this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal.

And as for the oration itself, (which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant,) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth itself enough, and seeing good wine needeth no tavern-bush to utter it? But yet in this oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle reader! thou shalt, besides other matters, see it notably and learnedly, handled, of what importance, and how invincible, the power and excellency of God's truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened after such' sort, but it showeth itself again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of men's traditions, which for the most part he most repugnant against the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaketh of the king's said Highness's marriage, which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent and most noble lady, Queen Anne. After that, touching the king's Majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false pretended supremacy, of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England most justly abrogated: and how all other bishops, being fellow-like to him in their function, yea, and in some points above him within their own provinces, were beforetime bound to the king by their oath.

"But be thou most surely persuaded of this, good reader! that the bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this marriage, would easily content himself, especially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon. But when he seeth so mighty a king, being a right virtuous and a great learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the gospel of Christ, and perceiveth the yearly and great prey, (yea, so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the king's revenues,) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in

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the king's Majesty's realm, (alas, heretofore too cruel and bitter,) nor make laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the catholic church, and the authority of Peter and Paul, (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the servant of servants,) to the great damage of the Christian commonwealth — here, here began all the mischief; hereof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling: for if it were not thus, could any man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus (who falsely hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controlment) would have wrought so diligently, by all means possible, to stir up all other kings and princes so traitorously against this so good and godly, and so true a gospel-like prince, as he hath done? Neither let it move thee, gentle reader! that Winchester did not before now apply to this opinion: for he himself, in this oration, showeth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a man to suspend his judgment, and not to be too rash in giving of sentence. It is an old-said saw; "Mary Magdalene profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt." A man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his advised taking of leisure restored the matter. Albeit I speak not this as though Winchester had not bolted out this matter secretly with himself beforehand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago); but that, running fair and softly, he would first, with his painful study, pluck the matter out of the dark, (although of itself it was clear enough, but by reason of sundry opinions it was lapped up in darkness,) and then did he debate it wittily to and fro; and so, at last, after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely, with his learned and consummate judgment, confirm it.

"Thou shouldst, gentle reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly, and at all adventures, but with judgment (as thou seest) and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, seeing that not only this man, but many men oftentimes, yea, and right great learned men afore now, have done the same even in writing; whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, falsehood, frauds, and deceitful wiles, openly known to the world. Therefore, if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the king's Majesty's marriage or title, or else of the bishop of Rome's false pretended supremacy, as, if thou hadst a good smelling nose, and a sound judgment, I think thou didst not; yet, having read this oration, (which, if thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his Satanical, fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee,) forsake thine error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thyself, that it is better late so to do, than never to repent.

"Fare thou heartily well, most gentle reader; and not only love this most valiant king of England and of France, who undoubtedly was by the providence of God born to defend the gospel, but also honour him and serve him most obediently. As for this Winchester, who was long ago, without doubt, reputed among the greatest learned men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation."

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The end of Bishop Bonner's prologue.

What man reading and advising this book of Winchester, *De Vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's Preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in man's heart, to make these men thus to turn the cat in the pan, as they say, and to start so suddenly from the truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and swore unto, what perjury most execrable was it before God and man! If they meant good faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this so suddenly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before; or that to be now true, which before was false! Thus to say and unsay, and then to say again, to do and undo, and, as a man would say, to play fast or loose with truth; truly a man may say is not the doing of a man which is in any case to be trusted, whatsoever he doth or saith. But here a man may see what man is of himself, when God's good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment also and arguments of Tonal, bishop of Durham, let us see how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his sermon made before King Henry upon Palm Sunday, remaining yet in print; in the which sermon, disputing against the wrongful supremacy of the bishop of Rome, he proveth by manifest grounds most effectuously, both out of the Scripture, ancient doctors, and of councils; not only that the bishop of Rome hath no such authority by the word of God committed to him, as he doth challenge; but also, in requiring and challenging the same, he reproveth and condemneth him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer; disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him; contrary to Christ and Peter: and finally, in raising up war against us for the same, he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian men.

Notes on Tonal's sermon against the pope's supremacy.

First, by the Scripture, he reasoneth thus, and proveth, that all good men ought to obey the authorities and governors of the world, as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts, what name soever the said supreme powers do bear or use for their countries in which they be; for so St. Peter doth plainly teach us, saying, Be ye subject to every human creature for God's cause, whether it be king, as chief head, or dukes or governors, &c. So that St. Peter, in; his Epistle, commandeth all worldly princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all Christian men: and according unto the same, St. Paul saith, Let every living man be subject to the high powers: for the high powers be of God, and whosoever resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth thereby to himself damnation.

And in the same place of Tonal it followeth: And lest men should forget their duty of obedience to their princes, it is thrice repeated, that they be the ministers of God, whose place in their governance they represent: so that unto them all men must obey, apostles, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, priests, and all of the clergy, &c. "And therefore," saith he, "the bishop of Rome oweth to his sovereign and superior like subjection by the word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other bishops do to their princes, under whom they be."

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Also, another express commandment we have of Christ, who, upon the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusseth the matter, saying on this wise, The kings of the people and nations have dominion over them, and those that have power over them be called gracious lords; but so it shall not be amongst you: but whosoever amongst you is the greater, shall be as the younger; and whosoever amongst you shall be chief, shall be as a servant and a minister, &c.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declareth that his kingdom is not of this world, and "therefore," saith Tostal, "those that go about to make of Christ's spiritual kingdom a worldly kingdom, do fall into the error of some heretics, that look that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here in the earth carnally in Jerusalem; as the Jews do believe that Messias is yet to come, and when he shall come, he shall reign worldly in Jerusalem."

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before his incarnation, (as Tostal saith,) nor after his incarnation, did ever alter the authority of worldly kings and princes, but by his own word commanded them still to be obeyed of their subjects, as they had been in the ancient time before, &c. And for example of the same, he allegeth first the example of Christ himself, who, being asked of the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Cæsar, or no, he bade them give to Cæsar those things that be his, and to God those things that be his; signifying, that tribute was due to Cæsar, and that their souls were due to God.

Also in the seventeenth of Matthew, it appeareth that Christ bade Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples, when it was demanded of him. And why? Because he would not change the order of obeisance to worldly princes due by their subjects, &c.

Another example of Christ he citeth out of John vi., where, after Christ had fed five thousand and more, with a few loaves, and fewer fishes, and that the Jews would have taken him, and made him their king, he fled from them, and would not consent unto them: "For the kingdom," saith he, "that he came to set in earth, was not a worldly and temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom;" that is, to reign spiritually, by grace and faith, in the hearts of all Christian and faithful people, of what degree or of what nation soever they be, and to turn all people and nations which at his coming were carnal and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the lusts of the Spirit, that Christ, with his Father of heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, &c.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility, further is to be noted, how Christ the Son of God did submit himself not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but also dejected himself, and in a manner became servant to his own apostles: so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honour. For so it appeared in him, not only by washing the feet of his apostles, but also the same time, a little before his passion, when the apostles fell at contention among themselves, who among them should be superior, he, setting before them the example of his own subjection, asketh this question: Who is superior; he that sitteth at the table, or he that serveth at the table? Is not he superior that sitteth? but I am amongst you as he that ministereth and serveth, &c.

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The like examples Tonal also inferreth of Peter's humility. For where we read in the Acts, how the centurion, a nobleman of great age, did prostrate himself upon the ground at the feet of Peter; then Peter, not suffering that, eftsoons took him up, and bade him rise, saying, I am also a man as thou art.

So likewise did the angel, to whom when John would have fallen down to have adored him who showed him those visions, the angel said unto him, See thou do not so; for I am the servant of God, as thou art, &c.

Again, in the aforesaid Peter, what an example of reverent humility is to be seen in this, that notwithstanding he, with other apostles, had his commission to go over all the world, yet nevertheless he, being at Joppa, and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go unto him without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven; by which vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or else he knew in himself no such primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor any such commission so large above the others, &c.

Furthermore, the said Peter, being rebuked of Paul his fellow brother, took no scorn thereof, but was content, submitting himself to due correction.

But here, saith Tonal, steppeth in the bishop of Rome, and saith that Peter had authority given him above all the residue of the apostles, and allegeth the words of Christ spoken to him, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven. "This said Christ," saith the pope, "and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am, and ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and to be porter of heaven gates, as Peter was," &c. "And Christ said also to Peter, after his resurrection, Feed my sheep; which he spake to him only, so that thereby he had authority over all that be of Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And therefore whoso will not obey me, king or prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom or seigniorie: for all power is given to me that Christ hath, and I am his vicar-general, as Peter was here in earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in heaven."

This ambitious and pompous objection (saith Tonal) of the pope and his adherents, hath of late years much troubled the world, and made dissension, debate, and open war in all parts of Christendom, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture; who, if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the apostles themselves taught us, and all the ancient best learned interpreters do expound them, the matter were soon at a point. But otherwise, since they pervert the Scriptures, and preach another gospel in that point to us, than ever the apostles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: That though an angel came from heaven, and would tell us such new exposition of those places as are now made, to turn the words which were spoken for spiritual authority of preaching the word of God, and ministering of the sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him: as St. Paul willeth us in Galatians i.

To open therefore the true sense of the Scripture in the places aforesaid, and first to begin with Matthew xvi., here is to be observed, that the question being put in general of Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged of him, Peter, answering for them all, (as he was always ready to answer,) said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. To whom Jesus

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answered again, Blessed be thou, Simon the son of Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven: and I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. That is to say, Upon this rock of thy confession of me to be the Son of God, I will build my church; for this faith containeth the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written in Rom. x.: The word of faith that we do preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thy heart. For if thou confess with thy mouth our Lord Jesus Christ, and with thy heart do believe that God raised him from death to life, thou shalt be saved, &c. And this confession being first uttered by the mouth of Peter, upon the same confession of his, and not upon the person of Peter, Christ buildeth his church, as Chrysostom expoundeth that place in the twenty-sixth sermon, of the feast of Pentecost, saying, Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith, Christ hath builded his church. And what is the faith? This: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. What is to say, Upon this rock? That is, Upon this confession of Peter, &c. And with this saying of Chrysostom all ancient expositors, (saith Tonstal,) treating of that place, do agree; for if we should expound that place, that the church is build-ed upon the person of Peter, we should put another foundation of the church than Christ; which is directly against St. Paul, saying, No man may put any other foundation, but that which is put already, which is Christ Jesus, &c.

And because Peter was the first of all the apostles that confessed this, That Christ is the Son of God, by the which faith all men must be saved; thereof cometh the primacy; that is, the first place or standing of Peter in the number of all the apostles.

And as Peter was the first of them that confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so was he most ardent in his faith, most bold and hardy in Christ, as appeared by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest: and also most vehement in his Master's cause, as appeared by drawing out his sword: and afterwards the Lord's resurrection is declared in the Acts, where the Jews, withstanding the apostles preaching the faith of Christ, Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugnors thereof, speaking for them all unto the people, &c.; and therefore hath these honourable names given him by the ancient interpreters, that sometimes he is called the mouth of the apostles; the chief of the apostles; sometimes the prince of the apostles, sometimes the president of the whole church, and sometimes hath the name of primacy or priority attributed unto him. And yet that the said Peter, notwithstanding these honourable names given to him, should not have a rule, or a judicial power, above all the other apostles, it is plain by St. Paul and many others.

First, St. Paul plainly declareth the same, saying, that as the apostleship of the circumcision, that is, of the Jews, was given by Christ to Peter; so, was the apostleship of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paul knew no primacy of Peter concerning people and places, but among the Jews. And thereof St. Ambrose, expounding that place, saith thus, The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to Peter, albeit James and John were joined with him; as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to Paul, albeit Barnabas was joined with him: so that Peter had no rule over all.

Also in Acts x., when Peter was sent for to Cornelius, a Gentile, he durst not go to him without a special vision given him from heaven by the Lord.

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Item, That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, it appeareth by St. Paul, where he saith, Now ye are not strangers, nor foreigners, but ye be citizens with the saints, and of the household of Almighty God, builded, saith he, upon the foundations of the apostles and the prophets, Christ being the corner-stone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an holy temple in our Lord, &c. Here he saith that they be builded not upon the foundation of Peter only, but upon the foundation of the apostles: so that all they be in the foundation set upon Christ the very rock, whereupon standeth the whole church.

In the Apocalypse also, the new city, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God, is described by the Holy Ghost, not with one foundation only of Peter, but with twelve foundations, after the number of the apostles.

St. Cyprian giveth record likewise to the same, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ; and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof first came by one, which was Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was the Son of the living God. Saying further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, whereof every man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the bishop of Rome may meddle over all, where he will, then every man hath not wholly his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part jointly with him; so that now he hath it not wholly: which is against Cyprian.

St. Augustine likewise, expounding the Gospel of John, in the fiftieth Treatise, speaketh there of the keys of Peter, which he saith were given of Christ to Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

Cyril, expounding the last chapter of John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken unto Peter, Feed my sheep, &c., thus understandeth the same: That because Peter had thrice denied Christ, whereby he thought himself he had lost his apostleship, Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him thrice whether he loved him; and so restored him again to his office, which else he durst not have presumed unto; saying unto him, Feed my sheep, &c.; with which exposition the ancient holy expositors of that place do likewise agree. So that by these words of feeding Christ's sheep, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintain his universal pastoralty over all Christian dominions.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome saith that Peter, by these words of Christ spoken to him, hath a pre-eminency above the others, St. Paul proveth the contrary, where he, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, saith to them, Take heed to yourselves, and to all your flock, in which the Holy Ghost hath put you to govern, &c.

And Peter himself likewise saith, Ye that be priests, feed the flock of God among you, &c. So that by these scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither Matthew xvi., nor John xxi., do prove that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given him of Christ over all the others, that they should be under him. And yet, notwithstanding his primacy, in that he, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God, (with which confession all the other apostles did consent, and also preached the same,) standeth still; which confession first by Peter made, all others that will be saved must follow also, and be taught to confess the same. And thus the bishop of Rome's power over all, which he would prove by those places wrongfully

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alleged for his purpose, utterly quailed, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and doctors.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, the said Tostal cometh to councils, and examples of the primitive church, as followeth:

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth council of Carthage, alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters, in all places, by his supreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it); but alleged for him, and that untruly, that the first council of Nice made for his purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article found in it, but the contrary, yet the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the council of Nice, which was sent unto them. And another copy also was sent from Rome, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

After that the copy was brought to them, and no such article found in it, but in the fifth chapter thereof the contrary, that all causes ecclesiastical should either be determined with the diocese, or else, if any were aggrieved, then to appeal to the council provincial, and there the matter to take full end, so that for no such causes men should go out of their provinces; the whole council of Carthage wrote to Celestine, at that time being bishop of Rome, that since the council of Nice had no such article in it, as was untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary, they desired him to abstain hereafter to make any more such demand; denouncing unto him, that they would not suffer any cause, great or small, to be brought by appeal out of their country; and thereupon made a law, that no man should appeal out of the country of Africa, upon pain to be denounced accursed. Wherewith the bishop of Rome ever after held him content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for himself to the contrary. And at this council St. Augustine was present, and subscribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

It was determined also, in the sixth article of the said council of Nice, that in the Orient the bishop of Antioch should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; about Rome the bishop of Rome; and likewise in other countries the metropolitans should have their pre-eminence: so that the bishop of Rome never had meddling in those countries. And in the next article following, the bishop of Jerusalem (which city before had been destroyed, and almost desolate) was restored to his old prerogative, to be the chief in Palestine and in the country of Jewry.

By this ye see how the patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive church, had no such primacy pre-eminent above other patriarchs, much less over kings and emperors, as may appear by Agatho, bishop of Rome, long after that, in whose time was the sixth council general; which Agatho, after his election, sent to the emperor, then being at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he would be consecrated, after the old custom at the time used.

In like sort, another bishop of Rome, called Vitalianus, did the same, as it is written in the decrees; distinct. 63. Cap. Agatho. The like did St. Ambrose and St. Gregory before them, as it is written in the chapter *Cum longe*, in the same Distinction, During all this time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, left unto them, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

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Thus, after that Bishop Tonal, playing the earnest Lutheran, both by Scriptures and ancient doctors, also by examples sufficient of the primitive church, hath proved and declared, how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every creature in this world to obey; now let us likewise see how the said Bishop Tonal describeth unto us the bi- shop of Rome's disobedience intolerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice most execrable.

And first, speaking of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, then of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, and of Lucifer, at length he compareth the bishops of Rome to them all; who first, for disobedience, refuse to obey God's commandment, and, contrary to his word, will be above their governors, in refusing to obey them.

Secondly, Besides this rebellious disobedience in these bishops of Rome, not sufferable, their pride moreover so far exceedeth all measure, that they will have their princes, to whom they owe subjection, prostrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth; and to kiss their feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched men; and yet they look that their princes should do it unto them, and also that all other Christian men, owing them no subjection, should do the same.

And who be these, I pray you, that men may know them? Surely (saith he) the bishops of Rome be those whom I do mean, who, following the pride of Lucifer their father, make themselves fellows to God, and do exalt their seat above the stars of God and do ascend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By stars of God be meant the angels of heaven; for as stars do show unto us in part the light of heaven, so do angels, sent unto men, show the heavenly light of the grace of God to those to whom they be sent. And the clouds signified in the Old Testament the prophets, and in the New do signify the apostles and preachers of the word of God; for as the clouds do conceive and gather in the sky moisture, which they after pour down upon the ground, to make it thereby more fruitful, so the prophets in the Old Testament, and the apostles and preachers in the New, do pour into our ears the moisture of their heavenly doctrine of the word of God, to make therewith, by grace, our souls, being sear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. Thus do all ancient expositors, and amongst them St. Augustine, interpret to be meant in Scripture stars and clouds, in the exposition of Psalm cxlvii.

But St. John the evangelist writeth in the nineteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, and in the twenty-second also, that when he would have fallen down at the angel's foot, that did show him those visions there written, to have adored him with godly worship, the angel said unto him, See thou do not so, for I am the servant of God, as thou art: give adoration and godly worship to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth that the bishops of Rome, suffering all men prostrate before them to kiss their feet, (yea, the same princes, to whom they owe subjection,) do climb up above the stars and angels too, offering their feet to be kissed, with shoes and all. For so I saw myself, being present four and thirty years ago, when Julius, then bishop of Rome, stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not (as he thought) with his dignity that he should do it himself, that his shoe might appear, whilst a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty. Where methinks I saw Cornelius the centurion, captain of the Italian band, spoken of in Acts x., submitting himself to Peter, and much honouring him; but I saw not Peter there to take

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him up, and to bid him rise, saying, I am a man as thou art, as St. Peter did say to Cornelius: so that the bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb above the heavenly clouds; that is to say, above the apostles sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hearts of men, by their heavenly doctrine of the word of God.

Thus Bishop Tonstal, having described the passing pride of the pope, surmounting like Lucifer above bishops, apostles, angels, and stars of heaven, proceeding then further to the latter end of his sermon, cometh to speak of his rage and malice most furious and pestilent, in that he, being justly put from his kingdom here to wreak his spiteful malice, stirreth up war against us, and bloweth the horn of mischief in giving our land for a spoil and prey to all, whosoever, at his setting on, will come and invade us. But let us hear his own words, preaching to the king and all Englishmen, touching both the pope's malice, and the treason of Cardinal Pole.

"Now," saith he, "because he can no longer in this realm wrongfully use his usurped power in all things, as he was wont to do, and suck out of this realm, by avarice insatiable; innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; he therefore, moved and replete with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all Christian nations that will give ears to his devilish enchantments, to move war against this realm of England, giving it in prey to all those that by his instigation will invade it."

And here, expounding these aforesaid words, "To give in prey," he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willeth every true Englishman well to mark the same.

"First, to make this realm," saith he, "a prey to all adventurers, all spoilers, all sycophants, all forlorn hopes, all cormorants, all ravens of the world, that will invade this realm, is to say, Thou possessor of any lands of this realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves; and thou mayst be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor any of thy progeny, to live to make any claim afterwards, or to be revenged; for that were their unsurety. Thy wife shall be abused before thy face; thy daughter likewise defloured before thee; thy children slain before thine eyes; thy house spoiled; thy cattle driven away, and sold before thy visage; thy plate, thy money, by force taken from thee; all thy goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy children, ravened, broken, and distributed in thy presence, that every ravener may have his share. Thou merchant art sure to be slain, for thou hast either money or ware, or both, which they search for. Thou bishop or priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt never escape, because thou wouldst not take the bishop of Rome's part, and rebel against God and thy prince, as he doth. If thou shalt flee and escape for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt see and hear of so much misery and abomination, that thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before; for sure it is thou shalt not finally escape: for, to take the whole realm in prey, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do if they can,

"And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, coming of a noble blood, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same, being his native country; whose pestilent purpose, the princes that he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the

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bishop of Rome (who, being a bishop, should procure peace) is a stirrer of war, and because this most arrant and unkind traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the country that he was born in; which any heathen man would abhor to do."

And so continuing in his discourse against Cardinal Pole and the bishop of Rome, for stirring the people to war and mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, thus:

"For these many years past, little war hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the bishop of Rome either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. Paul saith, that God is not the God of dissension, but of peace, who commandeth, by his word, peace alway to be kept, we are sure that all those that go about to break peace between realms, and to bring them to war, are the children of the devil, what holy names soever they may pretend to cloak their pestilent malice withal; which cloaking under hypocrisy is double devilishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the devil's part."

And in the latter end of his sermon, concluding with Ezekiel xxxix., where the prophet speaketh against Gog and Magog going about to destroy the people of God, and prophesieth against them, that the people of God shall vanquish and overthrow them on the mountains of Israel, that none of them shall escape, but their carcasses shall there be devoured of kites and crows, and birds of the air; so likewise saith he of these our enemies, wishing, that if they shall persist in their pestilent malice to make invasion into this realm, then their great captain Gog (the bishop of Rome he meaneth) may come with them, to drink with them of the same cup which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the people of God might after live quietly in peace.

We have heard hitherto the oaths, censures, and judgments of certain particular bishops, of York, of Winchester, of London, of Durham, and also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, against the pope's unlawful usurpation. Now, for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the consent and approbation of these aforesaid, to infer also the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, as in a total sum together, confirmed and ratified in their own public book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then The Bishops' Book; in the which book, although many things were very slender and imperfect, yet, as touching this cause of the bishop of Rome's regality, we will hear (God willing) what their whole opinion and provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names; the catalogue of whom, under their own confession, shall appear:

"We think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain men do imagine and affirm, that Christ should give unto the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church, but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands, and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seignories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, that is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto St. Peter, or unto any of

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the apostles or their successors, any such authority. And the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, do teach and command, that all Christian people, as well priests and bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the princes and potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

"And as for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; since which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by colluding with great kings and princes, sometimes training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctimony, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to put laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom, but also unto the emperors, kings, and other the princes and lords of the world; and that, under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the gospel. Wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the holy canons made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, and also in the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils. And finally, they do transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For all the bishops of Rome always, when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among which it is especially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began, and that by the bishops of the same province; and divers other such canons were then made and confirmed by the said councils, to repress and take away out of the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the gospel, and the decrees of the church) that any bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him, the title and name of universal bishop, or of the head of all priests, or of the highest priest, or any such-like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, either in Scripture, or in the writings of any authentical doctor or author of the church, being within the time of the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves, that they were all equal in power, order, authority and jurisdiction. And in that there is now, and since the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference amongst the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church, for the conservation of good order and the unity of the catholic church; and that either by the consent and authority, or else at least by the permission and sufferance, of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling."

This doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witness and testimony of these bishops and other learned men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in The Bishops' Book before named.

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Thomas Cantuariensis.
Edovardus Eboracensis.
Johannes Londinensis.
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.
Stephanus Wintoniensis.
Robertus Carliolensis.
Johannes Exoniensis.
Johannes Lincolniensis.
Johannes Barthoniensis.
Rolandus Coventr. et Lichfield.
Thomas Eliensis.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Johannes Bangor.
Edovardus Herefordiensis.
Hugo Wigorniensis.
Johannes Roffensis.
Richardus Cicestrensis.
Gulielmus Norwicensis.
Gulielmus Menevensis.
Robertus Assavensis.
Robertus Landavensis.

Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon Sudbur.
Gulielmus Knight Archidiacon Richmond.
Johan. Bel, Archidiacon Gloucester.
Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon Leicester.
Gulielmus Skippe, Archidiacon Dorset.
Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon Staff
Cuthbertus Marshal, Archidiacon Nottingham.
Richardus Curren, Archidiacon Oxon.

Gulielmus Cliffe.
Galfridus Dounes.
Robertus Oking.
Radulphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Matthew.
Johannes Prin.
Gulielmus Buckmaster.
Gulielmus May.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Richardus Cox.
Johannes Edmunds.
Thomas Robertson.
Johannes Baker.
Thomas Barret.

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Johannes Hase.
Johannes Tyson.

These were doctors of divinity, and of both laws.

185. Fools and Traitors who Clung to the Pope

Judge now thyself, loving reader, by these things heretofore confessed, alleged, allowed, proved, and confirmed, by pen set forth, by words defended, and by oath subscribed by these bishops and doctors, if either Martin Luther himself, or any Lutheran else, could or did ever say more against the proud usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply, speaking so pithily? If they meant as they spake, who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But because these things we write for edification of others, rather than for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reasons, and let the persons go.

Concerning the argument of which epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, Cardinal Pole, brother to the Lord Montague, was attainted of high treason, and fled away unto Rome, where, within a short time after, he was made cardinal of St. Mary Cosmeden; of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen Mary. In the mean time, he remaining at Rome, there was directed unto him a certain epistle exhortatory by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tonsal, bishop of Durham, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king.

When all other the king's subjects, and the learned of the realm, had taken and accepted the oath of the king's supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, refused (as is afore said) to be sworn; who therefore, falling into the danger of the law, were committed to the Tower, and executed for the same, A.D. 1535. This John Fisher aforesaid had written before against Ecolampadius, whose book is yet extant, and afterwards against Luther.

Also, amongst other his acts, he had been a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before: and, shortly after, the said Fisher, to his confusion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton, (called the holy maid of Kent,) and found guilty by act of parliament, as is above recorded. For his learning and other virtues of life this bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented by some. But whatsoever his learning was, pity it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had, to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly we see come to pass, as the Lord saith, that whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword, and they that stain their hands with blood, seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christ's poor members; in the number of whom were this bishop and Sir Thomas More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitten, Bayfield, with divers other good saints of God, were brought to their death. It was said that the pope, to recompense Bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon, was as high as London bridge ere ever the pope's hat could come to him. Thus Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, who a little before had put John Frith to death for heresy

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against the pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for treason against the king, the one the twenty-second of June, the other the sixth of July, A.D. 1535.

Of Sir Thomas More something hath been touched before, who was also counted a man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was besides, a bitter persecutor he was of good men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the gospel, as by his books left behind him may appear; wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury; falsely belying their articles and doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecutor of them that stood in defence of the gospel, so again, on the other side, such a blind devotion he bare to the pope-holy see of Rome, and so wilfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the scaffold of the Tower-hill, with the axe and all, upon his own neck.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle, writing of the death and manners of this Sir Thomas More, seems to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man: for, as by nature he was endued with a great wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had ministered some mock in the Communication; insomuch as, at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanding his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his cap, saying it was the uppermost garment that he had. Likewise, even going to his death, at the Tower gate, a poor woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain evidences of hers in the time that he was in office, (which, after he was apprehended, she could not come by,) and that he would entreat that she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered, "Good woman, have patience a little while, for the king is so good unto me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself." Also, when he went up the stair of the scaffold, he desired one of the sheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, "When I come down again, let me shift for myself as well as I can." Also the hangman kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is; to whom he answered, "I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honesty of the striking off my head, my neck is so short." Also, even when he should lay down his head on the block, he, having a great grey beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, "I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it;" thus with a mock he ended his life.

There is no doubt but that the pope's Holiness hath hallowed and dignified those two persons long since for catholic martyrs: neither is it to be doubted, but after a hundred years expired, they shall be also shrined and porthosed, dying as they did in the quarrel of the Church of Rome, that is, in taking the bishop of Rome's part against their own ordinary and natural prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long discourse, and a peculiar tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with Cope, my friend. This briefly for a memorandum may suffice; that if the causes of true martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbered, and if the end of martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these men standing as it doth, and being tried by God's word, perhaps in the pope's kingdom

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they may go for martyrs, in whose cause they died; but certes in Christ's kingdom their cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

The like also is to be said of the three monks of the Charter-house, Exmew, Middlemore, and Neudigate, who the same year, in the month of June, were likewise attached and arraigned at Westminster, for speaking certain traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity; for which they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: whom also, because Cope, my good friend, doth repute and accept in the number of holy catholic martyrs, here would be asked of him a question: What martyrs be they, who, standing before the judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these Carthusians did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore, if my friend Cope had been so well advised in setting out his martyrs as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others.

In the same cause and quarrel of treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the month of May, were executed with the like punishment, John Houghton, prior of the charter-house in London; Robert Laurence, prior of the charter-house of Belvail; Austin Webster, prior of the charter-house of Exham.

Besides and with these priors suffered likewise at the same time, two other priests, one called Reginald, brother of Sion, the other named John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth. Divers other Charter-house monks also of London were then put in prison, to the number of nine or ten, and in the same prison died; for whom we will, the Lord willing, reserve another place, hereafter to treat of them more at large.

In the mean time, forasmuch as the aforesaid Cope, in his doughty dialogues, speaking of these nine worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three priors above recited, here by the way I would desire Master Cope simply and directly to answer me to a thing or two that I would put to him; and first of this John Houghton, that angelical prior of the Charter-house, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom he thus writeth: *Atqui cum Johannem illum Houghtonum cogito, non tam hominem quam angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinas dotes, et heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satin pro dignitate explicare, &c.* By these his own words it must needs be confessed, that the author of these dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion, and shape, of his excellent body, with such admiration of his personage, that, "as he saith, as oft as I call the said John Houghton to mind, it seemeth to me even as though I saw an angel in the shape and form of a man: whose eminent virtues, moreover, whose divine gifts and heroical greatness of mind, no man," saith he, "may sufficiently express." And how old was this Master Cope then, would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? for, as I understand, Master Cope, being yet at this present scarce come to the age of forty years, he could not then be above nine years old (the other suffering A.D. 1535); in the which age, in my mind, Master Cope had small discretion to judge either of any such angelical proportion of this man's personage, or of his divine qualities and heroical celsitude of his mind; and yet he remembereth him in his dialogues: which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me

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vehemently to suspect that these dialogues, printed in Antwerp, A.D. 1566, were brought over by Master Cope there to be printed, but were penned and framed by another PseudoCopus, whatsoever, or in what fleet soever, he was, unless my marks do greatly fail me. But as the case is of no great weight, so I let it pass, returning to other matters of greater importance.

Shortly after the overthrow of the pope, consequently began by little and little to follow the ruin of abbeys and religious houses in England, in a right order and method by God's divine providence. For neither could the fall of monasteries have followed after, unless that suppression of the pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious houses had been joined withal.

Whereupon, the same year, in the month of October, the king, having then Thomas Cromwell of his council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeys, priories, and nunneries in all England, and to set at liberty all such religious persons as desired to be free, and all others that were under the age of four and twenty years; providing withal, that such monks, canons, and friars as were dismissed, should have given them by the abbot or prior, instead of their habit, a secular priest's gown, and forty shillings of money, and likewise the nuns to have such apparel as secular women did then commonly use, and be suffered to go where they would; at which time also, from the said abbeys and monasteries were taken their chief jewels and relics.

When the king had thus established his supremacy, and all things were well quieted within the realm, he, like a wise prince, and having wise counsel about him, forecasting with himself what foreign dangers might fall unto him by other countries about, which were all as yet in subjection to the bishop of Rome, save only a few German princes, and misdoubting the malice of the pope, to provide therefore betimes for perils that might ensue, thought good to keep in, by all means possible, with other princes.

And first, to entertain the favour of the French king, who had been sick a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in signification of public joy and friendship, the king commanded a solemn and famous procession to be ordained through the city of London, with the waits, and children of the grammar schools, with the masters and ushers in their array: then followed the orders of the friars and canons, and the priors with their pomp of copes, crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them. After these followed the next pageant of clerks and priests of London, all in copes likewise. Then the monks of Westminster and other abbeys, with their glorious gardeviance of crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them, in like sort. Last of all came the choir of St. Paul's, with their residentiaries; the bishop of London and the abbots following after in their pontificalibus. After these courses of the clergy went the companies of the city, with the lord mayor and aldermen in their best apparel, after their degrees. And lest it might be thought this procession of the church of London to make but a small or beggarly show, the furniture of the gay copes there worn, was counted to the number of seven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides the singing choirs, and chanting of the priests, there lacked no minstrels withal, to pipe at the processions. Briefly, here lacked nothing else but only the ordnance to shoot off also. But because that is used in the processions at Rome, therefore, for difference' sake, the same is reserved only for the pope's own processions, and for none other, in the month of October.

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This grand procession was appointed for a triumph or a thanksgiving for the late recovery of the French king's health, as is afore said.

Over and besides this, the king, to nourish and retain amity with kings and princes, (lest the pope, being exiled now out of England, should incite them to war against him,) directed sundry ambassadors and messengers with letters and instructions. To the emperor was sent Sir Francis Wyat, to the French king Sir Thomas Bryan, and Dr. Edward Foxe, who was also sent to the princes of Germany; to the Scottish king was sent Sir Ralph Sadler, gentleman of the king's privy-chamber.

In Scotland at the same time were cast abroad divers railing ballets and slanderous rhymes against the king of England, for casting off the lady dowager, and for abolishing the pope; for which cause the aforesaid Sir Ralph Sadler, being sent into Scotland with lessons and instructions how to address himself accordingly, after he had obtained access unto the king, and audience to be heard, first declareth the affectuous and hearty commendations from the king's Majesty, his Grace's uncle, and withal delivered his letters of credence: which done, after a few words of courtly entertainment, as occasion served him to speak, the said Sir Ralph Sadler, obtaining audience, thus began in the king his master's behalf to declare, as followeth

"Whereas there is nothing, after the glory of Almighty God, in this world so much to be tendered by kings, princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their honour, estimation, good fame, and name, which whosoever neglecteth is to be esteemed unnatural; and unless a man labour to avoid and extinguish the false reports, slanders, and defamations made of him by malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemn himself; the king your uncle, considering the same, and hearing of sundry ballets, criminations, and infamous libels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his Grace, by your Grace's subjects, not only upon trust to find with your Grace such natural affection, friendship, and amity, as the nearness of blood between uncle and nephew, necessitude of reverence, proximity both of kin and dominions together doth require; but also upon assurance that your Grace and wisdom will consider how these slanders and defamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate; as the defamation of kings toucheth kings, and so of other degrees and dignities: doth send at this time to your Grace, his nephew, (others he might have sent more worthy; but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he sent,) to desire, pray, and require your Grace, according as the nearness of blood, connexion of estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice do require beseeching your Grace gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder, the malice of these the said slanderers, and to call in again all the said defamatory ballets, libels, and other writings, punishing the authors and setters-forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open proclamations to be made through your realm, that none of the inhabitants there shall, in any manner of wise, so misuse himself hereafter, upon such great pain and punishment as to your Grace and your council shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that others, by their correction, and by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.

"The example of such slanders is very pernicious to all kings; for, by such slanders of other princes, the slanderers take boldness so to deal afterwards with their own king, as they have

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done with others; and the next step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to sedition; of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

"Wherefore your Grace, at the contemplation of your dear uncle, in tendering his proceedings, shall do well to follow therein the loving steps of his good brother and ally, the French king, who hath already at Rouen, and sundry places else, caused certain slanderous preachers to be sore punished; and further directed commissions through his realm for repressing the same. As also other princes shall be ready (his Majesty trusteth) to do the like in their dominions, if like occasion shall be given to require the same of them. In which so doing, your Gracemay be assured, in this your gentle dealing in that part, to win your uncle's most sincere and kind heart, to the increase of your amity and alliance, which as to you shall be most honourable, so shall it be no less profitable unto him.

"And thus to conclude with the first part of my narration, concerning the slanderous and defamatory libels, lest I should seem with prolixity of matter more than needs to abuse your Grace's silence, I will now descend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your Grace, as touching the pope's nuncio, or messenger; of whose late arrival the king's Majesty, your uncle, having partly intelligence, but not certainly knowing the special cause of his coming from Rome, and yet fearing, by the common bruit and talk of your subjects, what his errand should be (that is, to practise some annoyance, by his pretended censures against the king's Majesty, your uncle); he therefore, premonishing your Grace before, as fearing the worst, most justly maketh his complaint thereof unto your Grace, his nephew, requiring you, that forasmuch as the aforesaid bruits and reports are slanderous to his Majesty, and seeing that neither the emperor, nor the French king, nor any other princes, have consented thereto, or understood thereof, the king's Majesty, therefore, your uncle, willing to stop those bruits and talks, desireth and most heartily prayeth your Grace, at his instant request, to vouchsafe to consider and weigh,

"First, The supremacy of princes, by the Holy Scripture granted unto him and other princes in earth, under Christ, upon their churches.

"Secondly, To weigh what the gospel and God's word calleth a church.

"Also what superstitions, idolatries, and blind abuses have crept into all realms, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, by reason thereof. "Fourthly, What is to be understood by the true censure or excommunication of the church, and how no such can be in the power of the bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his Majesty, or any other prince; having so just ground to avoid from the root, and to abolish that execrable authority, which the bishop of Rome hath usurped, and doth usurp, upon all princes, to their great detriment and damage.

"As touching the consideration of which four points, although the king's Majesty, your uncle, doubteth not your Grace to be furnished and provided with sufficient knowledge, rightly to discern and judge upon the same; yet, if it shall so please your Grace further to know your uncle's mind touching the said points, I assure your Highness, in the behalf of your aforesaid uncle, his Majesty, that he will not stick to send unto you such learned, wise, and discreet men, as shall amply inform you thereof, and of such other things as your Grace, having once a smack thereof, shall think most worthy for a prince to know.

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"His request therefore to your Highness is, that you will consider of what moment and importance it shall be unto your Grace, (having the Scots your subjects so evil instructed in the premises,) for you to assent and agree to any such censure, and so, by such example, to give such an upper-hand over yourself and other princes, to that usurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Christendom, wheresoever the true declaration of the truth and word of God shall have free course, to scourge them, unless they will adore, worship, and kiss the feet of that corrupt holiness, which desireth nothing else but pride, and the universal thrall of Christendom under Rome's yokes.

"But because the censures of that nuncio be not yet opened, but lie secret and uncertain under muttering, I shall cease further to proceed therein, till further occasion shall minister to me more certain matter to say and to judge. In the mean time, forasmuch as it is most certainly come to the intelligence of the king's Majesty, that the abbot of Arbroath should be chosen of late and elected to be a cardinal in this your realm of Scotland, his Majesty therefore, for the good love and hearty good will he beareth unto your Grace, as the uncle is bound unto the nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive not so well the hypocrisy and deceitful guile and malice of the Romans and their practices, as he himself doth, by his long experience; could not but, hearing thereof, advertise your Grace, that his advice is, you should not suffer any of your subjects to take upon him that red hat of pride, whereby he shall incontinently, the same being received, (unless he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that sort,) not only be in manner discharged of his obedience, and become the bishop of Rome's true liege man; but also shall presume of his cardinalship to be your fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then should the bishop of Rome creep into your own very bosom, know all your secrets, and at last, unless you will be yoked and serve their pleasure in all points, your Grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance, in the beginning, shall seem to your Grace very honourable and pleasant; but wisdom would, to beware of the tail, which is very black and bitter.

"His Majesty's father, and grandfather to your Grace, had a cardinal whereof he was weary, and never admitted others after his decease, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner also his Highness, by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoid all the sort: so well his Grace hath known and experienced their mischief, yoke, and thralldom, that thereby is laid upon princes. By reason whereof, as his Highness is the more able by his own experience to inform your Grace, so of good will and mere propensity of heart, caused partly by nature and kin, partly by conjunction and vicinity of dominions adjoining so near together, he is no less ready to forewarn your Grace before, wishing that God will so work in your princely heart and noble stomach, that his Majesty's monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part unto his nephew, so it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your Grace, wisely weighing with yourself, what supreme right princes have, and ought to have, over their churches and lands where they govern, and what little cause the bishop of Rome hath thereto, to proceed by unjust censures against them; your Grace may therein not only stand to the just defence of your dear uncle, but also may endeavour to follow his steps therein, and to take his counsel, which, he doubteth not, but shall redound, not only to your Grace's honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your realm and subjects; but, especially, to the glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true religion.

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"And thus have I expounded unto your Grace the sum of my errand and message from the king's Majesty, your uncle, who, as he would be glad to be advertised, by answer, of your Grace's purpose, mind, and intention in this behalf, so, for my part, according to my charge and duty, I shall be prepared and ready, with all diligence, to give mine attendance upon your pleasure for the same accordingly."

The king, considering the present state of his marriage, which was not yet well digested nor accepted in the courts of other princes, and also having intelligence of the strait amity intended by the marriages between the emperor and the French king, and also of the pope's inclination to pleasure the emperor; and further understanding of the order and meaning of the French king's council, not greatly favouring his purposes, sent therefore into France, for his ambassador, Edward Foxe, doctor of divinity, his chaplain and counsellor, with instructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper himself in those the king's affairs.

Furthermore, for the establishing of the king's succession to the imperial crown of this realm, for the suppression of the pope, and uniting the title of supremacy unto the king's crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was set upon the same, may appear by the act of parliament set forth A.D. 1534, in these words following:

"If any person or persons, after the first of February next, do maliciously imagine, invent, practise, or attempt to deprive the king of the dignity, title, or name of his royal estate, &c., that then every such person and persons so offending in any of the premises, their aiders, counsellors, consenters, and abettors, being thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws and customs of this realm, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged traitors; and that every such offence in any the premises committed or done after the said first day of February, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged high treason; and the offenders therein, their aiders, consenters, counsellors, and abettors, being lawfully convicted of any such offence, shall have and suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as are limited and accustomed in cases of high treason."

Upon this and such other acts concluded in those parliaments, what stomach the pope took, what stir he kept, and what practices he wrought with Cardinal Pole, to stir up other nations to war against us; what difficulty also there was with the emperor, with the French king, and with the king of Scots, about the matter; and what labour was used on the king's part, to reconcile the princes for his own indemnity, to keep him from their wars and invasions, and especially to obtain the pope's approbation, and to avoid his censures of excommunication; and finally, what despiteful injuries and open wrongs the pope wrought against him, upon the which pope the king had bestowed so much money and great treasures before, all this, likewise, by the premises may appear.

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to go forward in our story, as the order and computation of years do give, we have now consequently to enter into the story of the good martyr of God, William Tyndale, being this present year falsely betrayed and put to death; which William Tyndale, as he was a special organ of the Lord appointed, and as God's mattock to shake the inward roots and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy; so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to

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entrap him, and falsely to betray him, maliciously to spill his life, as by the process of his story here following may appear.

186 William Tyndale

The life and story of this true servant and martyr of God, who, for his notable pains and travail, may well be called the apostle of England in this our later age.



WILLIAM Tyndale, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he, lying then in Magdalen hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. His manners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he, in the university of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors, and great beneficed men; who there, together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter into conversation, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought; and when they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinions and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then Master Welch and his wife, coming home, and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by the Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reprov'd their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a

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stout and a wise woman, (as Tyndale reporteth,) "Well," said she, there was such a doctor which may dispend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time, and also after that, (because he saw it would not avail,) he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which, being translated, he delivered to his master and lady; who, after they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had: which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there.

As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places; of whom Tyndale himself, in his prologue before the First Book of Moses, thus testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffereth much in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being full rude and ignorant, (saith he,) God knoweth: "which have seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their portueses and missals, (which yet many of them can scarcely read,) except it be Albertus, *De Secretis Mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called Lindwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church." Thus these blind and rude priests, flocking together to the alehouse, (for that was their preaching place,) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is, (as he himself declared,) that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser,) notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present. And thus Master Tyndale, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favoured him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the

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Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life:" and said moreover, "I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works." It was not long after, but Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did. After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things sorely to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a heretic in divinity; and said moreover to him, that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen there in that country; but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom Master Tyndale, answering again, thus said, that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach.

To be short, Master Tyndale, being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place; and so coming to Master Welch, he desired him of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him: "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry." So that in fine, Master Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and eftsoons came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about the town of Bristol, and also in the said town, in the common place called St. Austin's Green.

At length, he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonsal, then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extolled him for his learning, Tyndale thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And so coming to Sir Henry Guildford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said bishop of London for him; which he also did; and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with him. Which he did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight; the answer of whom was this: That his house was full; he had more than he could well find: and advised him to seek in London abroad, where, he said, he could lack no service, &c. And so remained he in London the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly misliked him; insomuch that he understood, not

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only that there was no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision, by God's providence, ministered unto him by Humphrey Mummuth, above recited, (as you may see before,) and certain other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany, where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, refused no travail nor diligence, how, by all means possible, to reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and verity, which the Lord had endued him withal. Whereupon, he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, Tyndale thought with himself no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. For first, he, wisely casting in his mind, perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as it were impossible to gather of the text, if the right process, order, and meaning thereof were seen.

Again, right well he perceived and considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of all mischief in the church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes; for so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaical clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and, with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about A.D. 1527. After that, he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again by all good Christians, as the like also he did upon the New Testament. He wrote also divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," wherein, with singular dexterity, he instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other treatises, as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other books also, answering to Sir Thomas More and other adversaries of the truth, no less delectable, than also most fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worn out by time, the printer hereof, good reader, for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected

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and set forth in print the same in one general volume, all and whole together, as also the works of John Frith, Barnes, and others, as are to be seen, most special and profitable for thy reading.

These books of William Tyndale being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his first departing out of the realm he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in those quarters; where after that he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the town of Antwerp, until the time of his apprehension; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

Amongst his other books which he compiled, one work he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar; which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seem to them odious to hear any such thing spoken or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddess Diana, that is, against their mass, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddess Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven. Wherefore Master Tyndale, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the setting forth of God's holy truth after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but, by God's merciful grace, a time should come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lord Almighty be always praised therefore. Amen!

These godly books of Tyndale, and especially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly, so the ungodly (envying and disdainning that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing lest, by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned) began to stir with no small ado; like as at the birth of Christ, Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. But especially Satan, the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travails of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other ways, may appear. For at what time Tyndale had translated the Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hinderance, and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship, both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, A.D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having despatched his business at Hamburg, he returned afterwards to Antwerp again.

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Thus, as Satan is, and ever hath been, an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of God's word, as by this and many other experiments may be seen, so his ministers and members, following the like quality of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the pope's chaplains and God's enemies, and by their cruel handling of the said Master Tyndale at the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appear.

When God's will was, that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale, the translator thereof, added to the latter end a certain epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned, to amend, if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if there had been any such default deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness, for men of knowledge and judgment to have showed their learning therein, and to have redressed what was to be amended. But the spiritual fathers then of the clergy, being not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they made more matter, and said that it would make the people to rebel and rise against the king. All this Tyndale himself, in his own prologue before the First Book of Moses, declareth; and addeth further, showing what great pains were taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour, he supposeth, they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible: showing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the said translation, in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over its head, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. So great were then the froward devices of the English clergy, (who should have been the guides of light unto the people,) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tyndale saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their lusts, their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cause, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels, how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent; by reason whereof, a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under public authority, but no just reason showed, that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works besides, both of his, and of other writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before: which was about A.D. 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life; which how they brought to pass, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest, how that the bishops and Sir Thomas More having any poor man under *coram*, that is, to be examined before them, namely, such as had been at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tyndale,

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where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparel he went, what resort he had, &c.: all which things when they had diligently learned, (as may appear by the examination of Simon Smith and others,) then began they to work their feats, as you shall hear by the relation of his own host.

William Tyndale, being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept there a house of English merchants; about which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had been a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by the means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz; and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house of the said Pointz; to whom he showed moreover his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Master Tyndale how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips, being in the town three or four days, upon a time desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to show him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs; by the which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money, to help him to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should think no less: but by whom it was unknown. For he had desired Pointz before, to help him to divers things; and such things as he named he required might be of the best, "for," said he, "I have money enough;" but of this talk came nothing but that men should think he had some things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose, to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof Master Tyndale should have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the king and the Lady Katharine, which was aunt to the emperor; and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been war between the emperor and the king; so that Philips, as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors more besides him; who, after he had betrayed Master Tyndale into their bands, showed himself likewise against the king's own

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person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, that procurer-general, which is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth; which was not done with small charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips's man came unto him, and asked whether Master Tyndale were there, and said, his master would come to him; and so departed: but whether his master, Philips, were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, either of the master or of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrois, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him; saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Master Tyndale took him forty shillings, the which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and inexpert.

Then said Philips, "Master Tyndale! you shall be my guest here this day." "No," said Master Tyndale, "I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner-time, Master Tyndale went forth with Philips, and at the going forth of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him but, Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale before, for that he pretended to show great humanity. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, which, being there, might see who came in the entry; and coming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers that took Master Tyndale afterwards told Pointz, and said to Pointz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him. Then they took him, and brought him to the emperor's attorney, or procurer-general, where he dined. Then came the procurer-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things; and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.

Then incontinent, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent, in favour of Tyndale, to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were directed out of England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant-adventurers, to Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them, in favour of Master Tyndale, to the lord of Barrois and others; which lord of Barrois (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to

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the palsgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor, she being chief princess of Denmark. Pointz, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; the which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, There were of their countrymen that were burned in England not long before (as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield); and so Pointz said to him, "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if his Lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride." Then said Pointz, "If it shall please your Lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place;" which was at Maestricht. "If you so do," said the lord, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, the which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchant-adventurers, and another also to the Lord Cromwell in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrois's letters also, and received eftsoons answer into England of the same by letters which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. And he, very desirous to have Master Tyndale out of prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, and diligently followed with the said letters, which he there delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other letters, with which he was not despatched thence in a month after. At length, the letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same.

When the said Pointz had tarried three or four days, it was told him by one that belonged to the Chancery, that Master Tyndale should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips, being there, followed the suit against Master Tyndale, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tyndale, and was one of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Master Tyndale at liberty, and no man's else.

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procuror-general, the emperor's attorney, and delivered to the keeping of two serjeants-at-arms; and the same evening was sent to him one of the chancery, with the procuror-general, who ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon not so few as a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the message concerning Tyndale, of his aiders, and of his religion; out of which examinations, the procuror-general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor, that is, a doctor and proctor in the law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the process were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp where his house was, being twenty-four English miles from Brussels, where he was prisoner, nor to any other place,

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but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch; and the procurer-general, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly, (contrary to all right and equity,) before they were sent or delivered: neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Pointz in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue; so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what the contents of the letters or talk should be: saving that at one time the provincial of the White Friars came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial, after dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the said Pointz; and so with him he was licensed to talk. The purpose and great policy therein was easy to be perceived. Between Pointz and the novice was much pretty talk, as of Sir Thomas More, and of the bishop of Rochester, and of their putting to death; whose death he seemed greatly to lament, especially dying in such a quarrel, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for martyrs; with other noble doctrine, and deep learning in divinity, meet to feed swine withal: such blindness then in those days reigned amongst them.

The eighth day, the commissioners that were appointed came to the house where Pointz was kept, to have had his answer in writing: he, making no great haste in proceeding, answereth them with a dilatory manner, saying, he was there a prisoner, and might not go abroad, so that, although he had appointed and named who were to be a council with him, they came not to him, nor could he go to them; nor could any come to give counsel in this matter, but such as were licensed and named by them. Then they gave him a day, to make answer against the next eighth day. And Pointz drew out his own mind, answering to the whole declaration generally; which, at the next coming, he delivered them: but that answer they would not take, saying, he must answer to every article particularly; and so they took order, that he should make it ready against the next coming. Thus he trifled them off, from Allhallow-tide until Christmas even, with dilatory matters, from one eighth day to another eighth day. And upon Christmas even, in the morning, they came to him to have had an answer, which was not made, nor had any counsel come to him in all that time: howbeit, they would delay the time no longer, but said they, "Bring in your answer this day, or else ye shall be put from it;" so he perceived, that if it were not brought in that night, he should have been condemned without answer. So then, with much ado, he got the advocate to help him in ordering of his answer; but it was long ere he came, so that it was past eight o'clock of Christmas even before his answers were delivered to the procurer-general. And then afterwards, as the time served, at the days appointed, it went forth with replication duplic, with other answers each to other, in writing what they could, in answering to the emperor's ordinances. And at such times as the commissioners came to Pointz, that traitor Philips accompanied them to the door, in following the process against him, as he also did against Master Tyndale, as they who had Pointz in keeping showed him.

The process being ended, as the order is there, either party delivered up to the commissioners a bag, with his process in writing, and took an inventory of every parcel of writing that was within the bag. So it rested in their hands; but, upon sentence, Pointz required, in the time of process, that he might put in surety, and so to be at liberty. This they granted him at the first time, but, afterwards, they denied to take surety for his body. Then he sent a post from the town of Brussels to Antwerp to the English merchants, thinking they would not let him have stuck for lack of their help, in putting in sureties for him, considering the cause, with the circumstance, especially since they brought him into this trouble themselves; although it does not

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appear that they made him any promise for his charges and pains taken, as Pointz reported of them they really did.

But, to pass over this, and to make the matter short: if the aforesaid merchants, such as were of the town of Antwerp, had, at the time, been surety for him, then the matter had been altered from a criminal to a civil case: but when Pointz had delivered to them his answer, they demanded of him, for his charges, money, or sureties. The charges were much, to reckon for the two officers' meat, and drink, and wages, beside his own charges; so that it was about five shillings every day. For all the while he was prisoner, he was not in a common prison, but in the keeping of two officers in one of their houses. So they demanded sureties to be brought within eight days for the charges, but then they denied him to take surety for his body, to make answer at liberty. Pointz, considering that they altered in their purposes, as well in other things as in that; and perceiving, by other things, (as also it was told in secret,) that it would have cost him his life if he had tarried, yet Pointz granted them to put in sureties, requiring of them to have a messenger to send; not because he reckoned to have any, but to make a delay, otherwise they would have sent him to a stronger prison. But Pointz delayed them, thinking, if he could, to make escape; yet he did make a good face, as though he reckoned to have been in no danger; which if he had not done, it was very unlikely he should have escaped with his life out of their hands. And at the eighth day the commissioners came again to Pointz, and there received both their bags with the process, one from the procuror-general, and one from Pointz, delivering either of them an inventory of such pieces of writing as were delivered in the bags, and demanded sureties of Pointz, according to the order they took when they were last with him. Pointz alleged that he had divers times required those who had him in keeping to get him a messenger, as he also had done, but made no great haste to have any; for he reckoned it should be a sufficient delay, whereby he might have another day. And with much alleging the impossibility of his being able to get a messenger to send forth, at the last, they put him apart, and agreed to give him a day eight days after, and called him in again, and commanded the officer to get him a messenger, as they did. And so Pointz sent him with letters to the English merchants, who at that time were at Barrois. Howbeit, he reckoned to get away before the return again of the messenger, for he perceived his tarrying there should have been his death. And therefore, to put in a venture to get away, that so he might save himself, (for, if he had been taken, it would have been but death, for he had been prisoner there in their hands at that time about twelve or thirteen weeks,) he tarried not the coming again of the messenger, but, in a night, by some means he conveyed himself off, and so, by God's help, at the opening of the town gate in the morning, he got away. And when it was perceived that he was gone, there was horse sent out after him, but, because he well knew the country, he escaped and came into England. But what more trouble followeth to Pointz after the same, it serveth not for this place to rehearse. Master Tyndale, still remaining in prison, was proffered an advocate and a procuror; for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; but he refused to have any, saying, he would make answer for himself, and did: but, it is to be thought, his answer will not be put forth. Notwithstanding, he had so preached to them there who had him in charge, and such as were there conversant with him in the castle, that they reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they knew not whom they might take to be one.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh,

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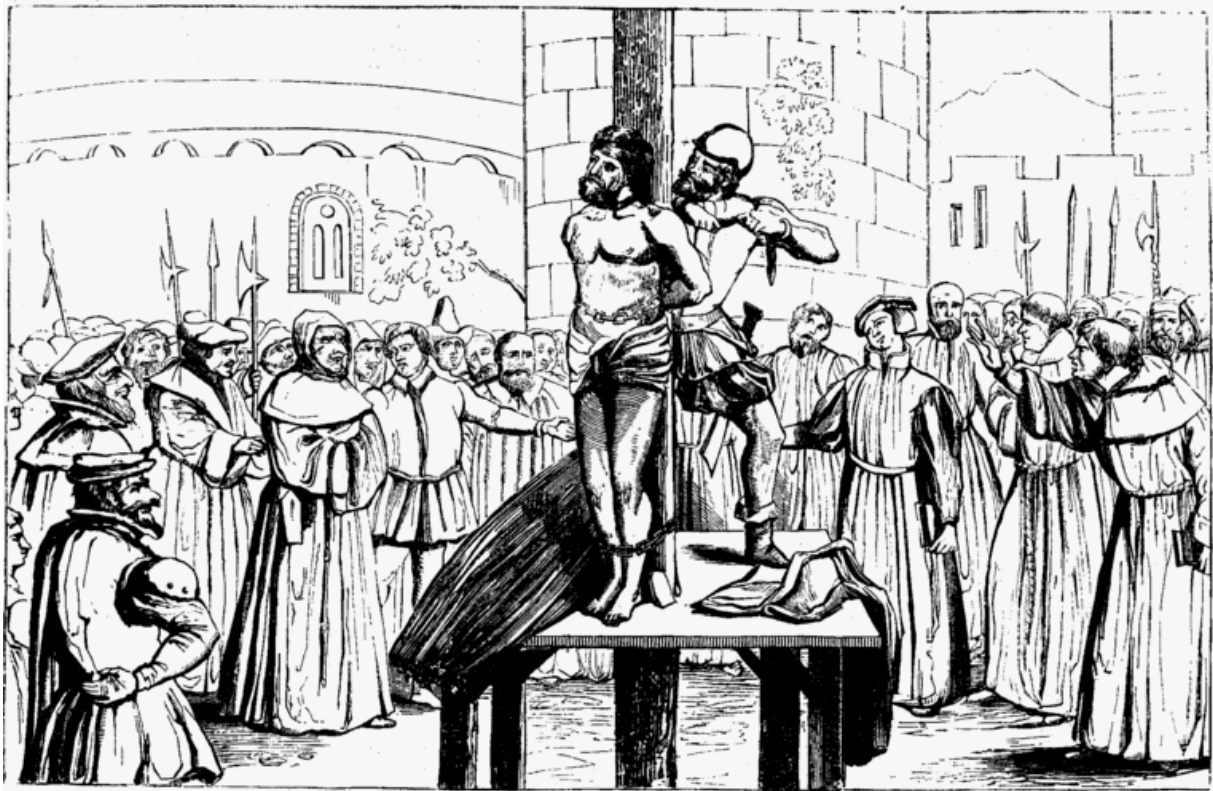
(as is before signified,) and, upon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed in the morning, at the town of Filford, A.D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

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

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

The same morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a letter to the keeper of the castle, which the keeper himself brought to the house of the aforesaid Pointz in Antwerp, shortly after; which letter, with his examinations and other his disputations, I would might have come to our hands; all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the keeper's daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the castle prisoner, there was much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the university of Louvain, (which was not past nine or ten miles from the place where he was prisoner,) in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his doctrine.

That traitor, worse than Judas to man's judgment, (only not comparing this to the case of Christ, and that the Scripture hath already judged Judas,) was otherwise in the act — doing not so good; for Judas, after he had betrayed his Master and Friend, was sorry, acknowledged and confessed his fact openly, declared his Master to be the very Truth, and despising the money that he had received for doing the act, brought it again and cast it before them. This traitor Philips, contrariwise, not lamenting, but rejoicing in what he had done, not declaring the honest goodness and truth of his friend, but applying, in all that he could devise, to declare him to be false and seditious, and not despising the money that he had received, not bringing it again, but procuring and receiving more, wherewith to follow the suit against that innocent blood to the death; which case of things endured about one whole year and a half, in which he lost no time, but all that time followed Pointz with most diligent attendance to and fro, and from Louvain to Brussels, and to Filford, with process to have sentence against him. And having there no other thing to do, he applied himself to nothing else; which was not done with small expenses and charges, from whomsoever it came. And, as I hare heard say there in that country, Master Tyndale found them in the university of Louvain with enough to do.



Tyndale at the stake

And yet, in all that while, if they had not taken to help them an ordinance of the emperor's making, (which ordinance was made by the advice and counsel of the pope's soldiers, for the upholding of his kingdom, and also joined with his own laws,) they knew not else how to have brought him to his death by their disputing with him in the Scriptures; for he was permitted to dispute, in answering to them, by writing. And that traitor Philips was not satisfied with that, but he knew that he should have money enough, as himself before had said to Pointz. But, as when Judas did run away with the bag when he went to betray Christ, with which he went his way, the other apostles thought he had gone to have bought things necessary, (although he went to appoint with the Jews for the taking of his Master, Christ,) so, in like manner, this traitor Philips, the same morning that he brought his treachery to purpose, with bringing Master Tyndale into the hands of God's enemies, took money of him under a colour of borrowing, and put it into his bag, and then incontinent went his ways therewith, and came with his company of soldiers, who laid hands upon him as before, and led him away. And about one whole year and a half after, he was put to death at Filford, with fire; and, albeit this Philips rejoiced awhile, after that he had done it, yet the saying so goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was consumed at last with lice.

The worthy virtues and doings of this blessed martyr, who, for his painful travails and singular zeal to his country, may be called, in these our days, an apostle of England, it were long to recite. Among many others, this, because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought

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not in silence to overpass, which hath unto me credibly been testified by certain grave merchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive the story whereof is this: There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a company of merchants as they were at supper, a certain juggler, which through his diabolical enchantments of art magical, would fetch all kind of viands and wine from any place they would, and set them upon the table incontinent before them, with many other suchlike things. The fame of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as Master Tyndale heard of it, he desired certain of the merchants, that he might also be present at supper, to see him play his parts. To be brief, the supper was appointed, and the merchants, with Tyndale, were there present. Then the juggler, being required to play his feats, and to show his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At last, with his labour, sweating, and toiling, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning the works and books of Tyndale, which extend to a great number, thou vast told before, loving reader! how the printer hereof mindeth, by the Lord's leave, to collect them all in one volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needful to make any several rehearsal of them. And as touching his translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be so full of heresies; to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt hear and understand what faithful dealing and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words, written in his epistle to John Frith, as followeth: "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me," &c.

And as ye have heard Tyndale's own words, thus protesting for himself, now let us hear likewise the faithful testimony of John Frith, for Tyndale his dear companion and brother, thus declaring in his answer to Master More, as followeth:

The testimony of John Frith, in his book of the sacrament, concerning William Tyndale.

"And Tyndale I trust liveth, well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, who is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth this: I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, no would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws,' &c. Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, who beholdeth the heart."

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Thus much out of Frith. And thus, being about to conclude and finish with the life and story of William Tyndale, it shall be requisite now that the reader do hear something likewise of his supplications made to the king and nobles of the realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be seen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Tyndale's supplication to the king, nobles, and subjects of England.

"I beseech the king's most noble Grace, well to consider all the ways by which the cardinal, and our holy bishops, have led him since he was first king; and to see whereunto all the pride, pomp, and vain boast of the cardinal is come, and how God hath resisted him and our prelates in all their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet with all matters, and have spent for our prelates causes more than all Christendom, even unto the utter beggaring of ourselves; and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all nations, and a mock and a scorn of them whom we have most holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late days made a play, or a disguising, at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and the French king, and wearied them; the king of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages: as one who should say, we paid for all men's dancing. We monied the emperor openly, and gave the French king double and treble secretly, and to the pope also. Yea, and though Ferdinand had money sent openly to blind the world withal, yet the saying is, through all Dutchland, that we sent money to the king of Poland, &c.

"Furthermore, I beseech his Grace also to have mercy on his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his holy Testament to be persecuted under his name any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which, for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawn.

"Thirdly, my petition is to his Grace, to have compassion on his poor subjects, that the realm utterly perish not with the wicked counsel of our pestilent prelates. For if his Grace, who is but a man, should die, the lords and commons not knowing who hath most right to enjoy the crown, the realm could not but stand in great danger.

"My fourth suit and exhortation is to all the lords temporal of the realm, that they come and fall before the king's Grace, and humbly desire his Majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed: and if he or she fail, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly; and let all the lords temporal be sworn thereto, and all the knights, and squires, and gentlemen, and the commons above eighteen years old, that there be no strife for the succession. If they try it by the sword, I promise them, I see no other likelihood, but it will cost the realm of England, &c.

"Further, of all the subjects of England this I crave — that they repent; for the cause of evil rulers is the sin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, saith Paul, in 1 Thess. ii. We be all sinners a hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us, therefore, each forgive others, remembering, the greater sinners the more welcome, if we repent; according to the similitude of the riotous son. For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood is their treasure, to pay for their

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sins. He is that fatted calf which is slain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again; and his merits are the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their sins.

"Finally, if the persecution of the king's Grace, and other temporal persons, conspiring with the spiritually, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see and repent, and God shall show them mercy. But if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the law of God, by the reason of a full consent they have to sin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto, being now past all repentance, they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full lust, without bridle or snaffle, (which is the sin against the Holy Ghost,) then ye shall see, even shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword wherewith they now shed Christ's blood, homeward, to shed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible."

These things thus discoursed, pertaining to the story and doings of Tyndale, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private letters and epistles, whereof, among divers others which have not come to our hands, two special he wrote to John Frith, one properly, under his own name, another under the name of Jacob; but, in very deed, it was written and delivered to John Frith, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further understand by the sequel hereafter. The copy and tenor of the epistles here followeth.

A letter sent from William Tyndale unto Master Frith, being in the Tower.

"The grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John! I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way have brought it to a stay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all!

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

"Dearly beloved! be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may, at his coming, be made like to his, immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which choose to

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suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that, nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none but that will abjure, rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites say, 'He must needs die; denying helpeth not. But, might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times; but seeing it would not help them, therefore, of pure pride and mere malice together, they spake with their mouths what their conscience knoweth false.' If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself, wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you, and make you strong; and that so strong that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine: yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*; to look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair, till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

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

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

"Two have suffered in Antwerp, *In die sanctæ crucis*, unto the great glory of the gospel; four at Risele in Flanders, and at Lucca hath there one at the least suffered; and all the same day. At Rouen in France they persecute, and at Paris are five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful, and remember that among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace; for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over, Amen.

"If, when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian, do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

"George Joy at Candlemas, being at Barrois, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N., to deliver them; and to purchase licence, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new Bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest, that should print.

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"This chanced the ninth day of May.

"Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered.

WILLIAM TYNDALE."

Another notable and worthy letter of Master William Tyndale, sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

"The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

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

"Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative: whether constant or obstinate, I commit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose. My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace, at leisure, of both parties. If you be required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will: for as to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within in the heart, in spirit, and verity; even so, to believe that the body of Christ is every where, (though it cannot be proved,) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit if God show you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

"I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it is come to pass. And now methinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart, and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God,

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and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if aught be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth. "Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart! there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you; not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep along by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say, (till others agree with you,) 'Methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding.' Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God, to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws.

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

"Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you; but now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

"My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and who was once my scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen. Whether he is gone an ambassador secret, I wot not.

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

"I hope our redemption is nigh.

WILLIAM TYNDALE."

This letter was written A.D. 1533, in the month of January: which letter, although it do pretend the name of Jacob, yet understand, good reader, that it was written in very deed to John Frith, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence hereof, read Frith's book of the sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certain place of this epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus; "I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doing, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience," &c.; which epistle John Frith himself witnesseth that he received from Tyndale, as in his testimony appeareth.

187. The Death of the Lady Katharine, Princess Dowager, and that of Queen Anne.



THE same year in which William Tyndale was burned, which was A.D. 1536, in the beginning of the year, first died Lady Katharine, princess dowager, in the month of January. After whom, the same year also, in the month of May next following, followeth the death also of Queen Anne, who had now been married to the king the space of three years. In certain records thus we find, that the king, being in his jousts at Greenwich, suddenly with a few persons departed to Westminster, and, the next day after, Queen Anne, his wife, was had to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother, and certain other, and, the nineteenth day after, was beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian lady at her death were these:

"Good Christian people! I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law, I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die; but I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler or a more merciful prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul."

And so she kneeled down, saying, "To Christ I commend my soul:" "Jesu, receive my soul." Repeating the same divers times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off. And this was the end of that godly lady and queen. Godly I call her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrel objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that to such as wisely can judge upon cases occurrent, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the king, the third day after, was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind, so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such queens before her borne the crown of England. Principally this one commendation she left behind her, that during her life, the religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many things might be written more of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature, how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord would require her chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amiss. Also, how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate; insomuch that the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is summed to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand

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pounds; besides the great piece of money which her grace intended to impart into four sundry quarters of the realm, as for a stock there to be employed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christ's gospel all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the world's end. Amongst which other her acts this is one, that she placed Master Hugh Latimer in the bishopric of Worcester, and also preferred Dr. Shaxton to his bishopric, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true faith she bare unto the Lord, this one example may stand for many: for that when King Henry was with her at Woodstock, and there, being afraid of an old blind prophecy, for the which neither he nor other kings before him durst hunt in the said park of Woodstock, nor enter into the town of Oxford, at last, through the Christian and faithful counsel of that queen, he was so armed against all infidelity, that both, he hunted in the aforesaid park, and also entered into the town of Oxford, and had no harm. But because, touching the memorable virtue of this worthy queen, partly we have said something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her virtuous life (the Lord so permitting) by other who then were about her, I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty-eighth year of the king, (which parliament three years before had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawful,) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and disable the said marriage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before contracted. But more I marvel, why the said parliament, after the illegitimation of the marriage enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnal desires of her body as to misuse herself with her own natural brother, the Lord Rochford, and other; being so contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

But in this act of parliament did lie, no doubt, some great mystery, which here I will not stand to discuss, but only that it may be suspected some secret practising of the papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty stop she was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong bulwark she was for the maintenance of Christ's gospel, and sincere religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be easily considered, that this Christian and devout Deborah could lack no enemies amongst such a number of Philistines, both within the realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that Stephen Winchester, being then abroad in embassy, was not altogether asleep; the suspicion whereof may be the more conjectural, for that Edmund Bonner, archdeacon of Leicester, and then ambassador in France, succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did manifestly detect him of plain papistry, as in the sequel of their stories, when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

And as touching the king's mind and assent, although at that time, through crafty setters-on, he seemed to be sore bent both against that queen, and to the disheriting of his own daughter; yet unto that former will of the king so set against her then, I will oppose again the last will of the king, wherein, expressly and by name, he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow, the succession of his marriage to stand good and lawful.

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Furthermore, to all other sinister judgments and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that virtuous queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answer) the evident demonstration of God's favour, in maintaining, preserving, and advancing the offspring of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH, now queen, whom the Lord hath so marvellously conserved from so manifold dangers, so royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such virtuous patience, and with such a quiet reign hitherto, that neither the reign of her brother Edward, nor of her sister Mary, to hers is to be compared; whether we consider the number of years of their reigns, or the peaceableness of their state. In whose royal and flourishing regiment we have to behold, not so much the natural disposition of her mother's qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and offspring of that godly queen.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of Cardinal Pole, and of Paulus Jovius, that popish cardinal, who, measuring belike other women by his courtesans of Rome, so impudently abuseth his pen in lying and railing against this noble queen: to answer again in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the consent and judgment of so many noble protestants and princes of Germany, who, being in league before with King Henry, and minding no less but to have made him the head of their confederation, afterwards, hearing of the death of this queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause.

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wily papists, who, seeing the pope to be repulsed out of England, by the means chiefly of this queen, and fearing always the succession of this marriage in time to come, thought by sinister practice to prevent that peril before, whispering in the king's ears what possibly they could, to make that matrimony unlawful; and all for the disheriting of that succession.

Again, Stephen Gardiner, (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy against Lady Elizabeth,) being then abroad with the French king, and the great master of France, ceased not, in his letters, still to put the king in fear, that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, neither should he be ever in any perfect security, unless he undid again such acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession: which thing when they had now brought to pass after their own desire, (that both now the queen was beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disherited,) they thought all things to be sure for ever. But yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the suffering of Queen Anne, the king, within three days after, married, Lady Jane Seymour, of whom came King Edward, as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

188. King Henry Refuses the Pope's Summons to Mantua

In the mean time, as these troublous tumults were in doing in England, Paul the Third, bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind, to help forward for his own advantage; who, seeing his usurped kingdom and seat to be darkened in the countries of Germany, and also in England, thought it high time to bestir him; and therefore, to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a general council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either personally to be there, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretences, as to suppress heresies, and to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, &c. This bull was subscribed with the hands of twenty-six cardinals, and set up in divers great cities, that it might be known and published to the whole world; unto the which bull first the protestants of Germany do answer, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to that council, being indicted at Mantua, in the pope's own country. Whose declaration, with their causes grave and effectual, being set forth in print, and in the English tongue, although they were worthy here to be inserted, yet for brevity, and more speed in our story, I will pretermitt the same, and only take the oration or answer of our king here; wherein he likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why he refuseth to come or to send, at the pope's call, to this council indicted at Mantua: whose oration or protestation, because it containeth matter of some weight and great experience, I thought good here to express as followeth:

"Seeing that the bishop of Rome calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them cardinals as he thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with ourselves, what so great a preparance of wits should mean. As chance was, we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romanish subtleties and popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworn to think all his lusts to be laws: we were not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, hath called a council, to which he knew well either few or none of the Christian princes could come. Both the time that he indicted it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these popish bulls? whither go they not astray? What king is not cited and summoned by a proud minister and servant of kings, to come to bolster up errors, frauds, deceits, and untruths, and to set forth this feigned general council? For who will not think that Paul, the bishop of Rome, goeth sooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a general council, than that he desire one indeed? No! who can less desire it, than they that do despair of their cause, except they be judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We, which very sore against our will at any time leave off the procurement of the realm and common weal, need neither to come ourselves, nor yet to send our procurators thither; no, nor yet to make our excuse for either of both. For who can accuse us, that we come not at his call, who hath no authority to call us?

"But for a season let us (as a sort of blindlings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath authority so to do, yet, we pray you, may not all men see, what availeth it to come to this council, where ye shall have no place, except ye be known both willing to oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and stablish errors? Do not all men perceive, as well as we, with what integrity,

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fidelity, and religion, these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the common weal of Christendom may look for there, whereas Mantua is chosen the place to keep this council at? Is there any prince not being of Italy, yea, is there of Italy any prince, or other dissenting from the pope, that dareth come to this assembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare speak for trodden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if (the bishop of Rome being judge, no man repining, no man gainsaying) the defenders of the papacy obtain that popish authority, now quailing and almost fallen, be set up again?

"Is this the way to help things inflicted? to redress troubled religion? to lift up oppressed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the Roman bishops (which, in very deed, are, if ye look upon either their doctrine or life, far under other bishops) ought to be made their fellows, that is, to be pastors in their own diocese, and so to use no further power; or else, whether they may make laws, not only unto other bishops, but also to kings and emperors? Oh boldness! meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul that now lordeth, or any of his, earnestly go about (if they alone, or at least without any adversary, be thus in a corner assembled together) to heal the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck down the abuses that now are crept into the church, and there to be bolstered up by such councils as now is like to be at Mantua?

"It is very like that these, which prowl for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all such things as their forefathers made, only for the increase of money. Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy were called into question, would either in despite of God's law maintain their dignity, or, to say better, their intolerable pride, is it like that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new canons, whereby they may defend old evil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, forasmuch as England hath taken her leave of popish crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops have nothing to do with English people. The one doth not traffic with the other; at least, though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their merchandise, none of their stuff. We will receive them of our council no more. We have sought our hurt, and bought our loss, a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put down, shall have none other place with us than all bishops' decrees have; that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest, peradventure, men shall think us to follow our senses too much, and that we, moved by small or no just causes, forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought it best here to show our mind to the whole world.

"Wherefore we protest, before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, be all so dear unto us, that we would much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm, than to see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of this faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives, than any article of our belief shall decay in England. We, which in all this cause seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a general council; no, we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of trodden truth, and troubled religion, in their place again, and to do all that shall

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lie in us, to finish such controversies as have a great while too long vexed Christendom. Only we will all Christian men to be admonished, that we can suffer no longer that they be esteemed willing to take away errors, which indeed, by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about this alone, that no man, under pain of death, may speak against any error or abuse.

"We would have a council; we desire it, yea, and crave nothing so oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be such as Christian men ought to have; that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may say his mind. We desire that it be a holy council, where every man may go about to set up godliness, and not apply all their study to the oppressing of truth. We will it be general, that is to say, kept at such time, and in such place, that every man who seeketh the glory of God may be present, and there frankly utter his mind: for then it shall seem general, either when no man that dissenteth from the bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it; or when they that be present are not letted by any just terror, to say boldly what they truly think: for who would not gladly come to such a council, except it be the pope, his cardinals, and popish bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, where the chief point that is to be handled in this council is the pope's own cause, power, and primacy, to grant that the pope should reign, should be judge, should be president of this council? If he, which indeed can never think himself able to defend his cause before any other judge, be evermore made his own judge, and so controversies not decided, but errors set up, what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth, than general councils?

"And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogancy: By what law, power, or honest title take they upon them to call kings, to summon princes to appear, where their bulls command them? In time past all councils were appointed by the authority, consent, and commandment of the emperor, kings, and princes: why now taketh the bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, 'It is more likely that bishops will more tender the cause of religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than emperors, kings, or princes.' The world hath good experience of them, and every man seeth how faithfully they have handled religious matters. Is there any man that doth not see how virtuously Paul now goeth about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooseth such a time as this is to keep a council, much intendeth the redress of things that now are amiss? that he seeketh the restoring of religion, who now calleth to a council the emperor and the French king, two princes of great power, so bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other Christian prince, can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go to, go to, bishop of Rome I Occasion long wished for offereth herself unto you: take her! she openeth a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your cardinals, your own creatures, show them that this is a jolly time to deceive princes in.

"O fools! O wicked men! May we not justly so call you? Are ye not fools, who, being long suspected, not only by princes, but by all Christian people, in a manner, that in no case you could be brought to a general council, plainly show the whole world, that by these your conciliables, your butter-mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawful, catholic, and general council? Are you not wicked, which so hate truth, that except she be utterly banished, ye will never cease to vex her? The living God is alive, neither can truth, his darling, be being alive, be called to so great shame, contumely, and injury; or, if it may be called to all these, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievously lamenteth not men to be of such shameful boldness, to show apertly that they be enemies unto Christ himself? on the other side, who will

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not be glad to see such men as foolish as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light suspicion, as it hath been hitherto, that you will no reformation of errors; but every man seeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye bear against the truth. Every man seeth how many miserable tragedies your pretence of a unity and concord hath brought into Christendom. They see your fair face of peace hath served sedition, and troubled almost all Christian realms. They see ye never oppugn religion more than when ye will seem most to defend it. They be sorry to see that great wits a long season have spent their whole strength in defence of deceits: reason, to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodliness; virtue to serve vice; holiness to be slave to hypocrisy; prudence to subtlety; justice to tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for itself, and not against itself. They be glad that God is not compelled to be against God; Christ against Christ. They be glad that subtlety hath done no more hurt to religion in time past, than now constancy doth good to truth. They see the marks that ye have shot at, in all your councils past, to be lucre, money, gains. They see you sought your profit, yea, though it were joined with the slaughter of truth. They see ye would ever that sooner injury should be done to the gospel, than that your authority, that is to say, arrogant impudency, should in any point be diminished.

"And, we pray you, what may Paul the bishop of Rome seem now to go about, who, seeing all princes occupied in great affairs, would steal (as he calleth it) a general council? what other thing, than hereby to have some excuse to refuse a general council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of religion shall be given unto the princes of Christendom? He will think he may then do as princes now do. He will think it lawful not to come then, because princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawl not one with another for religion: and whereas dissension is amongst us, we yet for our parts do say, that we, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to settle religion: for except princes first agree, and so (war laid aside) seek peace, he loseth his labour that seeketh a general council. If the bishop of Rome may keep his council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty decrees? If they, which would come if they had leisure, be absent, and we, which though we safely might come, will not lose any part of our right; trow you, in all our absence, that the bishop of Rome will not handle his profit and primacy well?

"Paul! how can any of ours not refuse to come to Mantua, through so many perils, a city so far set from England, so nigh your friends, kinsmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, who, when he may tarry at home, will pass through so many jeopardies of life? Can he who cometh to Cremona, a city not far from Mantua, be safe if he be taken not to be the bishop of Rome's friend, that is, (as the common sort of deceived people do interpret,) a heretic? And if there come to Mantua such a number as would furnish a general council, may not Mantua seem too little to receive so many guests? Put these two together: all the way from England to Mantua is full of just perils, and yet if ye escape all those, the very place where the council is kept is more to be suspected than all the way. Do ye not know all civil laws to compel no man to come to any place, where he shall be in jeopardy of his life all the way? We have no safe-conduct to pass and return by the dominions of other princes. And if we had a safe-conduct, yet should not we be charged with rashness, that where just terror might have dissuaded us from such a journey, we committed ourselves to such perils? Surely he, who, the time being as it is, things standing as they do, will go from England to Mantua, may be careless, if he lack wit: sure of his arrival, or

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return from thence, he cannot be; for who doth not know how oft the bishops of Rome have played false parts with them that in such matters have trusted to their safe-conducts? How oft have they caused, by their perfidy, such men to be slain, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both come safe, and go safe? These be no news, that popes are false, that popes keep no promise either with God or man; that popes, contrary to their oaths, do defile their cruel hands with honest men's blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

"We will, these now laid apart, turn our oration unto such things, as privately touch both us, King Henry the Eighth, and all Englishmen. Is it unknown to any man, what mind Paul the bishop of Rome beareth to us King Henry the Eighth, to us his nobility, to us his Grace's bishops, and to us all his Grace's subjects, for the pulling down of his usurped power, and proud primacy? for expelling of his usurped jurisdiction, and for delivering of our realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even inflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men, by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our country. These three years he hath been occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the commons of England, now corrupting some with money, some with dignities. We let pass what letters he hath written to Christian princes: with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good vicar of Christ, by his doing, showeth how he understandeth the words of Christ. He thinketh he playeth Christ's part well, when he may say, as Christ did, I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about; and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withal, but such as cruel man-quellers abuse in the slaughter of their neighbours. We marvel little though they vex other princes oft, seeing they recompense our favour showed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

"We will not rehearse here how many our benefits bestowed upon Roman bishops be lost. God be with such ingrate carles, unworthy to be numbered amongst men: certes such, that a man may well doubt whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wish them so evil, but they have deserved much worse? We wish them this hurt alone, that God send them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their seditious intents sooner to show their great malice towards us, then to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, ever. more to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leave their whelps amongst the lambs of our flock. When we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then, as they would have us now do. No, no! as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we trust upon his warning we shall well provide to withstand his cruel malice. No, let him now spend his deceits, when they can hurt none but such as would deceive, and are deceived.

"They have, by sundry ways, made us privy, how much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts, to see the judgment of Julius, of Clement the Seventh, of Paul the Third, nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we should sustain no hurt because we justly rejected their primacy, that other princes would begin to do likewise, and to shake off their shoulders the heavy burdens that they so long have borne against Scriptures, all right, and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no passage unto England, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to toss, to trouble all men. They can

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scarce suffer privileges, that is to say, licence to spoil our citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorfull custom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful that we require things lawful of them that will be under no laws. They think we do them wrong, because we will not suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see their merchandise to be banished, to be forbidden. They see that we will buy no longer chalk for cheese. They see they have lost a fair fleece, vengeably sorry that they can despatch no more pardons, dispensations, totquots, with the rest of their baggage and trumpery. England is no more a babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they do foolishly, who give gold for lead, more weight of that than they receive of this. They pass not, though Peter and Paul's faces be graven in the lead, to make fools fain. No, we be sorry that they should abuse holy saints' visages, to the beguiling of the world.

"Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority shall be driven out for ever, but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth ask counsel of him and his, when we lust to be deceived, when we covet to be in error; when we desire to offend God, truth, and honesty. If a man may guess the whole work by the foundation, where deceits begin the work, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? What can you look for in this Mantuan council, other than the oppression of truth and true religion? If there be any thing well done, think, as every man doth, bishops of Rome to be accustomed to do a few things well, that many evils may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they lust, can yield some part of their right. They are content that some of their decrees, some of their errors and abuses, be reprehended: but they are never more to be feared, than when they show themselves most gentle; for if they grant a few, they ask many; if they leave a little, they will be sure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they bless him; which seldom do good, but for an intent to do evil. Certainly, come whoso will to these shops of deceits, to these fairs of frauds, we will lose no part of our right in coming at his call, who ought to be called, and not to call. We will neither come at Mantua, nor send thither for this matter," &c.

And so the king, proceeding in the said his protestation, declareth moreover, how the pope, after he had summoned his council first to be kept at Mantua, the twenty-third day of May, A.D. 1537, shortly after directed out another bull, to prorogate the same council to the month of November; pretending, for his excuse, that the duke of Mantua would not suffer him to keep any council there, unless he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the town. And therefore, in his latter bull, he prorogueth this assembly, commanding patriarchs, archbishops, abbots, and others of the spirituality, by virtue of obedience, and under pain of cursing, to be present; but showeth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they should come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named; for as good a council no where to be called, as where it could not be; and as well no place served him that intended no council, as all places. And to say truth, much better no place to be named, than to name such as he purposed not to come to; for so should he break no promise, which maketh none.

189. Rebellions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire

A little before the death of Queen Anne, there was a parliament at Westminster, wherein were given to the king, by consent of the abbots, all such houses of religion as were under three hundred marks; which was a shrewd prognosticate of the ruin of greater houses, which indeed followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived before of many, who then said, that the low bushes and brambles were cut down before, but great oaks would follow after.

Although the proceeding of these things did not well like the minds of the pope's friends in England, yet, notwithstanding, they began again to take some breath of comfort, when they saw the aforesaid Queen Anne despatched. Nevertheless they were frustrated of their purpose (as is afore showed) and that double wise. For first, after they had their wills of Queen Anne, the Lord raised up another queen, not greatly for their purpose, with her son King Edward; and also for that the Lord Cromwell, the same time, began to grow in authority, who, like a mighty pillar set up in the church of Christ, was enough, alone, to confound and overthrow all the malignant devices of the adversaries, so long as God gave him in life here to continue; whose story hereafter followeth more at large.

Shortly after this aforesaid marriage of the king with this queen Jane Seymour above mentioned, in the month of June, during the continuation of the parliament, by the consent of the clergy holding then a solemn convocation in the church of St. Paul, a book was set forth containing certain articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people; wherein they treated specially but of three sacraments, baptism, penance, and the Lord's supper; where also divers other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of religion, as that certain holidays were forbidden, and many abbeyes began to be suppressed. For this cause the rude multitude of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion, wherein they had been so long nursed, did rise up in a great commotion, to the number well near of twenty thousand, having for their captain a monk, called Doctor Makerel, calling himself then Captain Cobler; but these rebels, being repressed by the king's power, and desiring pardon, soon brake up their assembly. For they, hearing of the royal army of the king coming against them, with his own person there present, and fearing what would follow of this, first the noblemen and gentlemen, which before favoured them, began to withdraw themselves, so that they were destitute of captains; and at last they, in writing, made certain petitions to the king, protesting that they never intended hurt towards his royal person. These petitions the king received, and made this answer again to them as followeth

The king's answer to the rebels in Lincolnshire.

"First, we begin to make answer to the fourth and sixth articles, because upon them dependeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of councillors, I never have read, heard, or known, that princes, councillors, and prelates, should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meet, or of ability, to discern and choose meet and sufficient councillors for a prince. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one the most base of the whole realm, and of the least experience, to find fault with your prince,

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for the electing of his councillors and prelates, and to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's laws, to rule your princes, whom you are bound, by all law, to obey and serve with both your lives, lands, and goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand.

"As for the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects should well know, that this is granted us by all the nobles spiritual and temporal of this realm, and by all the commons in the same, by act of parliament; and not set forth by any councillor or councillors upon their mere will and fantasy, as you full falsely would persuade our realm to believe.

"And where ye allege that the service of God is much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the act) to stand; wherein if they amend not their living, we fear we have more to answer for, than the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitality for the relief of the poor, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many, or the most part, have not past four or five religious persons in them, and divers but one, which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in nourishing of vice, and abominable living. Now what unkindness and unnaturality may we impute to you, and all our subjects that be of that mind, which had rather that such an unthrift sort of vicious persons should enjoy the possessions, profits, and emoluments, which grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we, your natural prince, sovereign lord, and king, which do and have spent more of our own in your defences, than six times they be worth?

"As touching the Act of Uses, we marvel what madness is in your brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you, to cause us to break those laws and statutes, which, by all the noble knights and gentlemen of this realm, (whom the same chiefly toucheth,) have been granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you, the base commons of our realm.

"Also, the grounds of all those uses were false, and never admitted by law, but usurped upon the prince, contrary to all equity and justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the realm of England, in Westminster Hall: whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that, and in the rest; and how unmeet it is for us, and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and less meet and decent for you, in such a rebellious sort, to demand the same of your prince.

"As touching the Fifteenth which you demand of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint-hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us with your insurrections, and such rebellious demeanour, to remit the same? or think you that any man will or may take you to be true subjects, that first make and show a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your sovereign lord and king to release the same, the time of payment whereof is not yet come? Yea, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth penny of the charges which we have, and daily do sustain, for your tuition and safeguard, make you sure that

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by your occasions of these ingratitude, unnaturalness, and unkindness to us now administered, ye give us cause (which have always been as much dedicated to your wealth, as ever was king) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of allegiance to your king and sovereign lord, the rest of our realm, we doubt not, hath; and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if, according to your former letters, you submit not yourselves.

"As touching the first-fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by act of parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our subjects: and we have known also that ye our commons have much complained also in times past, that the most part of our goods, lands, and possessions of the realm, were in the spiritual men's hands; and yet, bearing us in hand that ye be as loving subjects to us as' may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your prince and sovereign lord should have any part thereof, (and yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our commons,) but do rebel and unlawfully rise against your prince, contrary to the duty of allegiance and God's commandment. Sirs! remember your follies and traitorous demeanours, and shame not your native country of England, nor offend any more so grievously your undoubted king and natural prince, which always hath showed himself most loving unto you; and remember your duty of allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your king, both by God's commandment and the law of nature.

"Wherefore we charge you eftsoons, upon the aforesaid bonds and pains, that you withdraw yourselves to your own houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our laws and your allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our lieutenant's hands or ours, and you yourselves to submit you to such condign punishment as we and our nobles shall think you worthy of: for doubt you not else, that we and our nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenged, if ye give not to us place of sovereignty, and show yourselves as bounden and obedient subjects, and no more to intermeddle yourselves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to us your king, and such noblemen and councillors as we list to elect and choose to have the ordering of the same.

"And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use yourselves towards us like true and faithful subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter; and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our lieutenant a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerits, at our will and pleasure, than, by your obstinacy and wilfulness, to put yourselves, your wives, children, lands, goods, and chattels, besides the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruin, by force and violence of the sword."

After the Lincolnshire men had received this the king's answer aforesaid, made to their petitions, each mistrusting the other, who should be noted to be the greatest meddler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in

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his own house in peace: but the captains of these rebels escaped not all clear, but were afterwards apprehended, and had as they deserved.

After this, immediately, within six days upon the same, followed a new insurrection. in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation and lying tales of seditious persons, especially monks and priests; making them believe, that their silver chalices, crosses, jewels, and other ornaments, should be taken out of their churches; and that no man should be married, or eat any good meat in his house, but should give tribute there-for to the king: but their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other counsellors.

The number of these rebels was nearly forty thousand, having for their badges the five wounds, with the sign of the sacrament, and "Jesus" written in the midst.

This their devilish rebellion they termed by the name of a Holy Pilgrimage; but they served a wrong and a naughty saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice, with a painted cake in it, on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisy and feigned sanctity, pretending thereby to fight for the faith and the right of holy church.

As soon as the king was certified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed against them, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with a great army, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

These noble captains and councillors, thus well furnished with habiliment of war, approaching towards the rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to battle, first with policy went about to essay and practise how to appease all without bloodshedding; but the northern men, stoutly and sturdily standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts: which when the nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacify their furious minds, utterly set on mischief, they determined upon a battle. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the hour set; but see the wondrous work of God's gracious providence! The night before the day of battle came, (as testifieth Edward Hall,) fell a small rain, nothing to speak of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small ford, and that men in a manner, the day before, might have gone dry-shod over, suddenly rose of such a height, deepness, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabit could tell they ever saw before; so that that day, even when the hour of battle should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

After this, that the appointment made between both of the armies (being thus disappointed, as it is to be thought, only by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murdered) could take no place; then, by the great wisdom and policy of the said captains, a communication was had, and a pardon of the king's Majesty obtained for all the captains and chief doers of this insurrection; and they were promised that, for such things as they found them aggrieved withal, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted; and that their articles should be presented to the king, that by his Highness's authority, and the wisdom of his council, all things should be brought to good order and conclusion: and with this

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order every man quietly departed, and those who before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being Jetted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

In the time of this ruffle in Yorkshire, and the king lying the same time at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of the said town of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all they that took part with the Yorkshire men, whom he called God's people, did fight in God's quarrel; for which both he and the priest were apprehended and executed.

Divers other priests also, with others about the same time, committing, in like sort, treason against the king, suffered the like execution. Such a business had the king then to rid the realm from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

But God's hand did still work withal, in upholding his gospel and trodden truth against all seditious stirs, commotions, rebellions, and whatsoever was to the contrary; as both by the stories before pass ed, and by such also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appear.

The next year after this, which was A.D. 1537, after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with certain noble persons also and gentlemen, amongst whom were the Lord Darcy, the Lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bygot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the abbots of Jervaux and of Rivaulx, &c.

19. Edmund Bonner

In the month of October, the same year following, was born Prince Edward; shortly after whose birth, Queen Jane, his mother, the second day after, died in childbed, and left the king again a widower, who so continued the space of two years together.

Here, by the way, is to be understood, that during all this season, since the time that the king of England had rejected the pope out of the realm, both the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, with other foreign potentates, (which were yet in subjection under the pope,) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy setters-on, nor secret working among themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefs, if God, by contrary occasions, had not stopped their intended devices. For first the pope had sent Cardinal Pole to the French king, to stir him to war against the realm of England.

Secondly, whereas the French king, by treaty of perpetual peace, was bound yearly to pay to the king of England, at the first days of May and November, about ninety-five thousand crowns of the sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand crowns at the said two terms, for recompence of salt-due, as the treaties thereof did purport, that pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

Furthermore, the emperor and the French king, both, retained Grancetor, a traitorous rebel against the king, and condemned by act of parliament, with certain other traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the king at his earnest suit and request.

The French king also, digressing from his promise and treaty, made alliance with Clement, the bishop of Rome, in marrying the dauphin to his niece, called Katharine de Medicis.

The said French king moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his daughter to the king of Scots: all which events were prejudicial; and put the king, no doubt, in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant prince) to see the pope, the emperor; the French king, and the king of Scots, so bent against him.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French king was so set on by the pope, and so linked in marriage with the Scots, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the realm of England, yet notwithstanding he, hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the king's son by Queen Jane, and understanding also, by the death of the said Queen Jane, that the king was a widower, and perceiving, moreover, talk to be that the king would join in marriage with the Germans, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the Queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors resident then in France for the king, were Stephen Gardiner, with Dr. Thirleby, &c.; which Stephen Gardiner, what he wrought secretly for the pope's devotion, I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all! But this is

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certain, that when Dr. Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, was sent into France by the king, (through the means of the Lord Cromwell;) to succeed Stephen Gardiner in embassy, which was about A.D. 1538, he found such dealing in the said bishop of Winchester as was not greatly to be trusted: besides the unkind parts of the said bishop against the aforesaid Bonner, coming then from the king and Lord Cromwell, as were not to be liked.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe, the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter dissensions, between these two; and especially what spiteful contumelies Dr. Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader! that this Dr. Bonner all this while renamed yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favourer of Luther's doctrine, and was advanced only by the Lord Cromwell, whose promotions are here to rehearse: first, he was archdeacon of Leicester, parson of Blaydon, of Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton; then he was made bishop of Hereford, and, at last, preferred to be bishop of London: the chief of which preferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the means and favour of the Lord Cromwell, who was then his chief and only patron and setter-up; as the said Bonner himself, in all his letters, doth manifestly protest and declare; the copies of which his letters I could here produce and exhibit, but for prolonging my story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see how the coming up of Dr. Bonner was only by the gospel, (howsoever he was afterwards unkind unto the gospel,) this one letter of his, which I will here infer, written to the Lord Cromwell out of France, may stand for a perpetual testimony, the tenor whereof here ensueth:

"My very singular especial good Lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commend me unto your honourable good Lordship. And whereas in times past it hath liked the same, without any my deserts or merits, even only of your singular exceeding goodness, to bestow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection, upon me so poor a man, and of so small qualities, expressing indeed sundry ways the good effects thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your honourable good Lordship, and thought it always my duty, (as indeed it was,) both to bear my true heart again unto your Lordship, and also, remembering such kindness, to do unto the same all such service and pleasure as might, then lie in my small power to do.

"But where, of your infinite and inestimable goodness, it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of legation from such a prince as my sovereign lord is, unto the emperor and French king; and next after, to procure and obtain mine advancement to so honourable a promotion as the bishopric of Hereford, I must here acknowledge the exceeding greatness of your Lordship's benefit, with mine own imbecility to recompense it.

"Surely, my good Lord, I neither am, neither shall be able to requite this your Lordship's most special kindness and bountiful goodness at any time, unless I should use that civil remedy called in law 'acceptilation,' which great debtors especially are accustomed to procure at the hands of their creditors; whereby yet nevertheless your goodness, the only doer thereof, should rather be increased, than my duty towards the same thereby diminished. And *cessio bonorum* (the only extreme refuge and help of poor debtors, devised also in civil) might somewhat help

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herein, saying that it is not possible that I should come *ad tam pinguem fortunam*, (whereupon that remedy is grounded,) whereby I may recompense and requite this debt worthily.

"So that in conclusion there resteth this; that unless your Lordship's self do loose me, as you have bound me, I shall (and that full gladly) remain continually your most bounded beadsman. And, sir, I most humbly beseech your good Lordship, in the honour of God, seeing this thing is begun and advanced only by your goodness and means, you will, to the intent the act may be wholly your own, stretch out your goodness, not suffering the rest to be perfected otherwise than by your own hands; wherein, as I must and shall acknowledge myself to be exceedingly beholden unto your good Lordship, so shall I the same more esteem and set by, during my life, having so attained it by your only goodness: and verily, if your good Lordship be not better to me herein than I can (unless it be of your own goodness) desire you, I know not how I shall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right, honest, and good, yea, and such as one of far better qualities than I was, or am of, ought therewith to have been contented; yet, considering that divers of them, that is to wit, Leicester, Blaydon, Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton, the first-fruits, tenths, and charges borne, I have not received clearly one penny, I am now never a whit the more able to bear the great charges of this.

"I shall therefore herein, and in all things else pertaining hereunto, seeing your Lordship is so great a patron, and will needs bind me for ever to be your own, (as indeed I will,) refer altogether unto your goodness, beseeching you to take the order and disposition of all into your hands. I cannot tell whether the late bishop standeth bounden for the first-fruits, tenths, or other duties which by statute may be demanded of his successor; but I fear it greatly, and beseech your Lordship that I may be holpen therein. My charges now here enforce me the more to speak and trouble your good Lordship, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good, I have, of five hundred crowns, remaining forty, bestowed upon horses, mules, mulets, raiment, and other necessaries, standing debtor to Master Thirleby nevertheless, and also to Master Dr. Heynes, for one hundred marks, or fast upon, to them both. And besides this, such is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my servants have fallen sick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

"Over and besides these displeasures coming unto me by not having their service, and others to keep them, and also wanting mine other servants in England, which, though I have sent for them, yet neither they, neither my horses or stuff, are come, I must and do take patience, trusting it will mend.

"Upon the closing up of this letter, and depeach of this bearer, God willing, I will pack up my gear, and to-morrow betimes follow the French king, who yesterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haste toward Paris. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve your good lordship in health.

"At Blois, the second of September, in the evening.

"Scribbled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your Lordship's beadsman, and at commandment,
EDMUND BONNER."

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Divers other letters besides this, of Dr. Bonner, remain in writing, unto the like effect and purport, which here also I might add for a further demonstration hereof; but this one, instead of many, may suffice. Now to our purpose again, which is to declare how this Dr. Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a fast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings; and contrariwise, how Stephen Gardiner did halt then both with God and with the king: also what unkindness and contumelies the said Bonner received at Gardiner's hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved against the other, remain, consequently, by their writings and records, to be opened. For the more evident demonstration whereof, they that have the letters of the said Dr. Bonner, written from France to the king and the Lord Cromwell, may right well perceive. And first, to note what a gospeller he was: in his letter from Rouen, he, speaking of his trusty companion, and bearer of his letters, (who was belike Dr. Heynes,) he giveth this report both of him and of himself; saying, "If this bearer had been so much desirous to please the emperor, and follow his religion, as he was studious to serve truly your Grace, and to advance the truth, he had not wanted," &c. And again: "And besides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran, wherein, for company, I was joined, such was their goodness," &c. Again, in another letter written to the Lord Cromwell, these words he hath, speaking of his companion Dr. Heynes: "Especially for that the said Dr. Heynes, by his upright dealing herein, and professing the truth, neither got thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honest folks to be a Lutheran. The less he pleaseth in Spain, the better argument it is, that his intent was to serve none but the king's Highness and the truth," &c.

And furthermore, in another minute, writing to the Lord Cromwell of Stephen Winchester, and of his churlishness toward him, thus he saith: "And there found I, in Master Dr. Thirleby, much kindness, and in the bishop of Winchester as little," &c. And in the same letter it followeth: "And if I had received any entertainment of the bishop of Winchester, I would likewise have sent you word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him," &c.

Also in another letter, the said Bonner, writing to the Lord Cromwell concerning one Barnaby and himself, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of Winchester, used these words following: "And, my good Lord, I beseech you to continue your good favour to this honest poor man Barnaby, who is body and soul assuredly your own, and as well beloved of the bishop of Winchester as I am: and of my troth I suppose and believe verily, one of the chief grudges the bishop hath against him, is because your Lordship, of your charitable goodness, doth love and favour him.

Another letter of Dr. Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of Winchester, and also declaring how he was promoted by the said Lord Cromwell, to the bishopric of Hereford.

"My very singular especial good Lord, according to my most bounden duty, I recommend me right humbly unto your good Lordship, advertising the same, that the twenty-ninth of the last month, about four of the clock at afternoon, there arrived here Barnaby with your Lordship's letters, dated at Eutrecht the twenty-fourth of the same: and thinking that, at his said arrival, the bishop of Winchester, Master Thirleby, and I, had been all lodged together, whereas in very deed we had several lodgings, he went straight to the bishop of Winchester's lodging. (Master Thirleby and I being then walking in the fields,) and the bishop incontinently inquired of him,

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not how the king's Grace did, as was his duty, but, (as Barnaby told me,) inquired of him where he left the king's Grace at his coming away: whether he had brought any letters for him: whether Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing: and finally, what news were in England. To the which questions, when Barnaby had made answer, saying that he left the king's Grace at Berlin, and that Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing; and withal, that he had no letters from them, nor any other to him; and finally, for the news that the king's Highness had given me the bishopric of Hereford; the bishop (as Barnaby reporteth, and I doubt not but he saith truly) cast down his head, making a plaice-mouth with his lip, and afterwards lifting up his eyes and hands, (as cursing the day and hour it chanced,) seemed so evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnaby drink, or tarry supper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Master Medow, and showed him of the same tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily; semblably as he doeth every thing that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnaby perceived that I was not there, and that also this comfortable countenance and good cheer were made unto him, he went thence and searched for me, who then was walking with Master Thirleby, as is before; and was by chance communing with him of the bishop of Winchester, giving him advertisement that he should not be abused by the said bishop, whom, I said, made him, not for any hearty love, I thought, he bare unto him, but either in despite of me, to whom he thought it should be greatly displeasent; either else under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him, and to serve his own crafty purposes by him.

"And soon after the departure of Master Thirleby from me, who then went to the bishop to supper, I returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with Barnaby, whose salutation was after that sort, that it caused me to wonder at it, especially I having no expectation or hope of such thing as he rehearsed unto me. And surely, my good Lord, I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the same by the superscription of your Lordship's letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withal (to my great comfort) the prosperous estate of the king's Highness, and of your good Lordship. Which known, I besought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and also, as was my duty, did give most humble thanks to the king's Highness, and to your said good Lordship. And hereupon, keeping your Lordship's letters still in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Master Thirleby, which was in my way, to communicate these my news and great good fortune with him; and not finding him there, I read over your Lordship's letters, sending the same afterwards to Master Thirleby; and perceiving, by Barnaby, that he had other letters for me, which he told me he must deliver unto me secretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that, your Lordship's second letter sent to me, and also the other sent to Master Wyat, &c.

Your Lordship's most bounden beadsman, And always at commandment,
EDMUND BONNER."

When the king, by the advice of the Lord Cromwell, and others of his council, had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to return from the emperor, and to be resident in France, in the place of Winchester and of Dr. Thirleby, he sent his letters to the said bishop of Winchester, and to Master Thirleby, showing his pleasure unto them in that behalf, with this clause in the same letters contained in express words as followeth:

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"And whereas the said Master Bonner wanteth furniture of stuff and plate meet for that office, our pleasure is that you, Master Thirleby, shall deliver unto him by indenture, all the plate you have of ours in your custody, and that you, my Lord of Winchester, shall furnish him with all such other stuff, as shall be necessary for him; wherein as you shall do unto us pleasure, so we shall be content at your return, to satisfy you for the same," &c.

The bishop of Winchester receiving these letters of the king, and being loth to come into England, (whatsoever the matter was,) also hearing that Dr. Bonner should succeed him, his disdainful nature did stomach him exceedingly. But because there was no other remedy but that the king's commandment must be done, first he sendeth the king's letter, with his also, to the emperor's court, unto Master Bonner, and to Dr. Heynes, willing them in all haste to repair to Lyons within two days. Beside these letters of Winchester, Dr. Thirleby adjoined his letters also, with like quickness, to the said Dr. Heynes and to Bonner, the contents whereof here follow:

"With my hearty commendations, and the desire of your company, and now so much rather that I shall thereby have a great benefit, viz. the deliverance from trouble to ease, from a strange country to mine own, from the waiting upon him that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the service of him whose prosperity and love I account as my life; these shall be to pray you to make no less speed hither, than you would make to a good feast when that you be hungry. Master Bonner shall know many things, but when you come I shall tell you more, so that you haste you. Come, I pray you; I would fain be at home. I saw not my master these four months. When you, Master Bonner, shall come to Lyons, it shall be good to go to Bonvise; he is a good money-maker: in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, hastily, I would have written, and the sooner the better welcome to Lyons, where this was given the last of July.

By him that hath loved you well,
And now will love you better,
If you haste you hither,
THOMAS THIRLEBY."

At the receipt of these letters, Dr. Bonner and Dr. Heynes did put themselves in a readiness to repair incontinent unto Lyons, thinking there to have found Winchester and Thirleby, according to the purport of their letters. But Winchester and Thirleby, not abiding their coming, made haste away from Lyons to La Barella, where Bonner, riding in post after Winchester, overtook him. With whom what entertainment and talk he had, and what accusations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words passed between them, and what great misliking Bonner had of him for special causes here in this brabling matter or brawling dialogue, under following, may appear; which, for thy recreation, and the further understanding of Winchester's qualities, I wish thee, loving reader! to peruse and consider.

But first, here is to be noted, that the king and the Lord Cromwell, at what time they had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to be resident ambassador in France, required in their letters, that he should advertise them by writing, what he did mislike in the doings and behaviour of certain persons whom they did note then unto him. Whereupon the said Dr. Bonner sendeth this declaration of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as followeth:

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"First, I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that when any man is sent in the king's affairs, and by his Highness's commandment, the bishop, unless he be the only and chief inventor of the matter and setter-forth of the person, he will not only use many cavillations, but also use great strangeness in countenance and cheer to the person that is sent: over and besides, as small comfort and counsel as may be in the matter; rather dissuading and discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his message, than imboldening and comforting him, as is his duty, with help and counsel to adventure and do his best therein. The experience whereof I have had myself with him, as well at Rouen, the first time I was sent to Rome, commanded by the king's Highness to come by him, and at Marseilles, the time of the intimation of the king's protestation, provocation, and appeal; as also lately, going to Nice, touching the general council, and the authority of the bishop of Rome; and finally, now last of all, at my return from Spain, where neither my diligence in coming to him, and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the king's letters written unto him in my favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart and cankered malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and unkindly do; as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth:

"When riding in post I came to La Barella, a post on this side Lyons, the seventh day of August, he being in bed there, I tarried till he, rising up and making himself ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarrying for him in a second chamber; and at his coming thither, he said, 'What, Master Bonner! good morrow! Ah sir, ye be welcome;' and herewithal he put out his hand, and I, kissing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he said, 'Come on, let us go and walk awhile into the fields;' and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I said, I would wait upon him. His going to the fields, (as appeared afterwards,) was not so much to walk, as to have a place where he might speak loud, and triumph alone against me, calling in his words again, if he spake any amiss; or utterly deny them, if that made for his purpose. And by chance, rather than by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Master Thirleby, and desired I might see him and speak with him. The bishop that perceiving, and, withal, that I stuck upon it, he commanded one of his servants to call Master Thirleby; but yet, afore his coming, the bishop could not be idle, but said this to me: 'Master Bonner! your servant was yesterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you: In good faith you can have nothing of me.' 'Nothing, my Lord!' quoth I, merrily speaking, marry, God forbid! that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much upon your goodness that hath a great deal.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'ye shall have nothing of me: marry, ye shall have of Master Thirleby, his carriage, mules, his bed, and divers other things, that he may spare; and which he hath kept for you.' 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, 'if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for myself otherwise, and provide it where I may get it.'

"And here the bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not show myself greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, he began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the king's Highness. 'Tell me one thing,' quoth he, 'that you want.' 'One thing,' quoth I, 'marry, amongst many things that I want, I want napery.' 'That shall ye not need,' quoth he, 'here in this country:' and here he began to tell a long tale, that none used that, but Master Wallop and he, in the beginning: which is not true generally. And from this he began to go, descending by his negatives: 'My mulets,' said he, 'ye cannot have, for if ye should, I must needs provide others for them again: my mulet-cloths ye

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cannot have, because mine arms are on them, not meet for you to bear: my raiment, (I being bishop,) that is not meet for you.' And so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing should I have.

"And here came Master Thirleby, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honest sort: to whom the bishop rehearseth again his negatives, and maketh a long discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that he could do, that nothing I should have of him and this rehearsed he still on end I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a pilot's voice; so that all his company, standing more than three or four pair of butt lengths off, heard him.

"When I saw that he would make no end, but ever rehearsed one thing still, I said to him, 'My Lord! I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of Master doctor here, let me give him thanks that deserveth it, and trouble you therein no more: but leaving communication therein, let me desire and pray you, that we may commune of the king's matters; and that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of your counsel in that behalf.'

"The bishop was so hot and warm in his own matters, that he would not hear, but needs would return again, and show why that I could have nothing of him. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'here is still on end one tale, which methinketh, seeing that I understand it, ye need not so oft repeat it, especially seeing that it cometh always to this conclusion, that I shall have nothing of you.' 'Ye lie,' quoth he, 'I said not so.' 'I report me,' quoth I, 'to Master Thirleby here present, whom I shall desire to bear record of your sad and discreet honest behaviour with me.' 'I say you lie,' quoth he. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I thank you.' 'I do not say,' quoth he, 'that ye *shall* have nothing of me; but I say you *can* have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diversity between these two manners of speaking: I can spare nothing unto you, and therefore ye shall have nothing; and though I can spare you, yet you shall have nothing; — for in the one is an honesty in the speaker, which would, if he could, do pleasure; and in the other there lacketh that honesty.

"'My Lord!' quoth I, 'to examine whether I shall have nothing, because ye can spare nothing: or shall have nothing, though ye have plenty, because ye will I shall have nothing, it shall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore, seeing ye bide upon this, that I shall have nothing, I will thank you for nothing, and provide otherwise for myself.' 'Dirt in your teeth!' quoth he, 'and provide as ye will.' 'Bishop-like spoken, by my faith,' quoth I, 'and well it becometh you to speak thus to me.' 'Yea marry! doth it become me,' quoth he: and repeating, the words again, said with a sharp accent, 'Have nothing of me? Dirt in your teeth!' 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, this needeth not, saving that ye have a full stomach, and your wit abroad, willingly hereby to ease your stomach against me.' 'Yes, marry,' quoth he, 'it needeth for me, though it needeth not for you; for I intend,' quoth he, 'I would ye should know it, to justify myself to the king in all things.' 'If ye do so,' quoth I, 'ye shall do the better.' 'Nay,' quoth he, 'I do it, and will do it.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'ye are the more to be commended, if ye so can do.' 'Yes,' quoth he, 'I can do it.'

"'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'seeing the king's Highness hath written so tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his Highness's letters that his Grace hath done, me thinketh, ye having so great plenty of all things, and I so great need thereof, coming post, as I do, ye go about as evil

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to justify yourself to the king, as any one that I have seen. And I wish, my Lord,' quoth I, 'I would have reckoned, that coming as I do come, I should have been both better welcome, and better treated of you, than now I am, even and it had been for no other respect, than because I am an Englishman.'

"I shall tell you,' quoth he, 'for the king's sake, ye may look to have: but for your own sake, ye get nothing.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all; and having any thing, I shall give thanks to the king, and none to you.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye get nothing:' 'and I tell you again,' quoth I, 'that I will thank you for nothing.' And here the flesh of his cheek began to swell and tremble, and he looked upon me as he would have run me through; and I came and stood even by him, and said, 'Trow you, my Lord!' quoth I, 'that I fear your great looks? Nay, faith! do I not. Ye had need to get another stomach to whet upon than mine, and a better whetstone than any ye have; for, I assure you, you shall not whet me to your purpose: and if ye knew how little I do set by this unloving and indiscreet behaviour of yours, ye would not use it upon me. And I shall tell you,' quoth I, 'if I were not bridled, and had not other respects both to the king's Highness, my sovereign lord, and also unto others that may command me, I would have told you, ere this time, my mind after another sort.' 'Tell me?' quoth he, 'dirt in your teeth!' 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, 'ye would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke me to speak as indiscreetly and bedlamly, as ye do: but surely ye shall not, howsoever ye shall speak. But this will I tell you, I shall show you how I am handled of you.' 'Marry, spare not,' quoth he. 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, 'you have here full well played the part of a bishop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my part, if ye yourself be not ashamed, or, coming to yourself, (for now your anger is such that you hear not yourself,) be not displeased, I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing without wisdom; and the oftener you use this manner, the more shall it be to your dishonesty.'

"'Lo!' quoth he, 'how fondly he speaketh, as who saith, I were all in the blame. Will you not hear,' quoth he, 'this wise man?' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I would you could hear with indifferent ears, and see with indifferent eyes, yourself. Ye have made a brabbling here for nothing, and would that I should give you thanks for that thing which Master Thirleby hath done for me.' 'I look for no thanks of you,' quoth he; and said withal, looking spitefully, that he knew me well enough; and that he was not deceived in me. 'Well!' quoth I, 'and methinks I know you well enough too; wherefore, as ye say you are not deceived in me, so I trust I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, sir,' quoth I, 'because ye say ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If you do, say it, and I shall make answer.'

"I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so that I suppose, either of his own naughty nature he hath made me an image after his own fantasy, or else believed the report of such in conditions as he is himself, who, in malice, I suppose, and disdain, may be compared to the devil in hell, not giving place to him in pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the provision of the thousand crowns. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while afore they were come out. And further I said, that seeing they had been simpliciter given to me, I would never thank him for them, but the king's Highness; and I said, that if they were twenty thousand, he should break so many sleeps, afore he should have any part thereof, entreating me

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as he did. 'Well,' quoth he, 'you have them.' 'That is truth,' quoth I, 'and nothing thankful to you.' 'Why then,' quoth he, 'seeing you have here divers things of Master Thirleby's, and all other things are *parabilia pecunia*, which you have, ye may make thereby good provision for yourself.' 'That is truth,' quoth I; 'and that can I and will do, though ye tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at Lyons for all things necessary, if ye without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, enforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet,' quoth I, 'one thing may I tell you: ye are very desirous I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at Lyons one horse that Francis had provided for me, and also your servant Mace, having a horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your consent hath sold his horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how heartily you desire I should be provided for.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'choose you, ye may provide and you will; and seeing your journey hither from Lyons is vain, you may thither return again, and make there provision for yourself.' 'I thought,' quoth he, 'departing from Lyons, to have made easy journeys, and to have followed the court till you had come, and now come you, squirting in post, and trouble all.' 'I came forth in post,' quoth I, 'by the commandment of the king my master, and had liberty to return at pleasure by his Grace's letters; and seeing that I had no horses for the journey, methought better to ride in post than go afoot.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'I will not depart hence this twelvemonth, except ye be otherwise provided.' 'Provided?' quoth I, 'I must tarry till I may be provided for horses, if ye speak of that provision: and seeing that this riding in post grieveth you, it causeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I shall succeed you. I have here already two gowns and a velvet jacket, so that you shall not be letted an hour by me.'

"'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye shall otherwise provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you,' quoth he, 'though you care not for the king's honour, but wretchedly do live with ten shillings a-day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I must and will consider the king's honour.' 'And I tell you again,' quoth I, 'I will and do consider the king's honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as sorry will be, that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you,' quoth I, 'though ye may spend far above me, I shall not stick, if any thing be to bespent for the king's honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchedness and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a false lie, and ye show your wisdom full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.' 'I cannot tell,' quoth he, 'but this was openly rehearsed by Master Brian's servants at my table.' 'Yea, was it?' quoth I. 'Yea, marry was it,' quoth he. 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for, of my fidelity, that week that Master Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me five and twenty pounds in the charges of the housel' 'This, they say,' quoth he. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'and therein they lie.'

"And here I showed him, that being well settled at Nice, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little charges, Master Wyat would not rest till he had gotten us to Villa Franca, where, even upon the first words of Master Heynes, he was right well content to take of us twenty shillings by the day; which was not during ten days: whereas, at his coming to us to Nice, himself and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Master Wyat from Villa Franca, in post, into England, we found ourselves, our servants, all Master Wyat's servants, to the number of sixteen,

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all his acquaintance, which, dinner and supper, continually came to us; sometimes twelve, sometimes ten, and, when they were least, six or eight; and for this we had not one penny of Master Wyat. And yet at our coming from Barcelona, where we tarried about eight days, we gave to Master Wyat twenty-eight livres, and to his servants five livres, besides forty shillings that privately I gave to some, being of gentle fashion, out of mine own purse: so that I told him, it was neither Master Wyat, nor Mason, that found us and our servants, but we paid for the finding of them: and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other men to have all the thanks.

"The bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying, 'By my troth,' quoth he, 'I tell you as it was told me, and Master doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more,' quoth he, 'they said that Master Heynes would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'I shall therein make Master Heynes himself judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.'

"Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the bishop's wild head, I held my peace and by and by was he in hand again with them, as hot as ever he was. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I desired ere while your Lordship to make an end of this communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would, (where ye have spoken undiscreetly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the king's letters,) with multitude of words, and great countenance, I should think ye had not done amiss. But surely you lose your labour, for ye shall never make me think that ye are desirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the king's: for if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the king's sake; that is, nothing at all.'

"Here both of us were talking together; but I held on still, and ever enforced him to this: 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'this is the thing that I shall only desire of you; that whereas the king's Grace hath here, in the French court, divers affairs, (as I take it,) ye would therein instruct me in the state thereof, and give me your best counsel and advice: and this I protest unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you and if ye will not, I shall with pain hear you in your other things, but I will make no answer at all.'

"For all this the bishop ended not; but in conclusion, when he saw that he could by no means induce me to answer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his lodging and chamber.

"It being dinner time, and all things provided, and standing afore him, and he turning his back from me into a window — I, at his turning towards me again, put off my bonnet, and said, 'God be with you, my Lord!' He gave no answer to me at all, nor countenance, but suffered me to go. Whereupon, returning to my lodging, which was in Master Thirleby's chamber, I caused my dinner to be provided; and when it was almost ready, the bishop's steward, called Myrrel, came for me, (whether sent from the bishop or not, I cannot tell,) and I told him my dinner was provided for, and withal, that my Lord, his master, had given me such a breakfast, that I needed no dinner nor supper; and so the steward, drinking with me, returned again, and I went to dinner at Master Thirleby's lodging, and after dinner I went to the bishop's lodging, who, at my coming,

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very gently put off his bonnet, and so we walked together quietly awhile; and shortly after, the bishop began after this manner: 'Master Bonner! to-day we communed of provision for you, and because ye shall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you: I will provide and make ready for you mules, mulets, horses, servants, money; yea, and all things that shall be necessary.'

"My Lord!' quoth I, 'here is a large offer, and a great kindness come upon you; I marvel,' quoth I, 'that I could hear nothing of this to-day in the morning.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'this will I do; for know you, that I will consider the king's honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the king will pay me again.' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I have sent my servant already to Lyons, to make provision for me, and I have sent others abroad here into the town and country, to do the same: ye shall never need to trouble yourself herewith.' 'I will,' quoth he, 'you shall not say, another day, that ye could not be provided for.' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'let me have instructions in the king's matters, and as for other things, I shall not ask of you, because this day ye made me so plain answer.'

"After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at Ferrara that night, where he intended to be lodged. And so the bishop, bidding me farewell, took soon after his horse, riding to Ferrara to bed; and by the way I overtook him, and passing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to Ferrara, lodging at the post-house, and even as the bishop came into the town, stood at the post-house door; to whom the bishop said, 'We shall see you soon, Master Bonner!' 'Yea, my Lord!' quoth I, thinking that thereby he had desired me to supper, and at supper-time I went to his lodging, having others to eat my supper at home; and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all supper while, but nothing at all yet speaking to me, or giving any thing to me, saving, at the doming of the fruit, he gave me a pear, I trow, because I should remember mine own country. After supper, he walked, taking Master Thirleby with him, and I walked with an Italian, being ambassador for the Count Mirandula; and after a good space we returned, and bade the bishop good night.

"I did not after that night dine or sup with the bishop, till he came to Bourges in Berry, where, upon the depeach of Francis, and closing up of our letters sent to the king's Highness, the supper was so provided, and set upon the board; and the bishop in washing, standing so between me and the door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I should wash with him and sup. And I suppose, all the way from Barella to Blois, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time, saving at Moulines, (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the king's affairs here in France,) and at Varron, (when he, answering to my request in writing, delivered me his book of his own hand for mine instructions, the copy whereof is now sent herewithal,) there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Master Thirleby, who, I think, knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordship. I myself was out of credence with the bishop, not being applicable to his manners and desires.

"And surely, as Master Thirleby told me at his first coming to Lyons, and then speaking with the bishop, the bishop seemed to be so well content to return, and so glad of his coming to succeed him, that his flesh in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the bishop make men believe, that he would gladly come home: which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe;

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for ever he was looking for letters out of England, from Master Wallop and Master Brian, whom he taketh for his great friends. And Master Wyatt himself reckoned, that the bishop should have come into Spain, or else my lord of Durham; so that the bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protract the time, desiring yet withal to have some shadow to excuse and hide himself; as tarrying at Bareilla, he made excuse by my not coming to Lyons: and coming to Varennes, and there, hearing by the ambassadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the going of the French king towards Bayonne, to meet the emperor, by and by he said, 'Lo! where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here, (as then I was that night,) we would to the court and present him, and take our leave.' But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to horse, he was nothing hasty. No; coming to Moulines afore him, and there tarrying for him, the French king lying at Schavenna, three small leagues off, he made not half the speed and haste that he pretended.

"I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any, joined in commission with him, should keep house, but to be at his table. Wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain glory and pride to himself, with some dishonour to the king, as who saith, there was among all the king's ambassadors but one able to maintain a table, and that were he; or else he doth the same for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say and do as liketh him alone; which, I suppose verily, hath been his intent.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that where he, for his own pomp and glory, hath a great number of servants in their velvets and silks, with their chains about their necks, and keepeth a costly table with excessive fare, and exceeding expenses many other ways, he doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that he is so commanded to do by the king's Grace; and that is his answer commonly, when his friends tell him of his great charges; and so, under colour of the king's commandment and honour, he hideth his pride, which is here disdained.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that he, having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the king's affairs, than, relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubborn will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the king's Highness's matters and business may be advanced and set forth) to him that he taketh for his adversary.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that he ever continually, here in this court of France, made incomparably more of the emperor's, king of Portugal's, Venetians', and duke of Ferrara's ambassadors, than of any Frenchmen in the court, which, with his pride, caused them to disdain him, and to think that he favoured not the French king, but was imperial.

"I mislike in the bishop, that there is so great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and much mutual confidence, between the said bishop and M., as naughty a fellow, and as very a papist, as any that I know, where he dare express it. The bishop, in his letters to Master Wyatt, ever sendeth special commendations to Mason, and yet refuseth to send any to Master Heynes and me, being with Master Wyatt, as we perceived by the said letters. And Mason maketh such foundation of the bishop, that he thinketh there is none such; and he told me at Villa Franca, that the bishop, upon a time, when he had fallen out with Germain, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came unto him, desiring and praying him that he would speak with Germain, and reconcile him, so that no words were spoken of it: and what the matter was, he would not tell me; that young fellow

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Germain knoweth all. And Preston, who is servant to the bishop of Winchester, showed me one night in my chamber at Blois, after supper, that Germain is ever busy in showing the king's letters to strangers, and that he himself hath given him warning thereof. This thing Preston told me the night before that the bishop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he, considering how the bishop and I stood, kept him more close, and would say no further."

In this declaration of Dr. Edmund Bonner, above prefixed, sent to the Lord Cromwell, divers things we have to note: First, as touching Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; here we have a plain demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, joined with malice and disdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Dr. Bonner aforesaid, showing six special causes, why and wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before, by the king's commandment, so to do.

Secondly, In the said Stephen Winchester, this we have also to note and understand, that as he here declareth a secret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his book *De Obedientia*) to papistry, joining part and side with such as were known papists; so he seemeth likewise to bear a like secret grudge against the Lord Cromwell, and all such whomsoever he favoured.

Thirdly, As concerning the before-named Dr. Edmund Bonner, the author of this declaration, here is to be seen and noted, that he, all this while, appeared a good man, and a diligent friend to the truth; and that he was favoured of the Lord Cromwell for the same.

Fourthly, That the said Dr. Bonner was not only favoured of the Lord Cromwell, but also by him was advanced first to the office of legation, then to the bishopric of Hereford, and lastly to the bishopric of London; whom the said Dr. Bonner, in his letters, agnizeth, and confesseth to be his only patron, and singular Mecænas.

Which being so, we have in this said Dr. Bonner greatly to marvel, what should be the cause that he, seeing all his setting-up, making, and preferring, came only by the gospel, and by them of the gospel's side, he, being then so hated of Stephen Gardiner, and such as he was; being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the gospel, (as appeareth both by his preface before Gardiner's book *De Obedientia*. and by his writings to the Lord Cromwell; also by helping forward the printed bibles at Paris,) could ever be a man so ungrateful and unkind afterwards, to join part with the said Stephen Gardiner against the gospel, (without the which gospel he had never come to be bishop, either of Hereford, or yet of London,) and now to abuse the same bishopric of London, to persecute that so vehemently which before so openly he defended? Wherein the same may well be said to him in this case, that he himself was reported once to say to the French king in the cause of Grancetor; to wit, that he had done therein against God, against his honour, against justice, against honesty, against friendship, against his own promise and his oath so often made, against his own doctrine and judgment which then he professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues between him and his setters-up, and against all together; and, to conclude, against the salvation of his own soul, which would God he would have mercy upon, although he had showed want of mercy unto others!

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But to refer this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Dr. Bonner's legation; who, being now ambassador in the court of France, as ye have heard, had given him in commission from the king to treat with the French king for sundry points, as for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; for the king's pension to be paid; for the matters of the duke of Suffolk; for certain prisoners in France. Item, For Grancetor the traitor, and certain other rebels, to be sent into England, &c. Touching all which affairs, the said Dr. Bonner did employ his diligence and travail to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's mind, and discharge of his duty in such sort as no default could be found in him; save only that the French king, one time, took displeasure with him, for that the said Bonner, being now made bishop of Hereford, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor, (wherein he was willed, by the advertisement of the king's pleasure, to wade more deeply and instantly,) used these words to the French king, (as the French king himself did afterwards report them,) saying, that he had done, in deliverance of that aforesaid Grancetor, being an Englishman, against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the king of England; yea, and against all together, &c. These words of Bishop Bonner, although he denieth to have spoken them in that form and quality, yet; howsoever they were spoken, did stir up the stomach of the French king to conceive high displeasure against him, insomuch that he, answering the lord ambassador again, bade him write these three things unto his master:

First, Among other things, that his ambassador was a great fool.

Secondarily, That he caused to be done better justice there in his realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year.

Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his master, he should have a hundred strokes with a halbert, &c.

And furthermore, the said French king beside this, sending a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to revoke and call this ambassador home, and to send him another. The cause why the French king took these words of Bishop Bonner so to stomach, (as the lord chancellor said,) was this: For that the kings of France, standing chiefly, and in manner only, upon their honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise, in those words (if they had been well taken) was not so much blame, perchance, as boldness, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his master's behalf. But this one thing seemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this bishop, and many others, that they, in earthly matters, and to please terrene kings, will put forth themselves to such a boldness and forwardness; and in Christ's cause, the King of all kings, whose cause they should only attend upon and tender, they are so remiss, cold, and cowardly.

To these letters of the French king, the king of England sent answer again by other letters, in which he revoked and called home again Bishop Bonner, giving unto him, about the same time, the bishopric of London; and sent in supply of his place Sir John Wallop, a great friend to

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Stephen Gardiner: which was in February, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here now followeth the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

The oath of Dr. Edmund Bonner, when he was made bishop of London, against the pope of Rome.

"Ye shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's dominion; but that you shalt resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's Majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend, the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority; and all other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head in the earth of the Church of England. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be; and in no wise do, or attempt, or to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, ye repute the same as vain and annihilated. So help you God, &c.

"In fidem præmissorum ego Edmundus Bonner, electus et confirmatus Londinensis episcopus, huic præsentī chartæ subscripsi."

191. Ecclesiastical Matters, A.D. 1538.

It will be judged, that I have lingered, peradventure, too much in these outward affairs of princes and ambassadors: wherefore, leaving these by-matters pertaining to the civil state awhile, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my story in order again, of such occurrents as belong unto the church, first showing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the behoof of his subjects. Wherein, first, is to be understood, that the king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome, and had translated the same to himself, and was now a full prince in his own realm, although he well perceived, by the wisdom and advice of the Lord Cromwell and other of his council, that the corrupt state of the church had need of reformation in many things; yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were, to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, and what business he had with them only about the matter of the pope's title, he durst not by and by reform all at once, (which notwithstanding had been to be wished,) but leading them fairly and softly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the Lord Cromwell had lived); and therefore first he began with a little book of articles, (partly above touched;) bearing this title: "Articles devised by the king's Highness, to stable Christian quietness and unity among the people," &c.

Articles devised by the king.

In the contents of which book, first he set forth the articles of our Christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king's preface going before, followeth the declaration of three sacraments; to wit, of baptism, of penance, and of the sacrament of the altar; in the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the Church of Rome.

"Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our justification, he declareth, that the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his passion and blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our justification; yet good works, with inward contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in remission of our sins; that is, our justification: and afterwards, we, being justified, must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments, &c.

"As touching images, he willeth all bishops and preachers to teach the people in such sort as they may know how they may use them safely in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, as thus: that they be representers of virtue and good example, and also, by occasion, may be stirrers of men's minds, and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins; and so far he permitteth them to stand in churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of idolatry, he chargeth all bishops and preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they commit no idolatry unto them, in censuring of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

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"And likewise for honouring of saints, the bishops and preachers be commanded to inform the people, how saints, hence departed, ought to be revered and honoured, and how not: that is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in them for their excellent virtues planted in them, and for their good example left us, teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advancers of our prayers in that they may; but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God; and so forth: charging the said spiritual persons to teach their flock, that all grace, and remission of sins, and salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, who only is a sufficient Mediator for our sins: that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ and no other.

"From that he cometh further to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church; as in having vestments used in God's service, sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulchre, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites, and ceremonies; all which old rites and customs the aforesaid book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things: but so that the people withal must be instructed, how the said ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but that to be referred unto God only, by whom only our sins be forgiven us.

"And so, concluding with purgatory, he maketh an end of those articles, thus saying thereof, that because the book of Maccabees alloweth praying for souls departed, he therefore disproveth not that so laudable a custom, so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced; as to make men believe, that by the bishop of Rome's pardons, or by masses said at *Scala Cæli*, or other where, in any place, or before any image, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to heaven; and such other like abuses," &c.

And these were the contents of that book of articles, devised and passed, by the king's authority, a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; wherein, although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed church, yet notwithstanding, the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, instead of a little beginning, till better come.

And so consequently, not long after these articles thus set forward, certain other injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the harvest time, the keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their corn, hay, fruit, and other such-like necessary commodities; the copy and tenor of which injunctions I have also hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

"Forasmuch as the number of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more, by men's devotion, yea, rather superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was,

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and should be, not only prejudicial to the common weal, by reason that it is occasion as well of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconvenience, as of decay of good mysteries and arts profitable and necessary for the commonwealth, and loss of man's food, (many times being clean destroyed through the superstitious observance of the said holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same in time of harvest,) but also pernicious to the souls of many men, which being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And since the sabbath day was used and ordained but for man's use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the same, whensoever that shall occur, much rather than any other holy-day instituted by man; it is therefore by the king's Highness's authority, as supreme head in earth of the Church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things, decreed, ordained, and established:

"First, That the feast of dedication of churches shall, in all places throughout this realm, be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October, for ever, and upon none other day.

"Item, That the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as heretofore hath been used; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons . resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery; and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said feast of Church Holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a holy-day by this ordinance following.

"Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur either in the harvest-time, which is to be counted from the first day of July unto the twenty-ninth .day of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy-days; but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, or of the Blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as wherein the king's Highness's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment; all which shall be kept holy and solemnly of every man, as in time past hath been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be lawful unto all priests and clerks, as well secular as regular, in the aforesaid holy-days now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days, in their churches;: so as they do not the same solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in highholy-days, nor do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

"Finally, That the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the Archangel, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering days.

"And for further declaration of the premises, be it known that Easter term beginneth always the eighteenth day after Easter-day, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

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"Trinity term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the Octaves of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of July.

"Michaelmas term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of October, and endeth the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day of November.

"Hilary term beginneth the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of January, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of February.

"In Easter term, upon the Ascension-day; in Trinity term, upon the Nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas term, upon Allhallows-day; in Hilary term, upon Candlemas-day, the king's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday."

After these articles and injunctions thus given out by the king and his council, then followed moreover, as time served, other injunctions besides, concerning images, relics, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of pilgrimages, devised by superstition, and maintained for lucre's sake; also for the Pater-noster, Creed, and God's commandments, and the Bible to be had in English, with divers other points more, necessary for religion.

By these articles and injunctions coming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear how well the king deserved then the title of his supreme government, given to him over the Church of England; by which title, and authority he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion here in England in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates, had done the space of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and in his council, how by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock, drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs, and idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation: whereunto he provided not only these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but also procured the bishops to help forward, in the same cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people; according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a bishop to preach at Paul's Cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Amongst which bishops, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, and a great persecutor of the poor flock of Christ, (as is before sufficiently recorded,) made a sermon before the king, upon Good Friday, this present year 1538, at Greenwich, seriously and effectuously preaching, on the king's behalf, against the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome; the contents of whose sermon wholly to express, were here too long and tedious.

You heard before, by the king's injunctions above expressed, and directed out, A.D. 1538, how all such images and pictures which were abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any idolatry, were abolished; by virtue of which injunctions, divers idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Wilsdon, Thomas Becket, with many more; having engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false

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jugglings, as the blood of Hayles, and such like, wherewith the simple people a long time had been deceived: all which were espied out, and destroyed.

Among divers other of these fowl idols, there went also, in the same reckoning, a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named Darvell Gatheren; which, in the month of May, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burned in Smithfield; with which idol also was burned at the same time, and hanged for treason, Friar Forrest, of whom some mention was partly touched before, in the story of Cardinal Wolsey.

192. Friar Forrest.

Forasmuch as the number of years doth lead us thereunto, we will somewhat touch and speak of Friar Forrest; although he be unworthy of a place, and not to be numbered in this catalogue. .

This Forrest was an Observant Friar, and had secretly, in confessions, declared to many of the king's subjects, that the king was not supreme head; and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "that he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented thereunto." And being further accused of divers damnable articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the church. Upon this his submission having more liberty than before he had, to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his submission as ever he was; and when his abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it, and obstinately persevered in his errors: wherefore he was justly condemned, and after hanged in Smithfield in chains, upon a gallows quick, by the middle and arm-holes, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burned to death.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's .most honourable council, and the nobles of the realm, to sit upon, to grant him pardon, if he had any spark of repentance in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared his errors, and manifestly confuted them by the Scriptures, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance; but he was so froward, that he neither would hear, nor speak. A little before, the aforesaid image, called Darvell Gatheren, coming out of Wales, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the aforesaid friar, as is said, was set on fire; which the Welchmen much worshipped, and had a prophecy amongst them, that this image should set a whole forest on fire: which prophecy took effect; for he set this Friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, and would not let it go, but so impatiently took his death, as never any man that put his trust in God, at any time so ungodly or unquietly ended his life.

In the months of October and November the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, followed also the ruin of the abbeyes and religious houses, which, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell, (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God,) were suppressed, being given a little before by act of parliament into the king's hand; whereupon not only the houses were razed, but their possessions also disparted among the nobility, in such sort as all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion, were then so rooted out of this realm from the very foundation, that there seemeth, by God's grace, no possibility hereafter left, for the generation of those strange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his gospel, saying, Every plantation, being not planted of my Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, &c.

193. John Lambert

The history of the worthy martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicholson, with his troubles, examinations, and answers, as well before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops, as also before King Henry the Eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in A.D. 1538.



IMMEDIATELY upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert, being born and brought up in Norfolk, was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge; where after that he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being forced at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the seas, to Tyndale and Frith, and there remained the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English House at

Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and, by the accusation of one Barlow, was carried from Antwerp to London; where he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Otford, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries; having five and forty articles ministered against him, whereunto he rendered answer again by writing: the which answers, forasmuch as they contain great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of religion now in controversy, I thought here to exemplify the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The copy both of the articles, and also of his answers, here in order followeth.

"Imprimis, Whether thou wast suspected or infamed of heresy?

"II. Whether ever thou hadst any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned? and how long thou didst keep them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

"III. Whether thou wast constituted priest, and in what diocese, and of what bishop?

"IV. Whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife?

"V. Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity?

"VI. Whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation? and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ, in likeness of bread and wine?

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"VII. Item, What opinion thou holdest touching the sacrament of baptism? whether thou dost believe that it is a sacrament of the church, and a necessary sacrament unto salvation, and that a priest may baptize; and that the order of baptizing ordained by the church, is necessary and wholesome?

"VIII. Item, Whether thou believest that matrimony be a sacrament of the church necessary to be observed in the church, and that the order appointed by the church for the solemnizing thereof is allowable and to be holden?

"IX. Item, Whether thou dost believe orders to be a sacrament of the church, and that saying of mass, ordained by the church, is to be observed of priests? whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned; and whether the order of priesthood were invented by man's imagination, or ordained by God?

"X. Item, Whether penance be a sacrament of the church, and necessary unto salvation; and whether auricular confession is to be made unto the priest, or is necessary unto salvation? and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, besides contrition of heart, having the free use of an apt or free priest, under necessity of salvation, to be confessed unto a priest, and not unto any layman, be he ever so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a priest, in cases permitted to him, may absolve a sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoin him wholesome penance?"

"XI. Item, Whether thou dost believe and hold, that the sacrament of confirmation and extreme unction be sacraments of the church, and whether that they do profit the souls of them that receive them? and whether thou believest the aforesaid seven sacraments to give grace unto them that do duly receive them?

"XII. Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in Holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient? and whether some things upon necessity of salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

"XIII. Whether thou believest that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged?

"XIV. Whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

"XV. Whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us?

"XVI. Whether thou believest that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints?

"XVII. Whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the canon law, and received in common usage of Christian people, (unless necessity otherwise requireth,) are to be observed?

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"XVIII. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints?

"XIX. Whether thou believest that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed, and being in purgatory?

"XX. Whether men may merit and deserve, both by their fastings and also by their other deeds of devotion?

"XXI. Whether thou dost believe that men, prohibited of bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion before a higher judge?

"XXII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God, or no?

"XXIII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God?

"XXIV. Whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, doth oblige and bind them before God?

"XXV. Whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid without offence or deadly sin?

"XXVI. Whether thou believest that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother-language?

"XXVII. Whether is it lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language?

"XXVIII. Whether thou believest that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church, are to be praised?

"XXIX. Whether thou believest that the pope may make laws and statutes, to hind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God?

"XXX. Whether thou believest that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay-people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and so suspend or let them from administration of the sacraments of the same?

"XXXI. Whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying?

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"XXXII. Whether a priest, marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, and begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly?

"XXXIII. Item, Whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore troubled and stirred with pricking of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for remedy of the same, do sin deadly?

"XXXIV. Item, Whether thou dost ever pray for John Wickliff, John Huss, or Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any of them, since they died? or whether thou hast done openly or secretly any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss, and saved?

"XXXV. Item, Whether thou hast accounted them, or any of them, to be saints, and worshipped them as saints?

"XXXVI. Item, Whether thou dost believe, hold, and affirm, that every general council, and the council of Constance also, doth represent the universal congregation or church?

"XXXVII. Item, Whether thou dost believe the same things which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith, and soul's health, and that the same is to be approved and holden of all Christians?

"XXXVIII. Whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the whole general council of Constance, were duly and rightly done, and so, for such, by every catholic person they are to be holden?

"XXXIX. Whether thou believest that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been, and now be, perverse; for the which books, and pertinacy of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics?

"XL. Item, Whether thou believest or affirmest, that it is not lawful in any case to swear?

"XLI. Whether thou believest that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy?

"XLII. Item, Whether a Christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly?

"XLIII. Item, Whether thou believest that St. Peter, as Christ's vicar, hath power upon earth to bind and loose?

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"XLIV. Item, Whether the pope, ordinarily chosen for a time, his proper name being expressed, be the successor of St. Peter?"

"XLV. Item, Whether thou hast ever promised at any time, by an oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that you would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles, seeming to you and your accomplices right and consonant unto the faith; and that you certify us touching the order and tenor of the said opinions and conclusions, and of the names and surnames of them that were your adherents, and promised to be adherent unto you in this behalf?"

The answers of John Lambert to the forty-five articles.

"Unto your first demand, wherein you do ask whether I was suspected of or infamed of heresy, I answer, that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me; peradventure some better, some worse; like as the opinion of the people was never one, but thought diversely of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yea, and of Christ himself: as appeareth in St. John, how, when he came into Jerusalem in the feast called Scenopegia, anon there arose upon him a great noise, some saying that he was a very good man; others said nay, and called him a seducer, because he led the people from the right ways of Moses's law into error. Seeing therefore that all men could not say well by Christ, which is the author of verity and truth, yea, the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants; what should I need to regard if at some time some person, for a like cause, should suspect of me amiss, and evil report of me? seeing moreover, it is said in the Gospel, Woe be to you, when all men speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets. If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded the same, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any such, yet were I more than twice a fool to show you thereof; for it is written in your own law, No man is bound to bewray himself. But this I insure you: I was never so charged with suspicion or infamy of crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reprov'd before any judge before that I was troubled for these causes, for which I was at the first put into your hands: and of them, seeing you could not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But letting those things pass, you have imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I think certainly, that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the first; that is to wit, no whit culpable in either, had it not been that by long imprisonment you forced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do; and that, indifferently considered, I suppose shall not deserve any sore punishment, unless you will beard the truth, whereunto I hope it shall not disagree.

"To your second demand, where you do inquire whether I had ever any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have spent any study in them; I say that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and also since; but I neither will nor can tell you how long I kept them. But truth it is, that I have studied upon them, and I thank God that ever I so did; for by them hath God showed unto me, and also to a huge multitude of others, such light as the deceivable darkness of them (I beseech God to amend it) that name themselves, but amiss, to be the holy church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not stand to any trial. He coveteth above all

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things, as all his adversaries do well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages, to the intent that all people might see and know what is said of every part; whereby men should the better judge what the truth is. And in this methinketh he requireth nothing but equity; for the law would have no man condemned, nor justified, until his cause were beard and known.

"But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich prelacy, who are so drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to study God's Scripture, nor preach the same, which should be the principal part of their office, abhor this fashion (albeit it is right indifferent and full of equity) no less than they do abhor death. And no marvel, for doubtless, if it so could be obtained that the writings of all parties might be openly seen and conferred, we should soon see their sleightly dealing, and facing doctrine, with all other cloaked abuson, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in Almain: for there be the books of every party seen openly, and translated into the vulgar language, that all people may see and read upon them; and so, upon the sight of the books, they lightly follow the true light of God's word, refusing the horror of darkness and false doctrine, whereby, before, they have been seduced from the right teaching and way showed in the Bible. And this is done, not by a hundred, nor by a thousand; but generally by whole cities and countries, both high and low; few or none excepted.

"But our prelates, seeing this, and that their dealing should, if this light were set up, soon be detected and discovered, have sent out commandments, that if any person should adventure to keep any such books, they shall, for so doing, be excommunicated from God, and all his saints, and cursed as black as pitch, whether the books be in Latin, English, French, Dutch, or any other tongue; as indeed men, seeing the fruit contained in them, have set them forth in all languages. But this ought not Christian men to think any novelty; for so did their forefathers, the prelates in Christ's time and afterwards, to the apostles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it should soon be found out, that they have so dealt ever since unto this day. For when Christ went about preaching, the scribes and Pharisees, who were bishops then and prelates, gave a general commandment, that whosoever confessed him to be Christ should be accursed, and put out of the synagogue, that we call the church; and so they were.

"Look in the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall find how they were in like manner served; yea, look in the Old Testament, and you shall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporal ruler at that season, to have the prophecy of Jeremy (for he of all others is most vehement against the dissimulation of priests) to be burned. Why then should we eschew them, or their works, (unless we knew a better cause why,) whom our prelates reject and cast away, seeing they render no reasonable cause of their enterprise? but, presuming of their power, without any due authority, that I can find, granted unto them so to do, will, because they so command, so have all done? according to the tyrannical saying, as I trow, of Sardanapalus, *Sic solo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas*; that is to say, So will I, so do I command; and let my will for reason stand.

But I would to God that such knew what spirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Christ, I dare say it should soon alter them from such haughty language and doting, and cause them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of softness and lenity, lowliness and humility, patience and temperancy; void of

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all wilfulness and tyranny: yea, it should cause them not to prevent, but easily to follow, the counsel and doctrine of Christ's apostles and holy saints, that be their interpreters. As St. Paul, which writing unto the Thessalonians, would have them all to prove all things, and to retain or bold that only which is good; refraining from all that hath semblance of evil. And St. John would have Christian people to try the spirit of them that should speak; whether they were of God or no. Also, writing in another Epistle unto a noble woman, and unto her children, he saith, If any person shall come unto you, bringing .with them the doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, nor make him any cheer. So that in this he would have women to know the doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give credence unto foreign teaching; not favouring the same.

"In the First Epistle also to the Corinthians, St. Paul, writing in general to all the inhabitants of that city, saith, Brethren, be ye not children in wit and understanding; but as concerning maliciousness, be you children. In wit I would have you perfect. And why? Verily for no other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the Hebrews) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts, according unto the saying of the prophet, See that ye be not like unto a horse or a mule, which lack understanding. And we should pray with him in another Psalm, O Lord! teach me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my soul unto thee.

"St. Chrysostom, according unto this, in a certain book of his Commentaries upon Matthew, (the book is called, Opus Imperfectum,) writeth after this fashion, as near as my remembrance doth serve, and certain I am that I shall not misreport him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the book. 'The priests that were Pharisees in the time,' saith he, 'of Christ, made an ordinance, that whosoever should acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, should be accursed and excommunicated. If then the Pharisees or priests that now do occupy their rooms should make a like ordinance, because they would not have Christ's doctrine to be professed for hindering of their lucre, should we therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seek after the knowledge of Christ's doctrine? Nay truly. Why,' quoth he, 'shall we not be excused herein by ignorance, seeing we be forefended by the rulers to have knowledge?' He answereth, 'No verily; for if,' saith he, 'when thou desirest to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one merchant's ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further, to know where is the best cloth, and best cheap, thou, using such careful diligence for a temporal profit, art well worthy great reproach, that wilt be more remiss and negligent for thy soul's health. Seek therefore about from one doctor or teacher unto another, that thou mayst know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow according to the saying of the apostle, Prove all, and hold the good; and as it is said in the Gospel, that thou mayst know who be true or lawful changers or coiners, and who be not.

"He also addeth another similitude or parable. 'When thou goest,' quoth he, 'a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldst fail of the right way, inquire of one man, and after of another; and if thou shouldst chance to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt not so leave off thy journey undone, but make inquisition again to come where thou wouldst rest. So likewise,' saith he, 'ought we to seek about intently for the wealth of our soul, who are the right key-bearers, and who not;' meaning there by the key-bearers, Christ's apostles, and the bearers of his testimony or message. Which saving, although it were written of no authentical

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author, (howbeit it is written even of him whom I showed you in the said work,) but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent person having wit and reason would answer, I doubt not, that it is full true.

"The same author also, in an epistle which you shall find in a work called Psegmata Chrysostomi, showeth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, because he did study Origen's works, who before was condemned for a heretic: but he maketh an apology to the same, showing, that Christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing; in which apology he bringeth for his defence the saying of Paul above rehearsed, Prove all things, &c. Likewise did St. Jerome, I wot not well in what place of his works, but you shall find it in a Treatise called Unio Dissidentium, where he treateth De mandatis Hominum. When it was objected against him that he retained by him the works of Eusebius and of Origen, studying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was so lawful, the said place of the apostle,, making therewith an assent, worthy to be greatly noted.

"The same is also reported in the book called Ecclesiastica Historia, or else Historia Tripartita, I wot not now precisely whether. So that these and other authorities of the Scripture, and semblable ensamples of holy interpreters, shall prove, that I and other may safely (no good law inhibiting, unless constitutions pharisaical) read and search the works not only of Luther, but also of all others, be they ever so ill or good; namely, seeing I am a priest: whom the bishop of Norwich ought not to have admitted into orders, unless he had seen me to have had judgment to discern good from ill; neither ought any of you to give orders to any such, in whom ye do not find like ability to judge the light from darkness, and the truth from falsehood: and therefore, if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemn yourselves, judging rather of sensual pleasure than of equity, which, in men of your order, were a great shame, and much uncomely.

"Unto your third demand, wherein you do ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and by what bishop; I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and by the bishop's suffragan of the same diocese.

"Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife I say that it is lawful, yea and necessary, for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife; and that show both Christ and St. Paul. In Matthew xix., Christ, speaking unto the Pharisees that came to tempt him, in the conclusion, saith in this wise, 'Whosoever shall forsake his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her so forsaken, committeth adultery.'

"With that say his disciples, 'If thus the case stand betwixt a man and his wife, it shall be hurtful, and not expedient to contract matrimony.' He made answer, 'Every man cannot away with that saying, but they unto whom it is given of God;' meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such unto whom was given of God a special grace so to continue. And if, with your better advice, I might herein be somewhat bold, I would suppose that whereas he doth say, *Non omnes sunt capaces hujus dicti*, (Every man cannot away with that saying,) this word *non omnes* ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture; as where, in the

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Psalm, it is said, *Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens*, it is meant that no person living shall be justified before God. And in the Epistle to the Galatians, and to the Romans, where it is said, By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified in his sight, it is meant thereby *nulla caro*: so that, *non omnis*, after the rule of equipollence, should be taken for as much as *nullus*, and then the sense should be thus, *Nulli sunt capaces hujus dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit*. No man can be *capax* of this saying, or can so pass his life without marriage, except those who have it given them, by a singular grace of God, to live chaste.

Then he proceeded further, saying, There be eunuchs that so were born from the mother's womb; and there be some eunuchs that have been so made by men; and there be eunuchs that have so made themselves, for love of the kingdom of heaven. In conclusion he saith, Who, that receiveth this saying, (thinking that it should be inexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaste through the gift given him of God,) let him take it and so live. So he leaveth singleness of life to all men's election, without any compelling them thereto.

"Hereunto assenteth St. Paul: when that by many reasons he had persuaded the Corinthians to single life, finally he concludeth thus, This, quoth he, say I unto you, willing that which should be for your profit, but not to bring you in bondage. And a little before, I would, quoth he, that all men were even as myself am. But every one hath a several gift of God, one one wise, another otherwise: showing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continently, and to others to engender and procreate children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may easily perceive in this, that after he had showed forth his good wish and desire, saying, I would that all men were even as I am, he putteth a conjunction adversative, that declareth an obstacle or stop, saying, But every man hath his proper gift of God. Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly see, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. This, quoth he, I say to the unmarried and widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do: but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage; for better is it to marry than to burn. This proveth well, that all priests, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry for to avoid burning lust, unless they be inobedient to the mind of Christ that spake in Paul, in observing the traditions of men. In the beginning of the same chapter also he saith, It is good that a man should not deal with a woman: notwithstanding, for avoiding fornication, quoth he, let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband. He saith here, every man and every woman; and not some man or some woman. He excepteth neither priest nor nun, but every one, both man and woman, is bound, for avoiding of burning and fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of chastity.

"The same also confirmeth your own law, where it is written thus, 'If any man do hold that a priest, being married, in that respect that he is married, ought not to minister in his function, be he accursed.' And, 'If any man shall find fault with matrimony, and detest a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the kingdom of God, be he accursed.' And every where else such-like are to be seen.

"Moreover, in *Historia Tripartita* it is written, that a noble martyr of Christ called Paphnutius, in the Nicene council, when all other bishops were purposed to have enacted there, that priests should live unmarried, this holy man resisted them so mightily both with reasons, and

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also with authority of Scripture, that then their purpose altered, and their first device could not pass. And one authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the Second Epistle to Timothy: Your device, quoth he, may have a semblance of holiness, but indeed, it shall be the destruction and undoing of the same.

"Moreover, in one of the principal histories of France, called Les Illustrations de Galles, whosoever please may there read it as it standeth, within six leaves afore the end of the same; how the author with deep sorrow lamenteth the ordinance that first decreed priests to live unmarried, showing, and that amply, the miseries that have ensued in France thereby, imputing it unto Calixtus the pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in metre, whereof the first I yet remember, and it is thus: 'O holy Calixtus! all the world hateth thee;' which followeth in writing, to all that lust to behold therein. But what need I to make longer treatise hereof, forasmuch as you do daily both hear and see, what foul abomination ariseth in every corner, of this piteous law, made of men that would presume to be wiser than God; thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or else for lack of wisdom he could not, show us a sufficient law or way, to direct our life and conversation to come to the joy and resting-place by him promised, and so by us longed and looked for; whereby both we be far unreasonable in so deeming of him after our unwise wit, and he much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to help. Amen.

"Unto the fifth, where ye do ask, whether I believe that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity; that is (as you construe) to wit, whether man hath free-will, so that he may deserve joy or pain I say (as I said at the beginning) that unto the first part of your riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive answer, forasmuch as it surmounteth my capacity; trusting that God shall send hereafter others that shall be of better learning and wit than I, for to indite it. As concerning the second part, where you do interpret; that is to say, whether man hath free-will or no, so that he may deserve joy or pain: as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very slender or none, even when we do the very commandments and law of God. And that I am taught by our Saviour in St. Luke, where he saith thus, Which of you, quoth he, having a servant that hath eared your land, or fed your beasts, will say unto him, when he cometh home out of the field, Go thy way quickly, and sit down to thy meat; and rather will not say unto him, Make ready my supper; serving me thereat till I have made an end thereof, and afterwards take thyself meat and drink? Think you that he is bound to thank his servant which thus shall do his commandment? I trow, saith he, nay. Even so you, saith he, when you have done all things to you commanded, say yet you be unprofitable servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.

"In which words you may clearly see, that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather, reckon ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, forasmuch as he hath no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to see us do well for our own behoof; and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify, either ourself, or our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done, (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his grace and benefit, whereby only is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus, if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the commandment of God, much less should we look for merit for observing of our own inventions

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or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture (which Paul calleth the word of truth and of faith) promised.

"But here may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to them that do observe the precepts of God. That I affirm to be very sooth. Notwithstanding such reward shall never be attained of us, except by the grace and benefit of Him who worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well St. Augustine, with St. Ambrose, Fulgentius, and others, as you may see everywhere in their works, and especially in the treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' wherein Jerome treateth 'De Gratia et Meritis.' And of St. Augustine I remember two or three right notable sentences, concerning the same. One is in the ninth book of his Confessions, in this form; 'Woe be to the life of men, be they ever so holy, if Thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Because thou dost not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and trust to find some place of mercy with thee. And whosoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would see and know themselves, and that he who glorieth, would glory in the Lord.' Again, in the first book, he saith thus unto God: 'Doth any man give what he oweth not unto thee, that thou shouldest be in his debt? and hath any man aught that is not thine? Thou renderest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgivest debts, and yet lovest nothing.' And therefore his usual prayer was this: 'Lord give that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.'

"Also in the book called *Manuale Augustini*, or *De Contemplatione Christi*, he saith in this wise, 'All my hope is in the Lord's death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercy shall continue; and if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I also great and rich in merits.'

"And to conclude, they be Christ's own merits and good works, (as saith St. Ambrose well-nigh every where,) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown; and not ours, if one should look narrowly upon the thing, and speak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheless are ours by him, forasmuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours; so that in this, I wot not how others do mean, which lust to sell their merits unto their neighbours, who haply have scarcely enough for themselves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scriptures, with these holy doctors and such other, do teach, wishing that men ever, for good doing, should not so much (as the common people do) regard their merit Or reward, for that is not the thing that engendereth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a servile fashion, and for the love of themselves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more than because it so pleaseth God, and liketh him: whereas, if we regarded first, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well, (which is the keeping of his commandments,) and that so we should content his pleasure, reward should undoubtedly ensue good deeds, although we minded no whit the same, as heat followeth evermore the fire unseparate therefrom. And thus, we should serve God with hearty love as children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thralls and servants.

"Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth St. Augustine, that of ourselves we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God, but are subject unto sin and thralls of the same, 'shut up and sold under sin,' as witness both Isaiah and also Paul but, by the grace of God, we are rid

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and set at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the same, some more, some less.

"Whereas, in your sixth demand, you do inquire whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation, and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine, I neither can nor will answer one word otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit thereunto, knowing so much at the first as now I do, till you had brought forth some that would have accused me to have trespassed in the same; which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

"As concerning the other six sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the sacrament of the altar, and no other; that is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same, unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I so ought to do. But as touching the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as my rudeness will serve. I hold well that such as be duly elected ministers in the church, ought to baptize, except necessity require otherwise; and that the form used in the church is, in mine opinion, not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edify much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar language, and cause people, in the baptism of children, more effectuously to thank God for his institution, and the high benefit thereby represented.

"In like condition do I also deem of ministration in all the others, that it should be expedient to have them ministered openly in the vulgar language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form used in matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, saving in all countries lightly Judas hath set in his foot over far, and taketh in hand to sell his Master, accompanied with Simon Magus, saying, 'What will you give me, if I deliver unto you Christ?' This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in some places tweldepence, in some sixpence, in some more, in some less, but in every place lightly some money, when a couple should be married: and this they call 'the church's right.' Moreover, that they will not suffer marriage to be solemnized at all times of the year, I think it standeth not with Christ's rule, but rather is against the same; and that they will not suffer the bans upon all holy-days to be proclaimed, unless a dispensation for money be purchased there-for. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But the contrary is seen, which is great pity; yea, even at the receiving of the sacrament of the altar, priests every where use to claim somewhat, and in some parts of the west country, no less than twopence, of every poll.

"As touching priesthood in the primitive church, when virtue bare (as ancient doctors do deem, and Scripture, in mine opinion, recordeth the same) most room, there were no more officers in the church of God, than bishops and deacons; that is to say; ministers: as witnesseth, besides Scripture fully apertly, Jerome, in his Commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, where he saith, that those whom we call priests, were all one and none other but bishops; and the bishops none other but priests; men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. Neither were they instituted and chosen, as they be now-a-days, with small regard by a bishop or his officer, only opposing them if they can construe a collect; but they were chosen not only by

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the bishop, but also with the consent of the people among whom they should have their living, as showeth St. Cyprian; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose priests that be men of good learning, of good and honest report. But, alack for pity! such elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in; which if we should confer with the form of the election showed of Christ by his apostle Paul, we should find no small diversity, but all turned upside down. To conclude, I say, the order or state of priests and deacons was ordained by God; but subdeacons and conjurers, otherwise called Exorcistæ and Accolitæ, which we call Benet and Collet, were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the law, Dist. 21, and in other places where it is written, 'Subdeaconship, in the time of the apostles, was no holy order.'

"As touching ear-confession, I say that the common fashion now used, was never ordained by Christ's law, that is, written in the Bible; neither can you prove by any authority of the same, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all and of every such, to any man. Again, for the maintenance of this which I have said, you shall know that Chrysostom standeth stiffly with me, in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Hebrews; in a homily also that he maketh upon the Psalm Miserere; and moreover in a sermon that he maketh, De Pœnitentia, besides many other treatises, wherein he continueth ever one, testifying in semblable wise.

"In like manner doth one of your principal doctors, writing upon your canon law, named Panormitane, testify that it is made by the law of man, and not of God, in cap. *Omnis utriusque sexus*. In the book also called Historia Tripartita, you shall find how it was first instituted, (as I remember,) and afterwards undone again, because of a huge villany committed with a woman by a minister of the church, through confession.

"Also it is mentioned in the end of the first Distinction De Pœnitenti, how the Greek church, whom I think you do not note to be heretics, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to prove that confession made to a priest should not be necessary, and also that confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, *Quibus auctoritatibus, &c.* I could bring forth others that be yet living, men of surmounting and excellent literature, who exactly, by many and mighty both authorities and reasons, do show and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them into hatred. Notwithstanding, I never said, nor will say, but that men feeling themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whom they know and trust to be of stedfast credence, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, through counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

"But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their curate, or to any other priest, whose credence they deem not at all trusty, or their counsel not sage, but to any other, whatsoever he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties above-shewed, when their curate doth lack them. And this thing is most behoveable, when men, needing counsel, be so void of knowledge in Christ's law, that they cannot find therein remedy themselves. For the doctrine of Christ, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men, by spiritual knowledge, might ease themselves.

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"To the other part of your question, where you do ask whether a priest, in cases unto him limited, may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoining him wholesome penance; I say that only Christ looseth a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise,, and the priest doth nothing but show and declare the word: neither doth declaration or ministry of the priest any whit avail for to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give credence unto the word ministered and showed by the priest, which word or promise of Christ is called the word of reconciliation or atonement making betwixt God and man. And this testified St. Paul, in the Corinthians, where he saith in this wise, God hath reconciled us unto him through Jesus Christ.

See how it is God that looseth us from sin, who is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ, whom he caused to die for the same purpose. And he, quoth St. Paul, hath ordained us ministers of the said atonement. See how Christ's apostles called not themselves the authors of binding and loosing, but ministers; For he, that is to wit, God, reconciled the world unto him, forgiving their sins (where you may know what reconciling is); and hath committed, saith Paul, unto us, to be messengers of the same word, or tidings of atonement or reconciling.

"Also, that the power whereby men are loosed from sin is not the priest's power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea, and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can show the same in the Decrees, which is thus, 'Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins.' And this was preached at Paul's Cross the Sunday next after the Epiphany last, the bishop of London sitting by; the preacher speaking after this form, treating of this text, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.' In that, 'said the preacher, 'testimony is given of Christ to be a lamb, it is showed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, that he taketh away the sins of the world, is showed that he was God;' alleging there, for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgar saying above said by me, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*. And the same proposition, or another equal with the same, useth St. Chrysostom, in a homily that is made upon this text of St. Matthew, His name shall be called Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins. Also St. Chrysostom, in *Opus Imperfectum*, upon this text, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees! because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, &c. As near as my remembrance doth serve me, or else in some other place, but in the book, (as I suppose,) he affirmeth that the keys of heaven are the word and doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover St. Gregory, I trow, in his book called *Pastoralia*, or else it is an epistle that he writeth to the bishop of Constantinople, in these words: 'The key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who, rebuking, doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not, that committeth the same.'

"St. Ambrose, agreeing to the same, saith, 'The word of God forgiveth sin.' But shall we then say that God's ministers do not bind and loose? I say, No, not as the authors of so doing; but they do loose and bind in like manner as it is said of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner; 'I shall, said our Saviour, deliver thee from the people and nations unto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light. Here Paul is said to open the eyes of men's hearts, albeit to speak properly, it is God that so doth; and therefore David prayeth unto him, Open mine eyes, O Lord. And in like manner it is spoken of John Baptist, that he should go before Christ in the spirit and power of Elias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the unbelievers to the

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wisdom of the righteous: albeit to turn men's hearts, and to work in them, belongeth to God; but so use we to speak metonymice. As, if your Lordship had defined to me to be excommunicated, and thereupon should send a commandment to the parson of Knoll, to declare the same, the people would say, that the parson of Knoll, proclaiming your commandment, had accursed me; but yet doth he not properly curse me, but you rather, when he, in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

"Touching cases limited to priests and ministers, for loosing from sin, or binding in the same, I do know no such things showed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life: neither can any man, I suppose, show by authority thereof, that one should have more or less limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thank you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

"Concerning enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoin the same, except it be renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new virtue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend, verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ, to show and perform.

"Unto the eleventh article I say, that grace is given unto them that duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church; but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the sacraments, who is destitute of grace, to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments give grace; yet, in due receipt of the sacraments, I suppose and think, that God giveth unto them grace that so take them, as he doth unto all good, even without them also.

"Whereas in your twelfth article you do ask, whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in Holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things, upon necessity of salvation, are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: this is the question, as great learned men have showed me, whom I do count my friends, since the time I appeared at your Lordship's assignment before Master doctor Lesse, and Master Melling, with other, in your chapel of Lambeth, when these questions were first propounded: this, I say, is the question, which, as they told me, is the head and whole content of all others objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended right sorely to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking 'that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amity; 'and also, If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off, and cast away.

"But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had St. Cyril's works by me, I should not need to show any other answer in this, than he hath showed beforetime, writing upon this saying of St. John, There are many things more which Jesus did. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shift, such as he may, I say, that I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation be mentioned and showed in Holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be

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sufficient for the regiment of spiritual living, and man's soul's health. And in this shall you find both the ancient doctors standing with me; and moreover, the suffrage of holy writ, whose authority is of most sovereign and infallible stedfastness.

"Look what St. Jerome saith upon this verse, The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people. St. Ambrose also, in a treatise, *De Paradiso*, doth show likewise, where he bringeth this text of Paul, written in 2 Cor. xi., I am afraid lest it may, by some means, be brought to pass, that as the serpent deceived Eve through wiliness, so your minds may be corrupted from the simple verity that is in Christ. And also in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Colossians, upon this text, In Christ Jesus is all treasure of wisdom; and in divers other places of the same work.

St. Chrysostom also, in his Commentaries upon Paul, declaring this saying, 'The whole Scripture given by inspiration of God,' &c. And in his book called *Opus Imperfectum*, I wot not precisely upon what text, but there you shall find, that he would have a true preacher of God's law not swerving therefrom, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Solomon: for he that should thereunto add or withdraw, should enterprise, as saith St. Chrysostom, to be wiser than God. These, or else such like words, doth he say. I will be deemed by the book brought forth, because my remembrance cannot retain perfectly all such things.

"St. Cyprian maintaineth well the same in an epistle that he writeth, *Ad Cecilium Fratrem*, which I would to God were in English, that all men might learn the devout goodness in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Christ only, and his learning, not regarding or attending to the traditions of men; like as he doth also in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of salvation; the administration of righteousness; the word of truth, yea, and the truth itself; the rod of direction; our spiritual food; the spiritual sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaults of our ghostly enemies; the seed of God; the kingdom of heaven, and the keys of the same; the power of God; the light of the world, which whoso followeth shall not be overcome with darkness; the law of God; his wisdom and testament. Of which words, and such like, every one will give matter of substantial argument, that we, following the same doctrine only, shall have sufficient safe-conduct to come unto the inheritance promised, albeit none other ways or means were annexed with the same. And certain I am, that in this blessed doctrine of Christ is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to do, as testifieth the Psalm, in these words, All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth. And again, the prophet, willing us to do as he did, saith in this manner, I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord; confound me not. In like manner the said whole Psalm warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us stick fast, to the steady and true word of God, saying, that he is true, and all his ways are truth; but all men are vain and liars. For that is the sure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ: Every one, saith he, that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth upon a sure foundation. And there ought to be none other foundation to Christian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as showeth St. Paul, saying, Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. And likewise in, the Epistle unto the Ephesians, where he saith, Now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the, saints, and of the household of God. And in the same

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Epistle, St. Paul, dilating of Christ's beneficence, showeth how that he ordained in the church divers officers, to the edifying of Christian people, that he calleth Christ's body, until all we may come unto the unity of faith; which cometh by following of one doctrine, which is Christ's, whereby we may grow to be perfect men; and that we should not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of doctrine, by deceit and wiliness of men that study to deceive us.

"In like form doth he warn us, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that we should not be carried about as the wind, with divers and strange doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable, as men's constitutions be, whereof look what one doth counsel or ordain to be of effect, another annuls the same, according as men's minds do always alter, and are full unsteady. Neither do such pertain unto all men; for the Greeks, with others, (whom neither the pope, nor any of his people, will yet deny to be of Christ's church,) will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the doctrine that persevereth every one, and is immutable, as showeth St. Paul, saying, Jesus Christ yesterday and to-day is all one, and so ever shall be. He is white bread, without any sour leaven of Pharisaeal traditions; verity without guile; light without any darkness; the very straight way that hath neither hook nor crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand nor the other, unless we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

"But should I more treat of this, except I would recite all Scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel, which God, I beseech him, grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by laws and doctrines of men. Look also into Colossians ii., and into the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude that in Holy Scripture is contained sufficiently enough of doctrine for the regiment and salvation of our souls; and because learned men do call this the head article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therein hereafter, whatsoever shall betide of me; for the truth is so indeed, that hereupon hangeth the sum of all. Therefore I shall recite it once again. I say, that in Holy Scripture the doctrine there only contained, is sufficient for the salvation of Christian men's souls: God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith stedfastly upon the same, in working thereafter

"As touching the latter part of your question, I say that there are many things both to be observed, and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture; as the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the same: I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake, although such ordinances be not expressly and particularly in Scripture expressed; for they are generally therein contained and spoken of.

"Moreover, if you mean by this word 'expressed,' that which in Scripture is clearly showed out, and appeareth evidently to every reader or hearer that hath but a mean understanding, so do I affirm that there are some things which a man ought to believe, although they be not by him expressly understood: as I have ever believed that the Virgin Mary was, and is, a perpetual virgin, and that the same might be gathered by the Scripture. But if, by this word 'expressed,' you mean comprehended or contained, (as methinks the mind of him that wrote the

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demand should he,) so that he meaneth by this question thus: whether any thing ought to be observed and believed, which is not contained in Scripture, and that, upon necessity of salvation; then I say, that there is nothing either to be observed, or to be believed upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture and mentioned in the same either generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Dr. Warham was archbishop of Canterbury, ere ever I saw your Lordship; and I believe that I knew verily who was my father and mother, albeit I had no intelligence when they begot me; and such like: and yet in such points, although a man have not a steady belief, he may be saved.

"To the thirteenth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also do the holy doctors, call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as testifieth St. Paul to Timothy, whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer, peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people! and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, All that will live godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer persecution. In this purgatory do I now reckon myself to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honour! Of this speaketh also St. Peter in these words, which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people: Ye, quoth he, are preserved through the power of God, by faith, unto salvation, which is, prepared to be revealed in the last time; wherein ye now rejoyce, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented; that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory, and honour, at the appearing of Jesu Christ, &c. Other purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which, well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have showed.

"But whatsoever be brought against me, I trust that holy doctors shall, by their interpretation, sustain the part which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient; so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak. Yet, that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient doctors concerning the same, I shall show you what I have read in St. Augustine; first, in a sermon that he maketh *De Ebrietate*, in this wise, saying, 'Brethren! let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign, shall without doubt perish with the devil.' In another also that he maketh, it is said thus: 'Know you, that when the soul is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for its good deeds, put in paradise, or else thrown headlong into the dungeon of hell for its sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose, while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners.' Thus saith holy Augustine.

"To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to heaven, and reign with Christ, ere that I shall feel any purgatory beside that I have and shall sustain in this life. And he that believeth not stedfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God wotteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a Grey Friar's frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins, (as is granted in a bull unto the said

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religion,) and such like. For St. Augustine shall make with me in his book called Enchiridion, after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the church of Christ, living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsely deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of purgatory, where he concludeth thus: 'Such a thing after this life to be,' saith he, 'is not incredible; but whether it be so or no, a doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded.' The same words doth he again recite in a book called Quæstiones ad Dulcium, or Dulcimum, I wot not 'whether it is called, and there he treateth of the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

"To this agreeth St. Paul, writing thus to the Corinthians, For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil. And again, where he writeth unto the Hebrews, I trow it be said in this wise: Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them; be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.

"To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors, departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of St. Augustine, in his book De Vera Religione, in his last leaf, where he saith thus 'Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed ilium a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes; honorandi stant ergo propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi.' Again, a little after the same, he saith, 'Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, et Dei sapientia incommutabilis, et consubstantialis Patri et coæternus suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali et rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos angelos, et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt; neque enim et nos videndo angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus angelos et his congratulamur.

"Nec invidemus quod ea paratiores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam et nos tale aliquid operate a communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset et conservus.'

"Thus saith St. Augustine, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

"The contents of this unto you I expound, that know no Latin; for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this and all manner of doing, to the intent that of all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. St. Augustine, in these words, would have that we should worship no men departed, be they ever so good and holy, (for they seek no such honour,) but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet any angel, nor honour the same, but only in imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name or

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honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them: it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the angels will not that we should build any churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original Maker and Performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called *honor charitatis*, which is nothing else but to be loved. Thus saith St. Augustine, Which love we shall testify in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man; which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it, I dare say, as the burden of Christ's cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to Calvary; saving that we need not fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the prophet David saith, When a just person beginneth to fall, he shall not be borne flat down to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to rear him up again. And in the Gospel he biddeth, Come you unto me, all that do travail and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am soft and meek-minded, and you shall find ease thereby in your souls, for my yoke is easy, and my burthen light. See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustain the chargeable and sore vexations put upon them by the world, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be disclosed.

"As touching invocation, that is, to wit, calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities or tribulations. As in the Psalms every where; as in this, Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you. Mark how he saith here, Call upon me, appointing neither St. Thomas, nor Master John Shorn. Also in another place, The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly; and with that he showeth who calleth truly upon him, saying thus: He shall do the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall hear graciously their prayer, and make them safe; for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed. And thus used the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is showed in other places in this wise: In my trouble I called upon the Lord, saith David, and he heard me graciously. When I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me. Also, I lift mine eyes unto the mountains. But from whence shall help come unto me? Mine help, quoth he, shall come from the Lord, that made both heaven and earth. I read the first of these verses in form of interrogation, following St. Augustine, who, as I remember, interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect form, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know that I lack books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithstanding, I am certain, I shall not decline much from him. The hills toward which David did lift up his eyes, were saints and holy men, by whom when he could not have his mind satisfied, he turned another way, saying, From whence shall help come unto me? Anon, remembering himself better, he sued unto God himself, of whom incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his wish, and so witnessed the same for our instruction, saying, Mine help is of the Lord, or cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth. This interpretation, as near as I remember, is after the mind of St. Augustine; and I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, nor disagreeing with the sequel of Scripture. Also, in this wise it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. And mark how, *cum energia*, it is said, upon the name of the Lord; without any sending us either to

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St. Christopher, (though he be painted ever so stout,) or to St. Patrick's purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, in the year of grace, or yet to any other saint or place; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who is alway our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins; and not for our sins only, quoth St. John, (who is the writer of this saying and testimony,) but also for the sins of all the world. St. Augustine upon the same, noteth that St. John, in that place, saith, We have an advocate, and that Christ is advocate for him, like as he is for all others, to purchase mercy for him, like as he doth for all others that shall be saved; and that St. John will not be known for our advocate, but that Christ should be taken for advocate of all. St. Bede (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose as doth St. Augustine, or well more; so that by course of Scripture we are taught to resort for all aid and relief (as I have said) unto the head-spring and fountain of all comfort and mercy, as St. Paul calleth him, the Father of mercies and of all comfort, who is ready to comfort us in all tribulation: which, as the Psalm reporteth, healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities. For he is sweet, as is said in another place, and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him. Yet he showeth us no where, I trow, of benefits that we shall purchase by praying unto saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think myself highly beholden to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old: but I ween it cannot be. I have made truly long search, yet could I never find any such substantial teaching; howbeit, I offer myself ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, inexpert experience, and feeble discretion, had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometimes he showeth some sparkle of light and wisdom to children, hiding the same from others that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometimes with indignation, as the Pharisees did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him, Thou, caitiff! wast born blind for thy sins, and wilt thou teach us, that are a great multitude of high officers of the temple, and doctors to teach the law? As who would say, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at such doing, forasmuch as St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, showeth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all ages after ensuing; so that it pertaineth (like as the Holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. The doctrine of Christ's cross, that is, to wit, of the New Testament, is to them that perish, folly, saith he; but to us that obtain thereby salvation, meaning thereby to such as believe, it is the might or power of God; for it is written, saith he, by the prophet Isaiah, that God aforetime said, he would destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.

"This prophecy alleged, Paul thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the Corinthians from the foolish affiance, vain-glory, or opinion, that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the same: Where are ye now, quoth he, the worldly wise, the scribes, that is to say, doctors, and such other like officers: Hath not God showed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisdom of God, which is showed in Scripture, I suppose, the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.' He calleth the word of God 'foolish preaching,' not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of

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them that set a little or nought thereby, esteeming it as Æsop's cock did the precious stone, and as swine do pearls.

"After long process in the same matter, he concludeth thus: 'Brethren,' saith he, 'you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the belief of the gospel, nor many mighty men, nor many of noble parentage; but those that be fools after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to confound the wise,' &c.

"Therefore I say, as I said afore, that, thanks be to God, albeit I am, as I showed before, void of such great prudency as others be well endued with, yet I see partly how their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to show that we ought to pray to saints departed, to be mediators for us to Christ. And amongst other, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harp upon the same; some favouring it, other, contrariwise, esteeming it of no value.

The reason is this: If, when one should desire to come to the speech of our sovereign, to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his chamberlains, or some other like officers, to bring him to the king's presence, for else he may watch long in vain, until he be full cold ere that he shall speak with his Grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break it unto the saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as mediators and intercessors. But such, (with their leave I would speak it,) I think, are deceived, in that they resemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious prince, (as I hear by common report he is,) yet is he not in graciousness to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men's hearts; so that he needeth no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king doth need. And he is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy saints to be intercessors to him for me.

"Therefore, passing such apparent reasons, I take me to the ensample of antiquity, I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and the apostles, and the authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself and his holy Father, forasmuch as he biddeth us, in these words and others like, so to do, saying, Come unto me, all ye that travail, are vexed, and sore charged; and I will refresh and ease you. Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, which are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth nobody for his unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of Him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him what we would have; so that I leave unto others what they list to do, praying Jesus, that we all may lust for that which is most pleasing to him.

"But I think, concerning-myself, that according to Christ's own commandment I may, without any doubt casting, resort in all encumbrances, to seek ease thereof, even unto himself and to his blessed Father. Therefore he biddeth us, when we should pray, to say after this

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fashion, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' &c. For there is no creature, nor creatures, that ever were or be, that have more, or so much, either of might, whereby cometh ability to give help; or of mercy and tenderness, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; nor of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, who not only is almighty, all-merciful, and all-wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties; so that undoubtedly he can, will, and best knoweth how, to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, Amen.

"One thing yet I will show you in this case, of which thing I was once advertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this: 'I will,' quoth he, 'pray unto saints; but that shall be when I think, that God either cannot or will not give me my petition. But that (as I showed in the Convocation house) shall never be, I hope. And therefore it is to me needless to seek any further about, standing in such trust and belief as, I hope, I have found upon God's sure promise.'

"To the fifteenth article, where you do demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us, I say, that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be entangled and clogged with, as showeth Augustine, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying in this wise: that souls departed neither feel, nor know of any particular miseries sustained by men living in this world, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forasmuch as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and that their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners; but not as mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace or atonement betwixt God the Father and man. Record I take of Paul, who, in the Epistle to Timothy, saith, There is one God, and one mediator, or peacemaker, betwixt God and man, the man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.

"Thus, I say, I believe saints in heaven do pray for us as petitioners, but not as mediators. Yea, all the saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the day of judgment may soon come, according to the saying of St. Paul, The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the sons of God shall be revealed. And again, Every creature groaneth with us, and travaileth in pain together unto this present; which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all others elect of God to be his children, and co-inheritors with Christ.

"In the sixteenth article, where you demand, whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints, I say, that what they may be, I cannot perfectly tell; for God can so work, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as saith St. Paul to the Romans, in this wise: Unto those that love God, all things shall well succeed, and work together for their furtherance in goodness: of whom it is written in the Psalm, Blessed is that nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors; yea, their evil

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deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to pass for the increase of virtue. For as it is said in the Gospel. To whom less is forgiven, he loveth less. And again, it hurted not Onesimus, that he ran away from his master Philemon, but God wrought, that by occasion thereof he met with Paul, which converted him to the faith of the gospel, who before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define; God wotteth. But this I say, that God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all Christian people to follow and believe: yea, that only is of perfect surety, and none other, but as it is agreeable to, and hath ground of the same. And like as we have no certain doctrine instituted by Christ, or his disciples, teaching us thus for to do; no more is there any merit appointed by him therefore, as I showed before, where I told my mind of our merits.

"Moreover, where ye put *pie*, which I call 'devoutly,' very true devotion (that is called in Latin, *pietas*) is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth Paul, which is nothing else but the observation of Christ's law, that, in the Psalm, for the pureness thereof, is called, silver fined often and many times through the fire. It hath no chaff in it, as have men's traditions; but is pure and clean wheat, as showeth Jeremy, writing in this wise, What is the chaff to the wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errors. And this devotion is that which St. James calleth the pure religion of Christ, saying, Pure and immaculate religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherless children and widows in their vexation; whereby he meaneth all needy people that are succourless and helpless, with our counsel and other alms, according to our ability, whensoever we see them in need and distress.

"The other part of this religion showed by St. James, is, That a man should keep himself clean from the world; and that do they which be not so affectionate unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them, when God shall please, or charity so requireth.

"Thus doing, we shall follow the exhortation of blessed Paul, which, writing to the Corinthians, saith thus, Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have wives, should be as they had them not; and those that weep, should be as they wept not; and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not: for the fashion of this world passeth away. And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should neither love nor dread any worldly thing passing measure, or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commandment of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospel, where he saith, Go and sell that ever thou hast, and come, follow me. For he hath sold away all that ever he had, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ, to help the poor with all that he may. The will is accepted for the deed, as is commonly said. And this saying both of James, and also of the evangelist, I think verily belongeth to all Christian men that they should perform it, none except, neither lay man nor woman, (as we use to say,) but to them, as well as to any whom we call religious.

"As concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said to your Lordship before, what I do think of the milk of our Lady, the blood which they say is at Hayles, Norwich, and other places, with such others, whereof I trust you do know what ought to be done. And I beseech God

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you may do therein as your office doth require, so showing example to other prelates to follow your Lordship in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do; remembering always, as Paul saith, the time is short, and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

"Finally, holy Moses, when he died, would be so buried that no man should know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in the book of Deuteronomy; and that (as the expositors testify) was, because the Jews, who were prone to new-fangled worshipping, should not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

"To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints' graves and relics, are meritorious works, nor yet that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would desire to know, for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

"In the seventeenth article, where you do ask, whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the common law, and received in common usage of Christian people, (unless necessity otherwise requireth,) are to be observed, I say that, in mine opinion, they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly done is commendable, for so shall a man avoid sloth, and be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the poet, 'Without wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold.' And as St. Jerome, 'The body inflamed with wine, bursteth out into lust.'

"Yet shall not the breaking of these fasts make a man to do deadly sin, except in his mind be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rashness of mind, despite, or such-like; forasmuch as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this sort made by man, are the fast of Lent and other days ordained in your laws without authority of Scripture, which willeth us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousness, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I fear have done); yea, and that sparely, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed with drunkenness or surfeiting (as is commanded by our Saviour in Luke); but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certain prince that is mentioned, I trow, in Valerius Maximus, that never rose from his meal's meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderfully a long season, that a man could scarcely think it possible for one's life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable author reported it.

"And, to tell the truth, I suppose the prelates should better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so sore a multitude of laws and constitutions; for the nature of man is well described by Horace, saying, 'Look, what is forbid, that we most desire, and always covet the things that be denied us.' And in another proverb, 'The rope, by overmuch straining, bursteth asunder.' According to this said a good old father in Cambridge. I remember his saying well yet: he was an old doctor of divinity. When a legate came into England at a time, and he, with certain bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all churches through England (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and priests should have their gowns made close before, with

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such other like ordinances, he resisted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of laws pleased him not; for we had enough and abundantly before. Adding this reason, 'Adam, being in Paradise, had but one law to observe, and yet he brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude do,' quoth he, 'but multiply transgression? for when a faggot is bound over strait, the bond must break.'

"God therefore, I beseech him, send us of the sweet dew of his heavenly doctrine, to moisten and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like fashioned unto him; putting apart our old Adam, with all his dissimulation and painted show, that is much caused by human laws and constitutions; and do upon us Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, Amen.

"Unto the eighteenth article, where you ask, whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints, I say, that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psalm saith, Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeisance unto carved images, and that glory in their pictures. Moreover St. Augustine, in his book De Vera Religione, saith thus: 'Let us not have devotion in worshipping the works of men.' Or else thus: 'Let us not be bound to worship the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship.' Lactantius also maketh strongly with the same: I cannot without book recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of the same matter. Origen also, writing against Celsus, I trow, will likewise testify; where, as I remember, he concludeth, saying, that he would have no goldsmiths nor gravers in a commonalty; for they do but little profit or none thereto. And St. Gregory, that was chief, either inventor that images should be set in churches, or else maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read, (I trow, it is in an epistle which he writeth to Servus,) have them worshipped.

"And as concerning the exciting of men's memory, I would suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so showed and opened, that people might clearly understand it, (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof,) I think verily we should have little need of any other images than that which should, by wholesome doctrine, be showed unto us by word of mouth and writing: 'Nothing is so effectual, to exercise the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers;' as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of learned men.

"So that I suppose, if this lively doctrine of God had aforetime been apertly and diligently opened unto the people, as curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting up, or taking down, of other dumb stocks, and lifeless stones, carved or made by men; and if prelates would begin to set up Christ's word, which, alas for pity! is not looked upon, (but rather trodden down and despised so that many are not ashamed to say, 'I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors, for they that magnify it must be sore punished, and taken for heretics,' with such other grievous words,) if this doctrine were yet set up in churches, I say, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear, I think we should not greatly need the profit that cometh by images made of men, to excite our remembrance to live Christianly.

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"For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of others that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, showeth full perfectly his blessed will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this, therefore, were diligently inculcated, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of Paul, who, writing to the Colossians, saith thus: 'See that you lie not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovated after the knowledge and image of Him that made us.' Yea, thus should we all be taught of God, as is said in John; and all should know God, both small and great, according to the promise recited in the Hebrews: yea, thus should we be restored to goodness, that we should have the image of God carved in our hearts full expressly. For every man is transformed into the fashion of virtuous things, that he is accustomed to read and hear. And, therefore, it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to pass, that craftsmen should sing spiritual psalms sitting at their works, and the husbandman at his plough, as wisheth St. Jerome.

"Yea, this holy image of Christ, I mean his blessed doctrine, doth appoint us also to consider the works made by the hands of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith St. Paul, writing to the Romans, The invisible power and divinity of God is known and seen by the creation of the world, of such as will consider his works that are therein by him made. Look in the Psalms, Praise ye the Lord from heaven. The heavens declare the glory of God, with others. And these two images, God's works and his doctrine, have, ere any images made by men were set up in churches, well and sufficiently instructed the primitive church: and should yet instruct us well, if they were well considered, so that we should not need so sorely to contend for setting up of others made by men.

Whereby I have perceived much harm to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary; as concerning which matter, I would your Lordship would please to read the Epistle of Baruch once again, writing of the same matter.

"Unto the nineteenth article, where you ask, whether I believe that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed and being in purgatory, I made answer in the thirteenth article.

"Unto the twentieth, where you do ask, whether men merit and deserve both by their fasting, and also by other deeds of devotion, I have showed what I do think thereof, in the fifth demand.

"In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men, prohibited by bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching until they have purged themselves of suspicion, before a higher judge? I say that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never thought to believe such errors as men, by false suspicion, do deem them to favour; or else, when men, as well of high estate as of low, by sinister judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Isaiah, Woe be to them, quoth he, that call the light darkness, and the darkness light; the truth falsehood, and the falsehood truth. As the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called Paul, saying thus, before a judge called Felix, unto whose court they brought him to be condemned to

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death: We have, quoth they, gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer-up of the sect of the Nazarenes; which was also minded to have polluted our temple, &c. This is to call, by perverse judgment, truth falsehood. And thus did their predecessors speak of the prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected, (as I would none were,) ought in no wise, therefore, to cease either from preaching, or teaching.

"Ensample of this we have in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is showed that when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity, (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused to go where he pleased,) the people, hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter, seeing this, did exhort the people in a sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow St. John to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the priests and officers of the temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being sore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified; and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward until next day. The next day they sent for the apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name, they did this miracle? Peter made answer, If you, quoth he, that are head-rulers over the people, lust by examination to know by what means we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucify: but God did cause him to arise again. In the virtue of his name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner-stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the people's faith upon him, neither is there any salvation without him.

"These great men, seeing that Peter spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow John, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, being like idiots and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At last they did command them to depart out of their council-house, while they should commune more largely of the matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, nor teach in the name of Jesus. But the apostles answered, saying, I beseech you, judge better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? for certainly we must needs testify of those things which we have both heard and seen. Then the head priests, threatening them sore, did give them strait charge not to break their precept; and so did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle showed by them.

"Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Jesus, by whose power and name they were done; wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy, so that they followed after the apostles whithersoever they went.

"The primate of the priests, hearing of this, and all that were about him, replete with indignation, laid hands upon the apostles, putting them in the common prison. But the angel of

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God, in the night, opened the prison-doors, and brought them out, saying, Go you into the temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life; that is to say, Christ's doctrine: and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or ancients of Israel. So they sent unto the prison-house to have the apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the prison-house, and found the apostles gone thence, they returned to their masters, saying, We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without, full diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find nobody within.

"Then, as the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and showed them, saying, Behold, the men that ye put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the, apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

"Then they caused the apostles to be brought into their council-house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in his form: Have we not straitly commanded you, said he, that you should not preach in the name of Christ? and see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death? Then answered Peter and the other apostles, saying, We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our fathers hath raised Jesu from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.

"These great rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the apostles again before them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus; and so did let them depart.

"Then went they away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his name's sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practice is showed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or infamed of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they ought for no man's commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves before them: for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judge in their own causes, and that as they lust, which methinketh not at all comely. Therefore in the old law, the priests and other judges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversy.

"Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causelessly suspected, and namely if he be so found faulty of heresy, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, until he have made his purgation before some judge. But, in my rude opinion, it were necessary and

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convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved from preaching, especially in this session, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

"In the two and twentieth article, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God or no, and that in all places, at all seasons, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *presbyteri*, and *sacerdotes*. The first is to say, ancient men, seniors, or elders, and by that word or vocable are the secular judges, or such-like head officers, sometimes also signified; as we read in Daniel, that they were so called which defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as for those to be called *presbyteri*, who are set to be prelates in the church, to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christ's faith. And priests thus called *presbyteri*, in the primitive church, (what time there were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his apostles,) were the very same and none other but bishops; as I showed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. Jerome.

"Paul, also, recordeth the same right evidently in the First to Titus; in this form: I left thee Titus, quoth blessed Paul, behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed; and that thou shouldest set priests in every town, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproach or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly. For so ought a bishop to be, &c. These are not my words, but St. Paul's in the Epistle to Titus. Where you may see that a priest, called presbyter, should be the same that we call a bishop, whom he requireth a little after, to be able, by wholesome doctrine of God's Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same doctrine; and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a priest) to make exhortation by Holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in general councils. And as many as are in this wise priests, who are commonly called *presbyteri*, (otherwise bishops,) such as in the church are set to take cure of souls, and to be spiritual pastors, ought to preach freely the word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edify and profit.

"And whereas you add this particule, 'though they were not sent;' I say, that all such are chosen to be preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaking St. Gregory in his Pastorals, in this wise: 'Whosoever taketh priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the office of preaching.' Yea, your law reporteth in like manner, Distinction 43, where it is thus said, 'A priest ought to be honest, that he may show honesty both in words and conditions.' Wherefore it is said in the Canticles, The cheeks of the spouse, that is, to wit, of preachers, are to be compared to a turtle dove. Where is moreover added, he must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith St. Jerome) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by example-giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence-keeping: for wolves must be driven away by barking of dogs, and by the shepherd's staff, which (as the Gloss showeth) signifieth

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preaching, and sharp words of the priest. And this I understand of such as should be priests elect both by God and men, in God's church; whose office is to preach.

"And though many of them who now do minister in the church, and are elected by bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christ's institution, and the form of the primitive church, neither do nor can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me or others, that are compelled to show the truth and right ordinances of the apostles, that were used aforetime in the primitive church: God bring it in again! Neither ought we, for the negligence of bishops, who have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do show you thereof, to be so enforced by a book-oath, and therefore noted as heretics, imprisoned and burned.

"Other be called priests in the New Testament, by this word *sacerdotes*, that is to say, I think, sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called king and priest, so be all Christian men in the New Testament (as is testified, Apoc. i.) by Christ made kings and priests. The words in the Apocalypse be thus: To Jesu Christ, which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his blood, and made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever. Amen. Thus saith St. John, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said, by St. Peter, where he writeth unto all Christian men, You, quoth he, be a chosen generation, a regal priesthood, an holy people. St. Bede, expounding the same, (as my remembrance doth serve,) shall testify plainly with me. And St. Augustine, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all Christian men be so called, *regale sacerdotium*; and likewise doth Faber, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the treatise called *Unio Dissidentium*, shall find a multitude of ancient fathers' sayings, declaring the same.

"But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called priests, and that, in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many other, when we read it first, because we never read or heard of the same before; and so did Christ's doctrine (and his apostles') seem new to his audience, when he himself preached. Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the law and prophets, as is showed in Romans i., where Paul reporteth, that he was chosen apart, to be a minister of the gospel that was promised before by the prophets. And our Saviour testifieth the same in St. John, saying to the Jews, Think you not, quoth he, that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if you believed Moses, you should certainly believe me, for he writeth of me, &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

"But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same, (God amend and help it, when it shall please him I) yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the doctors above named; and so was it preached of a certain doctor also of divinity in London, the second day of Advent last past, in this sentence. I wot not whether these were the self words or no: 'The church,' quoth the doctor, 'is nothing else but the congregation of faithful people: and you all,' quoth he to the people, 'are of the church, as well as I, or any others, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are priests, but yet are not all alike ordained ministers,' said he, 'for to consecrate the body of Christ in the church.' Thus said the preacher; whom, when I see

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opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these, I say, ought not all to preach openly in general conventions or assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound, for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolk, and such-like, to speak what should be for the destruction of vice, and for the increase or upholding of virtue, whensoever time and place so behoveth; as showeth St. Paul, saying in this wise: You that are fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger; but bring them up in the doctrine and discipline of the Lord.

"In the three and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay people of both kinds (that is to wit, both men and women) to sacrifice and preach the word of God: I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion, to preach openly the word of God, except they be chosen and elected to the same, either by God or solemnly by men, or else by both; and therefore St. Paul calleth himself, in all his epistles, an apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the Galatians he writeth thus, Paul an apostle; not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ. Also to the Romans, How shall men preach truly, quoth he, except they be sent?

"Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of God's law, and also of laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach; and that of both kinds, both men and women; as you may see in the Epistle to the Corinthians, where he saith that it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation. Yet in another place he saith that every woman praying or prophesying, having nothing upon her head, doth dishonour her head.

"To this accordeth the prophecy of Joel, recited in the Acts, where, in the person of God, it is said thus, I shall pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. Thus did Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, give praise unto Christ in the temple, and spake of him to all men of Jerusalem, that looked after the redemption of Israel.

"This also doth the Virgin Mary yet speak unto us in the Scripture, by the song which she made, that is daily recited in the church, called Magnificat. Yea, Stephen also, being no priest; but a deacon, made a wonderful good sermon. This also willeth your Decrees, Dist. 9, De Consecratione, where it is thus said: 'A woman, although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the congregation, nor baptize, except necessity requireth.' So that, where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, Cap. 16. Quest. 1. et in Glossa. 11. Cap. Adjicimus. Dist. 18. And I beseech God, that, for lack of true and well learned officers, such necessity do not now come upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

"There is a learned man, which, in a dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude abbot and a gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest, (as his manner is;) and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the dialogue. The gentlewoman answering the abbot, for that he had partly checked her because she was quick in utterance of learning, 'Sir,' quoth she, 'if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it, (as they begin fast to grow quick in sight,) it is to be feared lest they will set you beside the saddle, and put us in your room.'

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"As concerning sacrifice-doing, (so do I understand by the word which you do use, *libare*, not knowing else what it should mean,) I say that it is lawful for all men and women to do sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by sacrifice-doing, to say mass as priests used to do, thereunto appointed; but like as Christian people be *sacerdotes*, that is to say, sacrificers, as is showed before, so ought they to offer, and do offer, spiritual sacrifices, as writeth St. Paul to the Romans, saying, I beseech you, brethren, for the love of God's mercy, that you will give your body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping. In that he saith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it slain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed should be first slain. But he joineth therewith, living; saying, Give your body to be a living sacrifice. So that he would we should continue to live in this body to God's pleasure, but fleeing the evil lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we do not give unto our reason overmuch of the bridle whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy: as when men will take in hand to devise by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is instituted by Christ, (which is the wisdom of his heavenly Father,) saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow; of whom it is said by the prophet Isaiah in these words: This people approach near unto me, and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but they do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines that are laws or precepts of men.

"Then Paul proceedeth, showing of this Christian sacrifice, saying, And apply not yourselves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed, by renovation of your mind; that you may know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable, and rightful before him. See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortify our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the will of God, and following after the same.

"Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth is, that we should alway offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is, to wit, the fruits of our lips, that Hosea calleth *vitulos labiorum*, giving laud unto his name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our neighbours: For in such sacrifice, saith he, God hath delight.

"Thus I say that by plain suffrage of your law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay persons, in necessity and in time of need, may lawfully preach or show the word of God, and also do sacrifice: but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

"Thus have you herein my mind, which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is showed; as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methinketh the decrees do pass evidently with me.

"In the twenty-fourth article, where you do ask, whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, do oblige and bind them before God: I say, that it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named; and if he denounceth them so to be, not of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of others gathered with him in Christ's name, for the behoof of Christ's church: for so used St. Paul, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth, which had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth in 1 Cor. v.

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"And the same form declareth the Gospel, in these words: If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will hear thee, thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three, every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, show it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven. So that such excommunication ought to be done (as methinketh) by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be virtuous and godly.

"And thus is it convenient to be done: for the pope is made of flesh, as well as other men; and therefore he may sometimes judge awry, cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise many other prelates, judging the Christian to be heretics, and heretics Christian: of whom it is also written in the prophecy of Ezekiel, They slew the souls of them that should not die, and gave life to the souls that should not live; as did the Pharisees when they did cast Christ out of the vineyard, which signifieth the church; and as our Saviour prophesied, saying unto his disciples, There shall be, quoth he, some that shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall slay you, shall think to do honour to God. And this shall they do unto you, because they do neither know my Father nor me. These words be written in the Gospel of John; whereby you see, that for lack of knowledge of God, which is taught and seen by the light of Scripture, Christ prophesied how lewd men should lewdly excommunicate the good, yea, and slay his true servants, thinking, through such facts, to please God, and to do him good service.

"Wherefore send, O Lord! I beseech thee, the knowledge of thee to be dilated upon earth, (which Hosea bewaileth sore, seeing it absent,) whereby men's judgments may be rectified; and so do accordingly to the leading of the same!

"In the twenty-fifth article, where you do ask, whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church, or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin. I say that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and immeasurable benefits are showed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth St. Paul bid us to fight in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus, when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels: I trow their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting up his hands, prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites: but in long holding them up, at last his fervour began to grow cold and faint, and his hands sagged downwards. And ever as his hands grew heavy, (which signifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold,) the infidels prevailed; but as he kept them heaved upward, (whereby was meant intentive prayer of a devout mind,) he purchased victory to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, which indited the law to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, stood with Moses; who always, as they did see his arms to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto Israel.

"By 'Moses' is signified, as show great clerks, devotion; by 'Aaron and Hur,' the knowledge of God's doctrine: which two things (devotion, I mean, and knowledge) all men had need to have present with them: for devotion doth elevate the mind to God, but knowledge doth

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sustain or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue, not falling down; but so alway doth it incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our heavenly Father; where they savour together far more sweetly than any fumigation either of juniper, incense, or whatsoever else, be they ever so pleasant, do savour in any man's nose.

"Therefore St. Paul, seeing how necessary the knot of these two, devotion and knowledge of God's will, was (which is showed in Scripture, as teacheth St. Cyprian in these words: 'The will of God,' saith he, 'is that which Christ hath taught and wrought'): Paul, I say, seeing this, wished to be excommunicated and separated from God, for to have the Jews come to the knowledge of Christ's church, which is the only right way to salvation; for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after, saying, I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Christ's doctrine, &c. Where you may clearly see how the Jews (as St. Paul, which is no liar, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. 'Moses' was amongst them, but 'Aaron' was away; whose absence pained Paul so sore, that he, ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harm unto himself, upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgment, even to be separated from God. It must needs be then greatly hurtful, albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledge of God and his law, signified by 'Aaron.'

"St. Paul also, before that he came to knowledge, had such-like devotion himself, as he reporteth in these words: All the Jews, quoth he, have known my living, that I have led since I entered into man's age, (which time, as I remember, is accounted from the sixteenth or eighteenth year of a man's life; in Latin he calleth it *adolescencia*;) which, from the beginning thereof, was, saith he, at Jerusalem, among mine own nation, that did know me afore also from the beginning, if they would say the truth, and that I lived after the most strait order or sect of our religion, being a Pharisee. And I, quoth Paul a little after, thought to do many things in fighting against the name of Jesus Christ, yea, and did also, being at Jerusalem; and I thrust many saints or holy men into prison, having power given me thereto of the high priests; and, when they should be put to death, I gave sentence: and I, quoth he, was commonly in all synagogues, punish, ing them, and compelling them to blaspheme (as men are fain now-a-days, when the bishops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the gospel); yea, moreover did I, quoth Paul, rage against them, pursuing after them into strange lands.

"See what zeal Paul had to God before he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ. He thought to have pleased God highly in persecuting his servants, of whom one was St. Stephen. He was then sore blinded, through ignorance, and wanted the assistance of 'Aaron:' but anon, as Christ, which is the true Aaron, had appeared unto him, asking him, and saying, in a lamentable form, O Saul! Saul! why dost thou persecute me, in troubling and striking my servants, the members of mine own body? of whom it is said, He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eye: his heart fell, I dare say, as low as his body, that is, even down to the earth, repenting himself full sore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way; as appeareth by his answer, where he saith, O Lord! what wilt thou have me to do? As though one would say, Now I see all that I thought to have done before of good intention, and good purpose or devotion, hath deceived me. I find it otherwise. That which I esteemed good, in very deed is and was naught. Teach me therefore, good Lord! quoth he, a better way, and amend my judgment, that, mine own will or intention forsaken, I may now follow thine to please thee, and to do thy will.

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And so, as he came to Ananias, by the assignment of Christ, the thick filthiness of his old wayward judgment fell away, as appeareth by the dross or rubbish that came from his eyes, even like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgment, which is directed after the straight rule of the gospel: whereby you may see that men's devotion may oft beguile and seduce them, except knowledge do assist the same, for to sustain and direct it; which, knit together, shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations. So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledge: and that showeth full notably Erasmus, in the second passage of Enchiridion, where he testifieth but of easy liking that he hath, in saying of matins, yea, rather contrariwise he showeth disliking; and so he doth also in his exposition of the first Psalm, *Beatus vir*, where the text maketh agreeably for the same. It is written in this wise: Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsel of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence; but hath his will in the law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night.

"See how the prophet (which, I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that will and pleasure of God, as ever did any pope or general council, or whatsoever they were besides, that ordained long service to be said of priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the law of God both day and night; . that is, to wit, always. A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right devotion, or true godliness. For Paul, defining godliness, saith thus: Godliness is profitable unto all things; for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come.

"But no such promise is made of God, I am certain, to them that say daily matins; neither are we certain by the word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certain, that for saying over the fifteen *Aves*, every day once through a whole year, we shall apertly see our Lady to aid us before our death, as it is testified in the scripture of the Primer, but not by scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten beads that come from the crossed friars, or upon the five beads hallowed at the Charterhouse, or for fasting 'the Lady's fast,' as men call it; nor for fasting on the Wednesday, as is showed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lust; for it is neither the New Testament nor the Old.

"They are condemned, you wot well (and I perhaps shall have a little less favour because I tell the truth freely, for such things are called offensive). But would God, that all persons, so thinking, would remember what answer Christ made unto his disciples, when 'they came to him, and warned him to beware, saying, 'You know that the Pharisees are offended, hearing such words spoken. I will leave out Christ's answer, lest I should be thought over free and plain in tarrying or uttering of abusions, and speak no further.

"A like demand, with answer thereunto annexed, shall you find in Luke, where Christ would not refrain to speak any deal more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deem me (God wotteth whether righteously or no) slanderously, to revise the said places, and then counsel me to do what shall be most expedient to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know that I do not reprove that saying of the fifteen *Ooes*, which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve is a very good prayer, or such-like prayers; nor would I that any person should think me to disallow any secret fastings; for such, not only present with you, but

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even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do, by the assistance of God's grace. Nevertheless such vain promises I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same: for such do cause vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right belief of the gospel, (which Christian men ought only to build their faith upon,) unto new inventions of vanity. St. Paul calleth such, old women's tales, where he writeth unto Timothy, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away.

"The prophet David, likewise, doth accord thereunto, saying, Blessed is the man that hath in the name of God his affianced or hope; and hath not looked back to vanities and false dotages or madness. And this I say again, that the matins-saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, than hath the other above named; for they were instituted by the fantasy or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think that the priests who will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or encumbered with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindered from the study of that, which to know, belongeth principally both to their own soul's salvation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of priests doth require, (I mean the study of his gospel,) whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christ's flock, the congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour: I am the door, quoth he; whosoever shall come in by me, shall both come in and go out, and find good pasture or feeding that is to say, whosoever shall enter to be a pastor or minister in Christ's church' or congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of God's glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and show the same abroad to others, for their wealth and edifying.

"To this accordeth what is written in Luke, where our Saviour speaketh to all his church signified in the person of St. Peter. Peter! quoth he, I have prayed that thy faith should not fail; and thou, being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren. So that he would have Peter established first in the faith of his sure doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach others to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all priests to be called *presbyteri*, which will be ministers in the church; for so biddeth St. Peter, saying thus: I beseech the priests, quoth he, that are among you, I myself being a priest and a witness-bearer of Christ's afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed; see that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as enforced thereto, but willingly, not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns, or ensample-givers to the flock, 1 Pet. v. See how he requireth of priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christ's flock, and to show good ensample of living, making no mention of long matins-saying, which then was not mentioned nor spoken of.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form: Ignorance, saith the law, mark it well I beseech you all, is the mother of all errors; which ought to be eschewed especially of priests, who, among the people of God, have taken upon them the office of preaching. Priests are commanded to read the Holy Scriptures, as saith Paul the apostle to Timothy: Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching; and continue always in the same. Let priests therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edify all men both in knowledge of faith, and in discipline of good works. These be the words of the law in the Decrees, dist. 38; wherefore you see how the law lamenteth ignorance in all persons; for it is the

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original of all errors. God send us therefore the knowledge of his true' gospel! It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally by priests, whose labour and diligence should all be bestowed in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same; bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the apostle, which willeth it in like manner.

"Moreover, it requireth that priests should give all their study to edify others in faith and virtuous living; whereof I do gather both by the saying of the prophet, that willeth us to be studious in the law of God day and night; and by the saying of the apostle, who would have Timothy to be occupied ever in reading and teaching; and by the report of your own law, which likewise saith, that a priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a priest, set thus truly to study, that he may establish himself in the faith of Christ's doctrine, intending afterwards to help others with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity assigned in the law of God, shall not offend deadly, if, so spending his time, he omitteth to say matins, which is an ordinance of men.

"Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made priests by negligent admission of bishops, and their own presumption, that labour to be made priests before they be any clerks, and, ere ever they know what is the very office of a priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be curates, they reck not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding, after that, the study of Scripture, after they are come to *Dominus vobiscum*: for such I do think long matins to be needful, to restrain them from other enormities that they should else run into; of which you may be weary to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one matin were as long to them as five, except they could bestow their time better.

In the six and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother language: I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the mother tongue, that they may have it by them at all times, to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in France under the French king's privilege, and also the privilege of the emperor; and so do I know that they have had it these fifty-four years in France at least, and it was translated at the request of a king called, I trow, Louis, as appeareth by the privilege put in the beginning of the book.

"In like manner have they it in Flanders, printed with the privilege of the emperor: in Almain also, and Italy, and I suppose through all the nations of Christendom. Likewise hath it been in England, as you may find it in the English story called Polychronicon. There it is showed, how when the Saxons did inhabit the land the king at that time, who was a Saxon, did himself translate the Psalter into the language that then was generall used. Yea, I have seen a book at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relic; the book is called St. Guthlake's Psalter; and I ween verily it is a copy of the same that the king did translate, for it is neither English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English; and, as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at Antwerp, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of Polychronicon is also showed, how that St. Bede did translate the Gospel of St. John into English, and the author of the

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same book promised that he would translate into English all the Bible; yea and perhaps he did so, but (I wot not how it cometh to pass) all such things be kept away; they may not come to light: for there are some walking privily in darkness, that will not have their doings known. It is no lie that is spoken in the Gospel of John, All that do naughtily, hate the light, and will not have their doings known. And therefore they keep down the light strongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and reprov'd, yea, and all men should see anon, whether those that hold against unrighteousness, being there-for sometimes horribly infamed and slandered, named heretics and schismatics, were indeed as they be called, or no.

"Yea moreover, I did once see a book of the New Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the church in Latin. But he that showed it me said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been punished aforetime for keeping of such, and were convicted therefore of heresy.

"Moreover I was at Paul's Cross, when the New Testament, imprinted of late beyond the sea, was first forefended; and truly my heart lamented greatly to hear a great man preaching against it, who showed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea, and not only I, but likewise did many others, think verily to be none. But, (alack for pity!) malice cannot say well. God help us all, and amend it.

"So that to conclude, I think verily it were profitable and expedient, that the Holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the head-rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar tongue, in like manner as it is in all other countries. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people: I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say, that they are bound by right and equity to cause it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying, and the consolation which the people, by God's grace, should gather thereof; which now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

"In the twenty-seventh article, where you do demand, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language: all men may here see, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I, so saying, could not be well reprov'd; and therefore are laid out all these additions, as it were to snare and trap me in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people: and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken: But without cause you spread the net before the eyes of the birds or fowls. I show you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the bishops have not since amended it, if so be they could, that the people might have it to use and occupy virtuously.

"And here I will add one reason: The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is showed to be true in many places of Scripture; like as other corporal meat is food of the body. Then if he be an unkind father, that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our bishops be no gentle pastors or

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fathers, that keep away the food of men's souls from them (specially when others do offer the same) both months, years, and ages; neither do I see any opportunity of time, or reasonable advisement, that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away; but the contrary rather, for it is reason, convenient and needful for men, to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry; and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our Pater-noster, saying, Give us, Lord, our heavenly bread.

"In the twenty-eighth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them; neither can I therefore overmuch speak of them all, seeing I know them not: such as are the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrims when they should go to Rome, the hallowing of beads, and such-like. But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: when the priest hath consecrated holy bread, he saith, 'Lord, bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health,' &c.: which I would every man might say in English, when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

"Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the gospel: 'The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and show forth his blessed gospel;' which is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he shall go into a pulpit. All such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they mean, that they with rejoicing of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul, where he wisheth, rather to speak five words in the church heartily with understanding, whereby others might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown: yea, to say truth, (and truth it is indeed that I shall say,) a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is known, the further the virtue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in men's hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to see, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things!

"Thus I conclude, that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church (so far forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of others I can give no sentence, wishing, even as I trust men shall once see it come to pass, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

"In the twenty-ninth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God: I say, that if that be true which is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, that laws be never confirmed, until they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the pope's laws bind all Christian men; for the Greeks and the Bohemians will (as you do know full well) never admit them, but do refuse them utterly, so that I do not find that his laws may bind all Christian men.

"Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the king, or the emperor. And, to say sooth, I

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say, (as have said before,) I think verily that the church was more full of virtue before the decrees or decretals were made, (which is not very long ago, but in the time of Constantine, if that be true which is reported in the Decrees,) than it hath been since. God repair it, and restore it again to the ancient purity and perfection!

"In the thirtieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and to suspend or let them from ministration of the sacraments of the same: I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his law: for such are sundered from God, before the prelates do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in Isaiah by Almighty God: Your sins, quoth he, do make division betwixt you and me. And the prelates, by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, and that is to pronounce such to be excommunicated of God, and unworthy to minister any sacraments, or to be conversant with Christian folk, that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul, If any amongst you, called a brother, shall be a whoremonger, a covetous person, or a worshipper of images or idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the church, and not be suffered to come within it.

"I am not certain that prelates have any such power: and though they had, I doubt whether charity would permit them to show it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through which the sturdy, coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a law made in the council of Carthage, which is this: 'A bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the church, and to hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, or Jew, or heretic, until the mass time of them that are called Catechumeni.'

"Moreover, where you speak of prelates' deputies, I think such be but little behovable to Christ's flock. It were necessary and right, that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is!) undone. Such doth St. John call thieves and murderers, although they make ever so goodly a worldly show outward, and bear a stout port.

"This I say, that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate rebels against God's ordinances, and to suspend them from receiving or ministering the sacrament: but I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of churches, especially when God's word is there preached, unless the sinners be so sore desperate that they scorn the same. And I would that every prelate, receiving his living of benefices, should himself work in the same, especially in true preaching of Christ's doctrine, without winding his own neck out of the yoke, and charging therewith others, called deputies or vicars, curates, and such-like. For God would have every man to get his living by the sweat of his own face; that is to say, by his labour, according to his estate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat, so contrariwise, they that labour not, unless they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and much less to take of

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those, to whom they do no service, fifty or forty pounds a year, for waiting after none other thing than the moon shining in the water. The canon law maketh clearly with the same. Look in the Decrees, and you shall find plainly as I say.

"In the thirty-first article, where you ask, whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, faith only doth justify, and work salvation, before a man do any other good works; and that is showed by many authorities, both of Scripture and, also of many holy fathers, in a treatise called *Unio Dissidentium*, which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly translated into English. And truly I do think in this matter, (like as is here showed by many authorities of holy fathers,) that a man fallen into sin after baptism, shall be saved through faith, and have forgiveness by Christ's passion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a man, having short life, lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plenteously deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witness-bearer of man's true faith This declareth St. Augustine upon John; I trove it is where he expoundeth this text: If ye love me, keep my commandments: where, within a little after, he speaketh in this wise: 'Good works make not a just or a righteous man; but a man once justified, doeth good works.'

"In the thirty-second article, where you ask, whether a priest marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly; I say, that he doth not so much offend as those which in Wales, (as I have heard say,) and also in many parts beyond the sea, or rather in all places, do give openly, for money, dispensations to priests to take concubines: neither doth he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they, on every hand, do clearly commit fornication and adultery, utterly forbidden by God's law; and the priest, of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but man's law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written; I ween it be in a gloss, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the text or no, I can lightly turn to it having a book: the sentence is thus: A priest doing fornication, ought to be punished more than one who hath married a wife. Finally, I think such a priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

"In the thirty-third article, where you ask, whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust or lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy of the same, do sin deadly: I say, that a Latin priest and a Greek priest are all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Christ, left to us in Holy Scripture; neither doth Christ put any such difference, but the one hath by that rule the same liberty as another, and no more nor less; for there is the same God in Greece that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And, therefore, I cannot see by his law, but that a Latin priest may marry, as well as they do. And if the Greeks should not follow Christ's law in believing the same, and living thereafter, you would call them heretics. But that will not the pope have done. Wherefore, seeing they do let priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretics, why should other men, that say the same, be called heretics, or be therefore burned? Therefore, following the law of God, I make the same answer of a Latin priest, that I made before of all priests: that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoiding fornication.

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"In the thirty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I ever prayed for John Wickliff, John Huss, and for Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any one of them, since they died, and whether I have openly or secretly done any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss and saved: I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far forth as I can remember: and though I had, it followeth not, that in so doing I should be a heretic. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great country, called Bohemia, which yet doth follow (as men say) that same doctrine, which John Huss and Jerome of Prague taught their ancestors, whom (as I trow) neither the pope nor you do account heretics and infidels.

"In the thirty-fifth article, where you ask, whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be saints, and worshipped them as saints: I say that in such secret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, which biddeth that we should not judge over soon, but abide (unless the things which we should pass upon be the more evident) until the coming of the Lord, who shall illumine, and show forth clearly, things that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, nor against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment I wot is infallible.

"And whereas you say, they were condemned of heresy in the council of Constance: if so the council did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not; and that shall suffice to have commendation of him: so that it is not need to ask of me whether the acts of the same are commendable or no; neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily persuaded that I, because the council hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned. For a council, as I ween, may sometimes slip beside the right truth: but what that council did in condemning them, I cannot precisely say; God wotteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a council, appeareth by God's law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the council that is spoken of in the Gospel, where it is showed, that after our Saviour had restored Lazarus to life, the bishops and Pharisees then were gathered together in a council, saying, What shall we do? Truth it is that this man Jesus doth many miracles, and if we suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of Jerusalem, our dwelling-place, and destroy our nation. At which time Caiaphas did arise, showing forth his sentence, which the whole council did admit.

"In like wise is showed in the Acts, where, in a council of bishops and priests assembled to know what punishment should be done unto Christ's apostles, because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them, (for they before had commanded the apostles no more to speak in Christ's name,) there, among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together, did arise a certain man, called Gamaliel; (a pitiful thing verily, to see but one good man in such a great convocation or council of priests, that should he the lights of virtue to all the people;) which Gamaliel was a doctor of the law, and had in good reputation among the people: much like he was, as seemed to me, to Dr. Colet, sometime dean of Paul's in London, while he lived. I may come no nearer, to name some other of our time, lest I should be thought offensive. This Gamaliel did bid the apostles go aside for a while out of the council, or convocation-house; and so he spake unto the other priests or bishops in the council thus: You men of Israel, quoth he, take heed to yourselves what ye shall do unto these men the apostles: for afore this time hath

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risen one called Theudas, and afterwards another named Judas of Galilee, which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now, quoth he, I say unto you, refrain from hurting these men the apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if this enterprise and work that they have made be of men, undoubtedly it shall perish, and be fore-done: but if, quoth he, it be of God, you cannot foredo it. And this I tell you, said Gamaliel, lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.

"Unto this sentence of Gamaliel, did all the others of the convocation or parliament agree; and so they called in the apostles of Christ before them, causing them to be scourged, and charging them, no more afterwards to preach of Christ's name; and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the time of our Saviour and of his apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew before, that like practice should come in the latter time of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that councils do not always discern with Christ, but sometimes they may do against him. And therefore said David, I did not sit with the assembly or council of vain doers, or liars, and I will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: for I have hated the convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: but I will wash my hands among innocents, &c. Also in another psalm he writeth thus; The Lord doth destroy or annihilate the counsels of the Gentiles; he reproveth the counsels of the people and of rulers. But the counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever; and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the world of worlds. For that purpose doth St. Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, allege this verse out of the psalm, Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things, &c. Like unto this it is written, in Isaiah i. Also you may see in the councils of the Pharisees above showed, that one singular person may sometimes perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: for Gamaliel only did see better what was behoveable, than could all the others there congregated.

"Agreeable unto this we find in the Decrees, where it is written that the council of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the church, ordained laws, called canons or rules. And as they treated upon such ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a law that bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should not lie with their wives whom they had married before they were consecrated into the order. With that arose Paphnutius, a confessor of Christ, and gainsayed it, testifying that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper wife. And so he persuaded the council, that they should constitute no such law; affirming, that it was a sore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the priests, or else to their wives, an occasion of fornication: and this was Paphnutius's reason. The words of the canon proceed thus: 'This declared Paphnutius, he never being married, nor having experience of marriage; and the council commended his sentence, making no statute in this matter, but put it to every man's free-will and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity.' These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in *Historia Tripartita*, as I have showed before in the fourth article. Upon this, that Paphnutius did thus resist and prevail against all the other council, doth the Gloss note in the same law, that one singular person may gainsay or speak against a universal generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in Abbot Panormitane, where he saith thus: 'I would,' quoth he, 'rather believe one lay person, bringing for him authority of Scripture, than a universal council, that ordaineth or defineth a thing without Scripture.'

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"Finally, I say, that I never accounted them either saints or devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so far forth as I can remember.

"In the thirty-sixth article, where you do ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every general council, and the council of Constance also, do represent the universal congregation or church: I say, that what such councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro* or *contra*, with this demand or against it: and no marvel; for I know of no Scripture to certify me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And methinketh this, (under correction I speak,) that councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the universal church, not being yet the same as I wot well they neither are nor were. For the church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation, whether they be temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church spreadeth through the universal world, where any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ; and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, where his blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared: for that is the relief of man's soul, whereunto all men, loving their soul's health, lust to resort and seek (as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life); for in it is showed that righteousness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hungered for, shall come into the kingdom of heaven. Of this the proverb in the Gospel (although it be applied to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) may well be verified, Wheresoever is a dead carrion, thither will soon be assembled eagles. That is to wit, wheresoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christ's death, thither will men seek and fly, to know how they may enjoy and attain them; which I beseech him to grant us. Amen.

"In the thirty-seventh article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the same thing which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved, and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith and soul's health, is to be approved and holden of all Christian people; and that which the same council hath condemned, and doth condemn, to be contrary to faith and good manners, ought of the same Christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned: I say that whatsoever the same council or any other hath approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all Christian people to be likewise approved, holden, and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtful to faith or good living, I say that the same ought of all Christian people to be condemned and reprov'd. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright; because I did never look upon their acts, neither do I greatly covet for to do wherefore I refer the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have some more skill in them than I.

"In the thirty-eighth you demand, whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of every catholic person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed: I answer, that it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss

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the thing determinately, yet my Christendom shall be therefore nevertheless; and that I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yea nor nay.

"In the thirty-ninth you ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been, and now be, perverse; for the which books, and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics: I say that I know not determinately whether they be heretics or no, nor whether their books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called heretics or no.

"In the fortieth article, where you ask whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any case to swear: I say, that I neither so do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

"In the forty-first, where you ask, whether I believe that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in a case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy: I answer, that I never said the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge, to say the truth, if the judge so require, and that by request lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in controversy betwixt two persons, and thereupon they sue unto a judge for sentence; when the judge can none otherwise bolt out the truth, he may require an oath. As when the two women who contended before Solomon to avoid the crime of murder, which the one had committed in oppressing her child to death, and would have put the same upon the other, if Solomon could not by his wisdom otherwise have investigated the truth, he might, I suppose, for to come by the more certain information of the thing, have caused one of them, or both, seeing it expedient for him, to swear; wherein the woman had been bound to obey him; but judges had need to be spare in requiring of oaths; for in customable, or oft juries, creepeth in always, betwixt times, some perjury, as showeth Chrysostom in words semblable to these: and things precious, through oft haunt or occupying, lose their estimation; and so reverent oaths, unadvisedly required for every trifle, usually do cause men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear, to break them.

"Therefore in Almain, they have made of late (as I have heard say by credible persons, who have come from thence) many notable ordinances for the commonwealth within a while, and amongst others this is one: If a man be set for to enter plea against another in any town, the peers thereof before whom all actions are used to be debated, hearing such a plea entered, shall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open court. And the matter examined, they shall exhort them to let the plea cease without further process, showing them the great damage, both godly and worldly, coming of waging the law, and the great ease and commodity that is in agreement and concord.: which exhortation they use to show with so great gravity and fatherly love, (such wonders are wrought where the gospel hath free passage,) that very few will commence plea. And though any plea be commenced, through such sage admonition it falleth lightly to sequestration and arbitrement of neighbours, who do set the suitors at unity, ere the matter do come to discussion in open court.

"Notwithstanding, if some be so waywardly minded, (as in a multitude all are not one man's children, and therefore unlike of intent,) that they will needs proceed and follow the law,

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they shall be heard to speak their matters in open court, and taught how the matter is most like to succeed, and counselled with new exhortation to stop their process. If they will not be persuaded, and then the judges, seeing the matter so ambiguous that they cannot give perfect sentence therein, except, by virtue of an oath made by one of the parties, they be first better certified; then will they show the same before the suitors, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a solemn oath for love of winning some worldly profit: and how, unless such as shall make it be the better aware to eschew the same, they shall, beside an evil example given to a multitude, work themselves, haply, shame, or dishonesty.

"Upon this, they shall give respite until a certain day appointed; so that in the mean while the suitors may take deliberation thereof, what is best to be done. If after this they will not thus rest, at the day appointed shall they come forth into a common place, and the great bell of the city he caused to be rung, whereby the people shall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people assembled, the judges shall, in full chargeable and lamentable wise, charge the parties, under virtue of their oath, to make true relation of what shall be demanded. So that by reason of soberly and fatherly exhortations made by the judges or peers of the town, and persuasion of neighbours, and for avoiding of God's displeasure and shame of men, there is little suit in courts; and if at any time any be made, they be lightly stopped; so that jury and swearing be well excluded, and need not much to be required.

"This I have showed, because it pitieth me to hear and see the contrary used in some of our nation, and such also as name themselves spiritual men, and should be head ministers of the church; who, incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a book, and do move him to swear, without any longer respite; yea, and they will charge him by virtue of the contents in the Evangely, to make true relation of all that shall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawful to show them the truth of their demands, or no: for such things there be that are not lawful to be showed. As if I were accused of fornication, and none could be found in me; or if they should require me to swear to bewray any other that I have known to offend in that vice, I suppose it were expedient to hold me still, and not to follow their will: for it should be contrary to charity, if I should so assent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet, trusting to their amendment, I have promised before to keep their fault secret without any disclosing of the same. Yea, moreover, if such judges sometimes, not knowing by any due proof that such as have to do before them are culpable, will enforce them, by an oath, to detect themselves, in opening before them their hearts; in this so doing, I cannot see that men need to condescend to their requests. For it is in the law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: 'No man is bound to bewray himself.' Also in another place of the law it is written, 'No man should suffer punishment of men for his thought.' To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus 'Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.' So that, to conclude, I think it lawful, at the command-merit of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, especially if a judge requireth an oath duly, and in lawful wise; or to make an oath in any other case convenient; and that also for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid against a man.

"In the forty-second, where you ask, whether a Christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly;

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I say the like of the receipt of them, as I have said before of the self-same things, and none otherwise.

"In the forty-third, where you ask, whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, having power on earth to bind and loose: I say, that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term vicar; for Christ never called Peter nor any other so, in Scripture. If you mean thereby that, after the departing hence of Christ, when he was risen from death in his immortal body, and so hied into heaven, where he remaineth sitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he so being away from hence, St. Peter occupied his room: then, I say, it is not untrue that Peter, in a manner, (which I shall show hereunder,) was his vicar: and like as Peter was his vicar, even so were Paul and the other apostles, and the one no less than the others, if it be true that St. Cyprian doth write, which is also consenting to Scripture. He saith thus: that Christ spake unto Peter, saying; I say, quoth our Saviour, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock of stone shall I build my congregation, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it. To thee will I give the keys of heaven, and what things thou shalt bind upon earth, the same shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven. And to him, after his resurrection, doth Christ say, Feed my sheep.

"And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his apostles after his resurrection, and saith, Like as my Father sent me, do I also send you. Take you the Holy Ghost. If you shall retain to any man his sins, they shall be retained. If you shall remit to any man his sins, to him they shall be remitted. Nevertheless, because he would declare unity, he ordained, by his authority, the original of the same unity beginning of one. The other apostles were the same that Peter was, endued with equal partaking both of honour, and authority or power; but the beginning cometh of one, that the congregation should be showed to be one. Those are the words of St. Cyprian, in a treatise that is called, *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*; wherein you may see that Christ made all the apostles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because he would testify the unity of his church or congregation, he spake, as it were, only unto Peter, when he said, Feed my sheep; and, I shall give thee, Peter, the keys of heaven. But in so saying, though the words seem spoken to Peter only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that he sustained the general person of all the church, being, as it were, a common speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the apostles, unto whom also he gave all the same authority that he gave unto Peter; as you may see both in these words of Cyprian, and also the same is clearly showed out of St. Augustine in divers places; but no where more plainly in a few words, than in a treatise called *De Agone Christiano*.

"To this accordeth well that which was written by Paul. Of those apostles, quoth Paul, which seemed to be of authority, I was not taught; (what they were in time past it skilleth me nothing; God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man;) nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price, showed me no learning, nor gave me any counsel. But contrary, when they had seen that the gospel of uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the evangely of circumcision was unto Peter, (for He that was mighty in Peter concerning the apostleship toward the Jews, was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles,) therefore, when James, Peter, and John, which appeared to be as pillars, knew the grace given me, they gave unto me and Barnabas their right hands in sign of fellowship, to be their partners, so that we should exercise the office of apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Jews. Wherein you may clearly see, that Paul

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took no instruction of those who seemed to be in high authority, and that Peter, James, and John, who were noted principals, took Paul and Barnabas to be their mates and fellows; which they would not have done, as I suppose, if they had known that God had granted unto them a prerogative singular, to excel Paul, and to be his sovereign. But, according to the prerogative of God granted, they might have safely showed it, and enjoyed the same; like as they did rejoice in other benefits granted to them of God, to be ministers in his church for the edifying of the same; and as St. John calleth himself the disciple loved of his master Jesus, and testifieth, how that unto him, Christ, hanging upon the cross, did commit his blessed mother.

"Moreover, if these three apostles, James, Peter, and John, should by humility have left out to make mention of their prerogative, when they took Paul and Barnabas into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that Paul, who never useth any inordinate arrogancy, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his own privilege and authority given him of God, would not have suppressed and passed over their primacy unspoken of, with whom he maketh here comparison: for then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from others to himself unlawful; which cannot so be. Moreover he saith a little after the words before rehearsed, that he reproveth St. Peter, even before his face. Whereupon St. Jerome, expounding the same Epistle, saith, (as I remember,) that Paul would not have been bold so to do, except he had known himself equal to Peter.

"In the words also of Paul above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that Peter had no pre-eminence or primacy above the others, for James is named before him; which Paul would not have done, I think, knowing Peter to be James's superior. Therefore he, making no such variety in order, put James before, saying, And James, Peter, and John, that appeared the principals, quoth he, gave unto me, and to Barnabas, their right hands in sign of fellowship. Yet, notwithstanding, Paul loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, who contend so sore for superior rooms and pre-eminency, claiming to be the apostles' successors. I would it were so much for the commonwealth of Christian people, as it is suspected that they do it for vain-glory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find in Acts xi., where is showed that after Peter, by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called Cornelius, a petty captain, having the governance of a hundred men, teaching him the ways and doctrine of Christ, and baptizing him and others with him assembled, being, like as he before was, pagans; the apostles, and other Christian brethren that were in Jewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Jerusalem, they which held upon circumcision made none obeisance unto him, (albeit I think verily he had more holiness than ever had any pope,) as the emperor is fain to do to the pope at his coronation, falling down to kiss the pope's feet, or to hold the pope's stirrup while he mounteth upon his horse's back; according to the form of law written, I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather, (for such ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally recorded,) but they reasoned sore, and disputed both against St. Peter, and also his doings, saying, You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them that are men unclean, because they are uncircumcised; yea, and what is more, you have eaten and drunk with them. Peter, mildly and coldly, made answer again, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order, showing that he was so instructed to do, by mighty and clear revelations of God, and not by his own fantasy and pleasure. Which answer being heard, the others that before had made sore objections against him, (which were both of the apostles, and other Christian brethren,) were

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content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying, Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternal life.

Wherein you may see, that the other apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is showed of Paul, to dispute against him; neither were they therefore by Peter reprov'd of inobedience. He did not allege any pre-eminency or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: as one would say, Why should you that are my sheep control me, that am the head of the church and your pastor, or Christ's general vicar, having both jurisdiction temporal and spiritual? with such other like: but showed them it was the will of God that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleased to give to them, as well as to the Jews; in token whereof the Holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

"Thus may you see, that if Peter were the vicar of Christ, even so likewise were Paul and all the other apostles. And I do not think contrary but that Peter, and all other of the apostles, were Christ's vicars, if you mean by this word 'vicar,' a deputy, or such like, for to preach his evangely, (which is an office of all others most sovereign,) to minister sacraments, and to do other such divine service in God's church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, legates, or any such like; which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever you shall forgive, are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained. And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the church, after the mind of St. Augustine and others, in Peter, saying, Peter, feed my sheep.

"In the forty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I believe, that the pope ordinarly chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the successor of Peter: I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no; I cannot see that it should be numbered amongst the articles of our faith: notwithstanding I will show my rude thought in it, which is this:

"The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same, duly and diligently feeding Christ's flock, and showing virtuous example of living to the same: and, so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your Lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions aforesaid, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many others as do truly their duty, and duly the office of a bishop: and otherwise may not the pope be called the successor of Peter, because he is entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding to do what is requisite for the same, nor following the trace of virtue; but the contrary. And then he is wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not impossible. For what should men call those Peter's successors, that play the pageants, and follow with the conditions of Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claim to be Peter's successors, no more than the night may claim to be successor of the day; for Peter was never so minded, nor taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peter's adversaries, forasmuch as they do not his will which is showed by his own acts and writing, but work against the same. Of such may be said, 'They are not all saints' children that occupy the room of saints, but they are their children that exercise their works.' Yea, of such may be said

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that which is written of St. Jerome: 'All bishops,' quoth he, 'are not bishops. Mark you well Peter, but mark also Judas: behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Ecclesiastical dignity maketh not a Christian man. Cornelius the centurion, being yet a pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghost: contrariwise, Daniel, being a child, condemneth priests, or ancient men.' 'It is no easy thing,' saith he, 'to stand in the room of Peter and Paul, and to keep the seat of them now reigning with Christ: for unsavoury salt is nought worth else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and trodden down of hogs.' This saith St. Jerome. Whereunto agreeth well St. Augustine: 'Every one,' quoth he, 'that saith unto you, *Pax vobis*, ought not to be heard, or to be believed as a dove. Crows be fed of dead carrion; and so is not a dove, but she liveth by the fruits of the earth: her living is pure, innocent, and hurtless. Whereby you may see, that ill bishops are no bishops, and that they that follow not saints in virtuous living, are not the successors of saints, but unsavoury salt; that is, neither of the church, nor shall come into heaven, to reign there with Peter and Paul, but be thrown out with great contempt: for God knoweth a dove from a crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of carrion; but such as declare and show good deeds, as the saints did, be their children and successors, and shall with them reign in heaven.

"So that, to conclude, I say, that the pope, ordinally chosen, is the successor of St. Peter, following St. Peter's godly living. And else, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vain name: for rather may he else be reputed an image of a pope, or of a bishop, according as such be called of the prophet, O idol shepherds!

"In the five and fortieth article, where you ask, whether ever I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles seeming to me and to my complices right and consonant unto the faith; and will that I should certify you of the course and form of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the names and surnames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this behalf: I say, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles, seeming to me and others right and consonant to the faith, unless it hath chanced me to say in this form: That I would never, with the aid of God, forsake, nor decline from, the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.'

"Thus I have, perhaps, said in some time, or some place, because I have indeed so intended, and do intend, God's grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, or to what persons, or at what time, either in what place; neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but such as do love me, and I them, for God, and in God: and those do I reckon all them that are or will be truly Christian, in calling upon Christ's name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none others than I have showed; the sum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the New Testament.

"The first is in the Acts of Apostles, in this wise: Christ is the head corner-stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given amongst men, wherein we may be saved. This is one of the propositions, wherein is engrossed or comprehended my saying, which St. Paul doth thus otherwise explicate; Christ is made of God our wisdom, our righteousness, our pureness, our

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satisfaction, and our redemption. And in another place: There is none other foundation that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is, Christ Jesus.

"The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Saviour, in the Evangel of Matthew, in these words: Men do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines and precepts, or laws human. Of this writeth Paul very largely in divers places, and every where well nigh: amongst others, in the second chapter of Colossians, where he warneth the Colossians to take heed that no man do spoil them, or to steal them away by philosophy or vain deception, according to the constitutions of men, and ordinances of this world.

"Thus I do certify you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Others hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day.

"Finally, in that you require to know of the names and surnames, in order of them particularly, that be to me adherents, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part: I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of, I suppose, through all regions and realms of Christendom, that do think in like wise as I have showed. I ween the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one half of Christendom; and more should do likewise, by a great sort, within a while, I doubt not, but that our ghostly enemy laboureth amain to have the knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seen. I say therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that have so promised me to be. in these matters: and though I did, I would not (except I knew that charity so required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect or bewray any one of them, for any man's pleasure: for I am bound to obey God above men: who be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen."

These answers of John Lambert to the five and forty articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeareth, about A.D. 1532, at which time the said Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Otford, being there destitute of all help and furniture of books, as by his own words is to be gathered. But, so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, A.D. 1533, the said Archbishop Warham died; whereby it seemeth that Lambert, for that time, was delivered. In this mean while Dr. Cranmer was sent over in embassy, with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Kern, Dr. Benet, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome lying then at Bologna, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly, first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor; where, after sundry promises, and appointments made, yet, when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them, in these two propositions: first, that no man, jure Divine, could or ought to marry his brother's wife: secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will treat, (the Lord's grace permitting,) in the sequel of our story, coming to Dr. Cranmer's life.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that see the said Dr. Cranmer. Lambert, in the mean season, being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming in of Queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the Stocks, in

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teaching children both in the Greek and Latin tongue. And forasmuch as priests, in those days, could not be permitted to have wives, he left his priesthood, and applied himself to the function of teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers, and to be married. But God, who disposeth all men's purposes after the secret pleasure of his own will, did both intercept his marriage, and also his freedom, and married him to his Son Christ Jesus, (as now consequently followeth to be declared,) bringing him into the freedom of his spiritual kingdom, to reign with him.

And thus much, briefly, touching the first education and bringing up of John Lambert; hereafter it followeth more at large to discourse and declare the whole process and order of his doings and disputations, with the order and manner of his death and condemnation. This death and punishment of his happened in this year; being so much the more lamentable, in that it was first occasioned, and afterwards brought to pass, by no others than by such, whom, for the common society of the profession of the gospel, it had been more meet to have been authors of his safeguard, rather than the causers of his destruction. But this is the accustomed craft and malice of that ancient serpent, which intermeddleth himself in all congregations, envying all men's felicity and welfare, rejoicing in nothing but in the death and blood of innocents; seeking occasions of sedition, not only amongst the wicked, but the good also; stirring brethren oftentimes to contention amongst themselves; and that so craftily, that his policies can never be perceived until the mischief be done. I would to God that as this is a common complaint to all countries, so this our region of England, amongst others, were free from it, and not more infected herewith than the rest. Where now, in a manner, shall a man find more slaughter of the commons, subversion of the nobles, burning of good men, and most cruel contentions, which are never, in a manner, ended but with bloodshed? that mischievous disturber of human concord and quietness doth so incessantly rage!

But as I am here forced to speak against my will, so would to God that, even with my own contumely and hatred, I might engrave more meekness in the hearts of our men; which, notwithstanding, I doubt not but will shortly come to pass, by the most prosperous success of learning, which daily flourisheth more and more in England: and as it is to be hoped, foreign examples, and greater experience of things, will bring a more civility to this, which is already obtained by learning. But, because we will not pass our bounds too far, we will return again to the matter as touching John Lambert, intending to make declaration of his cause even from the first beginning, so far forth as we could attain unto the knowledge thereof.

So soon as the dark clouds of ignorance were driven away, and that the brightness of the gospel began to shine in England, there was at the same time, although not of the number of those who sustained the first assaults of the adversaries, the aforementioned John Lambert; who, partly for the cruelty of the time, and partly for the desire of learning, which he was always inclined unto, departed into foreign lands, being but a young man, where he understood that learning did most flourish. From thence, after a few years, he returned again, hoping that the time had been amended, for that, by the means of Queen Anne and Cromwell, and the abolishing of the pope, all things seemed more prosperous and quiet in England; and began to set his mind to the setting forth of the gospel.

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Thus then, after that John Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the youth, it happened this present year (1538) he was present at a sermon in St. Peter's church at London. He that preached was named Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel, and who afterwards, in the time of King Edward, was made bishop of Lincoln, and, at last, in the time of Queen Mary, was deprived from the same; and so ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor, excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind, and to come again at more leisure. Lambert was contented, and so departed; who, within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, proving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason and by the doctors: the which arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such men as were present at those affairs, reported them to be of great force and authority; and of a few, which were borne away in memory, the first reason was this, gathered upon Christ's words, where it is said in the Gospel, This cup is the new testament.

"And if," saith he, "these words do not change either the cup, or the wine, corporally into the new testament, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ."

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

"Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents; like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then, forasmuch as in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of flesh; who doth not plainly perceive, that there is no transubstantiated body of his in the sacrament? And, to reason by the contrary, all the proper conditions, signs, and accidents, whatsoever they be, pertaining to bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the bread to be there."

He added also many other allegations out of the doctors. But to be short, this Taylor the preacher, whom I spake of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfy Lambert in this matter, amongst others whom he took to counsel, he also conferred with Dr. Barnes; which Barnes, although he did otherwise favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause; fearing, peradventure, that it would breed among the people some let or hinderance to the preaching of the gospel, (which was now in a good forwardness,) if such sacramentaries should be suffered. He persuaded Taylor, by and by, to put up the matter to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. And hereby we may see

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it truly verified, which William Tyndale before, writing to John Frith, did note in Dr. Barnes, saying, "That Dr. Barnes will be hot against you," &c.

Upon these originals Lambert's quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, that, through the sinister doings of many, it began of a private talk to be a public and common matter: for he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert did appeal from the bishops to the king's Majesty. But howsoever the matter was, the rumour of that disputation was, by and by, spread throughout the whole court.

I told you before, how that King Henry for two years past, showing the part of a hard husband, had beheaded Queen Anne his wife; which deed did not only greatly displease the German princes, (who for that only cause had broken off the league with him, A.D. 1536,) but also many other good men in England. Moreover, how that, within a while after, abbeyes began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated and given abroad: for which causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the bishop of Rome, the commons had conceived a very evil opinion of him, insomuch that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority amongst the king's councillors, who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to let and hinder the gospel: albeit a long time he was not so greatly esteemed with the king, that he could much prevail to achieve his conceived purpose. But, at length, upon this matter advising himself, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire: neither did he foreslack the occasion ministered, but went straight unto the king, privily admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him in almost all places; first, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority; then for subversion of the monasteries; and also for that the divorce of Queen Katharine was yet fresh in men's minds; and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them that were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and by this new rumour he would bring to pass, not only to extinguish all other former rumours, and as it were with one nail to drive out another, but also should discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

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

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

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

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, as covering, by that colour and dissembling, severity of all bloody judgment. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order; behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which, albeit it was terrible enough of itself to abash any innocent, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror; plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was set in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance; and then, turning himself unto his counsellors, he called forth Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this present assembly and judgment. The whole effect of his oration tended in a manner to this point:

"That the king in this session would have all states, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished, of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that now, the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty unto heretics to perturb and trouble the churches of England, without punishment, whereof he is the head. And moreover, that they should not think that they were assembled at that present, to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and other bishops, the heresies of this man here present, (meaning Lambert,) and the heresies of all such like, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all."

When he had made an end of his oration, the king, standing up upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: "Ho! good fellow; what is thy name?" Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert." "What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother."

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

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion: for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men, in many places, are privily murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge. But now, forasmuch as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the

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hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, specially whom God of his divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration: "I came not hither," said he, "to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance." Thus he spake in Latin. But Lambert, being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, stayed a while, considering whither he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities. But the king, being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, "Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert. "I answer, with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner." The king. "Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no." These words the king spake again in Latin.

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

The king. "Mark well! for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, Hoc est corpus meum."

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert! let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same."

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven was seen of St. Paul the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places?

In this manner the archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the preacher; for the king had first disputed against his first reason.

Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, that the minor was not thereby proved, that Christ's body was dispersed in two places or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the Scripture doth not say that Christ, being upon earth, did speak unto Paul; but that suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he, falling to the ground, heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus

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whom thou persecutest, &c. Here this place doth nothing let, but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they that were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no body.

The archbishop, on the contrary part, said, "Paul himself doth witness that Christ did appear unto him in the same vision."

But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, that he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles: notwithstanding, we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him.

Thus when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the audience amazed, then the bishop of Winchester, who was appointed the sixth place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument would be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor man, without the king's commandment, observing no order, before the archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the disputation, alleged a place out of 1 Corinthians ix., where St. Paul saith, Have I not seen Jesus? And again in the fifteenth chapter: He appeared unto Cephas, and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but, last of all, he appeared unto me, as one born out of due time.

Hereunto Lambert answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear; but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Then Winchester again, abusing the authority of Paul, repeated the place out of 2 Cor. v., And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now, henceforth, know we him so no more, &c.

Lambert answered, that this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who; speaking of his own revelation, saith thus I know one, whether in the body, or without the body, God knoweth, who was rapt into the third heaven; and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth: whereby, even by the testimony of St. Paul, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and did see those things; rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven, to show them unto him: especially for that it was said by the angel, that even as he ascended into heaven, so he should come again. And St. Peter saith, whom it behoveth to dwell in the heavens. And moreover, appointing the measure of time, he addeth, even until all things be restored, &c. Here again, Lambert, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

After the bishop of Winchester had done, Tostal, bishop of Durham, took his course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of God's omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, that if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform.

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Lambert answered, that there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he would change the bread into his body: and moreover that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this is a figurative speech, every where used in Scripture, when the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign; by which figure of speech, circumcision is called the covenant, the lamb the passover; besides six hundred such other. Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straightway changed into another nature.

Then again began they to rage afresh against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do? He might well hold his peace like a lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant champion Stokesley, bishop of London, who afterwards, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, boasting that in his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics. This man, amongst the residue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long protestation promised to prove, that it was not only a work of a divine miracle, but also that it did nothing abhor nature. "For it is nothing dissonant from nature, the substances of like things," saith he, "to be oftentimes changed one into another, so that nevertheless the accidents do remain; albeit the substance itself, and the matter subject, be changed." Then he declared it by the example of water boiling so long upon the fire, until all the substance thereof be evaporated. "Now," saith he, "it is the doctrine of the philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we do affirm the substance of the water to pass into the substance of the air; notwithstanding the quality of the water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the air is moist even as the water is."

When this argument was heard, the bishops greatly rejoiced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this philosophical transmutation of elements, and like as it had been of more force than Chrisippus's argument, which passed all manner of solution.

Lambert's answer was long looked for here of all men; who, as soon as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speak, first of all denied the bishop's assumpt, that the moisture of the water did remain after the substance was altered. "For albeit," saith he, "that we do grant, with the philosophers, the air to be naturally moist; notwithstanding ithath one proper and a diverse degree of moisture, and the water another. Wherefore, when the water is converted into the air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say; but that is not the moisture of water, but the proper and natural moisture of the air. Whereupon there is another doctrine amongst the philosophers, as a perpetual rule, that it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject."

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

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There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this tragedy; for his ten arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous were it so to do, especially forasmuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forcible, and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Lambert, in the mean time, being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the clock, until five at night; being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace. Hereby it came to pass, that those bishops which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that Lambert now and then would allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But, for the most part, (as I said,) being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace; defending himself rather with silence, than with arguments, which, he saw, would nothing at all prevail.

At the last, when the day was passed, and that torches began to be lighted, the king, minding to brake up this pretended disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise: "What sagest thou now," said he, "after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? what sayest thou? thou hast yet free choice."

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

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

This, undoubtedly, was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But, to be short, Cromwell, at the king's commandment, taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read the same; wherein was contained the burning of heretics, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any

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books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their papistical church and tradition touching the sacrament of the altar: also a decree that the same should be set upon the church porches, and be read four times every year in every church throughout the realm, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. And in this manner was the condemnation of John Lambert; wherein great pity it was, and much to be lamented, to see the king's Highness that day so to oppose, and set his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against that one poor silly soul, to be devoured, whom his Majesty, with more honour, might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many wolves and vultures; especially in such a cause, tending to no derogation to him nor his realm, but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere truth and doctrine decayed. For therein, especially, consisteth the honour of princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth stand with him: which if the king had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his princely estate to all posterity.

But how much more commendable for thee, O King Henry! (if that I may a little talk with thee, wheresoever thou art,) if thou hadst aided and holpen the poor little sheep, being in so great perils and dangers, requiring thy aid and help against so many vultures and leopards; and hadst granted him thy authority, to use the same for his safeguard, rather than unto the others, to abuse it unto slaughter. For they, even of themselves, were cruel enough, that thou shouldst not have needed to have given thy sword of authority unto those mad-men, whose force and violence if you had that day broken, believe me! you should have committed a worthy spectacle unto all men, and have done a most commendable and praiseworthy thing for yourself. For what hath that poor man Lambert offended against you, who never so much as once willed you evil, neither could resist against you!

But, peradventure, you thought him to be a heretic! At the least his reasons and allegations should have been moderately heard; which if they had seemed more sound, you should have given place unto the truth; if not, notwithstanding, he should have been convinced, either with the like or more strong arguments, and have been reclaimed by all manner of means again into the way; for an error is not overcome with violence, but with truth. Truly it was not meet that you should have refused him, who so obediently yielded and submitted himself unto you. But, O King Henry! I know you did not follow your own nature therein, but the pernicious counsels of the bishop of Winchester: notwithstanding, your wisdom should not have been ignorant of this, (which all other kings also ought to consider, who, at this present, through the wicked insinuations of the bishops and cardinals, do so rage against the simple servants of Christ,) that the time shall once come, when ye shall give account for all the offences which you have either committed by your own fault, or by the counsel or advice of others, what shall then happen, if these miserable heretics, which you here in this world do so afflict and torment, shall come with Christ, and his apostles and martyrs, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel, sitting upon their seats? if they, with like severity, shall execute their power upon you; what then, I say, shall become of you? With what face will ye behold their majesty, who here in this world have showed no countenances of pity upon them? With what heart will ye implore their mercy, who so unmercifully rejected and cast them off, when they fled unto your pity and mercy? Wherefore,

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if that the ears of princes be so prompt and ready to hearken unto the counsels of others, being void of counsel themselves, why do they not rather set apart these flatterers, backbiters, and greedy blood-suckers, and hearken unto the wholesome counsel of the propheticall king? who, crying out in the Psalms, sayeth, "Now, ye kings, understand, and ye which judge the earth, be wise and learned, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoyce in him with trembling. Embrace his Son, lest that ye err and perish from the just way; for, when his wrath shall suddenly kindle, blessed are all they which trust in him."

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

And thus much, hitherto, of Lambert's articles, answers, disputations, and his condemnation also. Now to proceed further to the story of his death.



Lambert burned at the stake

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

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all others which have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For, after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the lire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach, after the manner and form that is described in the picture adjoined. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, "None but Christ, None but Christ;" and so, being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

Thus ye have heard by what craft and subtlety this good man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed; so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the bishops thought should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause to King Henry, wherein, first mollifying the king's mind and ears with a modest and sober preface, he declared how he had a double hope of solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of princes, God; the other next unto God, in his Majesty, which should represent the office and ministry of that most high Prince in governing here upon earth. After that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done. And, albeit he was not ignorant how odious this doctrine would be unto the people, yet, notwithstanding, because he was not also ignorant how desirous the king's mind was to search out the truth, he thought no time unmeet to perform his duty, especially forasmuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence; but only unto the prince himself, unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

After this preface made, he, entering into the book, confirmed his doctrine touching the sacrament by divers testimonies of the Scriptures by the which Scriptures he proved the body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then, gathering together the minds of the ancient doctors, he did prove and declare, by sufficient demonstration, the sacrament to be a mystical matter: albeit he so ruled himself, in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny but that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Saviour, and the wine his natural blood: and that, moreover, his natural body

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and blood were in those mysteries; but after a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this protestation thus made, he inferreth the sentence of his confession, as here followeth.

A treatise by John Lambert upon the sacrament; addressed to the king.

"Christ is so ascended bodily into heaven, and his holy manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father, (that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in glory,) that, by the infallible promise of God, it shall not, or cannot, from thence return before the general doom, which shall be in the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world, so can I not see how he can be corporally in the sacrament, or his holy supper. And yet, notwithstanding, do I acknowledge and confess, that the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the very body and blood in a certain manner, which shall be showed hereafter, with your Grace's favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, instituting the same holy sacrament, and saying, This is my body, which is given for you: and again, This is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.

"But now, for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into heaven, and his holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c., that by the infallible promise of God he shall not, or cannot, any more from thence bodily return before the general doom, I shall for this allege first the Scriptures, following the authorities of old holy doctors, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing but that we have taught to us in these three articles of our Creed, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' For Christ did ascend bodily; the Godhead, which is infinite, uncircumscribable, replenishing both heaven and earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend."

Scriptures affirming the same.

"The Scriptures which I promised to allege for the confirmation of my said sentence, be these: He was lifted up into heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes. And when they were looking up into heaven, they saw two men, &c. Here it is evidently showed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscribable body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words do testify: And when they were looking up; Why stand you here looking up into heaven? and, Even as ye have seen him, &c. That, secondly, it was in body, I have before proved: and moreover the Deity is not seen, but is invisible, as appeareth thus; To God only invisible, &c.; and, He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man seeth, nor may see, &c.: therefore the manhood and natural body was assumpt, or did ascend. That, thirdly, it was in a circumscribable body, appeareth manifestly in this: first, that his ascension and bodily departing caused them to look up and, secondly, that he was lifted up; that is to wit, from beneath or, from below: and, thirdly, that a cloud received him; whereas no cloud nor clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c.

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"I am fain to leave out other evident arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. It doth there also follow, in like form, how the angels made answer to the disciples, saying, Ye men of Galilee! why stand ye gazing into heaven? This Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come again, as you have seen him going up into heaven. Here we see again, that Jesus is assumpt, or taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to that we read, I went forth from the Father, and I came into the world: I leave the world again, and I go unto the Father. That is, not else but as he came from the Father of heaven into this world, in that he was incarnate and made man, (for his Godhead was never absent, either from heaven, or yet from earth,) even so should his manhood leave the world again, to go to heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, So shall he come, is plainly testified, that he is away, and now corporally absent.

"Finally, it is showed, further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, Even as you have seen him going up into heaven; which is not else but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to heaven, a cloud embracing him, and taking him from among you; even so shall you visibly see him to come again in the clouds, as we read in Matthew, You shall see the Son of man to come in the clouds of heaven: and again, And they shall see the Son of man. Such other texts have we full many, declaring my sentence to be catholic and true; of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xiii., xiv., xvi., and xvii.; Rom. viii.; Ephes. i. and ii.; and 2 Cor. vi.; Heb. viii., ix., x., and xii.; and 1 Thess. iv.; and 1 Pet. ii.; which all do testify, that Christ hath bodily forsaken the world, and, departing from it unto his Father, ascended into heaven; sitting still upon the right hand of the Father, above all dominion, power, and principality; where he is present Advocate and Intercessor before his Father; and that he shall so bodily come again, like as he was seen to depart from hence.

"Nothing can better, or more clearly, testify and declare, what is contained in the sacrament of Christ's holy body and blood, than do the words of Scripture, whereby it was instituted. Mark doth agree with Matthew, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is; for, as the doctors do say, The Gospel of Mark is a very epitome or abridgement of Matthew. I shall therefore write the relations of them, touching the institution of this sacrament, together. The relation or testimony of Matthew is this: As they were eating, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And taking the cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father.

"The testimony or relation of Mark, is this: And as they did eat, Jesus took the bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, unto that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God. Luke, being the companion of Paul, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. iv., doth so next agree with him in making relation of this supper, and holy institution of the sacrament. His relation or report is this: When he had taken bread, and given thanks, he brake it,

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and gave to them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also, after supper, he took the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.

"Paul's testimony doth follow next, agreeably to Luke, and it is thus: For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you; that our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you: this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come. By these testimonies shall I declare my sentence to your Grace, which I conceive of the holy sacrament of Christ's blessed body and blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy doctors and fathers, to show that I do not ground any thing upon myself. Thereafter shall I add certain arguments, which, I trust, shall clearly prove and justify my sentence to be true, catholic, and according both with God and his laws, and also with the mind of holy doctors.

"My sentence is this: That Christ ascended into heaven, and so hath forsaken the world, and thereshall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general doom; at which time he shall come from thence, to judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his natural body, which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross; who died for us, and was buried: in which he also did rise again to life immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so assumpt into heaven, we may soon prove; forasmuch as the Godhead of him is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth, and all that is besides, being infinite and interminable or uncircumscribable, so that it cannot properly either ascend or descend, being without all alterations, and immutable or unmovable. So that now his natural body, being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no more return from thence unto the end of the world. For as Peter witnesseth, Whom the heavens must contain, until the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. And the same doth the article of our Creed teach us, which is, From thence [i. e. from heaven] shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead;' which time Paul calleth the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Seeing then this natural body of our Saviour, that was born of his mother Mary being a virgin, is all whole assumpt into heaven, and departed out of this world, and, so as saith St. Peter, He must remain in heaven until the end of the world, which he calleth, the time when all things must be restored; this, I say, seen and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the natural body of him can, contrariwise, be in the world, and so in the sacrament. And yet, notwithstanding, is this true, that the holy sacrament is Christ's body and blood, as after shall be declared."

Doctors affirming the same.

"But first, for the establishing of my former purpose, that the natural body of our Saviour is so absent from this world, and ascended into heaven, that it can be here no more present until

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the general doom; I would beseech your Grace to consider the mind and sentence of the old holy doctors in this purpose or matter, how agreeably they testify with that which is before showed. Amongst whom we have first St. Augustine, writing thus to Dardanus.

"Therefore as concerning the Word, Christ is the Creator, all things are made by him. But as touching man, Christ is a creature made of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and ordained according to the similitude of men. Also, because man consisteth of two things, the soul and the flesh, in that he had a soul, he was pensive and sorrowful unto death; in that he had flesh, he suffered death. Neither when we call the Son of God Christ, we do separate his manhood; nor, when we call the same Christ the Son of man, we do separate his Godhead from him. In that he was man, he was conversant upon the earth (and not in heaven, where he now is) when he said, No man ascendeth up into heaven, but he which descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven: although in that respect that he was the Son of God, he was in heaven; and in that he was the Son of man, he was yet in the earth, and as yet was not ascended into heaven. Likewise, in that respect that he is the Son of God, he is the Lord of glory; and in that he is the Son of man, he was crucified: and yet, notwithstanding, the apostle saith, And if they had known the Lord of glory, they would never have crucified him. And by this, both the Son of man was in heaven; and the Son of God, in that he was man, was crucified upon earth. Therefore, as he might well be called the Lord of glory, being crucified, when as yet that suffering did only pertain unto the flesh; so it might well be said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise, when, according to the humility of his manhood in his flesh, he lay in the grave; and according to his soul, he was in the bottom of hell that same day. According to his divine immutability, he never departed from paradise, because, by his Godhead, he is always every where. Doubt you not, therefore, that there is Christ Jesus according to his manhood, from whence he shall come. Remember it well, and keep faithfully thy Christian confession; for he rose from the dead, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: neither will he come from any other place than from thence, to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the voice of the angel beareth witness, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the selfsame form and substance of flesh, whereunto, undoubtedly, he gave immortality, but he did not take away the nature thereof: according to this form of his flesh, he is not to be thought to be everywhere. And we must take heed that we do not affirm the Divinity of his manhood, that we thereby take away the truth of his body: for it is not a good consequent, that that thing which is in God should so be in every place as God. For the Scripture saith very truly of us, that in Him we live, move and have our being: and yet, notwithstanding, we are not in every place as he is; but that man is otherwise in God, because God is otherwise in man, by a certain proper and singular manner of being; for God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. In that he is God, he is in every place; but in that he is man, he is in heaven.'

"By these words of holy Augustine, your Grace may evidently see, that he testifieth and teacheth the blessed body or flesh of Christ to be no where else than in heaven. For to it being assumpt or ascended into heaven, God, as he saith, hath given immortality, but not taken away nature: so that by the nature of that holy flesh or body, it must occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, 'According to this form,' that is to wit, of his flesh, 'Christ is not to be thought to be in every place;' for if Christ should, in his humanity, be every where diffused or spread abroad, so should his bodily nature, or natural body, be taken from him. And therefore he saith, 'For we must beware that we do not so affirm the divinity of man, that we do take away the humanity of

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his body.' But in that he is God, so is he every where, according to my words before written; and in that he is man, so is he in heaven. And, therefore, it is said, For God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. He, in that he is every where, is God: but in that he is man, he is in heaven.

"And yet do we read, agreeably to the same matter, more largely in the same epistle, by these words: 'Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, equal with his Father; and the same being the Son of man, whereby the Father is greater, is present every where as God, and is in one and the same temple of God as God, and also in some place of heaven, as concerning the true shape of body.'

"Thus find we clearly, that for the measure of his very body he must be in one place, and that in heaven, as concerning his manhood; and yet every where present in that he is the eternal Son of God, and equal to his Father. Like testimony doth he give in the thirtieth treatise that he maketh upon the Evangely of John. These be his words there written: Until the world be at an end, the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord also; for the body of our Lord in which he rose must be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place. The first parcel, that is, Until the world's end, is so put, that it may join to the sentence going before, or else to these words following, The Lord is above, &c.; and so should well accord to my sentence before showed, which is, The Lord is so bodily ascended, that in his natural body he cannot again return from heaven until the general doom.

"But howsoever the said clause or parcel be applied, it shall not greatly skill, for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full stedfast; insomuch as the Scripture doth mention but two advents or comings of Christ, of which the first is performed in his blessed incarnation, and the second is the coming at the general doom. And furthermore, in this article of our Creed, 'From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead,' is not only showed wherefore he shall come again, but also when he shall come again; so that in the mean while, as the other article of our Creed witnesseth, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God his Father,' which is nothing else than to say, he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearsed the aforesaid authority of Augustine, so have I read in his Quinquagenes, upon a psalm, of which I cannot now precisely note or name the number. And the same words doth he also write in the epistle to St. Jerome; so that we may know he had good liking in it, that he so commonly doth use it as his usual proverb, or by-word.

"In the same is also testified, that his blessed body can be but in one place, so that it being now, according to the Scripture and article of our belief or Creed, in heaven, it cannot be in earth; and much less can it be in so innumerable places of the earth, as we may perceive that the sacrament is. Thus, although the body of our Saviour must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the saying of Peter, Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things; yet, as the words following make mention, But his verity is scattered every where. This verity of Christ, or of his body, I do take to be what he in other places doth call the virtue of the sacrament. As in the twenty-fifth treatise upon John we find thus written: 'The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing.' And again, 'If any man eat of him, he dieth not; but he meaneth of him that doth appertain to the virtue of the sacrament, and not of him that pertaineth to the visible sacrament.' And to declare what is the virtue of the sacrament,

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'which I count to be the truth of the Lord or of his body,' he saith, 'He who eateth inwardly in spirit, not outwardly; he that eateth in heart, and not he who cheweth with teeth.'

"So that finally, this 'truth of the Lord or his body,' which is dispersed every where abroad, is the spiritual profit, fruit, and comfort, that is opened to be received every where of all men, by faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promise or testament made to us in the Lord's body that was crucified and suffered death for us, and rose again, ascending immortal into heaven, where he sitteth, that is, abideth, on the right hand of his Father, from thence not to return until the general doom or judgment. This bodily absence of our Saviour is likewise clearly showed in the fiftieth treatise that he maketh upon John, where he doth expound this text, Ye have the poor always with you, but ye shall not always have me with you, to my purpose, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather catholic, than theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirm in his sermons of the second and third Feries of Easter; and in so many places besides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is so passing great.

"With him consenteth full plainly Fulgentius, in his second book to Thrasimundus, writing in this wise: "'One and the same man, being local in that he is man, who is God Almighty of the Father. One and the same, according to human substance, being absent from heaven when he was in the earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended up into heaven; but, according to his Divine and almighty substance, neither departing from heaven when he descended from heaven, neither leaving the earth when he ascended into heaven. The which may well be known by the undoubtful saying of our Lord himself; which, that he might the better show his humanity occupying a place, said unto his disciples, I ascend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Also when he had said of Lazarus, Lazarus is dead, he adjoined, saying, And I am glad for your sakes, that you may believe, because I was not there. But, showing the greatness of his Divinity, he said to his Disciples, Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world. For how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is local and true man? and how is he present to his faithful, but because he is Almighty and true God?' &c.

"In this manner doth Fulgentius proceed forth, speaking much full agreeably to my sentence, which is now over-long here to write. But what can be said more plainly in so few words making for me?

"First he saith, that Christ being a man, is, as concerning his manhood, local, that is to say, contained in one place. And to express that more clearly, he addeth to it, saying, 'He is one and the same, according to his human substance; absent from heaven when he was in earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended into heaven;' whereas he hath a contrary antithesis for the godly nature, to show forth the first point the more effectually. The antithesis is thus: 'But according to his Divine and incomparable substance, neither leaving heaven when he descended from heaven, neither forsaking the earth when he ascended into heaven.' Whereby that is also confirmed which I said: Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmovable; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it 'almighty substance.' Furthermore, to show that Christ (as touching his human and natural body) is local, and in one place, he allegeth, and that right justly, two texts of Scripture: the first is, I ascend to my Father, &c.; and the second is of Lazarus, I am glad for your sakes, &c.

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"Finally, he maketh this demand: 'But how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is a local and very man?' whereby we may see, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to St. Augustine, writing as is above showed: 'And he shall so come (as the angel witnesseth) even as you have seen him go up into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance of his flesh. According to this form he is not spread abroad in every place: for we must beware that we do not so esteem his Divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body. So that they both do testify, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have ascended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man; and that if he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore St. Augustine saith further, to Dardanus, 'Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be no where: and because they shall be no where, they shall have no being at all.'

"We, therefore, coveting to find Christ or his natural body, should seek for him in heaven, where his natural manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us St. Ambrose, in the tenth book which he writeth upon Luke, speaking of Christ's humanity assumpt, in this wise: 'Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now, according to the flesh, we do not know Christ. Furthermore, Stephen did not seek thee upon the earth, when that he did see thee standing on the right hand of God the Father: but Mary, which sought thee upon the earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee, because he sought thee in heaven: Stephen amongst the Jews saw thee being absent,' &c.

"Thus we must seek for the natural body of Christ, not upon the earth, but in heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely show in the same treatise, speaking thus of the verity of Christ's body: 'How could it come to pass that the body could not rest in the sepulchre, in which the tokens of the wounds and scars did appear, which the Lord himself did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only establish the faith, but also augmented devotion)? Because he would rather carry up into heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might present to God the Father the price of our liberty: such a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our salvation,' &c.

"Gregory also, in a homily of Pentecost, saith agreeably to the others, in these words: 'When was it that he did not tarry with them, which, ascending up into heaven, promiseth, saying, Behold, I am here with you continually until the end of the world? But the Word Incarnate tarrieth, and also goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in Divinity. And therefore he saith, that he tarried with them: even he which was ever present with them by his invisible power, and now departed by his corporal vision.' In like wise doth he testify in the homily of Easter-day.

"With these doth Bede accord in a homily of Easter, in which he declareth this text, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me: and also in a homily of the Vigil of Pentecost. And who can otherwise say or think, knowing the Scripture and our belief, but that the natural body of Christ is so assumpt into heaven all whole, that it must there abide without returning, until the general judgment? Notwithstanding, seeing this is the chief point whereupon I seek to establish my sentence in this matter of the holy sacrament, that

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Christ's holy and natural body is so assumpt into heaven, that there it must remain all whole without returning until the general doom, I will yet, with the permission of your Grace, add one or two arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my sentence to be faithful and catholic."

Arguments out of Scripture.

"First, as Christ was enclosed, and so borne about, in the womb of his mother, being a virgin undefiled, and afterwards was born into this world, and put in a manger, and so he, growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, some time in Galilee, some time in Samaria, some time in Jewry, some time beyond and some time on this side of Jordan, and consequently he was crucified at Jerusalem, there being enclosed and buried in a grave, from whence he did arise, so that the angels testified of him, He is risen, and is not here; and as at the time appointed, after his resurrection, he was assumpt, or lifted up into heaven from the top of the mount of Olivet, in the sight of his disciples, a cloud compassing him about; even so shall he come from the same celestial place corporally, as they did see him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the testimony of the angels. So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Christ, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once; and so to be corporally in his natural body in heaven, and also in the earth; and that it is, moreover, in so many parts of the world, as men have affirmed.

"Neither doth the Scripture require that we should spoil Christ of the property of man's nature, which is, to be in one place, whom the same Scripture doth perpetually witness and teach to be man, and so to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. Paul doth teach, that Christ, in his manhood, was made in all points like unto his brethren, sin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his brethren? But here do some witty philosophers, yea, rather sophisters than divines, bring in, to the annulling of Christ's humanity, a similitude of man's soul, which, being one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in every part of the body. But such should remember, that it is no convenient similitude which is made of things different and diverse in nature, such as be the soul and body of man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Christ's body to be of one nature and property with his soul, and that things naturally corporal were not most diverse from creatures naturally spiritual.

"Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or flesh of Christ were merely spiritual, and full like unto the substance of angels, yet it could not in this wise follow, that his body could be every where, or in divers places at once. Wherefore such subtleties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like us, by which the old doctors do define that the body of Jesus, exalted or assumpt into heaven, must be local, circumscrip, and in one place, notwithstanding that the verity, spiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or every where. How could Christ corporally depart out of this world, and leave the earth, if he in the kinds of bread and wine be not only corporally contained and received, but also there reserved, kept, and enclosed? What other thing else do these words testify, But Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to his Father, &c.; and in like form, And it came to pass that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into

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heaven? what do they signify, if Christ went not verily out of this world, his natural body being surely assumpt into heaven?

"They do therefore undoubtedly declare that Christ, being very God and very man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being assumpt into heaven, where he remaineth sitting in glory with the Father: whereas yet his Deity did not leave the world, nor depart out from the earth. Paul doth say, that of two things he wist not which he might rather choose, that is to wit, to abide in the flesh, for preaching the gospel; or else to be dissolved from the flesh, seeing that to abide with Christ is much and far better. By which Paul doth manifestly prove, that they be not presently with Christ, who yet do abide mortal in the flesh. Yet they be with Christ in such wise as the Scripture doth say, that the believing be the temple of Christ; and as Paul doth say, Do you not know yourselves that Jesus Christ is in you? in which sense he also promised to be with us unto the end of the world. Christ, therefore, must be otherwise in that place in which the apostle desired to be with him, being dissolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the supper, or else in any other places of the churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean heaven, which is the paradise of perfect bliss and glory; where Christ, being a victor, triumpher, and conqueror over death, sin, and hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I trust that your Grace doth see my sentence, so far forth, to be right catholic, Christian, and faithful; according to Holy Scripture, to holy fathers, and the articles of our Christian belief. Which sentence is this: Christ's natural body is so assumpt into heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, return from heaven, until the end of the world: and therefore cannot the same natural body naturally be here in the world, or in the sacrament, for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come, and already come; which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood."

The second part of this matter.

"Now my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your Grace shall please to know it, as I, your poor and unworthy, but full true subject, would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it): I grant the holy sacrament to be the very and natural body of our Saviour, and his very natural blood, and that the natural body and blood of our Saviour is in the sacrament after a certain wise, as after shall appear: for so do the words of the supper testify, Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you: and again, Drink ye all of this; this is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Of which words, seeing on them depend a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is, and hath been, all the controversy of this matter, I, therefore, shall show the interpretation that holy doctors have made of them, that, as to me seemeth, be full worthy of credit.

"First, We find in the second book of Tertullian, which he writeth against Marcion, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body.' This Marcion, against whom Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing Tertullian doth improve by the sacrament, saying as is above written, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body.' As who would say, If Christ had judged the bread evil, then

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would he not have left it for a sign or sacrament to represent his blessed body. Agreeably to the same doth he also say in the fourth book made against the said Marcion in these words 'Christ made the same bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, unless it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a fantasy, could not receive a figure or a form.' This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no natural body, but a body fantastical; which error or heresy, this famous doctor Tertullian doth improve by the holy sacrament, saying, as before is written, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ's body: ergo, Christ had a very and true body; for a thing which is vain and fantastical can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of these words, This is my body: which interpretation is not new, but authentic, or full ancient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the older doctors which followed him did ever reprove him there-for, but rather have followed it; as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the preface upon the third Psalm, doth the said Augustine highly commend the wonderful sufferance of Christ, which so long did suffer and forbear Judas, as if he had been a good and an honest man: whereas, notwithstanding, he did know his traitorous thoughts, when he received him to the feast or supper in which he did commend and deliver to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of Augustine be these: 'In the history of the New Testament, the patience of our Lord was so great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered Judas so long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the feast in which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his disciples.'

"The same holy doctor also, writing against Adamantius, saith thus: 'For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.' And for a further declaration, in the same chapter, he saith, 'For so the blood is the soul, as the rock was Christ.' Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rock did *signify* Christ: but he doth say, that the rock *was* Christ.

"Expressly doth Augustine here call the sign of Christ's body, his body; plainly interpreting these words, This is my body, as both he and Tertullian did before.

"Moreover, he taketh these three sentences, This is my body, The soul is the blood, and Christ was the stone, to be of one phrase, and to be like speeches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this text, The rock was Christ, doth he commonly thus expound, 'The rock did signify Christ;' as appeareth, lib. xviii. De Civitate Dei, cap. 48. Also in the Book of Questions upon Genesis, and in the Book of Questions upon Leviticus, handling John xviii.; and in his sermon of the Annunciation of our Lady.

"In like manner also St. Jerome expoundeth it in the small Scholies, written upon 1 Cor. i., and all other writers with one consent, so far as I can read; and so doth the text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a natural stone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true stone figuratively, as Lyra saith, 'The thing which signifieth, is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it doth signify.' And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, which thereby is signified. And as he doth approve this text, The stone was Christ, likewise doth he expound The blood is the soul, with which he doth knit this text, This is my body, to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy doctor write, 'Unless a man do eat my flesh, he shall not see eternal life. They understood that very foolishly, and conceived

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the same carnally; and thought that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said, This is a hard saying. But they were hard of belief, and not the saying hard. For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have said to themselves, He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hid sacrament or mystery therein. They should have aboden with him, easy of belief, and not hard; and then should they have learned of him that which other learned, that tarried after they were gone away.'

"In this may we see, that our Saviour willeth his precious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath been, much controversy. The Jews of Capernaum were offended with Christ when he said, he would have his flesh eaten, and, except a man should eat his flesh, he could not come to life eternal. They supposed grossly, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so give it them to eat of, as Augustine doth here say. And upon this gross, or (as holy Augustine doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him, This a sore or hard saying. They did shoot forth their bolt and unwise saying over soon, and were offended before they had cause. They took that for hard and sore, which should have been passing pleasant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

"And even so now, that which in this matter may appear at the first blush a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, forasmuch as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time been beaten into our heads, and persuaded to our minds, yet, by deliberation and indifferent hearing, and abiding a trial of that which at the first may appear sore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your Grace is, loving to hear and to know all truth. But the Capernaites were hard, as here saith Augustine, and not the word. For if they had not been hard, but soft and patient to hear, they would have said in themselves, Christ saith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mystery therein: and so, by patient tarriance, they should have known the truth, that they could not attain to for perverse hastiness or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgment. But the disciples tarried patiently to hear further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words of life, that to the other, over readily departing from Christ, were words of death; for they took them literally and grossly: and the letter (as Paul saith) slayeth.

"But, to show what the disciples remaining with Christ did learn, St. Augustine doth consequently show, by the words of the Gospel, saying thus: 'But he instructed them, and said unto them, The spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Understand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth which shall crucify me. I have set forth to you a certain sacrament or mystery, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly.' In this do we see, that both Christ and Augustine would have Christ's words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally: and therefore doth he say, You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me. And what else is this, but that Christ would his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken? But he would not his body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seen of them to whom he spake; nor his

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material or natural blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his natural body crucified, as saith Augustine: but he ordained and willed his body and blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his body was crucified for us, and that his blood was shed for remission of our sins.

"This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belief as is showed. Wherefore, as Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting, even so doth he say, He that believeth in me hath life everlasting. And St. Augustine, agreeable to the same, treating upon John, doth say, Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? believe, and thou hast eaten. I do know that Christ ordaineth his sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but the same doth not feed the mind of men, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.

"And St. Augustine, assenting to the same, doth say in a sermon that he maketh upon these words in the Gospel of St. Luke, Lord, teach us to pray: He said bread, but supersubstantial bread. This is not the bread which goeth into the body; but that bread which doth satisfy the substance of our soul.' Our souls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the body and blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his blessed body and blood so to be eaten and drunken; although our souls cannot live except they be spiritually fed with the blessed body and blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed sacrament, which is truly called his body and blood. Not that it is so really, but as is showed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Augustine, because it is a sign or figure of Christ's body and blood. And the signs or sacraments do commonly, as saith St. Augustine, both Ad Bonifacium, and in his work De Civitate Dei, take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

"But forasmuch as some will object that Augustine, in the words before rehearsed, doth not speak of eating the sacrament; for the text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the sacrament, which text is this, Unless a man may eat my flesh, &c.; I answer, that true it is, he began of spiritual eating, and thereto serveth the text recited. Nevertheless, he meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten either without the sacrament or in the sacrament, but spiritually of the faithful; as more evidently doth appear by these words there following: 'I have commended unto you a sacrament, which, being understood of you spiritually, shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.'

"Here doth he show that he meaneth of eating, not without the sacrament only, but also in the sacrament, and therefore he doth not only say, 'I have commended unto you a certain sacrament,' &c.; but he addeth moreover, 'Although it is requisite the same to be celebrated visibly.' How, therefore, can the eating of Christ and the sacrament thereof be visibly celebrated, but in the Maundy, or in his supper; which is celebrated visibly in visible things of bread and wine, which cannot quicken or relieve us and our souls, except they be understood and so received spiritually?

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"Furthermore, as concerning the exposition of these words of the supper, This is my body, &c., St. Augustine, writing to Boniface, saith thus:

"We use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when Easter doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, the Passion of the Lord, whereas he, notwithstanding, had suffered before that many years; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say, upon the Lord's day, This day the Lord hath risen: whereas so many years are passed since he rose. Wherefore no man is so fond, that he will reprove us as liars for this manner of speaking, because we call these days according to the similitude of those in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but which, by course of time of the year coming about, is like unto it; and also because that thing is said to be done that day, through the celebration of the sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Christ once offered up in himself? and yet, notwithstanding, he is not only offered up in the sacrament in the solemn feasts of Easter, but every day mystically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, which being demanded, answereth, that Christ is offered up: for, if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude or likeness, sacraments oftentimes do receive the names of the selfsame things whereof they are sacraments.

"Therefore as, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ; even likewise, the sacrament of faith is faith: for to believe, is none other thing than to have faith. And by this it is answered, that the very infants have faith, because of the sacrament of faith, and convert themselves unto God, because of the sacrament of conversion: for the very answer itself doth appertain unto the celebration of the sacrament. As the apostle speaketh of baptism; for he saith, We are buried by baptism into death. He did not say, We have signified a burying, but he plainly saith, We are buried. Therefore he named the sacrament of so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing itself.'

"Nothing can be more plainly spoken, or more agreeable to the natural understanding of the texts of the supper, and to the exposition before showed of Tertullian and of himself. For seeing that Christ is bodily in heaven, and so absent from the earth, it is needful to know how the holy sacrament, which he doth call his body and blood, should be his body and blood.

"This holy doctor Augustine, therefore, doth this matter manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches; and first by common speeches, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The first common speech is, 'We do,' saith he, 'use often to say, that when Easter doth approach or draw nigh, tomorrow, or the next day, is the Lord's passion: whereas he did suffer before many years past, and that passion was never but once done.'

"The second common speech is, 'And of that Sunday we say, that this day the Lord did rise from death; whereas so many years be yet past since the time he arose.' Wherefore to conclude, he saith, 'No man is so foolish, that he will reprove us for so saying, or to say that we have lied, because we do call these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the selfsame, but by revolution of time

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like unto it. And the resurrection is said to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time before past.'

"The third speech, 'Was not Christ offered up once for all in his own person? yet is he nevertheless offered in the sacrament mystically for the people, not only every year at the feast of Easter, but also every day: neither doth he lie, which, when he is demanded, shall answer, that he is offered up or sacrificed. For if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they be sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all: by reason of which similitude they do for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And, therefore, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ, and so also be the sacraments of faith called faith.' This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this: It is none other thing to believe, than to have faith. And therefore, when answer is made that the infants have faith, who indeed have it not in full working, it is answered that such have faith for the sacrament of faith, and that they do convert themselves unto faith for the sacrament of conversion. For the very answer itself doth pertain to the celebration of the sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appear, that as we use truly to call that Good Friday, or the day of Christ's passion, which is not indeed the day of Christ's passion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever; and as we use to call the next Easter-day, the day of Christ's resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but only for a memorial of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long time past; and as Christ, being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up not only every year at Easter, but also every day in the celebration of the sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented: even so, saith Augustine, is the sacrament of Christ's body the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood the blood of Christ, in a certain wise or fashion. Not that the sacrament is his natural body or blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or representation thereof, as the days before showed be of his very and natural body crucified for us, and of his precious blood shed for the remission of our sins. And thus be the holy signs or sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so? for they, saith Augustine, have a certain similitude of those things whereof they be signs or sacraments; for else they should be no sacraments at all: and therefore do they commonly, and for the most part, receive the denomination of the things whereof they be sacraments.

"So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood the very body and blood of Christ, but as he said before. But yet he saith, in a certain manner or wise. Not that the sacrament absolutely and plainly is his natural body and blood; for this is a false argument of sophistry, which they call *Secundum quid ad simpliciter*; that is to say, that the sacrament of Christ's body is in a certain wise the body of Christ: *ergo*, it is also plainly and expressly the natural body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certain manner a lion, a lamb, and a door: *ergo*, Christ is a natural lion, and a lamb, or a material door. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is therefore called his body and blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption: which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently alleage of baptism: *Sicut de ipso baptismo apostolus dicit*, &c. 'The apostle,' quoth Augustine, 'saith not, We have signified burying, but he saith utterly, We be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from sin, who yet do live in all sin.' And

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therefore saith Augustine immediately thereupon, He called therefore the sacrament of so great a thing, by none other name than of the thing itself.'

"Thus, O most gracious and godly prince! do I confess and acknowledge, that the bread of the sacrament is truly Christ's body, and the wine to be truly his blood, according to the words of the institution of the same sacrament: but in a certain wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or significatively, according to the exposition of the doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old doctors am I enforced both by the articles of my creed, and also by the circumstances of the said Scripture, as after shall more largely appear. But by the same can I not find the natural body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent both from the sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in heaven, where he, by promise, must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

"The same holy doctor, writing against one Faustus, saith in like manner, 'If we do prefer with great admiration the Maccabees, because they would not once touch the meats which Christian men now lawfully use to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time, being then propheticall, that is, in the time of the Old Testament; how much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the baptism of Christ, and for the sacrament of thanksgiving, and for the sign of Christ, seeing that those of the Old Testament were the promises of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and these sacraments in the New Testament are the tokens of things complete and finished?' In this do I note, that according to the expositions before showed, he calleth the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, otherwise properly named Eucharistia, *signum Christi*, that is, a sign of Christ; and that, in the singular number, forasmuch as they both do signify well-nigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he called them *indicia rerum completarum*; that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belief of Christ for us crucified. And them he doth usually call both the sacraments, *signum Christi*, in the singular number. And as the same St. Augustine in his fiftieth treatise upon the Gospel of St. John teacheth, where he saith thus: 'If thou be good, if thou pertain to the body of Christ, (which this word Petrus doth signify,) then hast thou Christ both here present, and in time to come: here present through faith; here present by the figure and sign of Christ; here present by the sacrament of baptism; here present by the meat and drink of the altar,' &c."

More there was that John Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much only came to our hands.

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