

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

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 7

The Reign Of Henry VIII – Part II.

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Henry VIII. Trampling the Pope Underfoot

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194. Other Martyrs, 1538

The death of Robert Packington.

Among other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of God's word, and of all good proceedings. The story is this: The said Robert Packington, being a man of sub. stance, yet not so rich as discreet and honest, and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, to go to prayers at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercer's Chapel. And one morning amongst all others, being a great misty morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly murdered with a gun, which of the neighbours was plainly heard; and, by a great number of labourers standing at Soper-lane end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while un-espied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the murderer so covertly was conveyed, till at length, by the confession of Dr. Vincent, dean of Paul's, on his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the author thereof, by hiring an Italian, for sixty crowns or thereabouts, to do the feat. For the testimonywhereof, and also for the repentant words of the said Intent, the names both of them that heard him confess it, and of them that heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

The cause why he was so little favoured by the clergy, was this: for that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy; wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have some talk with the king; for which he was the more had in disdain with them, and murdered by the said Dr. Intent for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of Robert Packington, who was the brother of Austin Packington above mentioned, who deceived Bishop Tonsal, in buying the new translated Testament of Tyndale: whose piteous murder, although it was privy and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins at London.

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, some time a lawyer and a gentleman, which suffered the fire this year also in Smithfield, A.D. 1538; whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the bishop of Rome's church did condemn and burn him for a heretic; but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in

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burning so, without all discretion, this man, being mad, and distract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occasion as here followeth:



Collins burned at the stake

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but, notwithstanding, of so light behaviour and unchaste conditions, (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty,) that she, forsaking her husband, which loved her entirely, betook herself unto another paramour; which thing when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last, being overcome with exceeding dolour and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a church where a priest was saying mass, and was come to the place where they use to hold up and show the sacrament.

Collins, being beside his wits, seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and showing it to the people, he, in like manner counterfeiting the priest, took up a little dog by the legs, and held him over his head, showing him unto the people. And for this he was, by and by, brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, the same year in which John Lambert was burned, A.D. 1538.

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The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford, A.D. 1538.

With this aforesaid Collins may also be adjoined the burning of Cowbridge, who likewise, being mad and beside his right senses, was, either the same, or the next year following, condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire by him to be burned at Oxford.

The fruitful seed of the gospel at this time had taken such root in England, that now it began manifestly to spring and show itself in all places, and in all sorts of people, as it may appear in this good man Cowbridge; who, coming of a good stock and family, whose ancestors, even from Wickliff's time hitherto, had been always favourers of the gospel, and addicted to the setting forth thereof in the English tongue, was born at Colchester, his father's name being William Cowbridge, a wealthy man, and head bailiff of Colchester, and of great estimation.

This man, at his decease, left unto his son great substance and possessions, which he afterwards abandoning and distributing unto his sisters and kindred, he himself went about the countries, sometimes seeking after learned men, and sometimes, according to his ability, instructing the ignorant. Thus he continued a certain space, until such time as he came to a town in Berkshire, named Wantage, where, after he had by a long season exercised the office of a priest, in teaching and administering of the sacraments, but being no priest indeed, and had converted many unto the truth, he was at last apprehended and taken, as suspected of heresy, and carried to a place beside Wickham, to the bishop of Lincoln, to be examined; by whom he was sent to Oxford, and there cast into the prison called Bocardo.

At that time Dr. Smith and Dr. Cotes governed the divinity schools, who, together with other divines and doctors, seemed not in this point to show the duty which the most meek apostle requireth in divines toward such as are fallen into any error, or lack instruction or learning. For, admit that he did not understand or see so much in the doctrine and controversies of divinity as the learned divines did, yet Paul, writing unto the Romans, and in others places also, saith, that the weak are to be received into the faith, and not to the determination of disputations; but the imbecility of the weak is to be borne by them that are stronger, &c. And in another place, we understand the spirit of lenity and gentleness to be requisite in such as are spiritual, who shall have to do with the weak flock of Christ. But, alas! it is a sorrowful thing to see how far these divines are separate from the rule of the apostolic meekness, who, after they had this poor man fast entangled in their prison of Bocardo with famine and hunger, brought this poor servant of Christ unto that point, that, through the long consumption and lack of sleep, his natural strength being consumed, he lost his wits and reason; whereby (as it is the manner of mad-men) he uttered many unseemly and indiscreet words: whereupon the divines spread rumours abroad that there was a heretic at Oxford, who could abide to hear the name of Jesu, but not the name of Christ, to be named; and therefore that he ought to be burned: and so thereupon condemned him. That done, they sent the articles, whereupon he was condemned, up to London, unto the lord chancellor, at that time being the Lord Audley, requiring of him a writ to put him to execution; of which articles we could only attain to knowledge and understanding but of two, which were these:

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"First, That in the second article of the Creed, he would not have it *Et in Jesum Christum, &c.*, but *Et in Jesum Jesum, &c.* The second, That every poor priest, be he ever so poor or needy, being of a good conversation, hath as great power and authority in the church of God and ministration of the sacraments, as the pope or any other bishops.

What all his opinions and articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse; for as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, which said he could not tell what? And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he, in my judgment, a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

But this is the manner and property of this holy mother church of Rome, that whatsoever cometh in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable examples, both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appear; who rather should have been pitied, and all ways convenient sought how to reduce the silly wretches into their right minds again; according as the true pastors of Israel be commanded, by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c., and not so extremely to burst the things that be bruised before.

But, to end with this matter of Cowbridge, whatsoever his madness was before, or howsoever erroneous his articles were, (which, for the fond fantasies of them, I do not express,) yet, as touching his end, this is certain, that, when the day appointed was come, this meek lamb of Christ was brought forth unto the slaughter with a great band of armed men; and, being made fast in the midst of the fire, (contrary to their expectation,) oftentimes calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, with great meekness and quietness he yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Puttedew and Leiton, martyrs.

About the same time and year, or not much before, when John Lambert suffered at London, there was one Puttedew also condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolk; who, coming into the church, and merrily telling the priest, that after he had drunk up all the wine alone, he afterwards blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, *Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum sanctis*, as the old saying was then; but rather, as we may see now, *Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis*.

The great and almost infinite number of most holy martyrs, the variety of matter, and the great celerity used in writing this story, is such, that we cannot use such exact diligence in perusing them all, or have so perfect memory in keeping the order of years, but that, sometimes, we shall somewhat the more swerve or go astray; whereby it hath happened that this man William Leiton, as it were lying hidden among a great multitude of others, had almost escaped

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our hands; whom, notwithstanding that we have somewhat passed his time, yet do we not think meet to omit, or leave out of this catalogue or history.

This William Leiton was a monk of Eye in the county of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certain idol which was accustomed to be carried about in the processions at Eye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds; about the year and time aforesaid.

The burning of N. Peke, martyr, at Ipswich.

In the burning of another Suffolk man, named N. Peke, dwelling some time at Earlstonham, and burned at Ipswich somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I find it recorded and testified; that when he, being fast bound to a stake, and furze set on fire round about him, was so scorched that he was as black as soot, one Dr. Redyng, there standing before him, with Dr. Heyre and Dr. Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, did knock him upon the right shoulder, and said, "Peke! recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration over it; and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee;" having a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, and said, "I defy it, and thee also;" and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his veins brake in his body for extreme anguish. And when the said Peke had so spoken, then Dr. Redyng said, "To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich."

Then Baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others of estimation, being there present, did rise from their seats, and with their swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people. Witness John Ramsey and others, who did see this act.

195. King Henry's Decree Against Imported Books

In the year last before this, which was A.D. 1537, it was declared how Pope Paul the Third indicted a general council, to be holden at Mantua: whereunto the king of England, amongst other princes, being called, refused either to come or to send at the pope's call, and for defence of himself directed out a public apology or protestation, rendering just and sufficient matter why he neither would, nor was bound to obey, the pope's commandment; which protestation is before to be read. This council, appointed to begin the twenty-third day of May, the year aforesaid, was then stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no council there, unless the pope would fortify the city with a sufficient army, &c.; for which cause the pope prorogued the said council, to be celebrated in the month of November following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the city of Vincenza, (lying within the dominion of the Venetians,) to be the place for the council. Whereunto when the king, the year next following, (which is this present year of our Lord 1538,) was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort either himself, or to send, he, again refusing, (as he did before,) sent a protestation, in way of defence and answer for himself, to the emperor or other Christian princes.

As the Lord, of his goodness, had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel, so, on the contrary side, Satan (who is adversary and enemy to all good things) had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to impeach and put back the same; who, after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert, (as ye have heard,) proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking, under the names of heresies, sects, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books and faithful professors of God's word out of England, so wrought with the king, that the next year following, which was A.D. 1539, he gave out these injunctions, the copy and contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these:

"First, That none, without special licence of the king, transport or bring from outward parts into England, any manner of English books, either yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to be imprisoned so long as it shall please the king's Majesty.

"Item, That none shall print, or bring over, any English books with annotations or prologues, unless such books before be examined by the king's privy council, or others appointed by his Highness; and yet not to be put thereto these words, *cum privilegio regali*, without adding, *ad imprimendum solum*: neither yet to imprint it, without the king's privilege be printed therewith in the English tongue, that all men may read it. Neither shall they print any translated book, without the plain name of the translator be in it; or else the printer to be made the translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment thereof, at the king's pleasure.

"Item, That none of the occupation of printing shall, within the realm, print, utter, sell, or cause to be published, any English book of Scripture, unless the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the king's Highness, or one of his privy council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall therein be expressed, upon pain of the king's most high displeasure, the loss of their goods and chattels, and imprisonment so long as it shall please the king.

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"Item, Those that be in any errors, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any others, that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the king's Majesty, or one of his privy council; to the intent to have it punished, without favour, even with the extremity of the law.

"Item, That none of the king's subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the sacrament of the altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels, without all favour, only those excepted that be learned in divinity: they to have their liberty in their schools and appointed places accustomed for such matters.

"Item, That the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter-day, setting up of lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, purification of women delivered of child, offering of christs, keeping of the four offering-days, paying their tithes, and such-like ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it shall please the king to change or abrogate any of them."

This article was made for that the people were not quieted and contented (many of them) with the ceremonies then used.

"Finally, All those priests that be married, and openly known to have their wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, shall be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any duty of a priest, and shall have no manner of office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity in any thing appertaining to the clergy, but from thenceforth shall be taken, had, and reputed as lay persons, to all purposes and intents: and those that shall, after this proclamation, marry, shall run in his Grace's indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his Grace's will and pleasure.

"Item, He chargeth all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them, in their own persons, within their cures, diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God and truth of his word; and also, considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and stomachs of many by reason of their fond ceremonies, he chargeth them, upon pain of imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure, not only to preach and teach the word of God accordingly, but also sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their church then used, lest the people thereby might grow into further superstition.

"Item, Forasmuch as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket, some time archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's Highness's noble progenitor, King Henry the Second, for the commonwealth, rest, and tranquillity of this realm, of his froward mind fled the realm into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws (whereby arose much trouble in this said realm); and that his death, which they untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue by him made; and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen which then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that rescue, and he not only called the one

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of them 'bawd,' but also took Tracy by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such manner that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the church, so that upon this fray, one of their company, perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain: and further, that his canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been both a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the clergy:

"For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's Majesty, by the advice of his council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince.

"Therefore his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a saint, but Bishop Becket; and that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be plucked down, and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the service, office, antiphons, collects, and prayers in his name read, but rased and put out of all the books; and that all their festival-days, already abrogated, shall be in no wise solemnized, but his Grace's ordinances and injunctions thereupon observed; to the intent his Grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past: upon pain of his Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure.

"Finally, his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that his subjects do keep and observe all and singular his injunctions made by his Majesty, upon the pain therein contained."

Here followeth how religion began to go backward.

196. The Variable Changes and Mutations of Religion in King Henry's Days.



O many which be yet alive, and can testify these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of religion stood in these days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth; what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled and gave ear sometimes to one, sometimes to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backward again, and sometimes clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevail, who were about the king. So long as Queen Anne lived, the gospel had indifferent success.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the king, was made away, the course of the gospel began again to decline, but that the Lord then stirred up the Lord Cromwell opportunely to help in that behalf; who, no doubt, did much avail, for the increase of God's true religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries, maligning the prosperous glory of the gospel, by contrary practising had not craftily undermined him, and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By means of which adversaries it came to pass, after the taking away of the said Cromwell, that the state of religion more and more decayed during all the residue of the reign of King Henry.

Among these adversaries above mentioned, the chief captain was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, with his confederates and adherents, disdainning at the state of the Lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves (who, in the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540, was married to the king); as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the monasteries, and fearing the growing of the gospel, sought all occasions how to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wily Winchester found out to work upon, ye shall hear in order as followeth:

It happened the same time, that the Lord Cromwell, for the better establishing of sincere religion in this realm, devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the Lady Anne of Cleves, whose other sister was already married unto the duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance, should be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany; and so thereby godly religion might be made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in that clear way for the king to stumble at. For, when the parents of the noble lady were communed withal for the furtherance of the said marriage, among others of her friends whose good will was required, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, misliked the marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed upon some prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followed that the slackness of the duke in that behalf being espied, crafty Winchester, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the king's mind from the amity that seemed now to begin and grow between the duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof he brought the king at length clean out of credit with that religion and doctrine, which the duke had then maintained many years before.

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This wily Winchester, with his crafty fetches, partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent persuasions creeping into the king's ears, ceased not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow religion, first bringing him in hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scots, and other foreign powers to rise against him; but especially of civil tumults and commotion here within this realm, which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of innovation of religion, and dissolving of abbeys, and for abolishing of rites and other customs of the church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring, moreover, what a dangerous matter in a commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of religion. Which being so, he exhorted the king, for his own safeguard, and public quiet and tranquillity of his realm, to see betimes how and by what policy these so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, than if he would show himself sharp and severe against these new sectaries, Anabaptists and Sacramentaries (as they called them); and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholic faith, as whereby he might recover again his credence with Christian princes, and whereby all the world besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholic. By these, and such-like crafty suggestions, the king, being too much seduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himself more safety both in his own realm, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen by other princes; especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the general council at Vincenza, being thereto invited both by the emperor, and other foreign potentates, as ye have heard before, And therefore, although he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself, nevertheless, to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies, (as the blind opinion of the world then did esteem them,) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert; then, afterwards, he gave out those injunctions above prefixed; and now, further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was A.D. 1540, through the device and practice of certain of the pope's factors about him, he summoned a solemn parliament to be holden at Westminster the 28th day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realm; also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

The Act of the Six Articles.

In which parliament, synod, or convocation, certain articles, matters, and questions, touching religion, were decreed by certain prelates, to the number especially of six, commonly called The Six Articles, (or, The Whip with Six Strings,) to be had and received among the king's subjects, on pretence of unity. But what unity thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of divers, both in the days of King Henry, and; of Queen Mary, can so well declare as I pray God never the like be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst Christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet, for that the office of history compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posterity to come, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the church, as well one as another, this shall be:

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briefly to recapitulate the sum and effect of the aforesaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The first Article.

The first article in this present parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this: "That in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, (it being spoken by the priest,) is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man."

The second Article.

"That the communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons: and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh, as well apart, as they were both together."

The third Article.

"That priests, after the order of priesthood received as before, may not marry by the law of God."

The fourth Article.

"That vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which, without that, they might enjoy."

The fifth Article.

"That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation; as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits and it is agreeable also to God's law."

The sixth Article.

"That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented, in the church of God."

After these articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the prelates of the realm, craftily perceiving that such a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail unless strait and bloody penalties were set upon them, they caused, through their accustomed practice, to be

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ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament, as followeth:

The penalty upon the first Article.

"That if any person or persons, within this realm of England, or any other the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, ciphering, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, (after the consecration thereof,) there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man; or, after the time above said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or by any of the means above said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is above said, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament: that then, every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein, (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the authority above said,) should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest heresy; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted, or suffered; and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the king's Highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honours, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatsoever they were, which any such offender or offenders should have, at the time of any such offence or offences, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason."

The penalties upon the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five articles following, the penalties devised for them were these: "That every such person or persons which do preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth day of July the said year, any thing contrary to the same: or if any, being in orders, or after a vow advisedly made, did marry, or make marriage, or contract matrimony, in so doing should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of felony, without any benefit of the clergy, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary, &c.

"Item, That every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, ciphering, or otherwise, did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attainted: for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convicted, should suffer as in case aforesaid of felony.

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"Item, If any within order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

"Item, That the same danger that belonged to priests marrying their wives, should also redound to the women married unto the priests.

"Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said parliament, that full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should be committed and directed down into every shire, to certain persons specially thereunto appointed; of which persons three at least, (provided always the archbishop, or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissary, be one,) should sit four times at least in the year having full power to take information and accusation, by the depositions of any two lawful persons at the least, as well as by the oaths of twelve men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembered; having also as ample power to make process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the aforesaid heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the justices of peace in their sessions. And also, that the said justices in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, should have power, by the oaths of twelve lawful men, to inquire, likewise, of all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present Act, &c.

Provided withal, that no person or persons thereupon accused, indicted, or presented, should be admitted to challenge any that should be empannelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; which challenge should forthwith be tried in like manner, as in cases of felony, &c.

"Provided, moreover, that every person that should be named commissioner in this inquisition, should first take a corporal oath, the tenor of which oath here ensueth.

The oath of the commissioners.

"Ye shall swear, that ye, to your cunning, wit, and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority to you given by the king's commission, made for correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help, and all saints."

And thus much briefly collected out of the Act and originals, which more largely are to be seen in the statute, anno 31, reg. Hen. VIII., concerning the six articles, which otherwise, for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called The Whip with Six Strings, set forth after the death of Queen Anne, and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but especially of the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But herein, as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of that bishop appeared, who, like a lurking serpent, most slyly watching his time, if he had not taken the king coming out upon a sudden, there where it was, (I spare here to report as I heard,) it was thought and affirmed by certain which then were

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pertaining to the king, that Winchester had not obtained the matter so easily to be subscribed as he did.

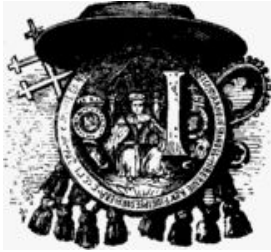
These six articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning, (as all men having any judgment in God's word may plainly understand,) yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing the king's mind so fully addicted, upon politic respects, to have these articles pass forward, few or none in all that parliament would appear, which either could perceive what was to be defended, or thirst defend what they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then, being married, (as is supposed,) like a constant patron of God's cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth, oppressed in the parliament; three days together disputing against those six wicked articles; bringing forth such allegations and authorities, as might easily have helped the cause; who, in the said disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God, that neither his enterprise was disliked of the king; and again, his reasons and allegations were so strong, that they could not well be refuted. Wherefore the king, (who ever bare special favour unto him,) well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament-house into the council-chamber, for a time, (for safeguard of his conscience,) till the Act should pass and be granted; which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation, refused to do.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king, considering the constant zeal of the archbishop in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons whereby he had substantially confirmed the same, sent the Lord Cromwell, (who, within few days after, was apprehended,) the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where they signified unto him, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should, in his Highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travail in that parliament had declared himself both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations.

He most humbly thanked, first, the king's Highness, for his singular good affection towards him, and them for all their pains; adding moreover, that he so hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to the glory of God, and commodity of the realm: which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were extant among us, to be seen and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead, for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid.

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Allegations against the Six Articles.



IN the mean while, forasmuch as the said heretical articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times pift, for lack of right instruction and experience of the ancient state and course of times in our fore-elders' days; I thought therefore, (the Lord thereunto assisting,) so much as antiquity of stories may help to the restoring again of truth and doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto some allegations out of ancient records, which may give some light to the convincing of these new-fangled articles and heresies above touched.

And first, as touching the article of transubstantiation, wherein this parliament doth enact that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the selfsame which was born of the Virgin Mary; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, after the priest's consecration; but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine First, here is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theirs; in that form of words as it standeth, was never obruded, received, or holden either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, universally for a catholic, that is, for a general, opinion or article of doctrine, before the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under Pope Innocent the Third, A.D. 1216.

And forasmuch as it hath been a common persuasion amongst the most sort of people, that this article, in the form of words as here it standeth, is, and hath been ever since Christ's time, a true catholic and general doctrine, commonly received and taught in the church, being approved by the Scriptures and doctors, and consent of all ages unto this present time; to the intent therefore that the contrary may appear, and the people may see how far they have herein been beguiled, we will here (Christ willing) make a little stay in our story, and examine this foresaid article by true antiquity and course of histories, to try whether it be a doctrine old or new.

Now therefore, for the better discussing of the matter, let us first orderly and distinctly advise the words of the article; the contents of which article consist in two parts or members. In the first whereof is noted to us a presence of a thing which there was not before: in the second, is noted a privation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

The presence is noted by these words of the article, where it is said that in the blessed sacrament, by the words pronounced, are present the natural body and blood of our Saviour under the forms of bread and wine: so that in these words, both the sacrament and the natural body are imported necessarily to be present. For else, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, if the sacrament there were not present itself? or how can a thing be said to be in that which is not there? Wherefore by these words both the sacrament, and also the body, must necessarily have their being and presence, the one being in the other. And this presence both of the sacrament and of the body, being rightly taken, may right well stand together; the sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the body of Christ to the inward eyes of faith, and mouth of the soul. And therefore touching these prepositions in this article, "in" and "under," if question be asked, In what is the body of Christ? it

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may well be answered, In the sacrament, to the eyes of our faith; like as the outward sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the body. Again, if the question be asked, Under what is the body of Christ? it may be well answered, Under the forms of bread and wine, so as the doctors did take the forms to mean the outward elements and natures of the sacrament, and not the accidents.

And thus, to the first part of the article, being well expounded, we do assent and confess the same to have been the true catholic opinion, approved by the ancient doctors and consent of all times, even from the first institution of this sacrament.

But as concerning the second member or part of the article, which taketh away all presence and substance of bread from the sacrament; to that we say, that first it standeth not with their own article: secondly, that it standeth not with the doctrine of Scripture: thirdly, that it standeth not with antiquity, but is merely a late invention.

And first, that it agreeth not with their own article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their article they say, that the natural body of Christ is present in the blessed sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament, if there remain no sacrament? or how can any sacrament of the body remain, if there remain no substance of bread, which should make the sacrament? for how can the body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how can the sacrament of the body have any being, where the substance of bread hath no being? For first, that the body itself cannot be the sacrament of the body, is evident of itself.

Secondly, that the accidents of bread, without the substance of bread, cannot be any sacrament of Christ's body, certain it is, and demonstrable by this argument.

Argumentum à definitione.

"A sacrament is, that which beareth a similitude of that thing whereof it is a sacrament.

"Accidents bear no similitude of that thing which is there signified.

"Ergo, Accidents can in no wise be a sacrament."

Wherefore, upon this argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow. "In the sacrament of the Lord's body, the thing that representeth must needs bear a similitude of the thing represented.

"The substance of bread in the sacrament, is only that which beareth the similitude of Christ's body. "Ergo, The substance of bread must needs be in the sacrament."

And therefore, by this demonstration it is apparent that these two parts in the article aforesaid are evil couched together, whereof the one must needs destroy the other. For if the first part of the article be true, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, and seeing the sacrament wherein the body of Christ is present must

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needs be the substance of bread, and not the accidents only of bread, as is above proved, then the substance of bread cannot be evacuated from the sacrament; and so the second member of the article must needs be false.

Or, if the second part be true, that there is no substance of bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the sacrament of the natural body of Christ, but only the substance of bread, forasmuch as the accidents of bread can make no sacrament of Christ's body, as is above showed; then, taking away the substance of bread, the first part of the article must needs be false, which saith, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament; forasmuch as the substance of bread being evacuated, there remaineth no sacrament, wherein the body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before in the treatise of John Lambert upon the sacrament, as also in other sundry places in these volumes besides. Thirdly, that the said article of transubstantiation is no ancient or authentic doctrine in the church publicly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at most above the time of Lanfranc, A.D. 1070, it remains now to be proved.

Wherein first may be joined this issue: that this monstrous paradox of transubstantiation was never induced or received publicly in the church, before the time of the Lateran council, under Pope Innocent the Third, A.D. 1216; or at most before the time of Lanfranc, the Italian, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1070.

In which time of Lanfranc, I deny not but that this question of transubstantiation began to come in controversy, and was reasoned upon amongst certain learned of the clergy. But that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or prescribed in the church, for a general law or catholic doctrine, of all men necessarily to be believed, before the time of the aforesaid Innocent the Third, it may be doubted, and also, by histories of time, proved to be false.

And though our adversaries seem to allege out of the old doctors certain speeches and phrases, which they wrest and wring to their purposes; wherein they say, "that the bread is called, is believed, and is, the body of Christ;" "that of bread is made the body of Christ;" "and "that the bread is changed, altered, or converted to the body of Christ, or is made to be his body;" " that the creatures be converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ;" "that the bread and wine do pass into the Divine substance;" with such other like sentences; and bear themselves brag upon the same, as though this doctrine of transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole universal church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and that the judgment of the church was never other than this: and yet, if the old doctors' sayings be well weighed, and the discourse of times by this history well examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation hath no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any heresy or treason was made of denying transubstantiation before the time of Innocent the Third, or, at the furthest, of Lanfranc, as is aforesaid, about which time Satan, the old dragon, was prophesied by the Apocalypse, to be let loose, to seduce the world.

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of Tertullian and of Augustine; which both do teach the sacrament to be a figure, a sign, a memorial, and a representation of the Lord's body, and knew no such transubstantiation; and yet were no traitors nor heretics.

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Neither was St. Ambrose any heretic or traitor, where he writeth these words, *Ut sint quæ erant, nec in aliud convertantur, &c.*; which words Lanfranc could not answer unto any other wise, but by denying them to be the words of Ambrose. Gelasius was bishop of Rome, and lived about five hundred years after Christ, and speaketh of a transmutation of the bread and wine into the Divine nature; but there, expounding himself, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, so that he expressly showeth the elements of bread and wine, notwithstanding, to remain still in their proper nature, with other words more, very plain to the same effect: unto the which words Contarenus in the assembly of Ratisbon could not well answer, but stood astonished.

Theodoret likewise, speaking of the visible symbols, hath these words: "After the sanctification they remain in their former substance, figure, and form."

Ireneus, where he saith that "the bread broken, and the cup mixed, after the vocation of God, cease to be common bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ:" and, explicating his words more plainly, addeth, moreover, that "the Eucharist consisteth in two things, one being earthly, which is bread and wine; the other heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ," &c.: he declareth, in these words, both his own opinion plainly, and also teacheth us what was then the doctrine of his time.

Hesichius also, who was five hundred years after Christ, where he speaketh of the said mystery, to be both flesh and bread; declaring thereby two substances to be in the sacrament. By the which we have to understand that transubstantiation, in his age, was not crept into the church; and yet neither heresy, nor treason, therefore, was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

Emissene, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the body and blood of our Lord, expresseth plainly, that outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c.; wherein, no doubt, he spake against this article, and yet no man, in all that age, did accuse him therefore to be either heretic or traitor.

Here might be added the words of Fulgentius, "This cup is the new testament; that is, this cup which I deliver unto you, signifieth the new testament."

Bede also, who lived about the year 730, writing upon the twenty-first Psalm, hath these words: "Poor men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the sacraments, and shall be filled eternally; because they shall understand in bread and in wine, being visibly set before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true body and true blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished."

And thus, in these words of Bede, likewise, is to be understood, that no transubstantiation as yet in his time was received in the church of England.

Long it were to stand upon all particulars. Briefly to conclude; the further the church hath been from these our latter days, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous article of transubstantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of Bertram and of Haymo, who were about the year of our Lord 810, under Charlemagne.

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By whose writing it is evident, that the church was infected as yet with no such fantasy of transubstantiation, neither did any almost dream oftaking away the substance of bread from the sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and others who lived in that age, do attribute to the sacrament, that honourable name and reverence (as we also do) of the Lord's body and blood, yet they exclude not from thence all substance of meal and bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholics do, as by the words of Haymo doth appear. Where he, following the words of Bede, showeth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lord's body? "Because," saith he, "bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the body of Christ; and because wine worketh blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the blood of Christ." What can be more effectually spoken to prove the substance of bread there to remain? for take away the substance of bread and wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm man's heart, or engender blood in the flesh? And therefore, seeing there must needs something remain, that must be referred to Christ's body and blood in that sacrament, it either must be the substance of bread and wine, or else it can be no sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith, that by the Holy Ghost they passed to a sacrament of the Lord's body.

And likewise the same Haymo, in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of corn and wine, declareth how our Saviour, making of them "an apt mystery," converteth them to "a sacrament of his body and blood," &c.

Bertram likewise, as he lived in the same age, so in like sort he showed his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For, as Haymo, writing in these words, declareth, "The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing; for the sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is satisfied."

So after like manner, Bertram, according to the same, thus writeth: "The bread, which by the ministry of the priest is made the body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man, and another thing it speaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly, it is bread, the same it was before; the same form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth: but inwardly, there is another matter far more precious and more excellent, because it is heavenly, which is the body of Christ that is seen, not with the outward eyes of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithful mind," &c.

We will now proceed to the testimony of Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mentz, and scholar some time to Alcuin, in.garis, an Englishman; who, living also in the same age with Haymo and Bertram, (which was eight hundred years after Christ,) giveth the like testimony of this doctrine in his Book of Institutions; where he, asking the question why the Lord would give the mysteries of his body and blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour, thus he answereth again: "The Lord," saith he, "would rather that the sacraments of his body and blood should be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, that by the visible action the invisible effect might be showed. For, like as material meat outwardly nourisheth and quickeneth the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soul: for man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God." And after followeth, "For this bread and drink signifieth the eternal society of the Head and of the members together." And again: "For the sacraments are one thing, and the

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virtue of the sacrament is another thing. The sacrament is received with the mouth; with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is nourished; for the sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the body; but, by the virtue of the sacrament, the dignity of eternal life is gotten. Wherefore, like as the same is turned into us when we eat of it, so also are we turned into the body of Christ, when we live obediently and godly," &c.

Who seeth not by these words of this bishop, what form of doctrine was then in the church received concerning this article of the sacrament, such diverse from this our gross opinion of transubstantiation?

With the same Rabanus, also, accordeth another of the like standing and doctrine also, called Christianus Druthmarus, who, writing upon Matthew, "The wine," saith he, "doth cheer and cherish the blood, and, therefore, not inconveniently the blood of Christ is figured thereby: for whatsoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladness, and increaseth all goodness unto us." And a little before, the said Druthmarus saith, "The Lord gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body to the remission of sins, and keeping of charity; that they, always remembering his doing, might do that in figure, which he should do for them. This is my body, saith he; that is, in sacrament." This Druthmarus lived also in the time of Charlemagne, as witnesseth the abbot of Spanheim.

After Bertram was Johannes Scotus, or else, as some call him, Johannes Erigena; a man well accepted with Charles the Bald, and afterwards with Louis the Stammerer, about A.D. 880. He wrote a book, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, so affirming therein, and teaching, as he knew that Bertram had taught a little before in France. This book the pope caused to be condemned in the synod of Vercelli. Of the life and conversation of this Johannes Scotus, and also of his death, read before.

In the year of our Lord 950, lived Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time, it appeareth, by the Romish Catholics' own confession, that many priests then affirmed, that the bread and wine, after consecration, did remain in their former substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the body and blood of Christ, as we find it witnessed by Osberne himself, who did write the lives of Odo, Dunstan, and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anselm's chaplain. The words of Osberne be these: "About this time," saith Osberne, writing in the days of Lanfranc, "certain of the clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that bread and wine, which are set upon the altar, after the consecration do remain in their former substance, and are but only a figure of the body and blood of Christ," &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the clergy was so, that the sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, and that the substance of bread and wine, notwithstanding, were not transubstantiated, as the Romish Catholics do now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their writings and stories still they diminish the better number, whereby their faction may seem ever to be the bigger; and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then received in the church, he inferreth mention of certain of the clergy, &c.

And as he faileth in the number of these clergymen which then held against transubstantiation, so he upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle; which miracle he feigned to

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be wrought the same time, for the conversion of the said clergymen, by the blood dropping out of the host at mass, as Odo was breaking the host over the chalice. At the sight whereof, first, Odo himself (saith he) wept for joy; seeing his petition accomplished which he so earnestly prayed for.

Secondarily, "All those clergymen," saith he, "which before believed not this transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the archbishop that ever he was born; desiring him to pray again, that the blood might return to his former shape; and straight: it was done." And this was the miracle; which seemeth as true as that which William of Malmesbury writeth of the said Odo, how, by his prayers, he caused a sword to come flying from heaven into King Ethelstan's scabbard, when he had lost his own, as he would fight against Analanus; or else, as that miracle where the said Odo is said to cover and defend the church of Canterbury, that no drop of rain could touch it, so long as the roof thereof was in making.

In the which so miraculous a miracle, many things are to be marvelled. First, I marvel that at this great miracle of the archbishop in his cathedral church, amongst so many singing men, we read of no Te Deum there to be sung after the doing thereof.

Secondly, I marvel that those priests and clerks which then denied transubstantiation, were suffered to be so near the archbishop at his mass, and that they were not committed rather to ward like heretics and traitors, if this article of transubstantiation had been then such a catholic doctrine, and so publicly received in the church, as they say it was.

Thirdly, I marvel, seeing the time of miracles is expired, we, having the Scriptures to guide us, why the archbishop would seek to miracles and apparitions to convert men, rather than to the law and prophets, according as we are commanded: especially having no such examples of all the old doctors, which, in confutation of so many erroneous opinions, yet never sought to such miracles, or blind means.

Fourthly, I marvel much at the discrepance in telling this tale, between Osberne and the others, which since have written Legends of Odo. For whereas Osberne, speaking of certain priests, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and speaketh absolutely, certain priests; all other, who have since written the Legends of Odo, do tell this tale against certain priests of Canterbury; adding to the words of Osberne, certain priests of Canterbury. But to convict the falsehood of them all, as well of Osberne as of the rest, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oswald together, more ancient than this of Osberne, written (as it may seem) in the time of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, and Elphege, then bishop of Winchester, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another sort than this of Osberne, and to another purpose than to dissuade certain priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: which is only brought to show the holiness of Odo, as commonly the manner of legends is to do: so that in this old legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo disclosed the matter not to many priests of England that were in that error, as Osberne would, "but called unto him a certain faithful servant who was near about him, and showed unto him the miracle secretly;" whereupon the priest (saith the legend) much rejoiced at the holiness of Odo, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the body might return again to the former shape, &c. Out

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of this old lying legend Osberne, and other likewise that followed him, seemeth to have taken this tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not storied in Henry Huntingdon, which professedly writeth of such miracles, nor in Roger Hoveden, and such others; but only in such blind legends, which commonly have no substance of verity, nor certainty of time or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the most part are stuffed with lying visions and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osberne were true, that for the converting of priests of England which would not believe transubstantiation, this blood did drop out of the host, (of which blood peradventure came the blood of Hayles,) and by the sight thereof, the priests eftsoon were all converted, (as Osberne pretendeth,) how then came it to pass, that after the time of Odo, in the days of Elfric, which was after him archbishop of Canterbury, the third from Dunstan, and fourth from Odo, not only the priests of England, but also the archbishop himself, were not yet brought to the belief of this transubstantiation, but taught the very same doctrine of the sacrament then, which we do now: as most clearly appeareth both by the epistles and homilies of the aforesaid archbishop Elfric, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Christ willing) we will annex.

This Elfric, as saith Capgrave, in the life of Oswald, bishop of Worcester, was first abbot of St. Alban's, and after made archbishop of Canterbury, about A.D. 996, in the time of King Etheldred, and of Wulfine, bishop of Sherbourne. Elfric, also, (as witnesseth William of Malmesbury, in the life of Adelmus,) was abbot of Malmesbury. Furthermore, the said William of Malmesbury, writing of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, saith, that he was before bishop of Wells, and afterwards bishop of Canterbury. So, that Elfric was archbishop of Canterbury, it is out of all ambiguity. But whether Elfric, who was abbot, (of whom we do here speak,) were the same archbishop or not, by this diversity of Capgrave and Malmesbury, it may be doubtful. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly material, forasmuch as although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one age, and lived in one time together.

Furthermore, the same Elfric, of whom now we speak, of what calling soever he was, yet, notwithstanding, he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority, and eloquence, his writings were accepted and authorized among the canons and constitutions of the church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the bishops and priests, before the coming of William the Conqueror, had collected together a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the epistles of Alcuinus, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, &c.; among the same canons and constitutions be placed these two epistles of the said Elfric hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to Wulfine, bishop of Sherbourne, the other to Wulfstane, archbishop of York; as yet are to be seen in two books belonging to the library of the church of Worcester, the one written in the old Saxons' tongue, entitled *Beppeost dinothe*, the other for the most part in Latin, with this title, *Admonitio Spiritualis Doctrinæ*: which book of Saxon canons

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and constitutions, sometime belonging to Wulfstane, bishop of Worcester, was given by him, as for a great jewel, to the church of Worcester, as by the same book appeareth.

Moreover, besides this book of Worcester above-touched, there is yet extant also another like book of canons, belonging to the church of Exeter, wherein the same two epistles of Elfric be contained in the old Saxon tongue, and also in Latin, and prescribed yearly to be read to the clerks and priests of that church; which book, in like manner, was given to the church of Exeter, by Leofric, the first and most famous bishop of that see.

Of this Elfric, further, is to be understood, that he translated two books of fourscore sermons out of Latin into the Saxon speech, used then orderly to be read in churches on Sundays, and other festival days of the year.

Of his epistles especially we read of four which he wrote, one to the monks of Egnehsam, De consuetudine Monachorum: another to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, wherein is touched the matter of the sacrament: the third he wrote against priests' marriage, to one Sygeferth, with whom there was a certain anchorite abiding, who defended the marriage of priests, affirming it to be lawful. The fourth he wrote to Wulfsine, bishop of Sherboume, touching the matter of the sacrament; in the which epistle, he, taking occasion by a certain abuse in his time, which was, that priests, on Easter-day, filled their housel-box for sick persons, and so kept it for the space of a whole year, till Easter came again, writeth upon that occasion in these words:

"Men shall reserve more carefully that holy housel, and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new, for sick men, always within a week or a fortnight, that it be not so much as hoary: for so holy is the housel which to-day is hallowed, as that which on Easter-day was hallowed. That housel is Christ's body not bodily, but ghostly: not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine, to housel, the night before his suffering, and said, by the blessed bread, This is my body: and, again by the holy wine, This is my blood which is shed for many in forgiveness of sins. Understand now that the Lord, who could turn that bread, before his suffering, to his body, and that wine, to his blood ghostly, that the selfsame Lord blesseth daily, through the priest's hands, bread and wine, to his ghostly body and to his ghostly blood."

After this epistle of Elfric above prefixed, written to Wulfsine, bishop of Sherbourne, concerning the sacramental bread, how it is not Christ's body *lichamlice*, that is, "bodily," or, as we term it now, "really;" and also how the same ought not to be over long kept in the pix; here followeth further another epistle of the said Elfric, written to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, both reprehending the said abuse above touched, and also containing matter more at large, against the bodily presence in the sacramental bread. The copy of his epistle, in our English, here followeth:

"Some priests fill their box for housel on Easter-day, and to reserve it a whole year for sick men, as though that housel were more holy than any other. But they do unadvisedly, because it waxeth hoary or altogether rotten, by keeping it so long space: and thus are they become guilty, as the book witnesseth to us. If any do keep the housel so long, or lose it, or mice or other beasts do eat it, see what the penitential book saith by this: 'So holy is altogether that housel

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which is hallowed to-day, as that which is hallowed on Easter-day.' Wherefore I beseech you to keep the holy body of Christ with more advisement, for sick men, from Sunday to Sunday, in a very clean box; or at the most not to keep it above a fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in Moses' books, as God himself hath commanded in Moses' law, how the priests should set, every Saturday, twelve loaves, all new baked, upon the tabernacle, which were called *Panes propositiois*: and those should stand there, in God's tabernacle, till the next Saturday; and then did the priests themselves eat them, and set others in the place."

"Some priests will not eat the housel which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the book speaketh by them: 'The priest that doth say mass, and dare not eat the housel, his conscience accusing him, is accursed.' It is less danger to receive the housel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one host to housel, is like unto those heretics, who do christen twice one child. Christ himself blessed housel before his suffering: he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his apostles, Eat this bread; it is my body. And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and thus also spake unto them, Drink ye all of this; this is mine own blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. The Lord which hallowed housel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, halloweth daily, by the hands of the priest, bread to his body and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery, as we read in books. And yet, notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so; nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor is that holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both be truly, that bread is his body, and that wine also is his blood; as was the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed forty years God's people; and the clear water, which did then run from the stone in the wilderness, was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his Epistles, All our fathers did eat in the wilderness the same ghostly meat, and drink the same ghostly drink: they drank of that ghostly stone, and that stone was Christ. The apostle hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eat the same ghostly meat, and they all did drink the same ghostly drink. And he saith not bodily, but ghostly. And Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel did eat that meat and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the same mystery in the old law, and they did ghostly signify that ghostly housel of our Saviour's body, which we consecrate now."

Besides these epistles above prefixed of Elfric to Wulfsine and Wulfstane, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was touched also before of certain sermons, to the number of fourscore, translated by the said Elfric out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of the which fourscore sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read, instead of homilies or treatises, unto the people; in such order as the first twelve sermons or treatises, treating of general matters, were appointed to be read at pleasure, and at the discretion of the minister. The other twelve sermons were prescribed of proper feasts, whereof this testimony remaineth in the same book yet to be seen, both in the Saxon tongue, and also in the preface of the latter twelve sermons.

Furthermore, as touching these fourscore sermons aforesaid, which Elfric translated into English, here is to be understood, that among the said sermons, used then orderly to be recited by the people, there was one appointed to be read *In Die Sancto Paschæ*, that is, upon Easter-day;

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which sermon, being translated by the said Elfric, we have here exhibited both in Saxon speech and English, to the intent that the Christian and indifferent reader, perusing the same, may judge thereby how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation, in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received or known in the church of England; forasmuch as the said sermon, being in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident declaration, what was the common opinion of the sacrament in the church received, before Elfric did ever set hand to translate the same out of the Latin.

And though the Latin copies and exemplars of these aforesaid sermons are not remaining in our libraries, let that be no marvel to thee, loving reader! but understand thereby the crafty packing of the pope's clergy, who, in the time of Lanfranc and Pope Innocent, studying by all means how to prefer and further this their new-come doctrine of transubstantiation, did abolish and rase out of libraries and churches all such books which made to the contrary. And therefore, because Lanfranc, and other Italian priests here in England, understood not the Saxon books as they did the Latin, (all that which they understood they made away,) the Saxon books, because they knew them not, they let remain: and this is the cause why our Saxon copies are now to be found: which to be true by three reasons conjectural it may be probably supposed.

First, for that these Saxon sermons, being translated out of the Latin, (as ye have heard by the words of Elfric already proved,) we see only the Saxon books reserved: of the Latin none do appear.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an epistle of Elfric in the library of Worcester; wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter nor piece of a letter doth there appear. The words cut out were these: "Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of his wherein he suffered for us, nor the same blood of his which he shed for us: but, spiritually, it is made his body and blood as that manna which rained from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rock. As Paul,' &c. These words, so rased out, are to be restored again by another Saxon book found in Exeter: by the rasing of which one place, it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest.

Thirdly, by one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil in our days, the properties and doings of all other Italian papists of elder time may partly be conjectured: for so I am informed by such as precisely will affirm it to be true, that when Polydore, being licensed by the king to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had compiled out of libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true factor for the pope's own tooth, he piled his books together, and set them all on a light fire. For what cause he so did, I cannot certainly pronounce; but whoso considereth well his religion, may shrewdly suspect him: for a probation whereof, this may serve for a sufficient trial; that whereas of all other writers of histories that have been in England, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Rastal, More, Leland, Bale, Hall, and such others, some of their books which they then occupied, yet remain in hands to be seen: only of such books as Polydore used, and which passed his hands, what Englishman is he that hath seen, or can show me one? Whereby it may well be thought the aforesaid information to be true. As also by this one Italian trick of Polydore, may other Italians likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin books within this land, as made not for their purpose.

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But forasmuch as those Latin books be now abolished, and cannot be had, let us return to our tongue again, and see what this Saxon sermon of Elfric's translation doth say for transubstantiation; the copy whereof here ensueth:

"Men beloved! it hath been often said unto you about our Saviour's resurrection, how he, on this present day after his suffering, mightily rose from death. Now will we open unto you, through God's grace, of the holy housel, which ye should now go unto, and instruct your understanding about this mystery, both after the old covenant, and also after the new, that no doubting may trouble you about this lively food.

"The Almighty God bade Moses, his captain in the land of Egypt, to command the people of Israel, to take to every family a lamb of one year old, the night they departed out of the country to the land of promise, and to offer that lamb to God, and after to cut it, and to make the sign of the cross, with the lamb's blood upon the side posts and the upper posts of their door; and afterwards to eat the lamb's flesh roasted, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce.

God saith unto Moses, Eat of the lamb nothing raw, nor sodden in water, but roasted at the fire. Eat the head, the feet, and the inwards, and let nothing of it be left until the morning; if any thing thereof remain, that shall you burn with fire. Eat it in this wise: gird your loins, and do your shoes on your feet; have your staves in your hands; and eat it in haste. The time is the Lord's passover. And there was slain on that night, in every house throughout all Pharaoh's reign, the first-born child: and God's people of Israel were delivered from that sudden death through the lamb's offering, and his blood's marking. Then said God unto Moses, Keep this day in your remembrance, and hold it a great feast in your kindreds, with a perpetual observation; and eat unleavened bread always seven days at this feast.

"After this deed, God led the people of Israel over the Red Sea with dry foot, and drowned therein Pharaoh and all his army, together with their possessions, and fed, afterwards, the Israelites forty years with heavenly food, and gave them water out of the hard rock, until they came to the promised land. Part of this story we have treated of in another place, and part we shall now declare; to wit, that which belongeth to the holy housel. Christian men may not now keep that old law bodily, but it behoveth them to know what it ghostly signifieth. That innocent lamb which the old Israelites did then kill, had signification, after ghostly understanding, of Christ's suffering, who, unguilty, shed his holy blood for our redemption. Hereof sing God's servants at every mass, 'Thou Lamb of God! that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.'

"Those Israelites were delivered from that sudden death and from Pharaoh's bondage, by the lamb's offering, which signified Christ's suffering; through which we be delivered from everlasting death, and from the devil's cruel reign, if we rightly believe in the true Redeemer of the whole world, Christ the Saviour. That lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour suffered in the sixth age of this world. This age of this corruptible world, is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the lamb's blood, upon the doors and the upper posts, *Thau*, that is, the sign of cross, and so were defended from the angels that killed the Egyptians' first-born child. And we ought to mark our foreheads and our bodies with the token of Christ's rood, that we also may be delivered from destruction, when we shall be marked both on forehead, and also in heart,

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with the blood of our Lord's suffering. Those Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh at their Easter time, when they were delivered; and we receive ghostly Christ's body, and drink his blood, when we receive with true belief that holy housel. That time they kept with them at Easter seven days, with great worship, when they were delivered from Pharaoh, and went from that land. So also Christian men keep Christ's resurrection at the time of Easter these seven days, because through his suffering and rising we be delivered, and be made clean by going to this holy housel, as Christ saith in his Gospel: Verily, verily I say unto you, ye have no life in you except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlasting life, and I shall raise him up in the last day. I am the lively bread that came down from heaven: not so as your forefathers did eat that heavenly bread in the wilderness, and afterwards died. He that eateth this bread liveth for ever. He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, Eat of this bread; it is my body: and do this in my remembrance. Also he blessed wine in one cup, and said, Drink ye all of this. This is my blood that is shed for many, in forgiveness of sins. The apostles did as Christ commanded; that is, they blessed bread and wine to housel again afterwards in his remembrance. Even so, also, their successors and all priests, by Christ's commandment, do bless bread and wine to housel in his name with the apostolic blessing.

"Now men have often searched and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through fire's heat baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned, through one blessing, to the Lord's blood. Now say we to such men, that some things be spoken of Christ by signification, and some be things certain. True this is, and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on this day rose from death. He is said to be bread by signification, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain. He is called bread, because he is our life, and angels' life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But Christ is not so, notwithstanding, after true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why is then the holy housel called Christ's body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and the wine which in the supper by the priest are hallowed, show one thing without, to human understanding, and another thing within, to believing minds. Without, they be seen bread and wine, both in figure and in taste; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Christ's body and his blood, through ghostly mystery.

"A heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font-stone sinful, through Adam's disobedience; howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the holy font water, that is called the wellspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy Ghost's might cometh to the corruptible water, through the priest's blessing, and it may, after, wash the body and soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold, now we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and after ghostly mystery, hath wholesome virtue. So also, if we behold the holy housel after bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and

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is, by might of God's word, truly Christ's body and blood; not so notwithstanding bodily, but ghostly.

"Much is betwixt the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to house. The body truly, that Christ suffered in, was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and his ghostly body, which we call the house, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. Whatsoever is in that house, which giveth substance of life, that is of the ghostly might and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy house called 'a mystery,' because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape; and what we do there understand, hath ghostly might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death, and rose from death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and unpassible. That house is temporal, not eternal; corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; howbeit, nevertheless, after ghostly might, it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is so all in every part, after ghostly mystery. Though some chew the less, yet is there no more might, notwithstanding, in the more part, than in the less, because it is whole in all men, after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically, until that we be come to the truth itself; and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christ's body and his blood; not bodily, but ghostly.

"But now hear the apostle's word about this mystery. Paul the apostle speaketh of the old Israelites, thus writing in his Epistle to faithful men, All our forefathers were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea; and all they did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ. Neither was that stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ; but it signifieth Christ, that calleth thus to all believing and faithful men, Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his bowels shall flow lively water. This he said of the Holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The apostle Paul saith that the Israelites did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink; because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christ's body and his blood, that now be offered daily in God's church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

"We said unto ye ere while, that Christ hallowed bread and wine to house before his suffering, and said, This is my body and my blood. Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned, through invisible might, the bread to his own body, and that wine to his blood, as he before did in the wilderness, before that he was born to be a man; when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the wilderness, and drank the ghostly drink; and were nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death, which some of that folk deserved for their unbelief. Moses and Aaron, and many others of that people who pleased God, did eat that heavenly bread, and they died not that everlasting death, though they died the common death. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible, and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. And he

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bade them not eat that body wherewith he was enclosed, nor to drink that blood which he shed for us; but he meant with those words, that holy housel which ghostly is his body and his blood, and he that tasteth it with believing heart, hath that eternal life.

"In the old law faithful men offered to God divers sacrifices, that had foresignification of Christ's body, which, for our sins, he himself to his heavenly Father hath since offered to sacrifice. Certainly this housel which we do now hallow at God's altar, is a remembrance of Christ's body, which he offered for us, and of his blood, which he shed for us. So he himself commanded, Do this in my remembrance. Once suffered Christ by himself, but yet, nevertheless, his suffering is daily renewed at this supper, through mystery of the holy housel. Therefore we ought to consider diligently, how that this holy housel is both Christ's body, and the body of all faithful men, after a ghostly mystery. As wise Augustine saith of it, If ye will understand of Christ's body, hear the apostle Paul thus speaking: Ye truly be Christ's body and his members. Now is your mystery set on God's table, and ye receive your mystery, which mystery ye yourselves be. Be that which ye see on the altar, and receive that which ye yourselves be. Again, the apostle Paul saith by it, We many be one bread, and one body. Understand now and rejoice: many be one bread and one body in Christ. He is our Head, and we be his limbs; and the bread is not of one corn, but of many; nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So, also, we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful army, how that they were in so great a unity, as though all of them were one soul and one heart. Christ hallowed, on his table, the mystery of our peace and of our unity. He that receiveth that mystery of unity, and keepeth not the bond of true peace, receiveth no mystery for himself, but a witness against himself. It is very good for Christian men, that they go often to housel, if they bring with them to the altar unguiltiness and innocency of heart; if they be not oppressed with sin. To an evil man it turneth to no good, but to destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy housel. Holy books command that water be mingled to that wine which shall be for housel, because the water signifieth the people, and the wine Christ's blood; and therefore shall neither the one without the other be offered at the holy mass, that Christ may be with us, and we with Christ; the Head with the limbs, and the limbs with the Head.

"We would before have treated of the lamb which the old Israelites offered at their Easter time, but that we desired first to declare unto you of this mystery, and after, how we should receive it. That signifying-lamb was offered at the Easter. And the apostle Paul saith, in the Epistle of this present day, that Christ is our Easter, who was offered for us, and on this day rose from death. The Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh, as God commanded, with unleavened bread and wild lettuce; so we should receive that holy housel of Christ's body and blood without the leaven of sin and iniquity. As leaven turneth the creatures from their nature; so doth sin, also, change the nature of man from innocency to uncleanness. The apostle hath taught how we should feast, not in the leaven of the evilness, but in the sweet dough of purity and truth. The herb which they should eat with the unleavened bread is called lettuce, and is bitter in taste: so we should with bitterness of unfeigned repentance, purify our mind, if we will eat Christ's body. Those Israelites were not wont to eat raw flesh, and therefore God bade them to eat it neither raw nor sodden in water, but roasted with fire. He shall receive the body of God raw, that shall think without reason, that Christ was only man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will, after man's wisdom, search the mystery of Christ's incarnation, doeth like unto him that doth see the lamb's flesh in water, because that water, in this same place, signifieth man's understanding. But

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we should understand that all the mystery of Christ's humanity was ordered by the power of the Holy Ghost; and then eat we his body roasted with fire, because the Holy Ghost came in fiery likeness to the apostles in divers tongues.

"The Israelites should eat the lamb's head, and the feet, and the purtenance; and nothing thereof must be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly understanding we do eat the lamb's head, when we take hold of Christ's Divinity in our belief. Again, when we take hold of his humanity with love, then eat we the lamb's feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God before all worlds, and man in the end of this world. What be the lamb's purtenance, but Christ's secret precepts? and these we eat, when we receive with greediness the word of life. There must nothing of the lamb be left unto the morning, because that all God's sayings are to be searched with great carefulness; so that all his precepts may be known in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universal resurrection do appear. If we cannot search out thoroughly all the mystery of Christ's incarnation, then ought we to betake the rest unto the might of the Holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deep secretness, above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the lamb's flesh with their loins girded. In the loins is the lust of the body, and he who will receive that housel, shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receipt.

They were also shod. What be shoes, but of the hides of dead beasts? We be truly shod, if we match, in our steps and deeds, the life of men departed this life, who pleased God with keeping of his commandments. They had staves in their hands when they did eat. This staff signifieth a carefulness and diligent overseeing; and all they that best know, and ken, should take care of other men, and stay them up with their help. It was enjoined to the eaters, that they should eat the lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulness in his servants, and that he loveth those that seek the joy of everlasting life with quickness and haste of mind. It is written, Prolong not to turn unto God, lest the time pass away through thy slow tarrying. The eaters might not break the lamb's bones. No more might the soldiers, that did hang Christ, break his holy legs, as they did of the two thieves that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death, sound, without all corruption: and at the last judgment they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the cross. This time is called in the Hebrew tongue, *pascha*, and in Latin, *transitus*, and in English, a passover, because that on this day the people of Israel passed from the land of Egypt over the Red Sea, from bondage to the land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith John the evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the devil to Christ; from this unstable world, to his stable kingdom. Howbeit we should first, in this present life, depart from vice to holy virtue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will, after this our lent life, go to the eternal life; and, after our resurrection, to Christ. He bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave himself to death for our sins! To him be honour and praise of well-doing, world without end. Amen."

And thus, I suppose, it standeth clear and evidently proved by course of all these ages afore recited, from the time of Tertullian and Augustine, unto the days of this Elfric above mentioned, and after him, that this new-come miracle of transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any doctrine in the church, (at least for any general doctrine of all men to be received,) till a

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thousand years complete after Christ, that is, till Satan began to be set at large. For who ever heard in all the primitive church, or ever read in the works of the old ancient doctors, this question once to be asked or disputed, whether any substance of bread and wine remained in the Lord's supper? or what man was ever so doltish to believe any such thing, or ever called heretic for not believing the same, before the time of seduction, that is, before the thousand years aforesaid were expired? Wherefore they that stand so much on the antiquity of this article, as a doctrine which hath ever, since Christ's time, been received in the church, taught by the apostles, believed by all catholics, and confirmed by consent of all ages, of councils, of nations, and people, unto this present day; these, I say, either show themselves very ignorant in histories, and in all state of antiquity, or else most impudently they do abuse the simple credulity of people.

To proceed now further in this discussion of antiquity, it followed that after the time of Elfric aforesaid, this matter of transubstantiation began first to be talked of, and to come in question among a few superstitious monks; so that as blindness and superstition began more and more to increase, so the said gross opinion still more and more, both in number and authority, prevailed, insomuch that about the year of our Lord 1050, the denying of transubstantiation began to be counted heresy.

And in this number first was one Berengarius, a Frenchman and archdeacon of Angers, which, of all Christian men which we read of, was first called and counted a heretic for denying of transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall hear.

This Berengarius lived in the time of Pope Leo the Ninth, Victor, and Nicholas the Second, which latter died in the year 1061. Albeit I do find our writers here in some discrepance; for the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under Pope Leo the Ninth, in the council of Vercelli, and afterwards again under Pope Nicholas the Second, about the year 1062, as is to be gathered of Gratian, De Consecrat. dist. 2, "Ego Berengarius," where he saith that Pope Nicholas did send about to bishops and archbishops the copy of his recantation.

Again, by the acts of the council of Rome it there appeareth that the said Berengarius made this his said last recantation under Pope Hildebrand, called Gregory the Seventh. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The truth of the story is this; that when Berengarius had professed the truth of the sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the ancient verity of the doctrine received in the church before, he was so handled by certain malignant and superstitious monks, that, what by evil entreaty, and what for fear of death, (such is the weak frailty of man,) he began to shrink, and afterwards did indeed recant the truth.

Of these malicious enemies against Berengarius, the chiefest troublers were Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Guimund, a monk likewise first of the abbey of Leufrede, and afterwards archbishop of Aversa; Algerius also, monk of Corbeny; Fulbert also, monk and bishop; and Hildebrand, some time monk of Cluni, and then archdeacon of Tours, and afterward bishop of Rome.

By these, and such other monks of the like fraternity, the error and heresy of transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts publicly, in writing, to be taken about that

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matter; of the which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that faction by writing seemeth to be Paschasius, who was a little before Berengarius, about the time of Bertram, and likewise Lanfranc, the first that brought it into England.

On the contrary side again, the first that was openly impugned and troubled for denying transubstantiation, was this Berengarius; with whom Lanfranc, also, was supposed at the first beginning to hold and take part; but afterwards, to clear himself, he stood openly against him in the council, and wrote against him.

It followeth then in the act of the council, when the synod of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story) did hold that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, (saith he,) divers there were in the said council who held the contrary with Berengarius, but at last were driven to give over. Berengarius, among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, confessing his error, (where none was,) and desired pardon of the council. And this was (as seemeth by William of Malmesbury) his first giving over; who afterwards, returning to himself again after the death of Pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, was driven again to recognise the truth, which he before had denied.

The pope, (saith Malmesbury,) perceiving this, would not leave him so, but sent into France Hildebrand, his cardinal chaplain, (as meet a mate for such a feat, as was in all Satan's court,) and made him with a wanyand to come again *coram nobis*; who so handled Berengarius, bringing him before the face of the council holden at Tours, that he made him to say, *erravi*, once again: against whom stood up in that council Lanfranc, and Guimund aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of Malmesbury. But, by the acts of council of Rome, appeareth another declaration, which is, that this latter recantation of Berengarius should be at Rome under Hildebrand being then pope, in the year of our Lord 1079, and in the month of February; and that in the same council, holden in the church of Our Saviour, this recantation of *Ego Berengarius* was made, and he enjoined by the said Pope Hildebrand, upon his oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of the sacrament there holden, &c.

Again, Henry Bullinger in his book, *De Origine Erroris*, following belike some other author, expreseth the order of the aforesaid recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of Pope Leo the Ninth, A.D. 1050, there was a Roman council holden at Vercelli; in the which council, Lanfranc being then present, the book of John Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Also Berengarius was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that council, refused himself to come, but sent two clerks, which openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto prison. Such is the freedom of the pope's general councils, with prisons and violence to defend their verities. Against the doings of this council notwithstanding, the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at Angers and Tours, joining and consenting with Berengarius.

Not long after this died Pope Leo; and after him succeeded Pope Victor, by whom another synod was kept at Florence, where the acts and doings of the aforesaid council of Vercelli were confirmed, and a legate also appointed to be sent to Tours in France. This legate

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was Hildebrand above mentioned, who, calling the clergy of France together in a synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the sacrament. Berengarius, not being ignorant of these Roman councils, so kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and consented with the faith of the catholic church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the council, rather deluding the pretences of his enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Again, after Victor, came Pope Nicholas the Second, who, congregating another council at Rome, A.D. 1059, sent for Berengarius there to appear, who, being present, argued what he could for the justness of his cause, but all would not serve: in the pope's general councils such a stroke and mastership beareth authority above verity. Berengarius being thus borne down on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again, (for the law of relapse was not yet in season,) he desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would require of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then Pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lorraine, and, afterwards, a cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his recantation, after the prescription of Rome, which he should read, and publicly profess before the people; the form of which words is registered in the Decrees. The effect thereof is this:

"That he pretendeth with heart and mouth to profess, that he, acknowledging the true, catholic, and apostolical faith, doth execrate all heresy, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remain only a sacrament, and are not the very self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken with the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by manner of a sacrament: consenting now to the holy and apostolical Church of Rome, he professeth with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the sacrament of the Lord's mass, which the lord pope Nicholas, with his synod here present, doth hold, and commandeth to be holden by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also are the very true and self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed; and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the canons," &c.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave to the contrary part no little triumph, whereby, ever since, they have taken the greater courage to tread down the truth.

It happened shortly after this, that Hildebrand, the pope's grand captain in the behalf of his master, Pope Nicholas, went in warfare against the Normans. This war being finished, shortly after he set upon a new voyage to fight for Pope Alexander, against Cadolus; which victory being also achieved, it was not long but he put the new Pope Alexander beside the cushion, and was made pope himself: so that during the busy stir of these wars, the pope's Holiness had no leisure to attend the debating of this controversy of the sacrament.

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At length, when all was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his restless brain could not be unoccupied, but eftsoons summoneth a new council at Rome, in the church of Lateran, to revive again the old disceptation of Berengarius, about the year, as some hold, 1079. Thus Berengarius, being tossed by these monks and Pharisees, was so confounded, and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grief of conscience, that he had now twice denied the truth, on the other side, the man, (as is of him reported,) after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his hands for his living, all the residue of his life.

The opinion which Berengarius maintained touching the sacrament (as by his own words, in Lanfranc's book, may appear) was this:

"The sacrifice of the church consisteth of two things: the one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the sacrament. Which thing, (which is to mean, the body of Christ,) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seen: but being lifted up into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of his Father, to the time of restoring all things, (as St. Peter saith,) it cannot be called down from thence. For the person of Christ consisteth of God and man: the sacrament of the Lord's table consisteth of bread and wine; which, being consecrated, are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude of those things, whereof they be sacraments," &c.

By these words of Berengarius's doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the Holy Scripture, believing with St. Augustine, and all other ancient elders of the church, that in the holy supper all faithful believers be refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life. Wherefore most impudently they do misreport him, (as they do many others besides,) which falsely lay to his charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred supper of the Lord nothing else were received of the faithful, besides only the bare signs, which are the bread and the wine.

And now that you have seen the doctrine of Berengarius, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of Lanfranc and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side, with the institution of the other, to mark and consider which of them soundeth nearer to the truth of -the Scriptures. The words of Lanfranc be these: "I believe the earthly substances, which, upon the Lord's table, are divinely sanctified, through the ministration of the priest, to be converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously, by the operation of God's mighty power, into the essence of the Lord's body, the outward forms only of the things themselves, and certain qualities re-served, and that for two respects: the one, lest the sight of the raw and bloody flesh might otherwise make men to abhor from eating thereof; the other, for that they which believe the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lord's body notwithstanding, yet is the selfsame body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath its essential being at the right hand of his Father, immortal, inviolate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted; so that truly it may be affirmed, the selfsame body both to be received of us, and yet not the selfsame. The selfsame, I mean, as touching the essence, property, and virtue of his true nature: and yet not the selfsame,

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as touching the forms of bread and wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses," &c.

And thus have ye the confession of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. From this confession of Lanfranc, the opinion and assertion also of Guimund, archbishop of Aversa, doth nothing differ in grossness and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending: "that the body of Christ is pressed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the hands of Thomas."

And moreover, the said Guimund, (if his book be not rather counterfeited at Louvain,) in the same place, answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Christ to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce, that whether we take tearing for hard biting or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the body of Christ may be touched with hands, bitten with mouth, crushed, yea, and divided in pieces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that as he was bruised upon the cross, according to the prophet, saying, He was bruised for our iniquities, &c.; so the same body, for the health of the faithful, may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c. Judge now, all good studious readers, what is to be thought of this kind of doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of God's word, saying, in Exodus, And of him ye shall not break a bone, &c.

This rude and misshapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached, so, if you would now know by what learning and scriptures they did confirm and establish the same, ye must here think and understand, how their chiefest grounds and substance to persuade the people, were at this time certain miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the same above recited of Odo, which Osberne or some other monkish legend invented of him, how he should show unto certain the host, turned into the likeness of flesh and blood, dropping into the chalice, for the conversion of those clerks, who before would not believe it. Another like miracle is also told by the said Osberne of Dunstan, in this order: how the said Dunstan appeared to a certain lame cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again restored; which cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said Dunstan, appearing again by the way, asked from whence he came; and whither he would. The cripple, answering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried; and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said Dunstan: "I am," saith he, "Dunstan, the fellow servant of all God's servants, and have been occupied with certain necessary business, for which I could not be present there with my children: for Elfric," said he, "otherwise surnamed Bata, hath attempted to disherit my church; but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevail."

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rife in popish stories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names, some referred to Gregory, some to Paschasius, and to others more, which, to recite all, would fill a whole sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of Paschasius. "There was a priest of Almain," (saith he,) "named Plegildus, who

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did see and handle with his hands visibly the shape of a child upon the altar; and so after he had embraced and kissed it, it returned again to the likeness of bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof." This miracle when it was objected against Berengarius, he, merrily deriding the blind fable, answered in these words: "A godly peace," quoth he, "of a false varlet; that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth."

Another miracle is reported of a Jew boy, who, upon a time, entering into the church with another, a Christian lad, who was his play-fellow, saw upon the altar a little child broken and torn in pieces, and afterwards, by portions, to be distributed among the people: which sight when the young Jew, coming home, had told unto his father to be true and certain, he was for the same condemned to be burned. Thus he, being enclosed in a house, and the door made fast where he should be burned, he was found and taken out from thence by the Christians, not only alive, but also having not one hair of his head blemished with the flames about him. Who then being of the Christians demanded, how he was so preserved from the burning fire, "There appeared," said he, "to me, a beautiful woman sitting on a chair, whose son the child was, which was before divided and distributed in the church among the people; who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her gown-skirts kept the flame from me, so that I was preserved thereby from perishing." Belike these monks lacked miracles among the Christians, when they were fain to borrow such figments of the Jews, to prove their feigned transubstantiation. And these commonly were then the arguments of these monks, wherewith they persuaded the people to believe their transubstantiation. But to leave these monks' fictions, and to return again to Berengarius, thus Malmesbury of him reporteth, that after he had once or twice recanted, as is aforesaid, yet, notwithstanding, this doctrine of the sacrament still remained in the mind of his hearers. And howsoever the tyranny of the pope did drive him, through fear, to deny his opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet, notwithstanding, after his death he lacked not his wellwillers; in the number of whom was Hilbert, bishop of Mans.

Although in this time of Berengarius, which was about the year of our Lord 1050, (as ye have heard,) this error of transubstantiation began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certain popish monks above rehearsed, as Lanfranc, Guimund, Algerius, Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, Fulbert, (of whom it is said in stories, that our Lady gave him suck, being sick, with her own breasts,) and such others: yet, notwithstanding, all this while the said transubstantiation was decreed for no public law, nor doctrine to be holden by any general consent, either of the Church of Rome, or any other council, before the council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent the Third, who, A.D. 1215, celebrating in the church of Lateran a general council of thirteen hundred bishops, enacted there divers constitutions, as of yearly confession; and the communion to be used by the whole multitude once a year through every parish church. Item, for the recovery of the holy land, with subsidy also to be levied for the same. Item, for the abolishing of the books and writings of Joachim the abbot, and also the opinions of Almaric before mentioned. Notwithstanding that the said Joachim did subscribe with his own hand, that he held the same doctrine which was in the Church of Rome, and also submitted his books to be presented to the see of Rome, there to be corrected or approved, yet was he judged, though not a heretic, yet to be erroneous; and especially in those books which he wrote against Peter the Lombard, called afterwards the Master of Sentences.

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In the said council, besides divers other constitutions and the articles of the Creed there in order repeated, as appeareth, there was also enacted, decreed, and established, the faith and belief of transubstantiation, in these words following:

"There is one universal church of the faithful, without which none can be saved; in which church the selfsame Jesus Christ is both priest and also the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power and working of God: so that to the accomplishing of this mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And this sacrament none can make or consecrate, but he that is a priest lawfully ordained, according to the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ hath left to his apostles, and to their successors," &c.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of transubstantiation, upon the consent of these aforesaid thirteen hundred bishops, in the year of our Lord above specified, under Pope Innocent, and the doctrine thereof intruded for an article of faith into the church, necessarily to be believed of all men under pain of heresy.

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood, yet was not this body elevated over the priest's head, nor adored by the people, till the days of Pope Honorius the Third, succeeding after Innocent, who, by his council, likewise commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation; as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

Again, the said sacrament of the Lord's supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, and adored, yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, nor for a remedy of the souls in purgatory, nor for a merit *operis operati, sine bono motu utentis*, &c., before that other popes, coming after, added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus have you the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the mass described by their times and ages, which first began with consecration and the form thereof, which were words of the canon. Then came transubstantiation by Innocent, and afterwards elevation and adoration by Honorius; and, last of all, came the oblation, meritorious and propitiatory, for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *ex opere operato*; which things being thus constituted by the too much usurped authority of the Church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny, and burning among the Christians; first beginning with the Albigenses, and the faithful congregation of Toulouse, near about the time of the said Innocent, as is before remembered.

And thus much for the first article, of transubstantiation, which, as you have heard, was not admitted into the church for any general doctrine of faith, before the year and time above assigned of Pope Innocent the Third: and therefore, if any have been otherwise persuaded, or yet do remain in the same persuasion still of this doctrine, as though it had been of a longer continuance than for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of histories

he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own catholic sort, John Duns Scotus I mean, who, in his fourth book, writing of transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: "These words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation; but the church did choose this sense, which is harder, being thereto moved, as seemeth, chiefly because men should hold, of the sacraments, the same which the Church of Rome doth hold," &c. And further, in the same place, the said Duns, expounding himself what he meaneth by the Church of Rome, maketh there express mention of the said Innocent the Third, and of this council of Lateran, &c. And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the truth may be more amply satisfied in this behalf, that this transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention, I will also adjoin to this testimony of John Scotus, the judgment and verdict of Erasmus, where he writeth in these words: "In the sacrament of the communion, the church concluded transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true body of Christ to be present either under bread, or else by some other manner," &c.

The second article: of both kinds.



S touching the second article, which debarreth from the lay-people the one-half of the sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forasmuch as the world well knoweth that this article is but young – invented, decreed, and concluded no longer since than at the council of Constance, not two hundred years ago, I shall not need to make any long standing upon that matter; especially for that sufficient hath been said thereof before, in our long discourse of the Bohemians' story.

First, let us see the reasons and objections of the adversaries, in restraining the laity from the one kind of this sacrament. "The use," say they, "hath been of so long continuance in the church:" whereunto we answer, that they have no evident nor authentic example of any ancient custom in the church, which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alleged the place of St. Luke, where Christ was known in breaking of bread, &c.; citing, moreover, many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to answer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of those places may be understood of the sacrament, yet that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the sacrament was only ministered to the people without the other, when by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part, the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that bread was broken among the brethren, therefore the cup was not distributed unto them: for so we find by the words of St. Paul, that the use of the Corinthians was to communicate, not only in breaking of bread, but in participating the cup also: "The cup," saith he, "which we participate," &c.

Also, after the apostles, in the time of Cyprian, of Jerome, of Gelasius, and others successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the church. First Cyprian, in divers places, declareth that the sacrament of the blood was also distributed. "How

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do we," saith he, "provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their blood, if we deny unto them the blood of Christ, when they prepare themselves to the conflict?"

The words of Jerome are plain: "Priests," saith he, "which minister the Eucharist, and divide the blood unto the people."

In *Historia Tripartita*, it was said to the emperor Theodosius, "How will you receive the body of the Lord with such bloody hands, or the cup of his precious blood with that mouth, who have spilled so much innocent blood?"

In the canon of Gelasius, and in the pope's own decrees, these words we read: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving only the portion of the Lord's body, do abstain from the cup of his sacred blood; to whom we enjoin that either they receive the whole sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither; for the dividing of that whole and one sacrament, cannot be done without great sacrilege," &c. So that this decree of Pope Gelasius being contradictory to the council of Constance, it must follow, that either the pope did err, or else the council of Constance must needs be a sacrilegious council; as no doubt it was.

The like testimony also appeareth in the council of Toledo, that the laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old precedents remaining yet in the churches both of Germany and also of France, declaring likewise the same.

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable, by manifold probations, how far this new-found custom differeth from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. Again, although the custom thereof were ever so ancient, yet no custom may be of that strength to gainstand or countermand the open and express commandment of God, which saith to all men, Drink ye all of it.

Again, seeing the cup is called the blood of the new testament, who is he that dare or can alter the testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

Further, as concerning those places of Scripture before alleged, Of breaking of bread; whereupon they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered but in one kind: to answer thereunto, first, we say, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture are to be referred to the sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament therefore was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is, under breaking of bread, to signify generally the whole feast or supper: as in the prophet Isaiah, these words, Break thy bread to the hungry, do signify as well giving drink, as bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, concerning the breaking of bread, be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For, if the sacrament were administered among them *in fractione panis*, that is, in breaking of bread, then must they needs grant, that if bread was there broken, ergo there was bread, forasmuch as neither the accidents of bread without bread can be broken, neither can the natural body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which saith, And ye shall break no bone of him, &c. Wherefore take away the substance of bread, and there can be no

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fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the substance of Christ's body, neither yet the accidents without their substance, can be broken, neither again will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken?. And what then was it, in this their breaking of bread, that they did break, if it were not bread, that is, the substance of bread, which was broken? To conclude: if they say that this fraction of bread was a sacramental breaking of Christ's body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christ's natural body in the sacrament is a sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Item, They object further, and say, that the church, upon due consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies, and sacraments.

Answer: – The institution of this sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order he took: first, he divided the bread severally from the cup; and afterwards, the cup severally from the bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death, to the world's end. Thirdly, besides this order taken, and example left, he added also an express commandment, Do this: Drink ye all of this, &c. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church, nor council of men, nor angel in heaven, hath any power or authority to change or alter; according as we are warned: If any bring unto you any other gospel beside that ye have received, hold him accursed, &c.

Item, Another objection: And why may not the church (say they) as well alter the form of this sacrament, as the apostles did the form of baptism? where, in the Acts, St. Peter saith, Let every one be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, &c.

Answer: – This text saith not that the apostles used this form of baptizing, "I baptize thee in the name of Christ," &c.; but they used many times this manner of speech, "to be baptized in the name of Christ," not as expressing thereby the formal words of baptizing, but as meaning this: That they would have them to become members of Christ, and to be baptized as Christians, entering into his baptism, and not only to the baptism of John: and therefore, although the apostles thus spake to the people, yet, notwithstanding, when they baptized any themselves, they used, no doubt, the form of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Item, Among many other objections, they allege certain perils and causes of weight and importance, as spilling, shedding, or shaking the blood out of the cup, or souring, or else sticking upon men's beards, &c.; for the which, they say, it is well provided the half communion to suffice.

Whereunto it is soon answered, that as these causes were no let to Christ, to the apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitive church, but that in the public assemblies they received all the whole communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes so important now, to annul and evacuate the necessary commandment of the gospel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnify our own devices, to strain at gnats, to stumble at straws, and to seek knots in rushes, which rather are in our own fantasies growing, than there, where they are sought.

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In summa: Divers other objections and cavillations are in popish books to be found, as in Gabriel, the difference made between the laity and priests; also the distinction used to be made between the priests' communion and the laical communion: where is to be understood, that when priests were bid to use the laical communion, thereby was meant, not receiving under one kind, as laymen do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the laymen then did. Some also allege certain special or particular examples, as of the cup only serving for the bread, or of the bread only sent to certain sick folk for the cup. And here they do infer the story of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whose mouth the sacrament of bread, which she only received without the cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Others allege other private examples likewise of infants, aged men, sick persons, men excommunicated, frantics, and madmen, or men dwelling far off from churches, in mountains or wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any instance against the ancient custom of public congregations frequented from the apostles' time; and much less ought they to derogate from the express and necessary precept of the gospel, which saith to all men without exception, This do ye, and, Drink ye all of it.

The third article: of private masses, trental masses, and dirige masses.

Private masses, trental masses, and dirige masses, as they were never used before the time of Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, so the same do fight directly against our Christian doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The mass is a work or action of the priest, applied unto men for meriting of grace, *ex opere operato*; in the which action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a sacrifice for remission of sins, *a pœna et culpa*, for the quick and the dead. Of this definition, as there is no part but it agreeth with their own teaching, so there is no part thereof which disagreeeth not from the rules of Christian doctrine; especially these, as follow:

I. The first rule is, Sacraments be instituted for some principal end and use, out of which use they are no sacraments: as the sacrament of baptism is a sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of sins to the person that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and showed to others, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no sacrament.

II. No sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce but to them only who take and use the same.

III. Only the death of Christ, and the work of his sacrifice upon the cross, is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his soul. Besides this work alone, to apply any action or work of priest or any other person, as meritorious of itself, and conducive to salvation, to souls' health, or to remission of sins, it is idolatry, and derogatory to the testament of God, and to the blood of Christ prejudicial.

IV. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is idolatry.

V. Every good work, whatsoever it be, that a man doth, profiteth only himself, and cannot be applied to other men, *ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remissions; only the actions of Christ excepted.

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VI. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death by any work-doing, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing.

VII. The sacrifice of Christ's death doth save us freely by itself, and not by the means of any man's working for us.

VIII. The passion of Christ once done, and no more, is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: by the virtue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified towards mankind for ever. Amen.

IX. The passion of Christ once done, is only the object of that faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore, whosoever setteth up any other object beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to idolatry.

Against all these rules private masses directly do repugn. For first, besides that they transgress the order, example, and commandment of Christ, (who divided the bread and cup to them all,) they also bring the sacrament out of the right use whereunto, principally, it was ordained. For whereas the use of that sacrament is principally instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christ's death, the private mass transferreth the same to another purpose, either to make of it a gazing idol, or a work of application meritorious, or a sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sins, or a commemoration for souls departed in purgatory: according as it is written in their mass book, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi, sumitur; pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur*, That in remembrance of whom the body and blood of Christ are taken, whereas Christ saith contrary, This do ye in remembrance of me.

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that whereas the communion was given in common, the private mass suffereth the priest alone to eat and drink up all; and when he hath done, to bless the people with the empty cup.

Secondly, whereas sacraments properly profit none but them that use the same, in the private mass the sacrament is received in the behoof not only of him that executeth, but of them also that stand looking on, and of them also which be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for remission of our sins, but only the death of Christ, cometh in the private mass, as a work meritorious done by the priest; which being applied to others, is available both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done.

Fourthly, private masses, and all other masses now used, of the sacrament make an idol; of commemoration make adoration; instead of receiving, make a deceiving; in place of showing forth Christ's death, make new oblations of his death; and of a communion make a single sole supping, &c.

Fifthly, whereas, in this general frailty of man's nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the priest, in his private mass, taketh upon him to merit both for himself, and for many others.

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Sixthly, it standeth against Scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied any otherwise to our benefit and justification, than by faith: wherefore it is false that the action of the mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death unto us, *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis vel sacrificantis*.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying standeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; contrarily, the application of these popish masses stoppeth the freeness of God's grace, and maketh that this benefit must first come through the priest's hands, and his *opus operatum*, unto us.

The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this; that where the Scripture saith, With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever: against this rule the private mass proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished, anew to be done again: and finally, that which was instituted only for eating, and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the popish mass maketh an oblation, and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead.

To conclude, these both private and public masses of priests, turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ sacrificed, to the body of Christ in their masses. And whereas God annexeth no promise of justification, but only to our faith in the body of Christ crucified, they do annex promise of remission *a pœna et culpa*, to the body in their masses sacrificed, by their application; besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring of their private and public masses, which here I leave to others at their leisure further to conceive and to consider. Now let us proceed to the other articles following.

The fourth and fifth articles; of vows and priests' marriage.

As we have discoursed before, by stories and order of time, the antiquity of the three former articles above mentioned, to wit, of transubstantiation, of the half communion, and of private masses; so now, coming to the article of vows, and that of priests' marriage, the reader will look, perchance, to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued; wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former process of this history, as in the life of Anselm, also of Pope Hildebrand, &c., yet, for the better establishing of the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what is more to be added. And to the intent that the world may see and judge the said law and decree of priests' single sole life, to be a doctrine of no ancient standing here within this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege for me the words of Henry of Huntingdon, here following:

"The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London; in the which synod he forefended priests here in England to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have: which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others again it seemed very dangerous, lest while that men should take upon them

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such chastity, more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might haply fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of Christian profession," &c.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in the days of King Edgar, A.D. 959, as they were all monks themselves, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing monks in churches and colleges, and putting out the married priests, as ye may read before; yet, notwithstanding, neither was that in many churches, and also the priests then married were not constrained to leave their wives, or their rooms, but only at their own choice. For so writeth Malmesbury, "Therefore divers and sundry clerks of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways," &c. So also Elfric, after them, (of whom mention was made before,) was somewhat busy in setting forward the single life of priests, and Lanfranc likewise. But yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriage was never publicly established for a law here, in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, in the days of William Rufus and King Henry the First, writing in these words: "Boldly I command, by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests that keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c.; as ye may read more at large before: which was much about the same time when Hildebrand also, at Rome, began to attempt the same matter, as before hath been showed; and also besides him were other popes more, as Pope Innocent the Third, Nicholas the Second, and Calixtus the Second, by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought at length to its full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite here all such constitutions of councils provincial and general, namely, of the council of Carthage and of Toledo, which seemed to work something in that behalf against the matrimony of priests.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all such bishops and priests, which, notwithstanding, have been married since that time in divers countries, as more amply shall be showed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, this is to be found by credible proofs and conferring of histories, that about the year of our Saviour 1067, at what time Pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the papal chair, this oath began first to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to be bound to promise the same.

And this was, as I said, about A.D. 1067, well approved and testified by course of histories: whereby appeareth the prophecy of St. Paul truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, 1 Tim. iv., where he writeth in these words: The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the faith, hearkening unto spirits of error, and to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thanksgiving, &c.

In this prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; first, the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of meats, which God generally

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hath left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy to be noted is, the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurrerth right well with these years of Pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

This prophecy of St. Paul, thus standing, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereby, that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than is the single life; than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests: which may soon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and search of histories.

I. For first, at the council of Nice, A.D. 325, it is notorious that this devilish law of marriage to be restrained, was stopped by Paphnutius.

II. Before this council of Nice, we read of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who, about A.D. 193, dissenting from Pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, allegeth for himself how his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that see, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

III. Pope Syricius, about A.D. 390, wrote to the priests of Spain, about the same matter of putting their wives from them; if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who, answering to Syricius in this behalf, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Syricius replied again (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and, for the defence of his cause, alleged this sentence of St. Paul, If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appear, not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, which showed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

IV. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer to the ancient time of the church, the less ancient we shall find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst Christian ministers, beginning, if ye will, with the apostles, their examples and canons, who, although they were not all married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing St. Paul, where he writeth of himself, Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other apostles have? Whereby is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did. Albeit Clement of Alexandria, who was two hundred years after Christ, denieth not but that Paul was married, being an apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said apostles, in their doctrine, admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation, Let every man have his own wife, lest Satan tempt you, &c., so likewise the same apostles, in their canons, (as in the pope's decrees is cited,) do precisely charge, that no bishop or priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, "If any shall teach that a priest, for religion's sake, ought to contemn his own wife, let him be accursed," &c.

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As for the gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word "contemning" for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that to be a gloss of mere sophistry. And because I have here made mention of Clement of Alexandria, it shall not be to our purpose impertinent, to infer the words of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend priests' lawful matrimony against certain vain boasters of virginity in his time: "These glorious braggers do vaunt themselves to be the followers of the Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet possessed any thing here in the world," &c. And it followeth, "To these the Scripture maketh answer, God withstandeth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Again, they consider not the cause why the Lord took no wife. First, he had his own peculiar spouse, which is the church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he should stand in such need of a helper after the flesh," &c. And in the same book a little after, alleging against them that abhor matrimony, he inferreth the words of St. Paul, how that in the latter days, some shall fall from the faith, attending to spirits of error, and to doctrine of devils, forbidding to marry, and bidding to abstain from meats, &c. Which place of St. Paul, Clement here applieth not against the Novatians, and them that condemn matrimony in general in all men as naught; but he applieth it only against such as forbid marriage in part, and namely in priests, &c. This Clement wrote after Christ two hundred years, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we shall find both by the council of Gangra three hundred years, and also by the council of Nice four hundred years, after Christ, the same liberty of priests' marriage established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the council of Gangra be these: "If any do judge that a priest, for his marriage' sake, ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstain from the same, let him be accursed."

Moreover, proceeding yet in times and chronicles of the church, we shall come to the sixth council, called the Synod of Constantinople, almost seven hundred years after Christ; the words of which council be alleged in the Decrees, and be these: "Because, in the order of the Roman canon we know it so to be received, that such as be deacons and priests shall profess themselves to have no more connexion with their wives; we, following the ancient canon of the diligent apostles and constitutions of holy men, enact that such lawful marriage, from henceforth, shall stand in force, in no case dissolving their conjunction with their wives, neither depriving them of their mutual society and familiarity together, in such time as they shall think convenient," &c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree: hear now the penalty in the same decree and distinction contained. "If any man, therefore, shall presume, against the canons of the apostles, to deprive either priest or deacon from the touching and company of his lawful wife, let him be deprived. And likewise this priest and deacon, whosoever, for religion's sake, shall put away his wife, let him be excommunicated," &c. (and the council of Gangra saith: "let him be accursed.") By these words of the council recited, six things are to be noted:

I. First, how this council calleth the marriage of priests lawful, contrary to these six articles, and to a certain late English writer of our country, entitling his book Against the Unlawful Marriage of Priests.

II. In that this council so followeth "the canons of the apostles, and constitutions of holy men," we have to understand what the censures both of the apostles, and determination of other holy men, were therein.

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III. If the injunction of this council, agreeing thus with the apostles and holy men, stood with truth, the contrary canon of the Romans, and also of these six English articles, must needs be condemned of error.

IV. By this council appeareth, that so long time, almost seven hundred years after Christ, this prohibition of priests' marriage was not yet entered into the Orient church, but stoutly was holden out.

V. By the Roman canon here mentioned, which began with Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, a little before this council, it cannot be denied but that the Church of Rome began then to dissever, not only from the verity, but also from the unity of all other churches following the apostolic doctrine; albeit the said Roman canon at that time stood not long, but was shortly disannulled by the said Gregory again, by the occasion of infants' heads found in the fish pond; whereof (Christ willing) more shall be spoken hereafter.

VI. Sixthly, here is to be noted and remembered the crafty false packing and fraud of the Romans, who, in the Latin book of Councils, in divers new impressions, have suppressed this canon, because belike it maketh little with their purpose: playing much like with this, as Pope Sosimus, Boniface, and Celestine played with the sixth council at Carthage, who, for their supremacy, would have forged a false canon of Nice, had not the council sent to Constantinople for the true exemplar thereof, and so proved them open liars to their faces. So likewise this canon above mentioned, although it be omitted in some books, yet, being found in the ancient and true written copies, being alleged of Nilus, a Greek bishop of Thessalonica, two hundred years ago; and moreover being found and alleged in the pope's own book of Decrees, dist. 31, must needs convince them of manifest theft and falsehood.

Thus it may stand sufficiently proved, that the deprivation of priests' lawful marriage, all this space, was not entered into the church, neither Greek nor Latin, at least took no full possession, before Pope Hildebrand's time, A.D. 1067, and especially Pope Calixtus' time, A.D. 1119, which were the first open extorters of priest's marriage. Aventine, a faithful writer of his time, writing of the council of Hildebrand, hath these words:

"In those days priests commonly had wives, as other Christian men had, and had children also, as may appear by ancient instruments, and deeds of gift, which were then given to churches, to the clergy, and to religious houses; in which instruments, both the priests and their wives, also, with them, (who there be called *presbyterissæ*.) I find to be alleged for witnesses. It happened, moreover, at the same time, (saith Aventine,) that the emperor had the investing of divers archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and nunneries, within his dominions; Pope Hildebrand disdaining against both these sorts aforesaid, (that is, both against them that were invested by the emperor, and also against all those priests that had wives,) provided so in his council at Rome, that they who were promoted by the emperor into livings of the church, were counted to come in by simony: the others, who were married priests, were counted for Nicolaitans. Whereupon Pope Hildebrand, writing his letters to the emperor, to dukes, princes, and other great prelates and potentates; namely, to Berthold of Zaringia, to Rodulph of Suevia, to Welfon of Bavaria, to Adelberon, and to their ladies, and to divers others to whom he thought good, also to bishops; namely, to Otto, bishop of Constance, with other priests and lay people, willeth them, in his

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letters, to refuse and to keep no company with those simoniacs and those Nicolaitan priests, (for so were they termed then,) which had either any ecclesiastical living by the emperor, or else who had wives: to avoid their masses; neither to talk, neither to eat or drink with them, nor once to speak to them, or to salute them; but utterly to shun them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwise than they would eschew the plague or pestilence.

"By reason hereof ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the flock of Christ, such as lightly the like hath not been seen: for the priests went against their bishops, the people against the priests, the laity against the clergy: briefly, all ran together in heaps and in confusion. Men and women, as every one was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, took thereby occasion, upon every light suspicion, to resist their minister, to spoil the goods of the church. The vulgar people contemned the priests which had married wives, despised their religion, and all things that they did; yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had been with holy water, and burned their tithes. Also, such was the mischief of them, that they would take the holy mysteries which those married priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet: for so then had Hildebrand taught them, that those were no priests, neither that they were sacraments which they did consecrate. So that by this occasion many false prophets rose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and feigned glosses, wresting the Scriptures as served best for their own purposes: of whom few there were, that kept any true chastity. Many could make glorious boasts and brags thereof; but the greatest part, under the show and pretence of honesty and pureness of life, committed incest, fornication, adultery, every where almost, and no punishment was for the same," &c.

To this testimony of Aventine above mentioned, we will also adjoin the record of Gebuilerus, a writer of this our latter time, and one also of their own crew, who doth testify, that in the time of the emperor Henry the Fourth, A.D. 1057, the number of twenty-four bishops, both in Germany, Spain, and in France, were married, with the clergy also of their diocese. Of which Spanish bishops we read also in Isidore, who wrote more than six hundred years after Christ, (and the place is also cited in the pope's distinctions,) in his book *De Clericorum Vita*, how they ought either to lead an honest, chaste life, or else to keep themselves within the band of matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of priests either to be then voluntary, or else their marriage not to be restrained as yet by any law.

Moreover, such Calixtian priests as be nowadays, counting priests' marriage as a new device, and not standing with ancient times, let them look upon the decree of Pope Symmachus, and answer thereof to the Gloss, dist. 81; where it is written, "Let priests be all restrained from the conversation of all women, except it be their mother, sister, or their own wife," &c.

Thus, if either the voice of Scripture might take place with these men which be so rigorous against priests' marriage; or if the examples of the apostles might move them, (whom St. Ambrose witnesseth to have been all married, except only Paul and John,) or else if the multitude of married bishops and priests might prevail with them, here might be rehearsed, that Tertullian was a married priest; as witnesseth Jerome; Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, had wife and children; Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was also married; Gregory, bishop of Nissa; Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum; Prosper, bishop of Rheggio; Cheremon, bishop of Nilopolis: all these were married

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bishops. Of Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops and married men, we spake before. Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople in Justinian's time, was the more commended, because his father and ancestors before him were priests and bishops married. Jerome saith, that in his time, "many priests were then married men."

Pope Damasus reciteth up a great number of bishops of Rome, who were priests' sons; as, Sylverius, A.D. 536; Deodatus, about the year 614; Adrian the Second, about the year 867; Felix the Third, about the year 483; Osius; Agapetus, A.D. 535; Gelasius, A.D. 492; Boniface, A.D. 418; Theodore, (whose father was bishop of Jerusalem,) about the year 642; John the Tenth, A.D. 914 John the Fifteenth, the son of Leo, a priest, about the year 985; Richard, archdeacon of Coventry; Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon; Volusianus, bishop of Carthage; Thomas, archbishop of York, son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester. And how many other bishops and priests in other countries, besides these bishops of Rome, might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure were such as to make a whole bead-roll of them all!

In the mean time the words of Cardinal Sylvius, afterwards bishop of Rome, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain friend of his, which, after his orders taken, was disposed to marriage. To whom the aforesaid Sylvius answereth again in these words following: "We believe that you, in so doing, follow no sinister counsel, in that you choose to be married, when otherwise you are not able to live chaste. Albeit this counsel should have come into your head before that you entered into ecclesiastical orders: but we are not all gods, to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now, forasmuch as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the law, better it is to marry than to burn," &c.

All these premises well considered, it shall suffice, I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this general law and prohibition of priests' marriage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time, nor long continuance of years, as they make it, but rather to be a late devised doctrine, gendered by the monks, and grounded upon no reason, law, or Scripture; but that certain which be repiners against the truth, do rack and wrest a few places out of the doctors, and two or three councils, for their pretended purpose: whose objections and blind cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories, refer to the further discussion of divines, in whose books this matter is more at large to be sought and searched. In the mean season, so much as appertaineth to the searching of times and antiquity, and to the conservation of such acts and monuments as are behovable for the church, there is a certain epistle learned and ancient, of Volusianus, bishop some time of Carthage, tending to the defence of priests' lawful wedlock, which Æneas Sylvius, in *Descriptione Germaniæ*; also Illyricus in *Catalogo*; and Melancthon, *Lib. de Conjugio*, do father upon Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, in the time of Pope Nicholas the Second. But as I find it in an old written example, sent by John Bale to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, as it is joined in the same book, so it beareth also the same title and name of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage.

As touching the antiquity of the first epistle, it appeareth by the copy which I have seen and received, of the above-named Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, to be of an old and ancient writing, both by the form of the characters, and by the wearing of the parchment, almost consumed by length of years and time.

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And as concerning the author thereof, the superscription (if it be true) plainly declareth it to be the epistle of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage: albeit, heretofore, it hath commonly been taken and alleged by the name of Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, and partly appeareth to be so, both by the testimony of Æneas Sylvius, in Descriptione Germaniæ, who, in the said treatise, affirmeth that Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, did constantly resist the pope, abolishing the marriage of priests, &c.: and also by the record of Illyricus, testifying that the said epistle not only remaineth yet to this day in old monuments, but also that he himself did see two exemplars of the same, both pretending the name of the said Hulderic to be the author, notwithstanding this copy I have seen, beareth the title, not of Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, but of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage in Africa; as ye may see by the words of the preamble, saying, "This is the rescript of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage, unto Pope Nicholas, concerning priests not to be restrained from lawful marriage," &c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas this was, to whom these epistles were written, it is not plainly showed in the same; but that by probable conjecture it may be guessed rather to be Pope Nicholas the Second, forasmuch as in his time priests' marriage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more than at other times before.

These two epistles, written to Pope Nicholas under the title of Volusianus, give us to understand by the contents thereof, first, that he himself was then a married bishop: secondly, that the liberty of priests' marriage ought not to be restrained by any general law of compulsion, but to be left to every man's free choice, and voluntary devotion: thirdly, the said epistles, being written to Pope Nicholas, (if the title be true,) declare, that this law, prohibiting the lawful matrimony of churchmen, began first in this pope's time generally to be enacted.

And although it be not here expressed which Pope Nicholas this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the words of Pope Alexander, it may probably be esteemed to be Nicholas the Second, and not Nicholas the First, as some do suppose; amongst whom is Illyricus, and also John Bale, with certain others: from whose judgments, although I am loth to dissent, yet, notwithstanding, modestly and freely to utter herein my opinion, this I suppose, that if the truth of this matter were thoroughly tried, it might, peradventure, be found that they be herein deceived, and all by mistaking a certain place of Gratian: for the better explanation hereof it is to be understood, that amongst the distinctions of Gratian, there is a constitution, the tenor whereof is this, "No man shall hear mass of any priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a concubine, or a woman privily resorting to him," &c.

This decree, forasmuch as Gratian doth allege under the name and title of Pope Nicholas, not naming what Nicholas he was, therefore John Bale, and Illyricus, one following the other, and they both following Volateran, do vouch this constitution upon Nicholas the First. The words of Volateran be these, writing of Nicholas the First; "He determined on many useful measures, such as that none should be present at the sacrifice of a priest who kept a concubine."

In like effect follow also the words of Illyricus aforesaid; and he allegeth, as Volateran doth, the said distinction of Gratian, in alleging whereof they both seem to be deceived, in mistaking belike one Nicholas for another: as may be proved and made good by three or four reasons.

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First, by the words of Pope Alexander the Second, in the next chapter following, who, being the successor of Leo, and of Nicholas the Second, useth the same words in his synod of Mantua, (which Gratian referreth unto Nicholas,) and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully, alleging, moreover, the former constitution of both his predecessors, Popes Leo and Nicholas, who, by all stories, are known to be Leo the Ninth and Nicholas the Second, which both were next before him. The words of Alexander the Second be these; "Beside this, we command that none hear mass from a priest known to be privately married. Hence the holy synod has determined this under pain of excommunication, saying, Whosoever of the priesthood, after the constitution of our predecessors of blessed memory, the most holy Popes Leo and Nicholas, shall openly marry a wife, or if married, shall not leave her," &c., &c. By which words, speaking of Nicholas his predecessor, it is evident to understand this to be Pope Nicholas the Second, which was his next predecessor, and not Pope Nicholas the First, who was about two hundred years before him.

The second reason, I take out of the chapter of Gratian next going before, where he allegeth again the same Nicholas, writing to Otho archbishop; which Otho was then, in the time of this Nicholas the Second, archbishop of Cologne, and was afterwards in the council of Mantua, under Pope Alexander the Second, as witnesseth Johannes Quintius, the lawyer. Whereby it must needs be granted, that this was Nicholas the Second, and not Nicholas the First.

The third conjecture or reason is this, for that Pope Nicholas the First never made any such act or decree, that neither priests that were entangled with a concubine, should sing mass, nor that any should resort to hear the mass of such, &c.; but rather to the contrary. For so we read in the history of Antoninus.

And yet more plainly also afterwards he saith, "Where ye demand concerning the priest that hath a wife, whether ye ought to sustain him, and honour him, or reject him from you: we answer, that albeit they be very much blameworthy; yet ye ought to be followers of God, who maketh his sun to rise both upon the good, and upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject such away from you," &c.

And this Nicholas, Antoninus confesseth plainly to be Nicholas the First; whereby it is not only not unlikely, but also most certain, that Nicholas the First was not the author of this constitution, either to exterminate married priests from their churches, or to excommunicate the people from receiving their communion; much less then from hearing their service.

Fourthly: forasmuch then as it is undoubted that Nicholas the Second, and Alexander the Second, through the instigation of Hildebrand, were the authors of that constitution whereof Gratian speaketh, it remaineth plain by the words of Volusianus, in the latter end of his letter, (wherein he maketh mention both of discharging the priest from singing mass, and the people from hearing,) that the said epistle was written, not to Pope Nicholas the First, but to Pope Nicholas the Second, because both these were decreed against married priests under Nicholas the Second, and Alexander the Second, as is before declared.

And further, lest my judgment herein should seem to stand alone and singular, without some to take my part, I will here produce for me a Parisian doctor, and a famous lawyer,

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Johannes Quintius, above mentioned, who in his book *De Clericorum Moribus* plainly accordeth with mine opinion touching this Nicholas, author of the decree aforesaid, where he writeth in these words; "Pope Nicholas, writing to Otho, archbishop of Cologne, &c. Gloss: There have been, in all, five popes called by the name of Nicholas; of which five, this Nicholas, the writer hereof, must be either the first or second: the one a Roman, in the year 860; the other a Burgundian, in the year 1059, or 1060. The other Nicholases lived after Gratian, who wrote in the year 1151. In my judgment I suppose this to be Nicholas the Second, which, in the third Book of the Laws, called *Pannomia*, tit. *De Lapsis*, is named Nicholas the younger: which Nicholas, also, is author of the next decree that followeth," &c.

Wherefore if any man shall object hereafter, that, because Gratian, in the distinction aforesaid, nameth Pope Nicholas absolutely, without any addition, he is therefore to be taken for Nicholas the First, unto this objection I set here these two lawyers to answer. Unto whose answer this I add also, that the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his distinctions is, that when he speaketh of popes, as of Innocent, Gregory, Leo, Lucius, and such others, very seldom he expresseth the difference of their names: so in the eighteenth distinction, *Presbyteris*, where he bringeth in the decree of Pope Calixtus in like manner, against the matrimony of priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, he addeth thereto no discrepance of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was Calixtus the Second, and not Calixtus the First, &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters, no doubt, by their title appear to be written by Volusianus. Most certain this is, by whomsoever they were written, fruitful epistles they are, and effectual to the purpose.

But lest we should seem too much to digress from our purpose, let us return to the story and time of Nicholas the Second again, who was about the year, as is said, 1059, a little before Hildebrand was pope. This Hildebrand, albeit he was then but a cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him listed in the church of Rome, and also made popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this Nicholas, and also Pope Alexander, who followed him. So that this dissolution of priests' marriage began somewhat to kindle under this Pope Nicholas, through the pestilent means of Hildebrand, and after him increased more under Pope Alexander, as appeareth by the synod holden at Milan, in the year 1067. But most of all it burst out under the said Hildebrand himself, being pope in the year, as is said, 1076.

Although, as touching this prohibition of priests to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary faction, in searching out the reach and antiquity of this tradition, for priests to abstain from wives, do refer the same to the time of the second council of Carthage, which was about the time of Pope Syricius, a great enemy to ministers' wives, as appeareth in the eighty-fourth distinction, *Cum in præterito*; yet, notwithstanding, to the same may be answered,

First, That this was no universal or general council, but some particular synod, and, therefore, of no such great forcible authority.

Secondly, The same synod being about the time of Pope Syricius, who was a capital enemy against priests' marriage, may seem to draw some corruption of the time then present.

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Thirdly, Neither is it impossible, but as divers bastard epistles have been falsely fathered upon certain ancient bishops of the primitive church, and divers canons also, as of the council of Nice, have been corrupted by bishops of Rome, so some falsehood, likewise, or forgery, might be used in this second council of Carthage.

Fourthly, Although no false conveyance had been used therein, yet, forasmuch as the said canon of this second council of Carthage doth misreport and falsify the canons of the apostles, in so doing it doth justly diminish its own credit.

Fifthly, Seeing the aforesaid canon of this second council of Carthage tendeth clean contrary to the canons of the apostles, to the council of Gangra, and other councils more, and commandeth that which they do accurse, the authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

Sixthly and finally, Though this constitution of the council of Carthage were perfectly sound without all corruption, yet plain and evident it is, by this Volusianus, bishop also of Carthage, that the same constitution took no great hold in the church, forasmuch as we see that both this Volusianus was married, after that, in Carthage himself, and also, besides him, many hundred years after, marriage was a common matter through most churches of Christendom, amongst bishops and priests; as partly before hath been declared, and more may be seen in histories, what great tumults and business was long after that, in Hildebrand's time, and after him also amongst the clergymen, both in Italy, Spain, France, and in all quarters of Christendom, for separating priests from their liberty of marrying.

And again, if this tradition concerning the unmarried life of priests had stood upon such an old foundation from the second council of Carthage, (as they pretend,) what needed then, in the time of Pope Nicholas the Second, Pope Alexander the Second, Pope Gregory the Seventh, and other popes after them, so much labour to be taken, so many laws and decrees to be devised and enacted, for the abolishing of priests' marriage, if the same had been of such a long antiquity as they would make men believe

By these things considered it may appear, that this detraction of priests' marriage, by public law compelling them to single life, was never received for a full law, generally to be observed in the Church of Rome, but only since the beginning of Hildebrand; that is, since these five hundred years. About which time first is to be noted, that under Pope Leo, and this Pope Nicholas, Cranzius and certain German chroniclers do say, that simony and priests' marriage were prohibited. This Pope Leo the Ninth was A.D. 1049.

After him Pope Nicholas (to whom the aforesaid letter of Volusianus seemeth to be written) made this ordinance: "Let no one hear mass by a presbyter who, he knows without doubt, keeps a concubine or woman in secret." And presently, "Whatsoever priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, according to the constitution of Pope Leo our predecessor, concerning the chastity of clerks, shall openly marry a concubine, or shall not put her away being married: in the behalf of Almighty God," &c., "we utterly charge and forbid the same, that he sing no mass, nor read the gospel or epistle at mass, nor execute any Divine service," &c. And this was about A.D. 1059. Although, in this constitution of Pope Nicholas, this word "concubine" may be understood

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for no wife, but so as Gratian understandeth it in the seventeenth canon of the apostles, in these words, "For one besides a man's wife."

Then, after this Pope Nicholas, cometh Pope Alexander, and especially Pope Hildebrand, who do expound this concubine forbidden, for a wife; and such priests as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitanes; for so we read in the synod of Milan, under Pope Alexander the Second: "Those clergy are called Nicolaitanes, who, contrary to the rules of ecclesiastical chastity, mingle with women." And further it followeth in the same synod, "We no less condemn the heresy of the Nicolaitanes; and, in virtue of the same testimony, we promise to separate from the vile company of their wives, not merely priests, but also deacons and sub-deacons, to the utmost of our power."

And moreover it followeth upon the same, "I do accurse all heresies extolling themselves against the holy catholic and apostolic church; but especially and namely, the heresy of simony: and in like manner the abominable heresy of the Nicolaitanes, which impudently barketh, that the ministers of the holy altar may and ought to use wives lawfully, as well as laymen," &c. And thus much concerning the synod of Milan, under Pope Alexander the Second, A.D. 1067.

Next after this Alexander rose up Pope Hildebrand, of all others the chiefest and most principal enemy against priests' marriage. For whereas all other approved canons and councils were contented that any clergyman, having a wife before his entering into his ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his marriage, so that he married not a widow, or a known harlot, or kept a concubine, or were twice married; now cometh in Pope Hildebrand, making priests' marriage to be heresy, and further enacting, that "whatsoever clerk, deacon, or minister had a wife, whatsoever she was, maid or other, either before his orders, or after, should utterly put her from him, or else forsake his ministry," &c.

Although, notwithstanding, the greatest part of ecclesiastical ministers, seeing this strange doctrine and proceedings, (which St. Paul expressly calleth the doctrine of devils,) did what they could to withstand the same: of whom Lambert of Aschaffenburg thus writeth: "Against this decree, the whole number of the clergy did vehemently storm and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious heretic, and one that maintained fantastical doctrine: who, forgetting what the Lord saith, All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it; and also what the apostle saith, Whoso cannot otherwise contain, let him marry; better it is to marry than to burn; yet, notwithstanding, would he bind men to live like angels: who, if he continued as he began, they would (they said) sooner forsake the order of priesthood, than their order of matrimony," &c.

This Hildebrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the bishops every where to execute his commandment with all severity; threatening to lay the apostolical censure upon them, if otherwise they showed not their diligence therein to the uttermost. This was A.D. 1074. Of the same Hildebrand, Radulph also writing, hath these words: "Pope Gregory the Seventh, called Hildebrand, holding a synod, accursed such as committed simony, and removed married priests from saying service; forbidding also the laymen to hear their mass, after a new and strange example; and, as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the sentence of holy fathers."

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And thus much for the antiquity of bringing in the single life of priests, which, first springing from the time of Pope Nicholas and Alexander the Second, began first with a custom, and afterwards was brought into a law, chiefly by Pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy into other countries, and at length into England also; albeit not without much ado, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing.

In the mean while, as Pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, likewise, was doing here in England about the same matter; although he began not altogether so roughly as Pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his council holden at Winchester; where, though he inhibited such as were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet did he permit, in his decree, that such priests as dwelt in towns and villages, having wives, should retain them still, and not be compelled to be separate from them; and they that had none, should be inhibited to have: enjoining, moreover, the bishops thus to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into orders any priests or deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession to have no wives.

And here, to note by the way of the said Lanfranc, for all his glorious gay show of his monkish virginity and single life, yet he escaped not altogether so unspotted for his part, but that the story of Matthew Paris, writing of Paul of Caen, whom Lanfranc preferred so gladly to be abbot of St. Alban's, thus reporteth of him: "Paul, a monk of Caen, and nephew of the archbishop Lanfranc, yea, as some say further, more near in blood to him than so," &c.

Then, after Lanfranc, came Anselm into the see of Canterbury, who, taking to him a stouter stomach, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the universal clergy; not permitting (as Lanfranc did) priests that had wives in villages and towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also, (which is against the council of Lateran,) who were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into orders hereafter, without profession of perpetual chastity.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish *μισογάμος* [Greek: *misogamos*], the priests, yet still holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful injunction, but kept still their wives almost two hundred years after; refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appear by those priests of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of York, speaketh, writing to Anselm in these words

"I much desire the purity of my clergymen: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deafness of the serpent, aspis, and the inconstancy of Proteus, that the poet's fable spake of. With their stinging tongues they cast out some-while threats, sometime taunts and rebukes. But this grieveth me less in them that be further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they that be of mine own church, as in mine own bosom, and prebendaries of mine own see, contemn our canons, and argue, like sophistical disputers, against the statutes of our council. The prebendaries who inordinately have been taken into orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make any profession to me. And they that be priests or deacons, having married

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before openly wives or concubines, will not be removed, for any reverence, from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive order, stiffly they deny to profess chastity in their ordering," &c.

Thus, for all the rigorous austerity of this Anselm, enforcing his decree made at London against the marriage of priests, yet the same had no great success, either in his lifetime, or after his life. For although sundry priests, during his lifetime, were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many denied to obey him.

Divers were contented rather to leave their benefices than their wives. A great number were permitted by King Henry, for money, to enjoy their wives; which was so chargeable unto them, saith Eadmer, in his fourth book, that at length two hundred priests, in their albes and priestly vestments, came barefoot to the king's palace, crying to him for mercy; and especially making their suit to the queen, who, using much compassion towards them, yet durst not make any intercession for them.

Anselm, at this time, was over the sea, making his voyage to the pope; who, hearing hereof, writeth to the king, declaring that such forfeitures appertained nothing to him, but only unto bishops, and in their default, to the archbishops: whereof read more before. So wilful was the blind zeal of this prelate, against all reason, against nature itself, against the example of his fore-elders, against public custom of his own time, against the doctrine of the apostles, the constitution of councils, against all honesty, and all God's forebode, that he, neither at the commiseration of the king, nor at the crying out and public dolour of so many priests, nor yet moved with the letters of Pope Paschal himself, who, putting him in remembrance of so many priests' sons, willed him to consider the necessity of the time, would yet nothing relent from his stubborn purpose unto his latter end: in whom, as many great crimes may justly be noted, so of all others this is most principally in him to be reprehended, for that he, seeing and perceiving what sodomitical fedit and abomination, with other inconveniences, did spring incontinently upon this his diabolical doctrine, yet, for all that, would not give over his pestilent purpose. For so the story recordeth, that when Anselm had established his synodal constitution, in separating priests from their wives, (which was A.D. 1103,) not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of sodomitry, which then began especially to reign in the clergy, after this inhibition of matrimony. Whereupon Anselm was constrained to call another council at Paul's, within London, to provide for this mischief; in which council this was made: "All them that commit the ungracious sin of sodomitry, and them also that assist them in their wicked purpose, with grievous curse we do condemn, till such time as they shall deserve absolution by penance and confession," &c.

Thus ye have heard what abominable wickedness ensued after priests were debarred from marriage, and what sore punishment was devised, by this maidenly prelate, for extirpating that sinful wickedness; in the abolishing whereof, more wisely he should have removed away the occasion whereof he was the author himself, than by penalty to suppress it; which he could never do.

Now let us hear further, what followed in that worthy council: "It is enacted, that whosoever shall be publicly known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious person, he shall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath already, shall be

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taken from him. If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of all his freedom within the whole realm of England, and that none under a bishop shall presume to assoil such as have been monks professed, of that trespass. It is also enacted, that every Sunday in the year, and in every parish church in England, this general curse aforesaid shall be published and renewed."

Is not here, trow you, good division of justice, that lawful wedlock of priests can find no grace or pardon, yea, is made now heresy, whereas adultery and horrible sodomitry are washed away with a little confession? And see yet what followeth more. After that this penal curse had now gone abroad, and been published in churches, the monks, perceiving this matter to touch them somewhat near, whispered in Anselm's ear, persuading him that the publication of that act might grow to great danger and inconvenience, in opening the vice which before was not known; in such sort, that in short time after that curse was called in again.

And so cursed sodomitry and adultery passed free without punishment, or word spoken against it; where, contrarily, godly matrimony could find no mercy.

Now, what reasons and arguments this Anselm sucked out of the court of Rome, to prove the matrimony of priests unlawful, were it not for cumbering the reader with tediousness, here would be showed. Briefly, the chief grounds of all his long long disputation in his book entitled, *Offendiculum Sacerdotum*, between the master and scholar, come to this effect.

Argument. Priests of the old law, during the time of their ministration, abstained from their wives:

Ergo, Priests in the time of the gospel, which every day minister at the altar, must never have any wives.

Argument. Moses, when he should sanctify the people, going up to the hill, commanded them to sequester themselves from their wives three days:

Ergo, Priests that must be sanctified to the Lord always, ought to live chastely always without wives. *Argument.* David, before he should eat of the shew-bread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their wives three days:

Ergo, Priests that be continually attending upon the table and sacraments of the Lord, ought never to have company with any such.

Argument. Uzzah, which put his hand to the ark, was slain therefore, as it is thought, because he lay with his wife the night before:

Ergo, Priests whose hands be always occupied about the Lord's service, must be pure from the company of wife, or any woman.

Argument. Nadab and Abihu, which sacrificed with strange fire, were devoured therefore, because they companied with their wives the same night:

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Ergo, Priests and sacrificers must have no wives to company withal.

Argument. The priests of the Gentiles in old time, when they sacrificed to their idols, are said to lie from their wives:

Ergo, Much more the priests that sacrifice to the living God, ought so to do.

Argument. Christ was born of a virgin, Christ lived ever a virgin, and commandeth them that will serve him to follow him:

Ergo, Priests that have wives, are not meet to serve him.

Text. 1 Cor. vii. 2. Let every man have his own wife, for avoiding of fornication.

Exposition. "That is meant and granted of the apostle only to laymen."

Text. 1 Cor. vii. 9. It is better to marry than to burn.

Exposition. "It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be consumed with concupiscence of strange women."

Text. 1 Tim. iii. 2. A bishop ought to be un-reprovable, the husband of one wife, &c.

Exposition. "The apostle here commandeth, that none should presume to be priest, but he who, being a layman before, hath had no more but one wife: and after he be made priest, not to couple himself any more with her, but only to minister to her things necessary for her living," &c.

And finally, after these things thus disputed and alleged, the said Anselm concludeth the matter with this final censure and determination, as followeth: "In that these men (he speaketh of married priests) do put on the holy vestments, or do touch the holy vessels, they do lay violent hands upon Christ. And in that they presume impudently to offer, they do in a manner visibly crucify Christ upon the altar. The ministry of such is read to be a persecution, or rather a crucifying of Christ," &c.

Lo! here, the mighty reasons, and strong-timbered arguments, and the deep divinity, wherewith this Anselm, and all others that draw after his string, go about to impugn the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Because the Israelites, when they should appear before the Lord at Mount Sinai, were commanded to keep from their wives three days; and because the priests of the old law in doing their function, as their turn came about, refrained the company of their wives for that present time; ergo, priests of the new law must at no time have any wives, but live always single, &c.

And why might not Anselm as well argue thus: The people of Israel, approaching to the mount, were commanded in like sort to wash their garments: ergo, priests of the new law, which are occupied every day about the altar, ought every day to wash all their garments.

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Moses, approaching to the presence of the Lord in the bush, was commanded to put off his shoes: ergo, priests of the new law, which are ever approaching to the presence of their God, should never wear shoes.

Of King David and his company, which but once in all their life did eat of the shewbread, it was demanded by the high priest, whether they had kept them from their wives three days before: ergo, kings and the people of the New Testament, which every year eat the bread of the Lord's board, more precious than ever was that *panis propositionis*, should abide all their life wifeless and unpoused.

But here Anselm should have considered how by these scriptures we are taught not to put away our wives, but wisely to distinguish times, when and how to have them. For, as Solomon teacheth that there is a time for all things, so is there a time to marry, and a time not to marry; a time to resort, a time to withdraw; a time of company, a time of abstinence and prayer, which St. Paul calleth, *προσκαιρον* [Greek:proskairon]; and as he speaketh of a time of prayer and abstinence, so he speaketh also of a time of resorting together, and addeth the cause why: Lest Satan, saith he, tempt you for your incontinency.

And thus should Anselm, with Solomon and Paul, have considered the order and distinction of times. Oftentimes in Scripture, that is commanded to some, and at some time, which extendeth not to others; and that which for a time is convenient, is not, by and by, always convenient: neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever: neither ought special examples to break general orders: neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make a universal rule.

They were then commanded to sequester themselves from their wives at the coming of the Lord: not that the coming of the Lord did break wedlock, but his commandment did bind obedience; and therefore obeyed they, because they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their wives, but only to separate themselves for a time; and that not for months and years, but only for three days: which abstinence also was enjoined them, not in the presence, nor at the appearing, of the Lord, but three days before his descending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth that the use of their wedlock neither displeased God, being present, nor yet did drive his presence away, when he was come; for he remained there present amongst them, on the hill, forty days notwithstanding.

Furthermore, this time of separation from their wives, as it was expressly commanded to them of God, so was it not long nor tedious, but such as was neither hard for them, nor inconvenient for the time: giving us thereby to understand, how to use separation in wedlock wisely, that is, neither at every time, nor yet too long.

For as they do not well, who never follow the time of St. Paul, called *προσκαιρον* [Greek:proskairon], for abstinence and prayer; so do they worse, which fall into that *παρακαιρον* [Greek:parakairon], whereof St. Paul again giveth us warning. But worst of all do they, who so separate their wives clean from them, and so abjure all matrimony, that they fall headlong into the devil's pitfall of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord, foreseeing the peril thereof, said unto the people, Be ye ready by the third day, and approach not your wives;

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appointing indeed a separation from their wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of man, he limiteth the time withal, adding, by the third day, and goeth no further. He saith not, as Anselm said in the council of Winchester, *Jurabunt presbyteri, diaconi, et subdiaconi, uxores suas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis conversationem habere, sub restrictione censuræ, &c.*

The like order also was taken by the Lord with the priests of the Old Testament, who, although they were enjoined to withdraw themselves from their wives during the times of their priestly service, yet, for avoiding fornication, they were permitted to have their wives notwithstanding. So that both their absenting from their wives served to sanctification, and their resorting again unto them served to avoid adultery and fornication.

But here our priestly prelates will object, that because they be continually conversant about the priestly function, therefore a perpetual sanctification is of them specially required. Whereunto I answer, First, The priestly function of those high priests, sacrificing for the people in the old law, representeth only the function of Christ, the High Priest, sacrificing for the sins of the world, who truly and only performed that pure chastity in his sanctified body, which the law then in those priests prefigured.

Secondly, Speaking now of the priests of the New Testament, (and speaking properly,) the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any priest to sacrifice to God for the sins of man, but only the High King and Priest, Christ Jesus.

Thirdly, Unto that Priest all others be but servants and ministers; of whom some be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some preachers having the gift of utterance, some interpreters and doctors having the gift of understanding, some deacons serving the Lord's board. The office of all whom chiefly consisteth in ministering the word, next in administering the sacraments.

Fourthly, Forasmuch as in these, principally above all others, pureness and sanctification of life is required, as much as, and more too, than was in the priests of the old law, from whom all fornication, adultery, incest, and uncleanness of life ought most to be banished; therefore, in these especially, above the priests of the old law, matrimony and spousage is most requisite and convenient, whosoever he be, which otherwise cannot contain; according to the apostle, saying, Let every one have his own wife.

Fifthly, Neither is this matrimony in these, any hinderance to their sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their sanctification; forasmuch as where matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth adultery, fornication, and all kinds of filthiness; according to the true saying of Bernard, "Take from the church honourable marriage and the bed undefiled, shalt thou not replenish it with concubinaires, with incestuous persons, sodomitical vices, and finally with all kinds of beastly filthiness?"

The truth of which saying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we list here to ransack the lives of these glorious despisers of matrimony, even from Lanfranc, the first ringleader of this dance here in England, with Paulus, monk of Caen, his nephew, whom

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Matthew Paris misdoubted to be his own son, even to Stephen Gardiner with his gold locks, the author and work-master of these six articles. But to the reasons of Anselm hitherto sufficient; which, of themselves, be so frivolous and gross, that only to recite them is enough to confute the same.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussing of divines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write stories, to declare and make manifest, by process of times and histories, that this cruel law, compelling ministers of the church to abjure matrimony, entered not into this land before Lanfranc, A.D. 1076, and Anselm his successor, as both may appear by the multitude of priests' sons lawfully begotten in matrimony, and succeeding in the churches here in England, testified by the epistle of Pope Paschal to Anselm before, and also may appear likewise by the council of Anselm, holden at Winchester, which partly was touched before, and now the full act we have more largely expressed, to be read and seen of all posterity.

And yet this unreasonable statute of Anselm, so diligently defended with sharp censures and penalties, had no such great speed, neither in the lifetime of the said Anselm, nor long after his death; but that divers priests notwithstanding still kept their wives, or after his death they returned to their wives again, through the sufferance of the then famous and learned king, named Henry Beauclerk, who something stayed the importunity of this monkish prelate, and willed the priests should keep both their wives and their churches, as they did before in Lanfranc's days.

Then, after Anselm, followed Radulph, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time was no great stir against the priests that were married. About the time of this archbishop, King Henry the First called a council at London, where he obtained of the spirituality a grant to have the punishment of married priests (which the spirituality afterwards did much repent); whereby the priests, paying a certain sum to the king, were suffered to retain their wives still, as is above storied.

Next after this Radulph, then succeeded William Corbeil, surnamed De Turbine, who renewed again the constitution of Anselm against married priests, especially by the help of Johannes, priest, and cardinal of Crema, the pope's legate, sent the same time into England, A.D. 1125. Of which cardinal of Crema, because enough hath been before declared, how, after his stout replying, in the council of London, against the married state of priests, exclaiming what a shameful thing it was to rise from a polluted bed, to make Christ's body, the night following he was shamefully taken with a notable whore, &c., as is apparent before.

I will therefore pass over that matter, returning again to William the archbishop, who, with the cardinal legate aforesaid, although he busily occupied himself in reproving the matrimony of priests, insomuch that he would give them no longer respite to put away their wives but from Michaelmas to St. Andrew's day following, yet could he not bring his purpose to pass, but that the priests still continued with their wives by the king's leave, as the Saxon story plainly recordeth in these words: "This William, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops who were in England, did command, and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not: all held their wives by the king's leave, even so as they before did." So hard was this cause to be won, that the archbishop at length gave it over, and left the controversy wholly unto the king. Whereupon he decreed that the priests should remain with their wives still. And so continued

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they after that, in the time of Theobald after him, of Thomas Becket, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Langton, Richard, Edmund, Boniface, Peckham, and others, during well-near the time, after Anselm, of two hundred years.

And, lest the quarrelling adversaries, being peradventure disposed here to cavil, should object and say that such marriage amongst the spiritual men might be private and secret, but not openly known, nor quietly suffered by any law of this realm: to avoid, therefore, what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this story, and for the further satisfying of the reader's mind herein, to infer and make known, by good record, not only that the liberty of marriage, amongst spiritual men, hath continued within this realm during the time aforesaid, to wit, two hundred years, or thereabouts, after Anselm; and that not in secret wise, but also openly; and being known, the same to be suffered, and lawfully allowed of, in such sort as both they, their wives, children, and assigns, might inherit and enjoy lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, by way of feoffment, deed of gift, or any other assurance, in such sort, manner, and form, as laymen, their heirs and assigns, at this day lawfully may do: as by divers writings and instruments, showed to us at the writing hereof, by divers men whose names hereafter follow, (some to this day remaining fair sealed, some by antiquity and long keeping much worn, and their seals mouldered and wasted,) is very evident and manifest to be seen.

First, about the year of our Lord 944, the profession of single life, and displacing of marriage, began to come into example here in England by reason of St. Benedict's monks, which then began to increase; and also about the time of King Edgar, especially by the means of Oswald, archbishop of York, Odo and Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester: so that in divers cathedral churches and bishops' sees, monks, with their professed singleness of life, crept in, and married ministers, (who were then called secular priests,) with their wives, out of sundry churches were dispossessed, not from wives, but only from their places: and yet not in all churches, but only in certain, whereof read before.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope Nicholas the Second, A.D. 1059, of Alexander, and Hildebrand, came into the see of Canterbury another monk, called Lanfranc, who also, being a promoter of this professed chastity, made the decree more general, that all prebendaries being married, in any churches, should be displaced; yet the priests in towns and villages should not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they would.

Last of all followed monkish Anselm, A.D. 1104; by whom was made this law at Winchester aforesaid, that priests, archdeacons, deacons, and subdeacons, which had wives and spiritual living, should be put from them both; and also that none after should be admitted to their orders, but should first profess single life, that is, to live without wives. And thus much concerning priests' marriage forbidden.

The sixth article; touching auricular confession.

Of confession, three kinds we find in the Scriptures expressed and approved. The first is our confession privately or publicly made unto God alone; and this confession is necessary for

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all men at all times. Wherefore St. John speaketh, If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive, &c.

The second is the confession which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confession, also, hath place when any such thing is committed, whereof riseth a public offence and slander to the church of God; as examples there be of penitentiaries in the primitive church, as Melchisedech and others, &c.

The third kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite, when either we have injured or by any way damnified our neighbour, whether he be rich or poor; whereof speaketh the Gospel, Go and reconcile thyself first unto thy neighbour, &c. Also St. James, Confess yourselves one to another. Or else this confession may also have place, when any such thing lieth in our conscience, in the opening whereof we stand in need of the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But herein must we use discretion in avoiding these points of blind superstition: first, that we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use therein our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, that we be not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, that we tie not ourselves to any one person, more than to another, but that we use therein our free choice, who we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

But as there is nothing in the church so good and so ghostly, which, through peevish superstition either hath not, or may not be perverted, so this confession, also, hath not lacked its abuses. First, the secret confession to God alone, as it hath been counted insufficient, so hath it been but lightly esteemed by many. The public confession to the congregation hath been turned to a standing in a sheet, or else hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the secret breaking of a man's mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, hath been turned into auricular confession in a priest's ear, for assoiling of his sins. In which auricular confession, first, of the free liberty of the penitent in uttering his griefs, they have made a mere necessity, and that unto salvation and remission of sins. Secondly, they require withal an enumeration and a full recital of all sins whatsoever, both great and small. Also besides the necessity of this ear-confession, they add thereto a prescription of time, at least once in the year, for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed; making, moreover, of the same a sacrament. And lastly, whereas before it stood in the voluntary choice of a man, to open his heart to what spiritual brother he thought best, for an easement of his grief, and for ghostly consolation, they bind him to a priest, (unless some friar come by the way to be his ghostly father,) to whom he must needs confess all, whatsoever he hath done; and though he lack the key of knowledge, and, peradventure, of good discretion, yet none must have power to assoil him, but he, through the authority of his keys.

And this manner of confession, they say, was instituted by Christ and his apostles, and hath been used in the church ever since to this present day: which is a most manifest untruth, and easy by stories to be convinced.

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For Socrates, lib. v. c. 19, and Zozimus, lib. vii. c. 16, in the Book of Ecclesiastical History, do give us plainly to understand, that this auricular confession never came of Christ, but only of men.

Item, In the time of Tertullian, Beatus Rhenanus testifieth, that there was no mention made of this auricular confession: which may well be gathered hereof, for that Tertullian, writing upon repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Item, In the time of Chrysostom, it appeareth there was no such assoiling at the priest's hands, by these words, where he saith, "I require thee not that thou shouldest confess thy sins to thy fellow servant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them."

Item, The said Chrysostom, in another place, writing upon repentance and confession, "Let the examination of thy sins and thy judgment," saith he, "be secret and close without witness; let God only see and hear thy confession," &c.

Item, In the time of Ambrose, the gloss of the pope's own decrees reporteth, that "this institution of penance was not then begun, which now, in our days, is in use."

Item, It is truly said, therefore, of the gloss in another place, where he testifieth that "this institution of penance began rather of some tradition of the universal church, than of any authority of the New Testament, or of the Old," &c.

The like also testifieth Erasmus, writing upon Jerome, in these words, "It appeareth that in the time of Jerome, this secret confession of sins was not yet ordained, which the church afterwards did institute wholesomely, if our priests and laymen would use it rightly. But herein, divines, not considering advisedly what the old doctors do say, are much deceived. That which they say of general and open confession, they wrest, by and by, to this privy and secret kind of confession, which is far diverse, and of another sort," &c.

The like testimony may also be taken of Gratian himself, who, speaking of confession used then in his time, leaveth the matter in doubtful suspense, neither pronouncing on the one side nor on the other, but referreth the matter to the free judgment of the readers, which the Act of these Six Articles here enjoineth as necessary, under pain of death.

Briefly, in few words to search out and notify the very certain time when this article of ear-confession first crept into the church, and what antiquity it hath, in following the judgment of Johannes Scotus and of Antoninus, it may well be supposed that the institution thereof took its first origin by Pope Innocent the Third, in his council of Lateran, A.D. 1215; for so we read in Johannes Scotus: *Præcipua autem specificatio hujus præcepti invenitur in illo capite*, Extrav. de Pœnit. et Remiss. *Omnis utriusque sexes*, &c. And after, in the same article, it followeth, For at the first institution of the church it does not appear that there were distinctive priests. By which words it appeared that there was no institution of any such confession specified before the constitution of Pope Innocent the Third.

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But more plainly the same may appear by the words of Antoninus. "Pope Innocent the Third, in his general council aforesaid, touching the sacraments of confession and the communion, made this constitution, as followeth: 'That every faithful person, both man and woman, after they come to the years of discretion, shall confess all their sins by themselves alone, at least once a year, to their own ordinary priest; and shall endeavour to fulfil, by their own strength, their penance to them enjoined, &c.; or else, who so doth not, shall neither have entrance into the church, being alive, nor, being dead, shall enjoy Christian burial. Wherefore this wholesome constitution we will to be published often in the churches, lest any men, through the blindness of ignorance, may make to themselves a cloak of excuse,'" &c. And thus much hitherto we have alleged, by occasion incident, of these six articles, for some part of confutation of the same, referring the reader, for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of divines, who professedly write upon those matters.

In the mean time, forasmuch as there is extant in Latin a certain learned epistle of Philip Melancthon, written to King Henry the Eighth, against these six wicked articles above specified, I thought not to defraud the reader of the fruit thereof, for his better understanding and instruction. The tenor and effect of his epistle translated into English thus followeth:

"Most famous and noble prince! there were certain emperors of Rome, as Adrian, Pius, and afterwards the two brethren, Verus and Marcus, which did receive gently the apologies and defences of the Christians; which so prevailed with those moderate princes, that they assuaged their wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel decrees: even so, forasmuch as there is a decree set forth of late in your realm, against that doctrine which we profess as both godly and necessary for the church, I beseech your most honourable Majesty favourably both to read and consider this our complaint; especially seeing I have not only for our own cause, but much rather for the common safeguard of the church, directed this my writing unto you. For, seeing those heathen princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Christians, how much more is it beseeeming for a king of Christian profession, and such a one as is occupied in the studies of holy histories, to hear the complaints and admonitions of the godly in the church! And so much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have so favourably heretofore received my letters with a singular declaration of your benevolence towards me. This also giveth me some hope, that you will not unwillingly read these things, forasmuch as I see that the very phrase and manner of writing do plainly declare, not yourself, but only the bishops to be the authors of those articles and decrees there set forth: albeit, through their wily and subtle sophistications, they have induced you (as it happened to many other worthy princes besides you) to condescend and assent unto them; as the rulers persuaded Darius, being otherwise a wise and just prince, to cast Daniel unto the lions.

"It was never unseemly for a good prince to correct and reform cruel and rigorous laws, to have (as it is commonly said) a second view and oversight of things before passed and decreed.

"The wise Athenians made a decree, when the city of Mitylene was recovered, (which before had forsaken them,) that all the citizens there should be slain, and the city utterly destroyed: whereupon there was a ship sent forth with the same commandment to the army. On the next morrow, the matter was brought again before the same judges, and, after better advice

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taken, there was a contrary decree made, that the whole multitude should not be put to the sword, but a few of the chief authors of their rebellion should be punished, and the city saved. There was, therefore, another ship sent forth with a countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former ship, as also it happened: neither was that noble city, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former decree. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the church especially, princes have many times altered and reformed their decrees, as Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. There was a decree set forth in the name of Ahasuerus, concerning the killing of the Jews; that decree was afterwards called in again. So did Adrian and Antoninus, also, correct and reform their decrees.

"Therefore, although there be a decree set forth in England, which threateneth strange punishments and penalties, disagreeing from the custom of the true church, and swerving from the rules and canons hereof; yet I thought it not unseemly for us to become petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of these your sharp and severe proceedings; the which, when I consider it, grieve my mind, not only for the peril and danger of them that profess the same doctrine that we do, but, also, I do lament for your cause, that they should make you an instrument and a minister of their bloody tyranny and impiety. And partly, also, I lament to see the course of Christian doctrine perverted, superstitious rites confirmed, whoredom and lecherous lusts maintained.

"Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in doctrine and virtue, to be there detained in prison, as Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, than to give their lives in the confession of the manifest truth and verity; yet would I wish that you should not distain your hands with the blood of such men; neither would I wish such lanthorns of light in your church to be extinguished; neither these spiteful and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wills so much fulfilled. Neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish antichrist, which laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well, by the help of his bishops, to recover again his former possession, which of late, by your virtues and godly means, he lost. He seeth your bishops, for the time, loyal unto you, and obsequious to obey your will; but, in heart, he seeth them linked unto him, in a perpetual bond of fidelity and obedience. In all these feats and practices the Romish bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts heretofore they have passed by bearing and suffering: they see that great things be brought to pass in time.

"Many good and learned men in Germany conceived of you great hope, that, by your authority and example, other princes also would be provoked to surcease, likewise, from their unjust cruelty, and better to advise themselves for the reformation of errors crept into the church; trusting that you would be as a guide and captain of that godly purpose and enterprise. But now, seeing these your contrary proceedings, we are utterly discouraged; the indignation of other princes is confirmed; the stubbornness of the wicked is augmented; and old and great errors are thereby established.

"But here your bishops will say again, no doubt, that they defend no errors, but the very truth of God's holy word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very deed both

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against the true word of God, and the apostolic church, yet, like crafty sophisters, they can find out fair glosses, pretending a goodly show outwardly, to colour their errors and abuses.

"And this sophistication not only now in England is had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom; neither in Rome only reigneth, where the Cardinals Contarini, Sadolet, and Cardinal Pole, go about to paint out abuses with new colours and goodly glosses; but also in Germany, divers noblemen are likewise corrupted and seduced with the like sophistication: and therefore I nothing marvel that so many there, with you, be deceived with these crafty jugglings. And although you, for your part, lack neither learning nor judgment, yet sometimes we see it so happen, that wise men also be carried away, by fair and colourable persuasions, from the verity. The saying of Simonides is praiseworthy: 'Opinion,' saith he, 'many times perverteth verity.' And many times false opinion hath outwardly a fairer show than simple truth; and especially it so happeneth in cases of religion, where the devil transformeth himself into an angel of light, setting forth, with all colourable and goodly shows, false opinions. How fair seemeth the gloss of Samosatenus, upon the Gospel of St. John, In the beginning was the Word, &c.! and yet is it full of impiety. But I omit foreign examples.

"In these articles of yours, how many things are craftily and deceitfully devised! 'Confession,' saith the article, 'is necessary, and ought to be retained.' And why say they not plainly, that the rehearsing and numbering up of sins, is necessary by God's word? This the bishops knew well to be very false, and therefore, in the article, they placed their words generally, to blear the eyes of the simple people; that when they hear confession to be necessary, they should thereby think the enumeration of sins to be necessary by God's word.

"The like legerdemain, also, they use in the article of private masses, albeit the beginning of the said article containeth a manifest untruth, where they say that it is necessary to retain private masses. What man in all the primitive church, more than four hundred years after the apostles' time, did ever so say or think, at what time there were no such private masses used? But afterwards, in the process of the article, follow other blind sophistications, to make the people believe that they should receive by them divine consolations and benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what consolations and benefits those be? The bishops here do name no application and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they daily, with glossing words, whereby they may wind out and escape, if any should improve their application. And yet, notwithstanding, they would have this their application to be understood and believed of the people. They would have this idolatrous persuasion confirmed, to wit, that this sacrifice doth merit unto others remission *a pœna et culpa*; release of all calamities, and also gain and lucre in common traffic; and, to conclude, whatsoever else the careful heart of man doth desire.

"The like sophistication they use also, where they say that priests' marriage is against the law of God. They are not ignorant what St. Paul saith, A bishop ought to be the husband of one wife: and therefore they know right well that marriage is permitted to priests by the law of God. But, because now they say, they have made a vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that priests for their vows' sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the article after this sort, that marriage of priests is utterly against the law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they show moreover, when they compel marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death, which will not put away their wives, and renounce their matrimony! whereas the vow of

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priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further, but only to put them from the ministry, if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the councils and canons.

"O cursed bishops! O impudent and wicked Winchester! who, under these colourable fetches, thinkest to deceive the eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in the whole world. These things have I written, that you may understand the crafty sleights, and so judge of the purpose and policy, of these bishops. For if they would simply and heartily search for the truth, they would not use these crafty collusions and deceitful jugglings.

"This sophistication, as it is in all other affairs pernicious and odious, so, above all things, most specially it is to be avoided in matters of religion; wherein it is a heinous impiety to corrupt or pervert the pure word of God. And hereof the devil, which is called Diabolus, specially taketh his name, because he wresteth the word of God out of men's hearts by such false juggling and sophistical cavillations. And why do not these bishops, as well, plainly utter and confess, that they will abide no reformation of doctrine and religion in the church, for that it shall make against their dignity, pomp, and pleasure? Why do not their adherents also, and such as take their part, plainly say that they will retain still the present state of the church, for their own profit, tranquillity, and maintenance? Thus to confess, were true and plain dealing.

"Now, while they pretend, hypocritically, a false zeal and love to the truth and sincere religion, they come in with their blind sophistications, wherewith they cover their errors. For their articles set forth in this act be erroneous, false, and impious, how glorious soever they seem outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wished, that these bishops would remember God's terrible threatening in the prophet Isaiah: Woe to you, saith he, which make wicked laws! What will you do in the day of visitation and calamity to come? &c. Woe unto you that call evil good! &c.

"Now, to come more near to the matter which we have in hand, this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkness hath been in the church of Christ. Men's traditions not only have been a yoke to good men's consciences, but also (which is much worse) they have been reputed for God's holy service, to the great disworship of God. There were vows, things bequeathed to churches, diversity of garments, choice of meats, long babbling prayers, pardons, image-worship, manifest idolatry committed to saints, the true worship of God and true good works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Christian and heathen religion, as still is yet at Rome to this present day to be seen. The true doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins which cometh by the faith of Christ, of justification, of faith, of the difference between the law and the gospel, of the right use of the sacraments, was hid and unknown. The keys were abused to the maintenance of the pope's usurped tyranny. Ceremonies of men's invention were much preferred before civil obedience and duties done in the commonwealth.

"Unto these errors, moreover, was joined a corrupt life, full of all lecherous and filthy lusts, by reason of the law forbidding priests to marry. Out of this miserable darkness, God something hath begun to deliver his church, through the restoring again of true doctrine. For so we must needs acknowledge, that these so great and long-festered errors have not been disclosed and brought to light by the industry of man; but this light of the gospel is only the gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the church. For so doth the Holy Ghost prophesy before, how in the latter times the godly should sustain sore and perilous conflicts with antichrist, fore-

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showing that he should come, environed with a mighty and strong army of bishops, hypocrites, and princes; that he should fight against the truth, and slay the godly.

"And that now all these things are so come to pass it is most evident, and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the bishop of Rome hath partly brought errors into the church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the same with force and violence, as Daniel well foreshowed; and much we rejoyce to see you divided from him, hoping and trusting well, that the Church of England would now flourish. But your bishops be not divided from the Romish antichrist: his idolatry, errors, and vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the articles now passed are craftily picked out. They confirm all human traditions, in that they establish solemn vows, single life, and auricular confession. They uphold and advance not only their pride and authority, but all errors withal, in retaining the private mass.

"Thus have they craftily provided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may still be upholden. And this to be the purpose of the bishops, experience itself doth plainly teach us. Now what man will not lament to see the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? for, as I said before, this matter concerneth not only these articles which be there enacted, but all other articles of sound doctrine are likewise overthrown, if such traditions of men shall be reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, For they worship me in vain with the precepts of men? or why doth St. Paul so oft detest men's traditions?

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his word, or to defend the same: such presumption God doth horribly detest, which will be known in his word only. He will have none other religions invented by man's device; for else all sorts of religions, of all nations, might be approved and allowed. Lean not, saith he, to thine own wisdom. But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of subtle and politic heads, which apply religion to their own lucre and commodity.

"Furthermore, private masses, vows, the single life of priests, numbering up of sins to the priest, with other things more, being but mere ordinances of men, are used for God's true service and worship. For although the supper of the Lord was truly instituted by Christ, yet the private mass is a wicked profanation of the Lord's supper: for in the canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is said, that Christ is offered, and that the work itself is a sacrifice, which redeemeth the quick and the dead? These things were never ordained of Christ; yea, manifold ways they are repugnant to the gospel. Christ willeth not himself to be offered up of priests, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a sacrifice. This is manifest idolatry, and overthroweth the true doctrine of faith, and the true use of the sacraments. By faith in Christ we are justified, and not by any work of the priests. And the supper is ordained that the minister should distribute to others, to the intent that they, repenting for their sins, should be admonished firmly to believe the promises of the gospel to pertain unto them. Here is set a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by his blood. And this is the true use of that supper which is ordained in the gospel, and was observed in the primitive church three hundred years and more, from the which we ought not to be removed: for it is plain impiety to transfer the Lord's institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second commandment. Wherefore these private masses, forasmuch as they swerve from the right institution of Christ manifold ways, as by oblation, sacrifice, application, and many other ways

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besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. Flee, saith St. Paul, from all idolatry. In these private masses much idolatry is committed, which we see our bishops now so stoutly to defend; and no marvel for, in the latter times, the Scripture plainly showeth that great idolatry shall reign in the church of God; as Christ himself also signifieth, saying, When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him understand. And Daniel saith, And he shall worship the God Mauzzim in his place, and shall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and precious stones. Both these places do speak of mass.

"This kind of worship and horrible profanation of the sacrament, God abhorreth: for how many and sundry kinds of manifest impiety are here committed in this one action of the mass! First, it is set forth to sale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive, whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied as meritorious and satisfactory for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promised thereby, as prosperous navigation, remedies against diseases both for man and beast, with other infinite more. These be most manifest and notorious abominations. But besides these, there be others, also, no less to be reprehended, which the simple people do not so plainly see. Such worshipping and serving of God is not to be set up after the fantasy of man.

"Wherefore they do wickedly, when they offer sacrifice to God without his commandment: for when of this work they make a sacrifice, they imagine that private masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that masses are bought with gold and silver, great riches, and sumptuous charges: also that the sacrament is carried about in gold and silver to be worshipped; whereas the sacrament was never ordained for any such purpose. Wherefore, seeing the commandment of God biddeth to flee from idolatry, private masses are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they say that such private masses are necessary to be retained, when it is evident that, in the old time, there were none such. Shall we think that things pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be lacking in the primitive church, three hundred years after the apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

"We see these private masses to be defended with great labour and much ado: of some, for fear lest their gain should decay; of some, because they would serve the affection of the vulgar people, (which think to have great succour thereby, and therefore are loth to leave it,) rather than for any just cause or reason to leave them. But, howsoever they do, a most manifest and evident cause there is, why these private masses ought to be abolished. For first, their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the priest merit any grace to any person, but every one is justified by his own faith. Neither again would God have any man to trust upon any ceremony, but only to the benefit of Christ: and most certain it is, that the application of these masses for the dead, is full of great error and impiety.

"But here come in blind glosses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application. For universally, among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that this work is available for the whole church? yea, the canon of the mass itself declareth no less. And why then do some of these crafty sophisters dally out the matter with their glossing words, denying that they make any application of their masses, when they know full well, that the error of the people

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is confirmed by this their doing; although they themselves do think otherwise? Albeit, how few be there, in very deed, which do otherwise think!

"We ought not to dissemble in God's matters. Let us use them as the Holy Scripture teacheth, and as the ancient custom of the primitive church doth lead us. Why should any man be so presumptuous as to swerve from ancient custom? Why now do they defend the errors of others which have perverted the institution of Christ?

"Now, although some perhaps will pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his masses, yet, notwithstanding, he so dealeth in handling the ceremony privately by himself, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high service done to God, and such as God requireth: which is also erroneous and to be reprov'd. For why? No service or worship pertaining unto God ought to be set up by man's device, without the commandment of God.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, for the glory of Christ, that you will not defend the article of this act concerning these private masses, but that you will suffer the matter to be well examined by virtuous and learned men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and substantial testimony of the primitive church; which testimony I dare be bold to set against the judgments of all that have since followed, such as have corrupted the ancient and old rites, with manifold errors.

"As touching the other articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, feigned, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common persuasion of all men touching vows, that all these will-works devised by man, are the true service and worship of God; and so think they, also, which speak most indifferently of them. Others add thereunto more gross errors, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, They worship me in vain with the precepts of men; and Paul saith, that these observations be the doctrine of devils, for they ascribe to the power and strength of man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worshipping of God. Item, the said Paul to the Colossians saith, Let no man deceive you by feigned humility, &c. Why make you decrees, &c.? Wherefore these corrupt traditions of men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

"Unto these also are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuses. The whole order of monkery, what superstition doth it contain! What profanations of masses, invocation of saints, colours and fashions of apparel, choice of meats, superstitious prayers without all measure! of which causes every one were sufficient, why these vows ought to be broken. Besides this, a great part of men are drawn to this kind of life chiefly for the belly's sake, and then, afterwards, they pretend the holiness of their vow and profession.

"Furthermore, this vow of single life is not to all men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, All men do not receive this. Such vows, therefore, which without sin cannot be performed, are to be undone: but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my works.

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"But this causeth me much to marvel, that this vow of priests, in your English decree, is more strait and hard than is the vow of monks, whereas the canons themselves do bind a priest no further to single life, but only for the time that he remaineth in the ministry. And certainly it made my heart to tremble, when I read this article which so forbiddeth matrimony, and dissolveth the same, being contracted, and appointeth, moreover, the punishment of death for the same. Although there have been divers godly priests, who, in certain places, have been put to death for their marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been so bold as to establish any such law. For every man in a manner well perceived, that all well-disposed and reasonable persons would abhor that cruelty; and also they feared lest posterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the church of Christ, wherein all lenity toward the godly ought most principally to be showed, such cruelties and tyranny could take place, to set forth bloody laws, to be executed upon the godly for lawful matrimony?

"'But they brake their vows,' will the bishops say. First, as I said, that vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them that forsake the ministry. Finally, if the bishops, here, would have a care and regard to men's consciences, they should then ordain priests without any such profession or vow-making; as appeareth by the old canons, how that many were admitted to the ministry without professing of any vow; and the same afterwards, when they had married their wives, remained in the ministry, as is testified in the Distinctions.

"Certainly, of what I may here complain, I cannot tell. First, in this article I cannot impute it to ignorance, which they do; for no man is ignorant of the commandment of God, which saith, Let every man have his wife, for avoiding of fornication.

Again, who is so blind but he seeth what a life these unmarried priests do live? The complaints of good men are well known. The filthiness of the wicked is too, too manifest. But, peradventure, your bishops, holding with the sect of epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lusts: which if they so think, then do we sustain doubtless a hard cause, where such must be judges.

"I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of bishops, and colleges of priests, and to maintain their wealth and portly state; and this I suppose to be the cause why some do abhor so much that priests should be married. But, O lamentable state of the church! if laws should be so forced to serve, not the verity and the will of God, but the private gain and commodity of men! They err which think it lawful for them to make laws repugnant to the commandment of God, and to the law of nature, so that they be profitable to attain wealth and riches. And, of truth, from my very heart I do mourn and lament, right noble prince, both for your sake, and also for the cause of Christ's church. You pretend to impugn and gainstand the tyranny of the Romish bishop, and truly do call him antichrist, as indeed he is; and, in the mean time, you defend and maintain those laws of that Romish antichrist, which be the strength and sinews of all his power, as private masses, single life of priests, and other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishments to good men, and to the members of Christ; you violently oppress and bear down the verity of the gospel, beginning to shine in your churches. This is not to abolish antichrist, but to establish him.

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"I beseech you, therefore, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye defile not your conscience in defending those articles which your bishops have devised and set forth, touching private masses, auricular confession, vows, single life of priests, and prohibition of the one half of the sacrament. It is no light offence to establish idolatry, errors, cruelty, the filthy lusts of antichrist. If the Roman bishop should now call a council, what other articles chiefly would he devise and publish unto the world, but the very same which your bishops have here enacted?"

"Understand and consider, I pray you, the subtle trains and deceits of the devil, who is wont first to set upon, and assail, the chief governors. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the world, so his chiefest purpose is, by all crafty and subtle means, to work contumely against Christ, by sparsing abroad wicked opinions, and setting up idolatry; and also in polluting mankind with bloody murders and fleshly lusts: in the working whereof he abuseth the policies and wits of hypocrites, also the power and strength of mighty princes; as stories of all times bear witness, what great kingdoms and empires have set themselves, with all might and main, against the poor church of Christ.

"And yet, notwithstanding, God hath reserved some good princes at all times out of the great multitude of such giants, and hath brought them to his church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worship; as Abraham taught Abimelech, Joseph the Egyptian kings: and after them came David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, excelling in true godliness. Daniel converted to the knowledge of God the kings of Chaldea and Persia: also Brittany brought forth unto the world the godly prince Constantine. In this number I wish you rather to be, than amongst the enemies of Christ, defiled with idolatry, and spotted with the blood of the godly; of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many times forewarn, and many examples do teach.

"Yet again therefore, I pray and beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will correct and mitigate this decree of the bishops; in doing which you shall advance the glory of Christ, and provide as well for the wealth of your own soul, as for the safeguard of your churches.

"Let the hearty desires of so many godly men through the whole world move you, so earnestly wishing that some good kings would extend their authority to the true reformation of the church of God, to the abolishing of all idolatrous worship, and the furthering of the course of the gospel. Regard also, and consider, I beseech you, those godly persons who are with you in bands for the gospel's sake, being the true members of Christ.

"And if that cruel decree be not altered, the bishops will never cease to rage against the church of Christ, without mercy or pity: for them the devil useth as instruments and ministers of his fury and malice against Christ. These he stirreth up to slay and kill the members of Christ: whose wicked and cruel proceedings, and subtle sophistications, that you will not prefer before our true and most righteous request, all the godly most humbly and heartily do pray and beseech you. Which if they shall obtain, no doubt but God shall recompense to you great rewards for your piety; and your excellent virtue shall be renowned both by pen and voice of all the godly, while the world standeth. For Christ shall judge all them that shall deserve either well or evil of his church: and while letters shall remain, the memorial worthy of such noble deserts shall never die or be forgotten with the posterity to come. And seeing we seek the glory of Christ, and that

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our churches are the churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnify, with due commendation, such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemn the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

"Christ goeth about hungry, thirsty, naked, imprisoned, complaining of the raging fury of the bishops, and of the wrongful oppression and cruelty of divers kings and princes, entreating that the members of his body be not rent in pieces, but that true churches may be defended, and his gospel advanced. This request of Christ to hear, to receive, and to embrace, is the office of a godly king, and service most acceptable unto God."

Treating a little before, of certain old instruments for proof of priests' lawful marriage in times past, I gave a little touch of a certain record taken out of an old martyrology of the church of Canterbury, touching Livingus a priest, and his wife, in the time of Lanfranc: wherein I touched, also, of certain lands and houses restored again by the said Lanfranc to the church of St. Andrew. Now, forasmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands; and partly considering the restoring of the said lands to be to Christ's church in Canterbury, and not to St. Andrew's in Rochester; and, also, for that I have found some other precedents approving the lawful marriage of priests, and legitimation of their children, I thought good, for the more full satisfying of the reader, to enter the same, as followeth:

A note out of an old martyrology of Canterbury.

"After the death of William king of England, the said Lanfranc restored again to Christ's church in Canterbury all the lands which from ancient memory unto these latter days have been taken away from the right of the said church. The names of which lands be these: in Kent, Reculver, Sandwich, Richborow, Wootton, the abbey of Lyming, with the lands and customs unto the same monastery belonging, Saltwood, &c., (Stoke and Denentum, because they belonged of old time to the church of St. Andrew, them he restored to the same church,) in Surrey, Mortlake; the abbey of St. Mary in London, with the lands and houses which Livingus, priest, and his wife, had in London. All these Lanfranc restored again for the health of his own soul, freely, and without money," &c.

A note, for the legitimation of priest's children.

"Note, that in the nineteenth year of this king, in an assize at Warwick, before Sir Guy Fairfax, and Sir John Vavasour, it was found, by verdict, that the father of the tenant had taken the order of deacon, and after married a wife, and had issue; the tenant died, and the issue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the plaintiff did enter, as next heir collateral to the father of the tenant; Upon whom he did re-enter, &c.; and, for difficulty, the justices did adjourn the assize. And it was debated in the exchequer chamber: 'If the tenant shall be a bastard,' &c. And here, by advice, it was adjudged that he shall not be a bastard, &c. Frowick, chief justice, said to me, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh, in the Common Pleas, that he was of counsel in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before; which Vavasour did grant. And Frowick said, that if a priest marry a wife, and hath issue and dieth, his issue shall inherit; for that the espousals be not void, but voidable. Vavasour: If a man take a nun to wife, this espousal is void."

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Note, that in the latter impression of Henry the Seventh's Years of the Law, this word "priest," in this case aforesaid, in some books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the reader to judge.

Concerning these six articles passed in this Act aforesaid, in the twenty-first year of this King Henry the Eighth, sufficiently hitherto hath been declared; first, what these articles were: secondly, by whom, and from whom chiefly they proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true doctrine, Christian religion, and the word of God, to nature also itself, all reason and honesty, and finally to the ancient laws, customs, and examples of our fore-elders, during the days of a thousand years after Christ, they were. Fourthly, ye have heard also what unreasonable and extreme penalty was set upon the same, that a man may deem these laws to be written not with the ink of Stephen Gardiner, but with the blood of a dragon, or rather the claws of the devil; the breach whereof was made no less than treason and felony, and no less punishment assigned thereto than death.

Besides all this, the words of the Act were so curious and subtle, that no man could speak, write, or cipher against them, without present danger; yea, scarcely a man might speak any word of Christ and his religion, but he was in peril of these six articles. Over and besides, the papists began so finely to interpret the Act, that they spared not to indict men for abusing their countenance and behaviour in the church: so great was the power of darkness in those days. And thus much concerning this Act.

Besides these six articles in this aforesaid Act concluded, there was also another constitution annexed withal, not without the advice (as may seem) of the Lord Cromwell, which was this: that priests and ministers of the church, seeing now they would needs themselves be bound from all matrimony, should therefore, by law, be likewise bound to such honesty and continency of life, that carnally they should use and accustom no manner of woman, married or single, by way of advoury, or fornication; the breach whereof for the first time, was to forfeit goods, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being duly convicted, it was made felony, as the others were.

In this constitution, if the Lord Cromwell, and other good men of the parliament, might have had their will, there is no doubt but the first crime of these concubinary priests, as well as the second, had had the same penalty as the other six articles had, and should have been punished with death. But Stephen Gardiner, with his fellow bishops, who then ruled all the roost, so boasted this extraordinary article with their accustomed shifts, that if they were taken and duly convicted for their not *catès*, nor *cautè*, at first time it was but forfeit of goods. Also, for the second conviction or attainder they so provided that, the next year following, that punishment and pain of death, by act of parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why so? "Because," saith the statute, "that punishment by pain of death is very sore, and much extreme; therefore it pleaseth the king, with the assent of the lords, that that clause above written, concerning felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the first and second conviction or attainder of any priest or woman for any such offences aforesaid, shall be from henceforth void, and of none effect," &c. So that by this statute it was provided, for all such votaries as lived in whoredom and adultery, for the first offence to lose his goods, and all

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his spiritual promotions, except one; for the second, to forfeit all that he had to the king; for the third conviction, to sustain continual imprisonment.

In these ungodly proceedings of the pope's catholic clergy, two things we have to note.

First, The horrible impiety of their doctrine, directly fighting against the express authority of God and his word, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they restrain; that which he bids they forbid. Let a man have, saith he; Let him not have, say they; taking exceptions against the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call heresy; that which he commandeth and instituteth, they punish with pains of death. Not only the priests that marry, but them also that say or cipher that a priest may marry, at the first they kill as felons; neither can any *miserere* take place for chaste and lawful wedlock; whereas, contrariwise, a spiritual man may thrice defile his neighbour's wife, or thrice his brother's daughter, and no felony at all be laid to his charge. What is this in plain words to say, but that it is less sin thrice to commit advoutry, than once to marry?

The second to be noted is, how these painted hypocrites do bewray their false dissembled dealings unawares, with whom a man might thus reason Tell us, you priests and votaries! which so precisely flee the state of matrimony, intend you to live chaste, and are you able so to do without wives? Do you keep yourselves chaste and honest without them, and without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry you not? why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you those vows, which you cannot perform? or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking God's commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able, and so do intend, to continue an honest and a continent conversation without wives, then shall I ask of you according as Dr. Turner gravely and truly layeth to your charge: "Why do you so carefully provide a remedy by your laws beforehand, for a mischief to come, which you may avoid if you list? unless either ye listed not to stand, though you might; or else saw your own infirmity, that you could not, though ye would: and therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, you provide wisely for yourselves aforehand, that, where others shall suffer pains of death at the first for well doing, you may fall thrice in abominable adultery, and yet, by the law, have your lives pardoned."

And here cometh out your own hypocrisy, by yourselves bewrayed; for whereas you all confess, that you are able to live chaste if ye will, without wives, this moderation of the law, provided before against your adulterous incontinency, plainly declareth that either ye purpose willingly to fall, or, at least, ye fear and stand in doubt not to be able to stand. And why then do you so confidently take such vows upon you, standing in such doubt and fear for the performance thereof?

And be it to you admitted, that all do not fall, but that some keep their vow, though some viciously run to other men's wives and daughters: then herein again ask I you, seeing these vicious whore-hunters and adulterous persons among you do live viciously, (as you cannot not deny,) and may do otherwise, if they list, as you confess: what punishment then are they worthy to have, which may live continent, and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuse it? Which being so, then what iniquity is this in you, or, rather, impiety inexcusable against God and man, to procure a moderation of laws for such, and to show such

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compassion and clemency to these so heinous adulterers, whore-hunters, and beastly fornicators, that, if they adulterate other men's wives never so oft, yet there is no death for them; and to show no compassion at all, nor to find out any moderation for such, but at the very first to kill them as felons and heretics, which honestly do marry in the fear of God, or once say, that a priest may marry? How can ye here be excused, O you children of iniquity? What reason is in your doing, or what truth in your doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts? You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy that the Lord hath given you, how will you stand in his face, when he shall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confusion, unless by time ye convert and repent? And thus, being ashamed of your execrable doings, I cease to defile my pen any further in this so stinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

It was declared before, that what time these six articles were in hand in the parliament house, Cranmer, then being archbishop of Canterbury only, withstood the same, disputing three days against them; whose reasons and arguments I wish were extant and remaining. After these articles were thus passed and concluded, the king, who always bare especial favour unto Cranmer, perceiving him to be not a little discomforted therewith, sent all the lords of the parliament, and with them the Lord Cromwell, to dine with him at Lambeth (as is before declared); and, within few days also upon the same, required that he would give a note of all his doings and reasonings in the said parliament: which the said Cranmer eftsoons accomplished accordingly, drawing out his reasons and allegations; the copy whereof, being fair written out by his secretary, was sent and delivered unto the king, and there remained.

Now, after these things thus discussed, as touching the six wicked articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our story again, to declare those things which, after the setting out of these articles, ensued, which otherwise for the wicked cruelty thereof, are called The Whip with Six Strings, set forth after the death of Queen Anne and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but specially by the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But therein, as in many other things, the crafty policy of Winchester appeared, who if he had not watche his time, and taken the king, coming out where it did, it is thought he had not got the matter so easily to be subscribed. We come now to the time and story of the Lord Cromwell, a man whose worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

197. Thomas Cromwell

The history concerning the life, acts, and death of the famous and worthy councillor, Lord Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex.



HOMAS Cromwell although born of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellency of wisdom, and dexterity of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industry of mind, and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority; insomuch that by steps and stairs of office and honour, he ascended at length to that, that not only he was made earl of Essex, but also most secret and dear councillor to King Henry, and vicegerent unto his person; which office hath not commonly been supplied, at least not so fruitfully discharged within this realm.

First, as touching his birth, he was born at Putney or thereabouts, being a smith's son, whose mother married afterwards to a shearman. In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers others before him, we may see and learn, that the excellency of noble virtues and heroical prowesses which advance to fame and honour, stand not only upon birth and blood, as privileges only entailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are disposed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiseth up the poor abject many times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with peers and princes.

As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at large; only, by way of story, it may suffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and so to proceed. Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many others) a great let and hinderance for virtue to show herself; yet, such was the activity and forward ripeness of nature in him, so pregnant in wit, and so ready he was, in judgment discreet, in tongue eloquent, in service faithful, in stomach courageous, in his pen active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not be long unespied, nor yet unprovided of favour and help of friends to set him forward in place and office; neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit. Nothing was so hard which with wit and industry he could not compass: neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. This well appeared in canning the text of the whole New Testament of Erasmus' translation without book, in his journey going and coming from Rome, whereof ye shall hear anon.

Thus, in his growing years, as he shot up in age and ripeness, a great delight came in his mind to stray into foreign countries, to see the world abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned such tongues and languages as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus, passing over his youth, being at Antwerp he was there retained of the English merchants to be their clerk or secretary, or in some such-like condition placed, pertaining to their affairs.

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It happened, the same time, that the town of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the greater pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of money, (for the pope's merchandise is always dear ware,) yet, notwithstanding, such sweetness they had felt thereof, and such gain to come to their town by that Romish merchandise, (as all superstition is commonly gainful,) that they, like good catholic merchants, and the pope's good customers, thought to spare for no cost, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good religion then, such was the lamentable blindness of that time.

This then being so determined and decreed among my countrymen of Boston, to have their pardons' needs repaired and renewed from Rome, one Geffery Chambers, and another companion, were sent for the messengers, with writings and money no small quantity, well furnished, and with all other things appointed, necessary for so chargeable and costly exploit. Chambers, coming in his journey to Antwerp, and misdoubting himself to be too weak for the compassing of such a weighty piece of work, conferred and persuaded with Thomas Cromwell to associate him in that legacy, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty, to traverse the pope's court, for the unreasonable expenses amongst those greedy cormorants, yet, having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in judgment of religion in those his youthful day was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards Rome. Cromwell, loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money; and again, perceiving that the pope's greedy humour must needs be served with some present or other, (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome,) began to cast with himself, what thing best to devise, wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion.

At length, having knowledge how that the pope's holy tooth greatly delighted in newfangled strange delicacies, and dainty dishes, it came into his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best fashion, made after our country manner here in England; which, to them of Rome, was not known nor seen before.

This done, Cromwell, observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he, with his companions, approached with his English presents, brought in with "a three man's song" (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope, suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not empty-handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell there, showing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, "such as kings and princes only," said he, "in the realm of England use to feed upon," desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suitors unto his Holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Pope Julius, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinal to take the assay; who, in tasting thereof, liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that, knowing of them what their suits were, and requiring them to make known the making of that meat, he, incontinent, without any more ado, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

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And thus were the jolly pardons of the town of Boston obtained, as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copy of these pardons, (which I have in my hands,) briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect:

"That all the brethren and sisters of the Guild of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston, should have free licence to choose for their confessor or ghostly father whom they would, either secular priest or religious person, to assoil them plenarily from all. their sins, except only in cases reserved to the pope.

"Also, should have licence to carry about with them an altar-stone, whereby they might have a priest to say them mass, or other divine service, where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, though it were also before day, yea, and at three o'clock after midnight in the summer time.

"Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said guild, which should resort to the chapel of our Lady in St. Botolph's church, at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Nativity, or the Assumption of our Lady, or in the octaves of them, the feast of St. Michael, and the first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the stations of Rome.

"Provided that every such person, man or woman, entering into the same guild, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood and a grammar school, six shillings and eight pence; and for every year after, twelve pence.

"And these premises, being before granted by Pope Innocent and Pope Julius the Second, this Pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other let, could not resort personally to the said chapel, notwithstanding, he should be dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other vows, irregularities, censures canonical whatsoever; only the vow of going the stations of Rome, and going to St. James of Compostella, excepted, &c.

"He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, from the penalty and crime, once in their life, or in the hour of death.

"Item, that having their altar-stone, they might have mass said in any place, though it were unhallowed. Also in the time of interdict, to have mass or any sacrament ministered; and also, being departed, that they might be buried in Christian burial, notwithstanding the interdict.

"Extending, moreover, his grant, that all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the aforesaid chapel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or upon the Assumption of our Lady, giving supportation to the aforesaid chapel, at every such festival day should have full remission of all their sins. Or if they, for any impediment, could not be present at the chapel aforesaid, yet, if they came unto their own parish church, and there said one Pater-noster, and Ave Maria, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every Friday to the same

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chapel, should have as much remission, as if he went to the chapel of Our Lady called *Scala Cæli*.

"Furthermore, that whatsoever Christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spiritual or temporal, would aid and support the chamberlains or substitutes of the aforesaid guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

"Item, To all brothers and sisters of the same guild was granted free liberty to eat in time of Lent, or other fasting days, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsel of their ghostly father and physician, without any scruple of conscience.

"Item, That all partakers of the same guild, and being supporters thereof, which, once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said chapel in St. Botolph's church, or any other chapel, of their devotion, shall say a Pater-noster, Ave Maria, and Creed, or shall say, or cause to be said, masses for souls departed in pains of purgatory, shall not only have the full remission due to them which visit the chapel of *Scala Cæli*, or of St. John Lateran, but also, the souls in purgatory shall enjoy full remission, and be released of all their pains.

"Item, That all the souls departed of the brothers and sisters of the said guild, also the souls of their fathers and mothers, shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffrages, almoses, fastings, masses, and matins, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the holy church militant for ever," &c.

These indulgencies, pardons, grants, and relaxations, were given and granted by Pope Nicholas the Fifth, Pope Pius the Second, Pope Sixtus the Fourth, and Pope Julius the Second, of which Pope Julius it seemeth that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord 1510: which pardon again afterwards, through the request of King Henry, A.D. 1526, was confirmed by Pope Clement the Seventh. And thus much concerning the pardons of Boston, renewed by means of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Julius the Second.

All this while it appeareth that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word, as he himself was wont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; showing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome; also what a great doer he was with Geffery Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardons of Boston every where in churches as he went; and so continued, till, at length, by learning without book the text of the New Testament of Erasmus's translation, in his going and coming from Rome, (as is aforesaid,) he began to be touched, and called to better understanding.

In this mean time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, began to bear a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the king, or rather with the king; so that the freshest wits, and of best towardness, most commonly sought unto him; among whom was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced, where he continued a certain space of years, growing up in office and authority, till at length he was preferred to be solicitor to the cardinal.

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There were also, about the same time, or not much different, in the household of the said cardinal, Thomas More, afterward knight and chancellor of England, and Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester and of the king's council. All these three were brought up in one household, and all of one standing almost together: whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal; so neither were their fortune and advancements greatly diverse, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrary. And though, peradventure, in More and in Gardiner, there was more art of the letters, and skill of learning, yet, notwithstanding, there was in this man a more heavenly light of mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, eloquence equal, and, as may be supposed in this man, more pregnant, and, finally, in him was wrought a more heroical and princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the commonwealth, and to the singular help of many.

It happened that in this mean season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be solicitor to the cardinal, the said cardinal had then in hand the building of certain of the colleges, namely, his college in Oxford, called then Frideswide's, now Christ's Church. By reason whereof, certain small monasteries and priors, in divers places of the realm, were, by the said cardinal, suppressed, and the lands seised to the cardinal's hands; the doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell: in the expedition whereof he showed himself very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himself much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell first set to work by the cardinal, to suppress religious houses: which was about the year of our Lord 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long but the cardinal, who had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast, first from the chancellorship (in which room was placed Sir Thomas More, as is before said); then he fell into a præmunire; so that his household being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell, amongst others, laboured also to be retained into the king's service.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales, knight, master of the rolls, who, notwithstanding, was then a mighty papist; yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the pope. But here before is to be understood, that Cromwell had greatly been complained of and defamed, by certain of authority about the king, for his rude manner and homely dealing, in defacing the monks' houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king, hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers-by, who, with reviling words, ceased not to increase and inflame the king's hatred against him: what their names were it shall not need here to recite. Among others, there present at the same hearing, was the Lord Russell, earl of Bedford; whose life Cromwell before had preserved at Bologna, through politic conveyance, at what time the said earl, coming secretly in the king's affairs, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of Cromwell escaped.

This Lord Russell therefore, not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing again to requite what he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal how, by his singular device and policy, he had done for him

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at Bologna, being there in the king's affairs in extreme peril. And forasmuch as now his Majesty had to do with the pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the king's purpose, who could say or do more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell: and partly gave the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

This was not so privily done, but Cromwell had knowledge, incontinent, that the king would talk with him, and whereupon; and therefore, providing beforehand for the matter, he had in a readiness the copy of the bishops' oath, which they use commonly to make to the pope at their consecration: and so being called for, he was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster; which was about the year of our Lord 1530.

Cromwell, after most loyal obeisance, doing his duty to the king, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this especially making manifest unto his Highness: how his princely authority was abused within his own realm by the pope and his clergy, who, being sworn unto him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn anew unto the pope; so that he was but as half a king, and they but half his subjects in his own land: which (said he) was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common laws of his realm. Declaring, thereupon, how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, as much as all the clergy in his realm were worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The king, giving good ear to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could avouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch to be certain so well, as that he had the copy of their own oath to the pope there present to show; and that no less, also, he could manifestly prove, if his Highness would give him leave: and therewith showed the bishops' oath unto the king.

The king, following the vein of his counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first, admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the convocation-house, among the bishops. Cromwell, coming with the king's signet boldly into the clergy-house, and there placing himself among the bishops, (William Warham being then archbishop,) began to make his oration, declaring unto them the authority of a king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under public laws, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the king's royal estate, falling in the law of præmunire, in that not only they had consented to the power legative of the cardinal; but also, in that they had all sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king; and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had. The bishops, hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had showed them the very copy of their oath made to the pope at their consecration, and the matter was so plain that they could not deny it, they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the end thereof so fell out, that to be quit of that præmunire by act of parliament, it cost them to the king, for both the provinces, Canterbury and York, no less than one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds; which was about the year of our Lord 1530, whereof before you may read more at large.

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After this, A.D. 1531, Sir Thomas Cromwell, growing in great favour with the king, was made knight, and master of the king's jewel-house, and shortly after was admitted also into the king's council, which was about the coming in of Queen Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within three years after the same, A.D. 1534, he was made master of the rolls, Dr. Taylor being discharged.

Thus Cromwell, springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1537, a little before the birth of King Edward, was made knight of the garter, and not long after was advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made great chamberlain of England: over and besides all which honours, he was constituted also vicegerent to the king, representing his person; which office, although it standeth well by the law, yet seldom hath there been seen any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsel and wisdom, as Cromwell did. And thus much hitherto, concerning the steps and degrees of the Lord Cromwell, rising up to dignity and high estate.

Now somewhat would be said, likewise, of the noble acts, the memorable examples, and the worthy virtues, not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of authority and place, to work more abundantly in the commonwealth: among the which his worthy acts and other manifold virtues, in this one chiefly, above all others, riseth his commendation, for his singular zeal and laborious travail bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist: the abbeyes, I mean, and religious houses of friars and monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by means of the said Lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till at length, all the abbeyes in England, both great and less, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. This act and enterprise of his, as it may give a precedent of singular zeal to all realms christened, which no prince yet to this day scarce dare follow; so, to this realm of England, it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain still in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it. Rudely and simply I speak what I suppose, without prejudice of others who can infer any better reason. In the mean time my reason is this, that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out these abbeyes and cells of strange religion, what other men see I know not for my part, I never yet saw in this realm any such Cromwell since Cromwell's time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have been subverted with the money and bribes of abbots, than he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

Of how great laud and praise this man was worthy, and what courage and stoutness was in him, it may hereby evidently appear unto all men, that he alone, through the singular dexterity of his wit and counsel, brought to pass that which, even unto this day, no prince or king, throughout all Europe, dare or can bring to pass. For whereas Britannia alone, of all other nations, is and hath been, of her own proper nature, most superstitious; this Cromwell, being born of a common or base stock, through a divine method or policy of wit and reason received, suffered, deluded, brake off, and repressed, all the policies, trains, malice, and hatred, of friars, monks, religious men, and priests, of which sort there was a great rabble in England. Their houses he subverted throughout all the realm. Afterwards he brought the bishops and archbishops, and the bishop of Winchester himself, although he was the king's chief counsellor, to an order; frustrating and preventing all his enterprises and complaints by a marvellous providence, but, especially, in those things which did tend to the ruin and decay of good men,

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and such as favoured the gospel; unto whom Cromwell was always as a shield, against the pestiferous enterprises of Winchester.

Briefly, there was continual emulation and mortal dissension between them two, such as Flaccius writeth happened between the wolves and the lambs: for both of them being greatly in the king's favour, the one being much more feared, the other was much better beloved. Either of them excelling in dexterity of wit, howbeit the virtues in the one far exceeded the other; for whereas the bishop of Winchester seemed such a man, to be born for no other purpose but only for the destruction of the good, this man, contrariwise, the Divine Providence had appointed as a remedy to help and preserve many, and to withstand the fury of the bishops; even like as we do see the same ground which bringeth forth most pestiferous poison, the same again also doth bring forth most wholesome and healthful remedies.

It were too long and tedious a declaration here to declare, how many good men, through this man's help and defence, have been relieved and delivered out of danger; of whom a great number after his fall, being deprived of their patron, (as it were,) did shortly after perish: there are many of them, however, yet alive at this present day, who are witnesses of these things which we report, and greater things also than these. In this manner the Omnipotent God hath always accustomed, in all commonwealths, to moderate adversity with prosperity, and things hurtful with others more wholesome and healthful; whereby it happeneth, that as oftentimes good and fortunate planets are joined with the hurtful and noisome, they do either utterly dissipate their mad furies, or at least somewhat keep them back; whereby, if they be not utterly prohibited, yet they do less hurt than otherwise they would: which thing, if it were to be conferred with the histories of our old fathers, Jehu, the sharp punisher of superstitious idolatry in the sacred commonwealth, was not much unlike this man. Likewise, in profane commonwealths, Camillus, and Cicero, who, through his singular prudence, joined with eloquence, withstood and put off the wicked enterprises of Catiline. Albeit that the terror conceived upon the conspiracy of Catiline, was not so noisome unto the commonwealth of Rome, as the bloody and insatiable cruelty and slaughter of these our bishops, conspiracies which do every where vex and trouble the Christian commonwealth: for, albeit that Catiline, through his wicked enterprise, went about the death of all good men, and the destruction of the commonwealth, yet did he rather put it in fear, than wound the commonwealth. But all the life and doings of these men are nothing else but a conspiracy, according to the prophecy of Isaiah; so that they do seem twice worse than any Catiline: for whatsoever he went about, by any privy pretence of his mind, that these men do perform openly: neither was it to be doubted but that he, albeit he were ever so cruel or fierce of nature, yet if he had had the upper hand, he would at once have made an end of murdering and killing. But these men, although they daily, in every place, kill Christ in his holy members, yet they never appoint or ordain any end or measure of their slaughter: which kind of men, (albeit there be nothing in a manner by nature more cruel,) besides their natural cruelty, they are endued with craft and subtlety, which is far worse, not being so hurtful by the one, as detestable for the other: for an open enemy, be he ever so mighty or fierce, yet if he cannot be vanquished, he may be taken heed of. And it happeneth oftentimes that violence, which is foreseen, may easily, or with like violence, be repulsed; or at least the wound that is received by another man's violence, is less grievous than that which cometh by fraud or deceit. But these men do not kill with armour and weapon, but, going a privier way to work, yet do the same: being so much the more to be blamed, forasmuch as they themselves, being the authors of the murder, do so put off the matter

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from themselves to others, as though they were free from all suspicion of cruelty. But here a man may the more perceive the inveterate subtleties of the old serpent, besides that, the more to provoke cruelty, there are added most plausible and honest titles, whereby the better all mercy and pity might be excluded; and also that they, even in their greatest tyranny, when they have committed or done any thing most cruel or horrible, yet they might deserve praise of the common people, as for a most holy work, done *ex officio*, as they call it. So, under the name of Christ, they daily persecute Christ, and under the pretence and cloak of peace, they kill more than any murderers; and, while they do take upon them the name and title of the church, they do violently invade the church of Christ.

In foreign wars it happeneth oftentimes that truces are taken; and where towns are yielded, the mercy of the conqueror spareth many; kindred and age hath his respect, and many are set at liberty either by entreaties or ransom. But these do so much exceed all measure of nature, humanity, and reason; they are so addicted to their pleasures, dignity, and ease, that they have no consideration or regard of any life, estate, or condition. The cruel times of Queen Mary, and of the bishops, did of late sufficiently declare the same, when nature would in a manner set forth unto all men in this realm, as it were by a perfect example, what extreme cruelty, joined with superstition, may do in any realm; so that if all empires should be governed or ruled after that example, it were better that there were no society of commonwealths; yea, it were better for men to wander in the wilderness, and to lead a rude and savage life amongst the wild beasts. For upon what wild beast, upon what libard, wolf, or panther, were it not better for a man to fall, than upon such bishops? if at least the bishops of other nations were like unto our Bonner. They boast themselves, upon the name of Christ, to be Christians; neither do I deny them that title. But why, in their manners and living, doth there no spark of his nature appear, whose denomination they bear? In all their titles and profession, they pretend nothing else but peace: and whereupon happen so many complaints, so many suspicions, so great hatred and prodition? so many articles, censures, condemnation, and peremptory sentences, in so quiet and peaceable a people?

They object also often, unto us the catholic church, that they are the true spouse, and the only dove of Christ. I hear them well, but that meek dove of Christ is without any gall, bile, or claws; that is to say, lacketh all kind of wrath, suspicion, prodition, and tyranny. Where, then, is the simplicity of that dove, whereupon hath happened so great bloodshed and slaughter in the meek spouse of the Lord? Who ever heard tell, that a dove did kill or devour either kites or hawks? But, if they think they do Christ so great and acceptable service through this their raging slaughter, surely they must show us another manner of Christ, than him whom the evangelists describe unto us, whom the apostles show forth in their writings.

But they cry out and say, as "They are heretics!" "they are worthy to die!" Let them bring forth one article out of the Apostles' Creed which these heretics do deny. They do, indeed, deny the blessed body of Christ to be in the sacrament naturally; but again, they confess him to be in heaven, and there do reverence and worship him. Why have the apostles, then, left out that article of their creed, if it be so necessary as they teach it to be? Albeit they do not, by and by, take away Christ out of the sacrament, who confess the bread to be in the sacrament. And again, it is no contumely unto Christ, if a man do rather judge him to be worshipped in the heaven, than in the sacrament: for he who denieth the emperor to be at Brussels, doth not derogate any thing from the emperor's authority, as I think, but only contendeth upon the place. What grievous

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cause or quarrel is this, then, that should move and stir up the peaceable mind of this simple dove, to such rage and fury, that, notwithstanding the great slaughter of Christians which hath been already made, they can yet find no beginning to show favour, or make any end of their murder!

But, go to, let us feign with ourselves (which thing, notwithstanding, I would that all men should think it spoken by me, not to the reproof or contumely of any man: for here I declare no man's name, neither show any man's person; but only set it forth for an example): let us, as I say, freely think and feign, that Satan dwelleth upon earth amongst men, and leadeth a manly life. Thou sayest, "It cannot be by nature;" but yet it may so be supposed. Now I will ask of some of these papists, (but of such a one as is of an equal judgment,) or of the bishop of Rome himself, that he would clearly and distinctly answer me, by what means he doth think that he would rule and order his life: whether he would not, first, direct all his doings, according to his insatiable ambition, violently to get unto himself the dominion of the whole world; placing himself in the highest degree and dignity; distributing all other promotions according to his own will; he himself being subject unto no power, but exalting himself, if he might, even as high as God. Would he not convert all men's goods and substance, by what means soever he may lay hold of it, upon most extreme riot and filthy pleasure? Moreover, would he not foresee to lead a life wholly in idleness, without all sorrow, care, or trouble?

Furthermore, I do not think him so holy, that in this delicate life he would also live chaste; neither yet that he will be troubled with the care or charge of a wife, but rather choose a middle or mean way, which, through wanton lust, hath more delectation, less charge, but no true holiness in it at all. Then, he, who from the beginning hath been a murderer and liar, and the father thereof, retaineth so the same nature still, that he rejoiceth in nothing more than in the continual slaughter and destruction of men: neither is it to be doubted but that, when he cannot be suffered openly to rage, he will, by all crafty means and ways, at last satisfy his cruel mind. And what way would Satan himself, if he were present, gentle reader! (if I may by your licence speak the truth,) find more crafty or subtle than the bishop of Rome hath now found; who, under the person and vicarage of the most meek and gentle Christ, under the beautiful shadow of the church and peace, doth practise his extreme cruelty and madness, mixing and confounding all things with blood? And, albeit that daily, with greater outrage, he exerciseth the same throughout all Christendom, yet the Christian princes and noble counsellors are so blind and void of judgment, that they do not see what difference is between Christ and antichrist, light and darkness, truth and falsehood. They do little regard it, and nothing at all seek to help it: so that either we may seem to be fallen on Isaiah's times, or those days to have come upon us. The just man, saith he, perisheth, and there is no man that taketh any care for him. This great rage and tempest of cruelty, required a public reformation of all good princes. Now, forasmuch as their power and authority do sleep in such necessary and weighty matters, by whom it were convenient the Christian commonwealth should be restored, I may not prognosticate that which my mind doth foreshow unto me. This only I do wish, that God do not bring that to pass by the Turk, which Christian princes ought to have done.

But now, to return to our Christian Camillus, being such a one as if the courts of princes had but a few such counsellors, the Christian commonwealths would, at this day, be in a far better estate. This Cromwell (as I have said) was but of a base stock, but of such virtue as, not

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without sorrow, we may wish for, even in the most noble families now-a-days. He was first brought up in the cardinal's court, where he did bear several offices, wherein he showed such tokens and likelihood of excellent wit and fidelity, that, in short space, he seemed more meet for the king than for the cardinal.

But here I must of necessity answer the complaint of certain of our countrymen: for so I hear of many, that the subversion of these monasteries is to be reprehended, as evil and wicked. The buildings, say they, might have been converted into schools and houses of learning: the goods and possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use of the poor, and maintaining of hospitality. Neither do I deny but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and deeper meaning of God's holy providence, than at the first blush, peradventure, to all men doth appear.



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And first, to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all feditie, and found out by the king's visitors, and in their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that no marvel it is, if God's vengeance from heaven, provoked, would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things pass under chaste silence, which for very shame will abhor any story to disclose, let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of monkery, and consider how, and to what end, they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons at the first foundation of them, about the year 666.

In the former part of this history, declaration was made, first by whom and at what time these monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of St. Benedict, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded: as by Augustine the monk, Furseus, Maidulph, Aldune, Ceadda, King Ulfer, Oswy, Elfrida, King Oswy's daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botolph, Edeldrida, King Oswald, Edgar, Erkenwald, bishop of London, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, Oskitell, archbishop of York, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, Leswine, bishop of Dorchester, Dunstan, and divers others.

The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be, for the remission of sins and redemption of sinners, for the relief of souls, for the love of heaven, for the salvation and repose of the spirits of our fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and all our benefactors, and in honour of the glorious Virgin; as may appear in ancient histories, in old charters and donations unto religious houses, and in the chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

So King Athelstan, for killing his brother Edwin, builded two monasteries, Middleton and Michaelney, for his soul: which doctrine and institution, forasmuch as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the testament of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ, the freedom of our redemption and free justification by faith, it is then to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evil worse than the life of the persons; and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvelled at rather, that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit God's mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time to work against such impious foundations, from the time of their first setting up. For besides the invasions of the Danes, (which may seem to be stirred up of God especially for the subversion of abbeyes,) let old histories be searched, what monastery almost in all this realm was either left by the Danes, or re-edified again after the Danes, but by some notorious casualty of fire, sent by God's hand, it hath been burned up?

First, the monastery of Canterbury, called the house of St. Gregory, was burned A.D. 1145, and afterwards again burned A.D. 1174..

The abbey of Crowland was also twice burnt. The abbey of Peterborough was twice set on fire, A.D. 1070.

The abbey of St. Mary's in York burned, with the hospital also.

The abbey of Norwich burned.

The abbey of St. Edmund's Bury burned and destroyed.

The abbey of Worcester.

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The abbey of Gloucester was also burned. The abbey of Chichester burned.
The abbey of Glastonbury burned.
The abbey of St. Mary in Southwark burned.
The church of the abbey of Beverley burned.
The steeple of the abbey of Evesham burned.

These, with many other monasteries more, God brought down to the ground, so that few or none of all the monistical foundations in all England, either before the conquest, escaped the hands of the Danes and Scots, or else after the conquest, escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved; for, as the trade of their lives was too, too wretched and bestial, so the profession of their doctrine was intolerable, fraught with all superstition, full of much idolatry, and utterly contrary to the grace of the gospel and doctrine of Christ.

Furthermore, the more these abbeys multiplied, and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we read the names of monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet, notwithstanding, the monks of those days were not like the monks of our time, nor their houses then like to our abbeys now. So we read of the monks of Bangor before the coming of Augustine: but those monks got their living with toil and labour of their hands, and had no other lands or lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as ministers then, but as laymen, according as Jerome describeth the monks of his time, saying, "A monk's office is not to preach, but to mourn;" and again he saith, "The state of a monk is one thing, and the state of a priest is another;" "Priests feed the flock of Christ;" "I am fed," &c.

Also in the story of Ingulph, abbot of Crowland, thus I find: "Being installed in the abbey of Crowland, A.D. 1076, I found there to the number of sixty-two monks: of which monks, four of them were lay-brethren, besides the monks of other monasteries who were also professed to our chapter," &c.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon, where it is provided, That monks may not mix themselves up with ecclesiastical affairs; and Leo, epist. 62, forbids monks and laymen, especially if they glory in the name of science, to be admitted to the office of teaching and preaching. Whereof read more before.

Thus it appeareth, about or before the time of Jerome, that monks in the first persecutions of the primitive church were laymen, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for fear of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterwards, in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianity, the monks, yet keeping their name, and growing in superstition, would not join with other Christians, but kept still their brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kind of life strange and diverse from the common trade. Upon this diversity of life and profession, followed also like diversity of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this, moreover, came in the rule of St. Benedict, enjoining to them a prescribed form of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying; of silence, sole life, and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians.

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Whereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus, growing up in opinion of holiness, of laymen and labourers they came at length to be clergymen, and greatest doers of all others in Christ's religion; insomuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect Christian, unless he were a monk: neither almost was any advanced to any dignity of the church, but either he was a monk, or afterwards he put on a monk's weed. According as in the stories of this realm is to be seen, how in the time of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, of Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, Pope John the Thirteenth, writing to King Edgar, willed him, in his letters, to see in his cathedral churches none to be promoted to be bishops, but such as were of the monastical religion; and willed him, moreover, to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in monks; and that none of the secular clerks there should be chosen bishop, but either be taken out of the same covent of that church, or of some other abbey.

So was also King Henry the Second commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular canons were removed out, and regular canons intruded. The same did Bishop Oswald with the church of Worcester; likewise in their sees did Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Oskitell, archbishop of York, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, (who in stories is reported to be *multorum fundator monasteriorum*.) Leofwine also, bishop of Dorchester; with other bishops more, about the time and reign of King Edgar. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury before Dunstan, after his election, A.D. 941, refused to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the habit of a monk in the abbey of Fleury in France, "because," as the story telleth, (if it be true,) "all the archbishops of Canterbury before him had been monks," &c. In like manner Baldwin also, A.D. 1184, after he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the Cistercian habit in Ford Abbey: and so Reginald, his next successor after him, also took the habit of a monkish order, &c.

As concerning therefore the origin of monks, ye have heard how first they began of laymen only, leading a straiter life from the society of other persons; who, then following the rule of St. Benedict, were called Regulars, and Votaries; and yet all this while had nothing to do with any ecclesiastical ministry, till the time of Pope Boniface the Fourth, A.D. 607; who then made a decree, that monks might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and assoiling men of their sins; differing from priests only in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and priests were called *Seculares*; the monks were votaries: the priests had free liberty to have wives, till the time of Lanfranc and Anselm, as is before said. Albeit, Athanasius, in his epistle Ad Dracontium, witnesseth also, that he knew monks in the old time, and bishops, who were married and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarm of monks still more and more multiplied, in such sort as not only they thrust out secular priests from their houses, but also out of them were made popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, to govern churches; of which number began Augustine, the first archbishop of the see of Canterbury, and the most part of all other archbishops after him, until the time of the conquest, and after.

All this while the friars were not yet come: neither the discipline of St. Dominic, nor the testament of St. Francis, nor the order of the Augustine brothers, nor of the Carmelites, was yet heard of; which, last of all, came in with their pageants, and played their part likewise, A.D. 1240, being much more full of hypocrisy, blindness, idolatry, and superstition, than were the

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monks. So that, what with monks on the one side, and with the friars on the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of St. Benedict, by the canons of the pope, by the doctrine of St. Dominic, and by the testament of St. Francis, Christ's testament was trodden under foot, the rule of God's word neglected, true Christian religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christ's servants persecuted, and the people's souls uncomforted; yea, and the true church of Christ almost clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided remedy in time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like champions, to cut up from the root the houses of them, that, otherwise, would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with Cromwell's doings, in suppressing these monasteries of monks and friars, let him wisely consider with himself, first, the doctrine, laws, and traditions of these men, which he shall find rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernicious to our salvation, derogatory to Christ's glory, full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of these cloisterers, or at least search out the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in King Henry the Eighth's days, against them; which here is not to be spoken of, unless we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the court of Rome, "whose filthy stench," saith he, "did breathe up a most pestiferous fume, even unto the clouds of heaven," &c.

All which things well considered, what marvel is it then, if God, of his just judgment, did set up the aforesaid Lord Cromwell to destroy these sinful houses, whom their own corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their lands and possessions to the hands of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the king, in bestowing those abbey-lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, either to restore them again unto them from whence they came, or else to gratify his nobility by that means, of policy, not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwell?" But they might," say you, "have been much better employed to other more fruitful uses."

Briefly to answer thereunto: what may be done presently in a commonwealth, it is not enough to say; but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing down of abbeys had happened in such free and reformed cities and countries as are amongst the Germans, where the state, governed and directed by laws, rather than by rulers, remaineth always alike and immutable, who doubteth but such houses there standing still, the possessions might well be transposed to such uses above said, without any fear or peril? But, in such realms and kingdoms as this, where laws and parliaments be not always one, but are subject to the disposition of the prince, neither is it certain always what princes may come; therefore the surest way to send monkery and popery packing out of this realm, is to do with their houses and possessions as King Henry here did, through the motion and counsel of Cromwell. For else, who seeth not in Queen Mary's time, if either the houses of monks had stood, or their lands had been otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had been restored and replenished again with monks and friars, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if dukes, barons, and the nobility, scarce were able to retain the lands and possessions of abbeys distributed to them by King Henry, from the devotion of Queen Mary seeking to build again the walls of Jericho, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlikely but that God's heavenly providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in

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working the destruction of these abbeys; whereupon, as often as he sent out any men to suppress any monastery, he used most commonly to send them with this charge: that they should throw down those houses even to the foundation. Which words, although they may seem, percase, to some, to be cruelly spoken by him; yet, contrariwise, do I suppose the doing thereof not to be without God's special providence and secret guiding. Or else we might, peradventure, have had such swarms of friars and monks possessed in their nests again before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwells, afterwards, scarcely should have sufficed to have unhoused them. Wherefore, if the plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the roots, let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries go.

Furthermore, as touching the godly use of the poor, schools, and stipends of preachers, (for unto these three, diligent respect is to be had in every commonwealth,) there are other means provided, which, as they are alike honest, so are they also much more sure, so that the ancient godliness do not slack in the nobility. And if the nobility, in times past, have been so liberal in bestowing so great costs and charges upon things wherein there is no godliness, how uncomely would it be, for the true gospellers to be more niggardly in preferring true godliness and the study of the gospel!

Now that you have seen what this *malleus monachorum* hath done in defacing the synagogue of the pope, let us see how the same Cromwell again did travail, in setting up Christ's church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Rome's power and authority were banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how, either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at least to keep upright those things which yet remained; wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrated, yet had they brought much more to pass, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

It happened that after the abolishing of the pope, certain tumults began to rise about religion; whereupon it seemed good unto King Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and bishops, who should soberly and modestly treat and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the king's pleasure, all the learned men, but especially the bishops, assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the bishops, and, by chance, meeting with Alexander Alesius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the Convocation-house, where all the bishops were assembled together. This was in the year 1537. The bishops and prelates attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their vicar-general, and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and, after him, every bishop in his order, and doctors. First, over against him, sat the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, &c. There Cromwell, in the name of the king, (whose most dear and secret counsellor at that present he was, and lord privy seal, and vicar-general of the realm,) spake these words in manner following:

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"Right reverend fathers in Christ! The king's Majesty giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandment. And ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be moved concerning the Christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations through the world. For the king studieth day and night to set a quietness in the church; and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you, and of his whole parliament. For, although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe; and he himself, by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and his whole parliament: by which thing ye may perceive both his high wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you, for Christ's sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among yourselves of the controversies moved in the church; and that you will conclude all things by the word of God, without all brawling or scolding: neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested and defaced by any glosses, any papistical laws, or by any authority of doctors and councils; and much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough, that ye be bound to show this service to Christ and to his church; and yet, notwithstanding, his Majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy; which thing his Majesty exhorteth and desireth you to do."

When Cromwell had ended this his oration, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the king's Majesty, not only for his great zeal toward the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so Christian a prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, where Stokesley, bishop of London, first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities,) endeavoured himself, with all his labour and industry, out of the old school glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the church: the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and) Norwich, also favoured his part and sect. On the contrary part were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many others.

After much communication had on either part, and when they had long contended about the testimonies of the doctors, which, as it seemed unto them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canterbury at last spake, and said thus unto them:

"It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make such babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words, is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtlety, who delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them that should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and of the gospel; of the manner and

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way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour which please God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions, which have no word of God to confirm them; whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man, or no? Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, do bind men's consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annoying, and such other, (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins,) ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or no?

"These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian religion: wherefore we contend not about words and trifles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God. And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing, but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and admonisheth him especially, that he should resist with the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the faith: and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, Doing this thou shalt preserve both thyself, and also them which hear thee. Now, if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore, in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signify in the Holy Scripture; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that St. Ambrose, and other authors, call the washing of the disciples' feet, and other things, sacraments; which I am sure you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended his oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius, which stood by, (whom he perceived to give attentive ear to that which was spoken,) to show his mind and opinion, declaring to the bishops before, that he was the king's scholar; and therefore desired them to be contented to hear him indifferently.

Alesius, after he had first done his duty unto the Lord Cromwell, and to the prelates of the church, said in this wise:

"Right honourable and noble lord, and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church! although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet, trusting in the aid of Christ, who promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted by Christ in the gospel, to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel and of godliness, (as Paul nameth remission of sins to be,) or whether ye mean every ceremony generally, which may be a token or a signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I will not stick to grant you that

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there be seven sacraments, and more too, if ye will. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, where he saith, that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith. This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all sacraments generally: for the Jews had but one sacrament only, as all the scholastical writers do grant. And he describeth baptism after the same manner, in the Ephesians, where he saith, that Christ doth sanctify the church; that into say, all that be baptized, through the bath of water, in the word of life. For here, also, he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ, also, requireth faith where he saith, Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.

"And St. Augustine describeth a sacrament thus: 'The word of God, coming unto the element, maketh the sacrament.' And, in another place, he saith, 'A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of visible things, doth work secretly salvation.' And the Master of the Sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise: 'A sacrament,' saith he, 'is an invisible grace, and hath a visible form: and by this invisible grace I mean,' saith he, 'remission of sins.' Finally, St. Thomas denieth that any man hath authority to institute a sacrament. Now, if ye agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easy thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and be instituted by Christ, to signify unto us the remission of our sins.

"St. Augustine saith, that there be but two such sacraments; his words be these, First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: That our Lord Jesus Christ (as he himself saith in the gospel) hath laden us but with a light and easy yoke or burden. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of this new people with sacraments, very few in number, very easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be baptism, and the supper of the Lord, and such others, if there be any more commanded in the Holy Scripture; those except, which were burdens for the servitude of the people in the old law, for the hardness of their hearts,' &c. And again, in the third book of The Learning of a Christian Man, he saith, 'The Scripture hath taught us but few signs, as be the sacrament of baptism, and the solemn celebration and remembrance of the body and blood of the Lord.'"

Then the bishop of London, which could scarcely refrain himself all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: "First of all," saith he, "where you allege that all the sacraments which are in the church, instituted by Christ himself, have either some manifest ground in the Scriptures, or ought to show forth some signification of remission of sins, it is false, and not to be allowed."

Then said Alesius, that he would prove it, not only by manifest authorities of Scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and school-writers.

But the bishop of Hereford, (which was then lately returned out of Germany, where he had been ambassador for the king to the protestants,) being moved with the bishop of London's frowardness, turning himself first to Alexander Alesius, willed him not to contend with the bishop in such manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen, forasmuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. "Wherefore, if this disputation shall be decided by their

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minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the Scripture." This he spake unto Alesius. Then, turning himself unto the bishops, he likewise admonished them, with a grave and sharp oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

"Think ye not that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness; and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain ever so much. The lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us; and the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that have been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly what ye will determine of these controversies, that ye make not yourselves to be mocked and laughed to scorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus shall ye lose all your estimation and authority with them, that before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresy in the church so great, but that process of time, with the power and authority of the pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn your opinion, and think this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against a falsehood.

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength or authority: for the truth is of so great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras A king is strong; wine is strong; yet women be more strong: but truth excelleth all."

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he speak and utter in that convocation, both copiously and discreetly; through whose oration Alesius, being encouraged, proceeded to urge the bishop further with this argument.

The argument in form.

"Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of God's good will.

"Without the word there is no certainty of God's good will.

"Ergo, Without the word there be no sacraments.

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"The first part of this reason is St. Paul's own saying, in the fourth to the Romans, where he saith, that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith: ergo, it requireth faith to certify man's heart of the will of God. But the word of God is the foundation of faith, as St. Paul witnesseth, Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God: for the mind must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the word, like as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul, by that saying, confuteth this opinion, that the sacraments should make men righteous and just before God for the very outward work, without faith of them that receive them.

"And after this manner doth Paul speak unto the Ephesians: that Christ doth sanctify his church, through the bath of water, in the word of life. And forasmuch as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the virtue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifestly teach that the word of God is a principal thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing else but a token of that lively inflammation, which we receive through faith in the word and promise. St. Paul also, in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly add the words of Christ: He took bread, saith he, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my body. Item, Do ye this in my remembrance. Besides this, he teacheth evidently that only Christ, and none but he, had power to institute a sacrament; and that neither have the apostles, nor hath the church, any authority to alter, or to add any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith, For I received of the Lord, that which I delivered unto you, &c. To what purpose should he go about to move the people to believe him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of ministering the sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirm, that the apostles did alter the form of baptism."

When he had spoken thus much, the bishop of London did interrupt him, and said thus:

"Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are ye far deceived if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every souter and cobbler doth read in his mother tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian faith, but that only which is written in the Bible, then err ye plainly with the Lutherans: for St. John saith, that Jesus did many things which be not written; and St. Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and ceremonies. Moreover he himself did preach not the Scripture only, but even also the traditions of the elders. Finally, we have received many things of the doctors and councils of by-times, which, although they be not written in the Bible, yet forasmuch as the old doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture; and, finally, that they may worthily be called, the word of God unwritten."

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, who did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forasmuch as they saw him flee, even in the very beginning of the disputation, unto his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the bishop, to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the Lord Cromwell bade him be content, for the time began to go away, and it was twelve o'clock; and thus he made an end with his protestation:

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"Right reverend master bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and religion doth lean only upon the word of God, which is written in the Bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me, that there be no sacraments but those that have the anifest word of God to confirm them."

Unto this he d consent, and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day. The next day, when the bishops were set again, the archbishop of Canterbury, sending his archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstain from disputation: whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterward showed the same unto the bishops. Thus, through the industry of Cromwell, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had throughout all England.

How desirous and studious this good Cromwell was, in the cause of Christ's religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care and travail how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel, and reform the house of God: as by so many proclamations above specified, by his means set forth, may well appear, wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lord's Prayer and Creed in English. Then he procured the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for every Englishman to understand. After that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the more gross pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor sort, who get their living with their daily labour and work of their hands, he provided that divers idle holidays were diminished. Item, He procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat in Lent. Furthermore, it was by him also provided, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, there to teach, and to keep hospitality, with many other things else, most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of religion and behoof of Christ's church: as by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of Christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the king's name, by his means, may more abundantly appear.

Now, to adjoin withal his private benefits, in helping divers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefly, his whole life was full of such examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religion's sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings; and first, how he helped a poor woman with child, out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent.



N the year of our Lord 1538, Sir William Forman being mayor of the city of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn, dwelling in Paternoster Row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind unto a maid dwelling in Abchurch Lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her unto a piece. The maid, perceiving her earnest desire, showed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the child's too, which she went withal, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Frebarn, her husband, spake to a butter-wife which he knew, that dwelled at Hornsey, named goodwife Fisher, to help him to a

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pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig: unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised, that she would bring him one the Friday following; and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pig, she craftily conveyed one of the pig's feet, and carried it unto Dr. Cox's, at that time being dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy Lane, who, at the time of his dinner, before certain guests which he had bidden, showed this pig's foot, declaring who had the body thereof. And after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests, (being landlord unto Frebarn aforesaid, called Master Garter, and by his office, king at arms,) sent his man unto the said Frebarn, demanding if there were nobody sick in his house: unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, It was told his master, that somebody was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in Lent: unto whom Frebarn made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a piece of a pig, and if he could get some for her, he would. Then departed his landlord's man home again.

And, shortly after, his landlord sent for him. But before that he had sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of London's sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarn was come, he demanded of him if he had not a pig in his house; which he denied not. Then commanded Master Garter the said sumner called Holland, to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him, and the pig, unto Dr. Stokesley his master, being then bishop of London: and so he did. Then the bishop, being in his chamber with divers other of the clergy, called this Frebarn before him, and had him in examination for this pig; laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house, that Lent, powdered beef, and calves' heads. Unto whom Frebarn answered, "My Lord, if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten? also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house, hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer death there-for." "You speak," said he, "against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, or holy water, nor yet go on procession on Palm Sunday; thou art no Christian man." "My Lord," said Frebarn, "I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing either against God's law or my prince's."

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two hours, divers came unto the bishop; some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes: unto whom as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and show it them, saying, "How think you of such a fellow as this is? Is not this good meat, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent; yea, and also powdered beef and calves' heads too, besides this!"

After this, the bishop called his sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carry this Thomas Frebarn, and the pig, openly through the streets into the Old Bailey, unto Sir Roger Cholmley: for the bishop said, he had nothing to do to punish him, for that belonged unto the civil magistrates. And so was Frebarn carried, with the pig before him, to Sir Roger Cholmley's house in the Old Bailey; and he being not at home at that time, Frebarn was brought likewise back again unto the bishop's place with the pig, and there lay in the porter's lodge till it was nine o'clock at night. Then the bishop sent him unto the Compter in the Poultry, by the sumner and other of his servants.

The next day, being Saturday, he was brought before the mayor of London and his brethren, unto Guildhall; but, before his coming, they had the pig delivered unto them by the

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bishop's officer. Then the mayor and the bench laid unto his charge, (as they were informed from the bishop,) that he had eaten powdered beef and calves' heads in his house the same Lent: but no man was able to come in that would justify it, neither could any thing be found, save only the pig, which (as is before said) was for the preservation of his wife's life, and that she went withal. Notwithstanding the mayor of London said, that the Monday next following he should stand on the pillory in Cheapside, with the one half of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other.

Then spake the wife of the said Frebarn unto the mayor and the bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he; for it was the long of her, and not of him. After this they took a satin list, and tied it fast about the pig's neck, and made Frebarn to carry it, hanging on his shoulder, until he came unto the Compter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wife of this prisoner took with her an honest woman, the wife of one Michael Lobley, who was well acquainted with divers in the Lord Cromwell's house, unto whom the said woman resorted for some help for this prisoner, desiring them to speak unto their lord and master for his deliverance out of trouble.

It happened that the same time came in Dr. Barnes and Master Barlow, who, understanding the matter by Lobley's wife, went up to the Lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof; who, upon their request, sent for the mayor of the city of London: but what was said unto the lord mayor is unknown, saving that in the afternoon of the same day the wife of the person aforesaid resorted again unto the lord mayor, suing to get her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but only her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the mayor answered, "What come ye to me? You are taken up by the king's council. I supposed, that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the pillory in Cheapside on Monday next, with the one half of the pig on his one shoulder and the other half on the other." Also the mayor said unto her, that he could not deliver him, without the consent of the rest of his brethren the aldermen: wherefore he bade her, the next day following, which was the sabbath day, to resort unto Paul's, to St. Dunstan's chapel, and when he had spoken with his brethren, he would then tell her more. Other answer could she not get at that time; wherefore she went unto Master Wilkinson, then being sheriff of London, desiring him to be good unto her, and that she might have her poor husband out of prison. Unto whom Master Wilkinson answered, "O woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no:" saying, moreover, unto her, that if the lord mayor had sent him to his Compter, as he sent him to his brother's, he should not of tarried there an hour: and so commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the best for her he could. So the next day came, and this woman resorted again to Master Wilkinson's according as he bade her, who also had bidden divers guests, unto whom he spake in her behalf. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she saw the hot fish come in, she fell down in a swoon, so that for the space of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Paternoster-row, and then they sent for the midwife, supposing that she would have been delivered incontinent of her child that she went with, (but after that she came somewhat again to herself,) where she lay sick, and kept her bed the space of fifteen weeks after; being not able to help herself, but as she was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

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Now, to show further what became of this pig, whereof we have spoken so much, it was carried into Finsbury field by the bishop of London's sumner, at his master's commandment, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the mayor of London, with the residue of his brethren, being at Guildhall, sent for the prisoner aforesaid, and demanded sureties of him for his forthcoming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge: but for lack of such sureties as they required, upon his own bond, which was a recognisance of twenty pounds, he was delivered out of their hands. But, shortly after he was delivered out of this his trouble, Master Garter, of whom we have spoken before, being his landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in four years after he could not get another, but was constrained to be with other good folks, to his great hinderance and undoing.

Hard it were, and almost out of number, to rehearse the names and stories of all them that felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembered the notable deliverance of one Gray, a smith of Bishop's Stortford, who, being accused for denying the sacrament of the altar to be our Saviour, was sent up for the same to London, and there should have been condemned to be burned, but that, by the means of the Lord Cromwell, he was sent home again and delivered. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare: how he helped the secretary that then was to Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which secretary is yet alive, and can bear present record of the same.

How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmer's secretary.

Mention was made before, how King Henry, in the twenty-first year of his reign, caused the Six Articles to pass, much against the mind, and contrary to the consent, of The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who had disputed three days against the same, in the parliament-house, with great reasons and authorities. Which articles, after they were granted and passed by the parliament, the king, for the singular favour which he ever bare to Cranmer, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had said and objected in the parliament against these articles, or what could be alleged by learning against the same, required a note of the archbishop of his doings, what he had said and opposed in the parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the king by Cromwell and other lords of the parliament, whom the king then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort again his grieved mind and troubled spirits, as hath been above recited.

Whereupon, when this dinner was finished, the next day after, the archbishop, collecting both his arguments, authorities of Scripture, and doctors together, caused his secretary to write a fair book thereof for the king, after this order. First, the Scriptures were alleged; then the doctors; thirdly, followed the arguments deduced from those authorities. This book was written in his secretary's chamber; where, in a by-chamber, lay the archbishop's almoner. When this book was fair written, and while the secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the archbishop his master, who was (as it then chanced) ridden to Croydon, returning back to his chamber, he found the door shut, and the key carried away to London by the almoner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said secretary to come to the city, by whose occasion it so fell out, that he must needs go to London. The book he could not lay in his

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chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being straitly charged, in any condition, by the archbishop his master, to be circumspect thereof; so that he determined to go to his father, and to keep the book about him. And so thrusting the book under his girdle, he went over unto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where he entered into a wherry that went to London, wherein were four of the guard, who meant to land at Paul's wharf, and to pass by the king's Highness, who then was in his barge, with a great number of barges and boats about him, then baiting of bears in the water, over against the bank.

These aforesaid yeoman of the guard, when they came against the king's barge, they durst not pass by towards Paul's wharf, lest they should be espied, and therefore entreated the secretary to go with them to the bear baiting, and they would find the means, being of the guard, to make room, and to see all the pastime. The secretary, perceiving no other remedy, assented thereto. When the wherry came nigh the multitude of the boats, they, with poleaxes, got the wherry so far, that being compassed with many other wherries and boats, there was no refuge if the bear should break loose and come upon them; as in very deed, within one Paternoster, the bear brake loose, and came into the boat where the yeoman of the guard were, and the said secretary. The guard forsook the wherry, and went into another barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The bear and the dogs so shook the wherry wherein the secretary was, that the boat, being full of water, sunk to the ground; and being also, as it chanced, an ebbing tide, he there sat in the end of the wherry up to the middle in water; to whom came the bear and all the dogs. The bear, seeking as it were aid and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the book was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames, out of his reach.

The flying of the people after that the bear was loose, from one boat to another, was so cumbersome, that divers persons were thrown into the Thames; the king commanding certain men that could swim to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the king, that he bade "away, away with the bear, and let us all go hence!"

The secretary, perceiving his book to fleet away in the Thames, called to the bearward to take up the book. When the bearward had the book in his custody, being an arrant papist, far from the religion of his mistress, (for he was the Lady Elizabeth's bearward, now the queen's Majesty,) ere the secretary could come to land, he had delivered the book to a priest of his own affinity in religion, standing on the bank, who, reading in the book, and perceiving that it was a manifest refutation of the Six Articles, made much ado, and told the bearward, that whosoever claimed the book should surely be hanged. Anon the secretary came to the bearward for his book. "What," quoth the bearward, "dare you challenge this book? Whose servant are you?" "I am servant to one of the council," said the secretary, "and my lord of Canterbury is my master." "Yea marry," quoth the bearward, "I thought as much: you be like, I trust," quoth the bearward, "to be both hanged for this book." "Well," said he, "it is not so evil as you take it, and, I warrant you, my Lord will avouch the book to the king's Majesty. But I pray you let me have my book, and I will give you a crown to drink." "If you will give me five hundred crowns, you shall not have it," quoth the bearward.

With that the secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardness of the bearward, he learned that Blage, the grocer in Cheapside, might do much with the

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bearward, to whom the secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the bearward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge therein; and besides that, rather than he would forego his book after this sort, the bearward should have twenty shillings to drink. The supper was prepared; the bearward was sent for and came. After supper the matter was treated of, and twenty shillings offered for the book. But do what could be done, neither friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money, could obtain the book out of his hands, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the council that would not so slightly look on so weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a supper, or a piece of money. The honest man, Master Blage, with many good reasons, would have persuaded him not to be stiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he should nothing at all prevail of his purpose, but he laughed to scorn; getting neither penny nor praise for his travail. He, hearing that, rushed suddenly out of the doors from his friend Master Blage, without any manner of thanksgiving for his supper, more like a bearward, than like an honest man. When the secretary saw the matter so extremely to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any further practising of entreaty with the bearward, as with him that seemed rather to be a bear himself, than the master of the beast; determining the next morning to make the Lord Cromwell privy of the chance that happened.

So, on the next day, as the Lord Cromwell went to the court, the secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. "Where is the fellow?" quoth the Lord Cromwell. "I suppose," said the secretary, "that he is now in the court, attending to deliver the book unto some of the council." "Well," said the Lord Cromwell, "it maketh no matter; go with me thither, and I shall get you your book again." When the Lord Cromwell came into the hall of the court, there stood the bearward, with the book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Sir Anthony Brown, or unto the bishop of Winchester, as it was reported. To whom the Lord Cromwell said, "Come hither, fellow! what book hast thou there in thy hand?" and with that snatched the book out of his hand, and looking in the book, he said, "I know this hand well enough. This is your hand," said he to the secretary. "But where hadst thou this book?" quoth the Lord Cromwell to the bearward. "This gentleman lost it two days ago in the Thames," said the bearward. "Dost thou know whose servant he is?" said the Lord Cromwell. "He saith," quoth the bearward, "that he is my Lord of Canterbury's servant." "Why then didst thou not deliver to him the book, when he required it?" said the Lord Cromwell. "Who made thee so bold, as to detain and withhold any book or writing from a councillor's servant, especially being his secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy bears, than with such writing; and were it not for thy mistress' sake, I would set thee fast by the feet, to teach such malapert knaves to meddle with councillors' matters. Had not money been well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is? that knoweth not a councillor's man from a cobbler's man!" And with those words the Lord Cromwell went up into the king's chamber of presence, and the archbishop's secretary with him, where he found, in the chamber, the lord of Canterbury. To whom he said, "My lord! I have found here good stuff for you, (showing to him the paper book that he had in his hand,) ready to bring both you, and this good fellow your man, to the halter; namely, if the knave bearward, now in the hall, might have well compassed it." At these words the archbishop smiled, and said, "He that lost the book is like to have the worst bargain, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the book fair again:" and, at these words, the Lord Cromwell cast the book unto the secretary, saying, "I pray thee, Morice! go in hand therewith, by-and-by, with all expedition, for it must serve a turn." "Surely, my Lord, it somewhat rejoiceth me," quoth the Lord Cromwell, "that the varlet might have had

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of your man twenty shillings for the book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and shaken him well up for his over-much malapertness. I know the fellow well enough," quoth he, "there is not a ranker papist within this realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a princess." And so, after humble thanks given to the Lord Cromwell, the said Morice departed with his book, which, when he again had fair written it, was delivered to the king's Majesty by the said Lord Cromwell, within four days after.

The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his old friends and benefactors.



It is commonly seen, that men advanced once from base degree to ample dignities, do rise also, with fortune, into such insolency and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themselves, what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of remembrance all their old friends and former acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how far the courteous condition of this Christian earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear; as by a certain poor woman keeping some time a victualling-house about Hounslow, to whom the said Lord Cromwell remained in debt for certain old reckonings, to the sum of forty shillings. It happened that the Lord Cromwell, with Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, riding through Cheapside towards the court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poor woman, brought now in need and misery, eftsoons caused her to be called unto him; who, being come, after certain questions, asked of her (if she were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place); at last, he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom, with reverent obeisance, she confessed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning, which was yet unpaid; whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him, to require her right. Then the Lord Cromwell, sending the poor woman home to his house, and one of his servants withal, that the porter should let her in, after his return from the court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her a yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived.

The like courtesy the said Lord Cromwell showed also to a certain Italian, who, in the city of Florence, had showed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessity, as in this story following may appear; which story, set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, and imprinted at Lucca, by Busdrago, A. D. 1554, I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

"Not many years past," saith the author, "there was in Florence a merchant, whose name was Francis, descended from the noble and ancient family of the Frescobalds. This gentleman was naturally endued with a noble and liberal mind, unto whom, also, through prosperous success and fortunate luck in his affairs and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heaps of much treasure. According to the custom of merchants, he used his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time he lived, sojourning in London, keeping house to his great commendation and praise.

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"It happened that Francis Frescobald, being in Florence, there appeared before him a poor young man, asking his alms for God's sake. Frescobald, as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardness and virtue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pity, demanded of what country he was, and where he was born. 'I am, sir,' quoth he, 'of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poor man, and by his occupation a cloth-shearer. I am strayed from my country, and am now come into Italy, with the camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at Garigliano, where I was the page to a footman, carrying after him his pike and burganet.' Frescobald, partly considering the present state of this young man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whom he had received, in times past, sundry pleasures, received him into his house, and with such courtesy entertained his guest, that at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his country, he provided such necessaries as he in any way needed. He gave him both horse and new apparel, and sixteen ducats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his country. Cromwell, rendering his hearty thanks, took leave of his host, and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage, and heroical spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberal, and a grave councillor, &c. But to our purpose. At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, Francis Frescobald (as it many times happeneth to merchants) was, by many misfortunes and great losses, cast back, and become very poor. For, according to conscience and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any others from himself; but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no means obtain: yet, calling further to remembrance that in England, by certain merchants, there was due to him the sum of fifteen thousand ducats, he so purposed with himself, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himself, and no longer deal in his trade of merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

"All things prepared for his journey, he, setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what courtesy long before he had showed to Cromwell; which is the property always of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath showed to others, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of others. Frescobald, thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him, by the way, to meet with this nobleman, as he was riding towards the court; whom, as soon as the said Lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought with himself that he should be the man of Florence, at whose hands, in times past, he had received so gentle entertainment: and thereupon suddenly alighting, (to the great admiration of those that were with him,) in his arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voice, scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not Francis Frescobald the Florentine. 'Yea, sir,' he answered, and your humble servant.' 'My servant?' quoth Cromwell. 'No, as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwise than my great and especial friend; assuring you that I have just reason to be sorry, That you, knowing what I am, (or, at least, what I should be,) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land; which, known unto me, truly I should have paid part of that debt, which I confess to owe you: but, thanked be God! I have yet time. Well, sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome: but, having now weighty affairs in my princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore, at this time I take my leave, desiring you, with the faithful mind of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner.' And then, remounting his horse, he passed to the court.

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"Frescobald, greatly marvelling with himself who this lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence; and thereat he not a little joyed, especially considering how that, by his means, he should the better recover his due.

"The hour of dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of this honourable councillor, where, walking a while in his base court, he attended his coming. The lord shortly returned from the court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the lord admiral, and all the other noblemen of the court, being then in his company, did not a little marvel thereat. Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceived, he said, turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the band, 'Do ye not marvel, my Lords,' quoth he, 'that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have achieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesy when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you.' And so there declared he unto them every thing in order, according as before hath been recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entered his house; and coming into the chamber where his dinner was prepared, he sat him down to the table, placing his best-welcomed guest next unto him.

"The dinner ended, and the lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Francis, in few words, opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his only portion to maintain the rest of his life, was fifteen thousand ducats which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spain. Whereunto the Lord Cromwell, answering again, said, Touching the things, Master Frescobald! that be already past, although it cannot now be undone by man's power, nor by policy called again, which hath happened unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world, altering to and fro; yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to yourself alone, but that, by the bond of mutual love, I must also bewail with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heaviness, yet, notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive, in this your heavy distress, some consolation for your old courtesy, showed to me in times past, the like courtesy now requireth of me again, that I, likewise, should repay some portion of that debt wherein I stand bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefits on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch on the word of a true friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

"Then, taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the door. Then, opening a coffer full heaped with treasure, he first took out sixteen ducats, and, delivering them to Frescobald, he said; Lo here, my friend! is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here are other ten which you bestowed on my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the horse I rode away on. But, considering you are a merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to return your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you, therefore, these four bags, and in every one of them are four hundred ducats: these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured friend.'

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"Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb, and almost an utter decay, yet, expressing the virtue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the Lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindness showed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it. This done, he caused Frescobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the sum that from every one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the realm; and then straitly to charge them to make payment of those sums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so well performed his master's commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum; and if it had liked Frescobald so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost, such commodity as the use of his money in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further; by which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the Lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, Frescobald continually lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in England, offering him the loan of threescore thousand ducats for the space of four years, if he would continue, and make his bank in London. But Frescobald, who desired to return into his country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where, richly arriving, he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first year of his return he died."

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits, full of singular gratitude and courtesy, that to rehearse all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many others I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at, the lowly mind of such a person in so high a state and place of honour. For as he, coming with others of the lords of the council and commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certain monks, which there denied the king's supremacy, after the examination done was there sitting at dinner, it chanced him to spy afar off a certain poor man, who there served to sweep their cells and cloisters, and to ring the bells: whom when the Lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and, before all the table, most lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the lords, "My lords!" quoth he, "see you this poor man? This man's father hath been a great friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meal's meat." Then said he unto the poor man, "Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live." Such as were there present, and saw and heard the same, being alive at the second edition hereof, report it to be true.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excelling wisdom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles

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above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a nobleman, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Secondly, with his wisdom and policy no less singular, joined with his Christian zeal, he brought great things to pass, as well on this side the sea, as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with foreign realms, as may be well, by the king's letters and instructions, sent by this means to his ambassadors resident both with the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, and also with the pope, may well appear; in all whose courts, such watch and espial he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischief kindling ever so little against the king and the realm, which he, by wit and policy, did not quench and keep down; and where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by money he bought it out; so that during all the time of Cromwell's prosperity, the king never had war with any foreign nation: notwithstanding, tha both the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

Thus, as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the realm from foreign wars; so his authority was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: first, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their subtle devices; secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the laws; whereby as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was he a terror to the evildoers; so that not the presence of him only, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwell, brake many frays, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of ruffians in the street of London called Paternoster Row; where carts were set on both sides, prepared on purpose to enclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell, coming the same time from the court through Paul's Church-yard, and entering into Cheap, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the Little Conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley. Thus, as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, suddenly, at the noise of the Lord Cromwell's coming, the camp brake up, and the ruffians fled, neither could the carts keep in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting; only through the authority of the Lord Cromwell's name.

One example more of the like affinity cometh here in mind, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certain servingman of the like ruffianly order; who, thinking to dis sever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange newfangledness of fashions by himself, (as many there be whom nothing doth please which is daily seen and received,) used to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner,. (counterfeiting belike the wild Irishmen, or else Crimissus, the Trojan, whom Virgil speaketh of,) as one weary of his own English fashion; or else as one who, ashamed to be seen like a man, would rather go like a woman; or like to one of the Gorgon sisters; but most of all like to himself; that is, like to a ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

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As this ruffian, ruffling thus with his locks, was walking in the streets, as chance was, who should meet him but the Lord Cromwell! who, beholding the deform and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the man, to question with him whose servant he was: which being declared, then was it demanded whether his master or any of his fellows so to go with such hair about their shoulders as he did, or no: which when he denied, and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous diguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered again, that forasmuch as he had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his vow, but until his vow should be expired, he should lie the mean time in prison: and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsea, where he endured; till at length this Intonsus Cato, being persuaded by his master to cut his hair, by suit and petition of friends, he was brought again to the Lord Cromwell, with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellows; and so was dismissed.

Hereunto also pertaineth the example of Friar Bartley, who, wearing still his friar's cowl after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell, coming through Paul's Church-yard, and espying him in Rheines's shop, "Yea," said he, "will not that cowl of yours he left off yet? And if I hear, by one o'clock, that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for example to all others." And so, putting his cowl away, he durst never wear it after.

If the same Lord Cromwell, who could not abide this servingman so disfigured in his hair, were now in these our days alive, with the same authority which then he had, and saw these new-fangled fashions of attire, used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffs, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal, or rather hyperbolic, barbarous breeches, (which seem rather like barrels than breeches,) would have any place in England. In which no measurable excess of vesture this I have to marvel: First, how these servingmen, which commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years' wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their masters and lords (who shall yield to God account of their servants' doings) do not search and try out their servants' walks, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendiary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates, who have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, "that England once had a Cromwell."

Long it were to recite what innumerable fits this worthy councillor, by his prudent policy, his grave authority, and perfect zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the public realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established, what wickedness and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious illusions, he detected and abolished out of the church. What posterity will ever think the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the people's eyes with an old rotten stock, called the Rood of Grace, wherein a man should stand enclosed, with a hundred wires within the rood, to make the image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jaws, according as the value was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, the image would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of gold, then should his jaws go merrily.

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Thus miserably were the people of Christ abused, their souls seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this idolatrous forgery, at last, by Cromwell's means, was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines, showed openly at Paul's Cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The like was done by the blood of Hayles, which, in like manner, by Cromwell was brought to Paul's Cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck. Who would have judged, but that the maid of Kent had been a holy woman, and a prophetess inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paul's Cross, to be a strong and lewd impostor. What should I speak of Darvel Gartheren, of the rood of Chester, of Thomas Becket, of our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? all which stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, removed them out of the people's way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the commonwealth, and in purging the church of Christ, it happened to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of virtue appeareth, there envy creepeth in; and where true piety seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withal.

Thus, I say, as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continually hung for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end, false trains and crafty surmises, they brought him out of the king's favour.

The chief and principal enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, ever disdainng and envying the state and felicity of the Lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the marriage of Lady Anne of Cleves, being a stranger and foreigner, put in the king's ears what a perfect thing it were for the quiet of the realm, and establishment of the king's succession, to have an English queen, and prince that were mere English; so that, in conclusion, the king's affection, the more it was diminished from the late married Anne of Cleves, the less favour he bare unto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other back friends also, and ill-willers in the court about the king, which little made for Cromwell, both for his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also, incident by the way.



ver and beside which, it is, moreover, supposed, that some part of displeasure might arise against him by reason of a certain talk which happened a little before at Lambeth; at what time the king, after the making of the Six Articles, sent the said Lord Cromwell his vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with all the lords of the parliament, to Lambeth, to dine with the archbishop, (who mightily had disputed and alleged in the parliament against the said articles,) to cheer and comfort his daunted spirits again.

There the said Cromwell, with the other noble lords, sitting with the archbishop at his table in talk, as every lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signify what good will both the king and they bare unto him; among the rest, one of the company, entering into a comparison between the said Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, declared that Cranmer, in his judgment, was much to be preferred for his mild and

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gentle nature, whereas the cardinal was a stubborn and a churlish prelate, and one that could never abide any noble man. "And that," said he "know you well enough, my Lord Cromwell! for he was your master," &c.: At these words the Lord Cromwell, being somewhat touched to hear the cardinal's service so cast in his teeth, inferred again, saying, that he could not deny but he was servant some time to Cardinal Wolsey, neither did repent the same; for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other commodities: but yet he was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen pope, as he understood that he would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and showing, moreover, what number of florins he should have received, to be his admiral, and to have safely conducted him to Rome, in case he had been elected bishop of Rome. The party, not a little moved with these words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose between them; which contention, although it was, through entreaty of the archbishop and other nobles, somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some fitter root of grudge remained behind, which afterwards grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was A. D. 1539, in the month of July.

After this, the next year following, which was 1540, in the month of April, was holden a parliament; which, after divers prorogations, was continued till the month of July. On the tenth of June in the said year, the Lord Cromwell, being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London: whereat as many good men, who knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, so more there were, on the contrary side, that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had been in some dignity before in the church, and now, by his means, were put from it. For indeed such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery, or of false religion creeping under hypocrisy; and less could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy, which, professing all humility, was so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they again hated him as much, which was the cause of shortening his days, and of bringing him to his end; so that on the seventeenth day of the month aforesaid, he was attainted by parliament.

In that attainder, divers and sundry crimes, surmises, objections, and accusations, were brought against him: but chiefly, and above all others, he was charged and accused of heresy, for that he was a supporter of them whom they recounted for heretics; as Barnes, Clark, and many others, whom, by his authority, and letters written to sheriffs and justices in divers shires, he had rescued, and discharged out prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad among the king's subjects great numbers of books, containing (as they said) manifest matter of much heresy, diffidence, and misbelief. Item, that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, books comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the altar; and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and Christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses, (what they were, the attainder expresseth not,) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with heinous words spoken against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign; which words if they be true, as the attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should move them to make such hasty speed, in all post haste to have him despatched and rid out of the

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way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation? which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily have cleared himself thereof.

Secondly, this I marvel, that if the words had been so heinous against the king as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses who heard those words in St. Peter's church in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, conceal the said words of such treason so long, the space almost of two years, and now uttered the same in the two-and-thirtieth year of the king's reign, in the month of July.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the king had known or believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had been indeed such a traitor to his person, why then did the king, so shortly after, lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive again? What prince will wish the life of him whom he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traitor to his life and person? Whereby it may appear what judgment the king had of Cromwell in himself, howsoever the parliament, by sinister information, was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Such malicious makebates about princes and parliaments never lacked in commonweals. By such King Athelstan was incensed to kill his brother Edwin. So was King Edward the Second deposed. So likewise, when King Richard the Second was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accusations were laid against him in the parliament! So was Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester the king's uncle, by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and others, in the parliament holden at Bury, arrested as a traitor, and falsely made away. What great treason was in the words of him, who, dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, said merrily to his son, that if he lived, he would make him heir to the crown? and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a traitor. In the time of King Henry the Eighth how was that parliament incensed, wherein both Queen Anne was falsely condemned, and Queen Elizabeth her daughter as falsely disherited? To omit here the attainder of the duke of Buckingham, wrought by the cardinal of York; of the Lord Cobham likewise, and Sir Roger Acton: if the cause of the Lord Henry, late earl of Surrey, were well tried out, peradventure no such heinous purpose of any treason should be found therein, as then was made. Who incensed the late duke of Somerset to behead his own brother, but such makebates as these? and afterwards, when the said duke himself was attainted for a traitor, and condemned for a felon, a briber, and extortioner, how was the parliament then incensed? Adam Damlip received of Cardinal Pole at Rome but a silly crown in way of alms, and there-for, by means of Stephen Gardiner, was attainted for a traitor. George Egles did but read sometimes in woods, and by the said Gardiner was also condemned, and suffered as a traitor. Not that I here speak or mean against the high courts of parliaments of this our realm, necessarily assembled for the commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due reverence and authority. But, as it happeneth sometimes in general councils, which, though they be ever so general, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do err in weighty matters of religion; so, likewise, they that say that princes and parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil and politic, do not therein derogate or impair the high estate of parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsel they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such general councils, and into prince's courts also, either too much amplifying things that be but small, making mountains of molehills, or else too much extenuating things that be of

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themselves great and weighty, according as it is truly said by the poet Juvenal, "As a man is friended, so is his matter ended;" and "Where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large leaps;" or rather, to speak after the French phrase, " He that is disposed to have his dog killed, first maketh men believe that he is mad." And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I refer to the high parliament of that Mighty King, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the Lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certain, that Stephen Gardiner lacked not a head, nor yet assisters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when the king, being disposed to marry another wife, which was the Lady Katharine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, did repudiate Lady Anne of Cleves, which otherwise it is to be thought, during the life of Cromwell could not so well be brought to pass.

But these things being now done and past, let us pass them over, and return again from whence we digressed, that is, to the Lord Cromwell, being now attainted and committed to the Tower; who, so long as he went with full sail of fortune, how moderately and how temperately he did ever bear himself in his estate, before hath been declared. So now the said Lord Cromwell, always one man, by the contrary wind of adversity being overblown, received the same with no less constancy and patience of a Christian heart; neither yet was he so unprovided of counsel and forecast, but that he did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same; for two years before, smelling the conspiracy of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his servants, and there, showing unto them in what a slippery state he stood, and also perceiving some stormy weather already to gather, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest, through their default, any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehension, such order he took for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, which had little else to take unto, had honestly left for them in their friends' hands to relieve them; whatsoever should him befall.

Briefly, such a loving and kind master he was to his servants, that he provided aforehand almost for them all; insomuch, that he gave to twelve children, which were his musicians, twenty pounds a piece, and so committed them to their friends, of whom some yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himself, how gravely and discreetly he answered and entertained the commissioners sent unto him, it is worthy noting. Whatsoever articles and interregatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in every condition, than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those commissioners who came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king; which when he refused, saying that he would carry no letter to the king from a traitor, then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other lords, what he had promised, "You shall commend me," said he, "to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so

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well tried and throughly proved you as I have done, he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower to the king, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, Sir Ralph Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful unto him) went unto the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not; which when the king had granted, the said Master Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, insomuch that the king seemed to be moved therewith.

At last, three years after all this was done, Cromwell being circumvented with the malicious craft and policy of divers, that, by occasion of mention made touching the king's divorce with the Lady Anne of Cleves, he had said these words, "That he wished his dagger in him that had dissolved or broken that marriage;" hereupon it was objected against him by Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and others, that it was spoken against the king, who, at that time being in love with Katharine Howard, was the chief cause and author of that divorce. Whereupon divers of the nobles conspiring against him, some for hatred, and some for religion's sake, he was cast into the Tower of London; where, as it happened, (as it were by a certain fatal destiny,) that whereas he, a little before, had made a law, that whosoever was cast into the Tower, should be put to death without examination, he himself suffered by the same law. It is said, (which also I do easily credit,) that he made this violent law, not so much for any cruelty or tyranny, as only for a certain secret purpose, to have entangled the bishop of Winchester, who, albeit he was, without doubt, the most violent adversary of Christ and his religion, notwithstanding, God, peradventure, would not have his religion set forth by any wicked cruelty, or otherwise than was meet and convenient.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the act of parliament before passed, the worthy and noble Lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not coming to his answer, on the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. 1540, was brought to the scaffold on Tower-bill, where he said these words following:

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some think, peradventure, that I will: for if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am, by the law, condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great travailler in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate; and since the time I came thereunto I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. O Father, forgive me! O Son, forgive me! O Holy Ghost, forgive me! O three persons in one God, forgive me! And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions; which is untrue: but I confess, that like as God, by his Holy Spirit, doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us; and I have been seduced. But bear me witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the king's Grace, that he

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may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, Prince Edward, that goodly imp, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith."

And so making his prayer, which was long, but not so long as both godly and learned, kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A prayer that the Lord Cromwell said at the hour of his death.

"O Lord Jesu! which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee, I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will; and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt, in better wise, restore it to me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesu Christ! that thou wilt, by thy grace, make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in, thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap; but yet, through thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord! wast born for my sake; thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour! let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me, which hast given thyself also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord! thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant: that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me: that love wax not cold in me; and finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour! that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord! into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesu I receive my spirit. Amen."

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God; and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, which very ungodly performed the office.

This valiant soldier and captain of Christ, the aforesaid Lord Cromwell, as he was most studious of himself in a flagrant zeal to set forward the truth of the gospel, seeking all means and ways to beat down false religion and to advance the true, so he always retained unto him and had about him such as could be found helpers and furtherers of the same; in the number of whom were sundry and divers fresh and quick wits, pertaining to his family; by whose industry and

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ingenious labours, divers and excellent ballads and books were contrived and set abroad, concerning the suppression of the pope and all popish idolatry. Amongst which, omitting a great sort that we might here bring in, yet this small treatise here following, called *The Fantassie of Idolatrie*, we thought not to pass over, containing in it, as in a brief sum, the great mass of idolatrous pilgrimages; for the posterity hereafter 'to understand, what then was used in England.

A Booke entitled the Fantassie of Idolatrie.

All Christen people
Beyng under the steple
Of Jesu Christes faith!
Marke and drawe nere,
And ye shall here
What the Holy Scripture sayth.

Idols and images
Haue none in usage,
(Of what mettel so euer they be,)
Graued or carued;
My wyle be obserued,
Or els can ye not loue me.'

First, I wyll begyn
Your hartes to wyn
With nother fable nor lye;
But with God's testament,
As is moste expedient,
Concerning idolatrie:

'Then I, a jealous God,
Wyll scourge with my rod;
I may not forbear my hand:
And specially
For idolatry.
My power who can withstand!'

Wherin we myght se
Great authoritie,
Sauyng it were to long
For to rehearse,
Nowe, verse by verse,
In this same lytle song.

The prophetes all,
In generall,
Of idols, as ye may se,
Put us from doubt,
And set them out,
In their colours, as they ought to be.

But I shall shewe,
In wordes fewe,
The summe of the whole effecte,
To them of good mynde,
That be wylling to fynde
The trade of idolatrous sect.

Saynt Paule also,
With many saintes mo,
Against idols, with al their myght,
Perceiuing suche swarms,
Did blase their armes,
And brought them out to lyght.

Fyrst, we will gather,
Of our heavenly Father,
Among his commaundmentes, ten;
Written as no fables,
But as in Moyses tables,
To be kept of all Christen men.

This should suffice
All those that be wyse;
But we, of a stoubourne mynde,
Be so harde harted,
Wyll not be conuerted,
But rather styll be blynde.

Where that he sayth,
To the chyldren of fayth,
'I am your God and Kyng;
Other gods haue ye none,
But me alone,
To love aboute all thing.'

Ronnyng hyther and thyther,
We cannot tell whither,
In offryng candels and pence
To stones and stockes,
And to olde rotten blockes,
That came, we know not from whence.

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To Walsyngham[*See note*] a gaddyng,
 To Cantorbury a maddyng,
 As men distraught of mynde;
 With fewe clothes on our backes,
 But an image of waxe,
 For the lame and for the blynde.

To Hampton, to Ipswyche,
 To Harforth, to Shordyche,
 With many mo places of pryce;
 As, to our Lady of Worcester,
 And the weet rode of Chester,
 With the blessed Lady of Penryce.

To Leymster, to Kyngstone,
 To Yorke, to Donyngton,
 To Redyng, to the chyld of grace;
 To Wynsore, to Waltam,
 To Ely, to Caultam,
 Bare foted and bare legged apace.

To Saynt Earth, a right,
 Where, in the dark nyght
 Many juglyng casts hath be done;
 To Saynt Augers rotten bones
 That ran away for the nones;
 To the crosse that groweth at Chaldon.

To the good Holy Ghoste,
 That paynted poste,
 Abyding at Basyngstoke;
 Whiche doth as muche good
 As a god made of wood,
 And, yet, he beareth a great stroke.

To the holy blond of Hayles,
 With your fyngers and nayles,
 All that we may scratche and wyne;
 Yet it woulde not be seen,
 Except you were shryven,
 And clene from all deadly synne.

There, were we flocked
 Lowted and mocked;
 For, nowe, it is knowen to be
 But the blond of a ducke,
 That long did sucke
 The thrifte, from euery degre.

To Pomfret, to Wylsdon,
 To Saynt Anne of Bucston,
 To Saynt Mighels Mount also;
 But, to reken all,
 My wyttes be too small,
 For, God knoweth, there be many mo!

To Saynt Syth for my purse;
 Saynt Loye sane my horse;
 For my teth to Saynt Apolyne
 To Saynt Job for the poxe;
 Saynt Luke save myne oxe;
 Saynt Anthony save my swyne!

To Maister John Shorne,
 That blessed man borne;
 For the ague to hym we apply,
 Whiche jugeot with a bote
 I beshrowe his herte rote
 That wyle truste him, and it be I!

Suche was our truste,
 Suche was our luste,
 Upon creature to call and crye;
 As men did please,
 For every disease,
 To haue a god peculiarly.

Blessed Saynt Sauour,
 For his noughty behaiour,
 That dwelt not far from the stewes;
 For causyng infidelitie,
 Hath lost his dignitie
 Of him we shall heare more newes.

The swete rode of Rambisbery,
 Twenty myle from Maumbysbery,
 Was oft times put in feare;
 And nowe, at the laste,
 He hath a brydling caste,
 And is become, I wote not wheare.

Yet, hath it been saide,
 His virtue so wayde,
 That sixteen oxen and mo,
 Were not able to carry
 This rode from Rambisbery,
 Though he toke seuen horses also:

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Whiche is a great lye,
For, the truth to trye
His virtue is not worth a bean;
For one man toke hym downe,
From his churche and towne
Thre men conueyed him cleane.

Thus ran we about
To seke idols out,
Wandryng farre and nere;
Thynkyng the power
Of our blessed. Sauour
In other places more then there.

But now some may ronne,
And, when they haue done,
Their idols they shall not finde;
They haue had such checkes,
That hath broke their neckes:
Holde fast that be left behynde!

For the rode of grace
Hath lost his place,
And is rubbed on the gall;
For false deuotion
Hath lost his promotion,
And is broken in peces small.

He was made to jogle,
His eyes would gogle,
He wold bend his browes and frowne;
With his head he wold nod
Like a proper young god,
His shaftes would go up and downe.

The saying was:
That this rode of grace
And our Lady of Walsyngham,
Should haue bene married,
Sauing they taried
To spie a tyme howe and whan.

For some time in the nyght,
If the peeple say ryght,
As two lovers eche others loue to procure,
They did mete very oft:
Whereby it was thought,
That Lady and he had bene sure.

Now the rode is dead,
And can not her wed,
Death gaue him so sore a stroke,
That it cost him his lyfe,
And lost hym his wyfe,
The rychest of all Northfolke.

But if he hadde lyued,
She had provided,
With suche goodes as she wan,
(Though he neuer had worked
But like an idoll lurked,)
To finde hym lyke an honest man.

And the rode had a gyfte
To make great shyfte,
With his bowget under his cote;
To haue gotten their lyuing,
Ewen with false iugling,
Though she had neuer erved grote.

Also Delver Gathaerne,
As (saieth the Welcheman)
Brought outlawes out of hell,
Is come with spere and shelde,
In harneys to burne in Smythfiede;
For in Wales he may not dwell.

Then Forest the fryer
That obstynate lyer,
That wyllingly is dead;
In his contumacy,
The gospell dyd deny,
And the kyng to be supreme head.

At Saynt Marget Patens,
The rode is gone thens,
And stoele away by nyght;
With his tabernacle and crosse,
With all that there was,
And is gone away quyghte.

Yet haue we thought,
That these idols haue wrought
Myraclis, in many a place,
Upon age and youth;
When, in very truth,
They were done by the devils grace.

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For the cursed deuyll,
The mayster of euyl,
To get us under his winges,
Hath such a condition,
By God's permission,
To worke right wonderful thinges.

For when they bored holes
In the roodes' back of poles,
Which, as some men saye, dyd speake,
Then lay he still as a stocke,
Receyued there many a knocke,
And did not ones crie 'creake.'

Yet offer what ye wolde,
Were it otes, sylver, or golde
Pyn, poynt, brooche, or ryng,
The churche were as then,
Such charitable men,
That they would refuse nothyng.

But now may we see,
What gods they be,
Euen puppets, maumats and elfes:
Throw them downe thryse,
They can not aryse,
Not onse, to helpe them seines.

Thus were we poore soules
Begyled with idolles,
With fayned myracles and lyes,
By the deuyll and his docters,
The pope and his procters
That, with such, haue blend our eyes.

For they were the souldiers
Of those idols and wonders,
In euery abbey and towne,
Like a syght of false deacons:
Wherefore all men rekyns,
For suche juglyng, 'they shall downe.'

For it was great reuth,
To se age and yeuth
To be blynde after this facion;
But, thanke we our Lorde,
That them hath abhorde,
And had upon us compassion!

Besydes these stockes and stones,
Haue we not had, of late, traytors bones,
Thus their trumpery to maintain?
Whiche is a token, verely,
They go about most earnestly
To bryng in superstition again!

With dyvers other trickes,
Whiche sore in mens' consciences stickes:
But to Christ let us all pray!
To plucke it up, by the hard rote,
(Seeing there is none other bote,)
And utterly to banyshe it away.

And now, to make an end:
Lorde! we beseche Thee to sende
Us, peace and tranquillitie;
And, that of thy mere mercy and grace,
Within short tyme and space,
To illumine us with thy sincere veritie!

Note: "The image of our Lady at Walsingham was so famous in former times that even foreigners came on pilgrimage to visit it. Erasmus has given us a description of the chapel or shrine in which it was contained, and which appears to have been a distinct building from the priory church. Henry the Third went thither in his twenty-sixth year. Edward the First in his ninth and twenty-fifth years. Edward the Second in his ninth year. Edward the Third in his thirty-fifth year. John de Mountford, earl of Bretagne, came over to visit it in the thirty-fifth of Edward the Third. David Bruce, king of Scotland, in the thirty-eighth year of Edward the Third. Henry the Sixth went there in 1455. Henry the Seventh ordered an image of silver, gilt, to be set up before it, in his will; and Henry the Eighth and his first queen made more than one visit to it. Sir Henry Spelman says, that when he was a youth, the tradition was that Henry the Eighth had walked barefoot from the town of Barsham to the chapel of our Lady, and presented her with a necklace of great value. This famous image, however, upon the change of belief, was taken from

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Walsingham to Chelsea, near London, and there burnt, the thirtieth year of Henry the Eighth."
See Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 71, Lond. 1825.—FOX'S MARTYRS. SEELEY

198. The English Bible.

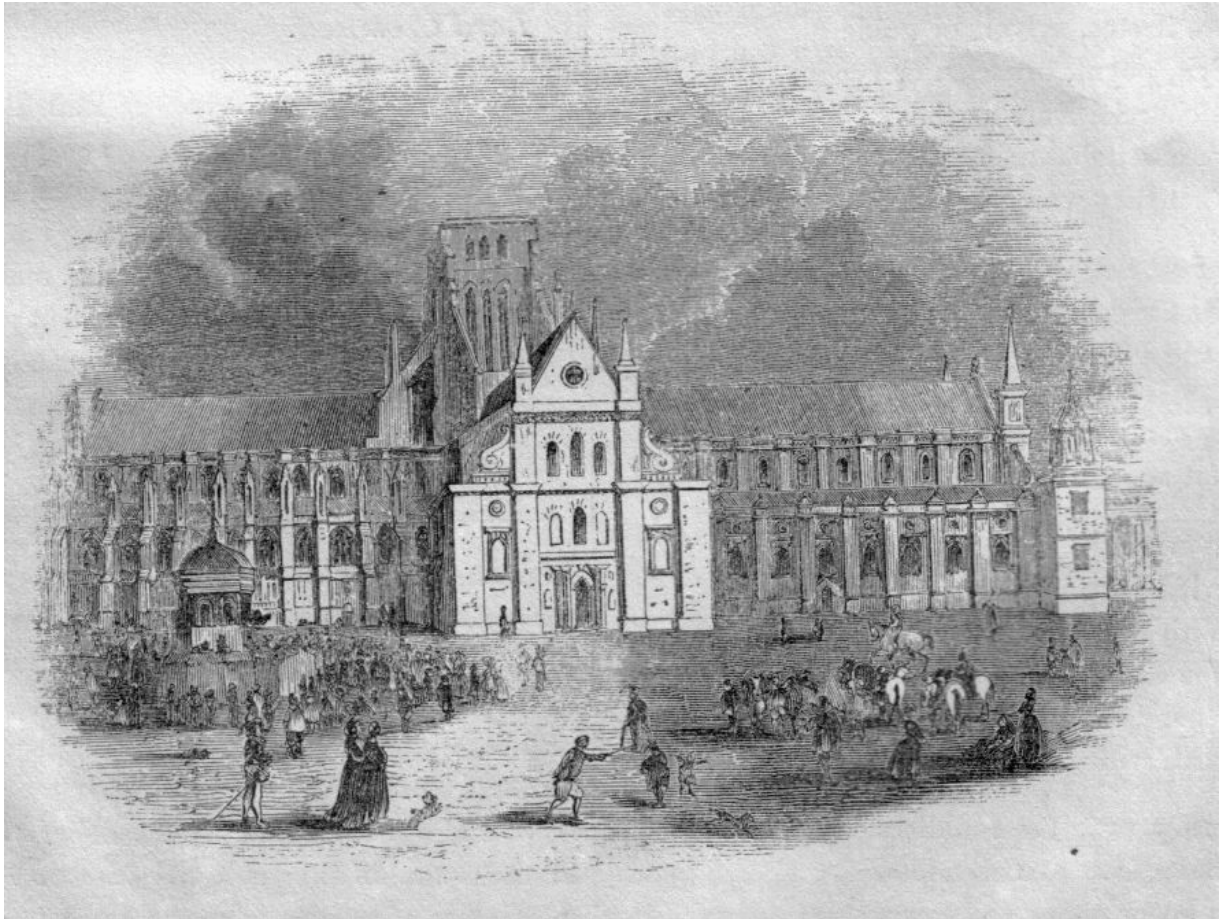
Of the Bible in English, printed in the large volume; and of Edmund Bonner, preferred to the bishopric of London by means of the Lord Cromwell.



ABOUT the time and year when Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, and ambassador resident in France, began first to be nominated and preferred, by means of the Lord Cromwell, to the bishopric of London, which was A.D. 1540, it happened that the said Thomas Lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the university of Paris; because paper was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the ready despatch of the same. And in like manner, at the same time the said king wrote unto his ambassador, who then was Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should aid and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits: the which bishop, outwardly, showed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same; and, moreover, did divers and sundry times call and command the said persons to be in a manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper; and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bible, that he himself would visit the imprinter's house, where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little weighed. And further, the said Bonner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced in the mean time, while the said Bible was in printing, that King Henry the Eighth preferred the said Bonner from the bishopric of Hereford, to be bishop of London; at which time the said Bonner, according to the statute law of England, took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterwards, upon the change of the world, he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whom the said Bonner said, when he took his oath, "Master Grafton, so it is, that the king's most excellent Majesty hath, by his gracious gift, presented me to the bishopric of London; for the which I am sorry, for, if it would have pleased his Grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old bishopric of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the city of London; for though they yet know you not, yet they hate heard so much goodness of you from hence, as no doubt they will heartily rejoice of your placing." Then said Bonner, "I pray God I may do what may content them. And to tell you, Master Grafton, before God, (for that was commonly his oath,) the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokesley was, for vexing and troubling of poor men, as Loblely the bookbinder, and others, for having the Scripture in English; and, God willing, he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it; and I will have of your Bibles set up in the church of Paul's, at least in sundry places six of them; and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks." Which words he then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile, grocer, and others. "But now, Master Grafton, at this time I have specially called you to be a witness with me, that upon this translation of bishops' sees, I must, according to the statute, take an oath unto the king's Majesty, acknowledging his supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and

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so think him to be; and beseech Almighty God to save him, and long to prosper his Grace" "Hold the book, sirrah! and read you the oath," said he to one of his chaplains; and he laid his hand on the book, and so he took his oath: and after this he showed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch; but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.



Hereford Cathedral

Now after that the aforesaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof; and so the printer went forward, and printed forth the book, even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked with the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors of the faith, and there charged with certain articles of heresy. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Miles Coverdale: but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could, to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thousand five hundred, (called the Bible of the great Volume,) and never recovered any of them, saving that the lieutenant-criminal,

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having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of Paris, (like Smithfield,) called Maulbert Place, was somewhat moved with covetousness, and sold four great dry-fats of them to a haberdasher, to lap caps in, and those were bought again; but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate loss of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said loss, after they had recovered some part of the aforesaid books, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the aforesaid printer, and brought them to London; and there they became printers themselves, (which before they never intended,) and printed out the said Bible in London, and, after that, printed sundry impressions of them: but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the bishops, namely, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, who mightily did stomach and malign the printing thereof.

Here, by the way, for the more direction to the story, thou hast, loving reader, to note and understand, that in those days there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places: the first was called Thomas Mathewes Bible, printed at Hamburgh, about A.D. 1537; the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall hear more, Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tyndale, who, with the help of Miles Coverdale, had translated all the books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margin, which were added after. But, because the said William Tyndale, in the mean time, was apprehended, before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them that had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tyndale, because that name then was odious, and to father it by a strange name of Thomas Mathewe; John Rogers, at the same time, being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha, and added also certain notes thereto in the margin: and thereof came it to be called Thomas Mathewe's Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathewe, after it was imprinted and presented to the Lord Cromwell, and to the Lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely pass to be read of his subjects with his Grace's licence: so that there was printed upon the same book, one line in red letters, with these words, "Set forth with the king's most gracious licence."

The setting forth of this book did not a little offend the clergy, namely, the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and, especially, because in the same book was one special table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the same; and chiefly about the supper of the Lord, and marriage of priests, and the mass, which there was said not to be found in the Scripture.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this aforesaid Bible of Thomas Mathewe, another Bible began to be printed at Paris, A.D. 1540; which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The printers thereof were the aforesaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch, who bare the charges. A great helper thereto, was the Lord Cromwell. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who, taking the translation of Tyndale, conferred the same with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

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The king's brief, for setting up the Bible of the Greater Volume in English.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head of the church of England; to the reverend father in Christ, Edmund, bishop of London, or, in his absence, to his vicar-general, health.

"We command you, that immediately upon the receipt of these presents, in every cathedral, collegiate, and other parish churches and chapels, you cause, on our behalf, to be solemnly published and read, a certain decree made by us, by the advice of our council, which we have sent you by the bringer, imprinted in certain schedules annexed to this brief: charging you moreover, that immediately upon the publishing of the said decree so by you made, you cause the said decree to be set up upon every church door through your diocese, that it may more largely appear unto our subjects and liege people; and that with all diligence you perform the same, as you will answer us for the contrary.

"Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign."

In this Bible, although the former notes of Thomas Mathewe were omitted, yet sundry marks and hands were annexed on the sides, which meant that in those places should he made certain notes, wherewith also the clergy were offended, though the notes were not made.

After this the bishops, bringing their purpose to pass, brought the Lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to his death; and, not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same; and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Mathewe's Bible, but he, being fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make: to which he answered, that he knew none. For his purpose was, to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when he perceived the king's Majesty and his clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he came out, was bound, in three hundred pounds, that he should neither sell, nor imprint, nor cause to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time stayed, during the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their Bibles, they continued suitors to Bonner, as is aforesaid, to be a mean to obtain of the French king their books again: but so long they continued suitors, and Bonner ever fed them with fair words, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till, at last, Bonner was discharged of his ambassade, and returned home, where he was right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. , And so long as Cromwell remained in authority, so long was Bonner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies; as namely, at that time to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Cromwell, and therefore Bonner could not favour him, but he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might be. But, so soon as Cromwell fell, immediately Bonner and Winchester pretended to be the

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greatest men that lived; and no good word could Bonner speak of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived. And then, such as the said Bonner knew to be in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their sight: insomuch that the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above-named Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner, met with the said Bonner suddenly, and said unto him, that he was sorry to hear of the news that then were abroad. "What are they?" said he. "Of the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell," said Grafton. "Are ye sorry for that?" said he. "It had been good that he had been despatched long ago." With that Grafton looked upon him, and knew not what to say, but came no more to Bonner. Howbeit afterwards, the said Grafton, being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in favour of Cromwell, was called before the council, where Bonner was present; and there Bonner charged him with the words that he spake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord Audley, who then was lord chancellor, right discreetly and honourably cut off the matter, and entered into other talk.

199. The History of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, Divines.

Like as in foreign battles the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general or captain, even so when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon, whereof we have now (Christ willing) to entreat. For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that Calydonian wild boar, or, as the Scripture speaketh, that extraordinary wild beast, what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest, by delays, he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom, in the very same month, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be put to execution; whose histories severally to comprehend, first of all we will somewhat speak of Barnes, doctor of divinity, whose particular story here followeth.

This Barnes, after he came from the university of Louvain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the university, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in very few, which were privy and secret: whereupon Barnes, having some feeling of better learning and authors, began in his house to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnell, his scholar, whom he brought from Louvain with him, reading *copia verborum et rerum*, he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned, (who before were drowned in barbarous rudeness,) as Master Cambridge, Master Field, Master Coleman, Master Burley, Master Coverdale, with divers others of the university, that sojourned there for learning's sake. After these foundations laid, then did he read openly in the house Paul's Epistles, and put by Duns and Dorbel; and yet he was a questionary himself: and only because he would have Christ there taught, and his holy word, he turned their unsavoury problems and fruitless disputations to other better matter of the Holy Scripture; and thereby, in short space, he made divers good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, when he should dispute with any man in the common schools. And the first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the Scriptures, was Master Stafford, for his form to be bachelor of divinity, which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors, and joyful to the godly-spirited.

Thus Barnes, what with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching ever against bishops and hypocrites; and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Master Bilney with others (as is aforesaid, in the life of Master Bilney) converted him wholly unto Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth, was the Sunday before Christmas day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge, by the Peas Market, whose theme was the epistle of the same Sunday, Rejoice in the Lord; and so postilled the whole epistle, following the Scripture and Luther's Postil: and for that sermon he was immediately

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accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly learned in Christ both of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter House, Queen's College, the King's College, Gunwell Hall, and Benet College, showed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools, and at open sermons at St. Mary's, and at the Augustines, and at other disputations; and then they conferred continually together.

The house that they resorted most commonly unto, was the White Horse, which, for despite of them, to bring God's word into contempt, was called Germany. This house especially was chosen because many of them of St. John's, the King's College, and the Queen's College, came in on the back side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him, in the Regent House, before the vice-chancellor, where his articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation and so it was done. Then Dr. Nottoris, a rank enemy to Christ, moved Dr. Barnes to recant; but he refused so to do: which appeareth in his book that he made to King Henry the Eighth in English, confuting the judgment of Cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the bishops papistical, and so, for the time, Barnes stood stedfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of God's truth, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then, suddenly, was sent down to Cambridge a serjeant-at-arms, called Master Gibson, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle's in London, who suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for Luther's books, and all the Germans' works suddenly.

But good Dr. Farman, of the Queen's College, sent word incontinently thereof, to the chambers of those that were suspected, who were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised! they were conveyed away by that time that the serjeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors, were at every man's chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company); and that night they studied together, and give him his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Tuesday before Shrove Sunday, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at Master Parnell's house by the stocks.

In the morning he was carried by the serjeant-at-arms to Cardinal Wolsey, to Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then, by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before,) and Master Foxe, master of the Wards, he spake the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, kneeling on his knees. Then said the cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes, your man that is accused of heresy?" "Yea, and please your Grace; and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What! Master Doctor," said the cardinal; "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage, than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, (I should say bloody gloves, quoth you,) that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." And Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors."

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And then did Barnes deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings. The cardinal received them smiling on him, and saying, "We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning." "Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your Lordship's favour."

The cardinal answered, "Such as you are do bear us and the catholic church little favour. I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's Majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us? to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, who shortly will cast it against the walls? and to pull away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsel in this behalf?" He answered, "I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the king's Majesty maintained by your pomp and poleaxes; but by God who saith, "Kings and their majesties reign and stand by me."

Then answered he, "Lo, Master Doctors! here is the learned wise man, that you told me of." Then they kneeled do and said, "We desire your Grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

Then said he, "Stand you up! for your sakes, and the university, we will be good unto him."

How say you, Master Doctor; do you not know that I am *Legatus de latere*, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may? "He said, "I know it to be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university." He answered, "I thank your Grace for your good will; I will stick to the Holy Scripture, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me." "Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then Dr. Barnes required him that he might have justice with equity; and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Foxe became his sureties that night: and so he came home to Master Parnell's house again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not; Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field, being his writers. And in the morning he came to York Place, to Gardiner and Foxe, and by and by he was committed to the serjeant-at-arms, to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, called Islip.

The same time when Dr. Barnes should appear before the cardinal, there were five Still-yard men to be examined for Luther's books and Lollardy; but, after they spied Barnes, they set the others aside, and asked the serjeant-at-arms what was his errand. He said, he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy: and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately, after a little talk, they sware him, and laid his articles to him; who, like as he answered the cardinal before, so said he unto them. And then he offered the book of his

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probations unto them; who asked him whether he had another for himself, and he said, "Yea," showing it unto them: who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the king's Majesty, which they had to do; and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the Still-yard men again, one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the Master of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no; and he subscribed willingly: and then they committed him, and young Master Parnell, to the Fleet also, with the others. There they remained till Saturday in the morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he came again before them into the chapter-house, and there, with the Still-yard men, remained till five o'clock at night; and after long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he sent again to have the counsel of Gardiner and Foxe, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do more in time to come; and with divers other persuasions, that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil, all that they commanded him: and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five faggots, for Dr. Barnes and the four Still-yard men. The fifth Still-yard man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen, in Paul's; and all these things to be ready by eight o'clock in the morning; and that he, with all that he could make, with bills and glaves, and the knight-marshal, with all his tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to Paul's, and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready, by their hour appointed, in Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, and he, in his whole pomp, mitred, (which Barnes spake against,) sat there enthronised, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple; even like a bloody antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books standing before them, within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, there to be burned; and these heretics, after the sermon, to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in their faggots. Now, while the sermon was a doing, Dr. Barnes and the Still-yard men were commanded to kneel down, and ask forgiveness of God, of the catholic church and of the cardinal's Grace: and, after that, he was commanded, at the end of the sermon, to declare, that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy; his heresies were so horrible and so detestable. And once again he kneeled down on his knees, desiring of the people forgiveness and to pray for him. And so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's; and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor men, being commanded to come down from the stage, (whereon the sweepers use to stand when they sweep the church,) the

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bishops sat them down again, and commanded the knight-marshal and the warden of the Fleet, with their company, to carry them about the fire. And so were they brought to the bishops, and there, for absolution, kneeled down; where Rochester stood up and declared unto the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had, for being at that sermon; and there did he assoil Dr. Barnes with the others, and showed the people that they were received into the church again.

This done, the warden of the Fleet, and the knight-marshal, were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet, as other prisoners had, and that their friends might resort unto them; and there to remain till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known.

After Barnes there, in the Fleet, had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, was committed to be free prisoner at the Austin Friars in London. When those caterpillars and bloody beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to their lord cardinal; whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remain, and continue in free prison; at last one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, having intelligence of the writ which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be desperate; and that he should write a letter to the cardinal, and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself; and to leave his clothes in the same place; and another letter to be left there, to the mayor of the town, to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax, for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him.

Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel; and so tarried not there, but took shipping, and went by long seas to Antwerp, and so to Luther; and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had made a book entitled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another book with a supplication to King Henry. Immediately it was told the cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, *Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu*; but this did light upon himself shortly after, who wretchedly died at Leicester.

In the mean season Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both with the learned in Christ, and with foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphinus, and Æpinus, and with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark; which king of Denmark, in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him, with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to King Henry the Eighth. He lay with the Lubecks' chancellor, at the Still-yard.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth; and so he departed again, without restraint, with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittenberg, to the duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there, to set forward his works in print that he had begun; from whence he returned

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again in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in this city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that, he was sent ambassador by King Henry the Eighth to the duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, between the king and her, and well accepted in the ambassade, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France: but, after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's Majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; who, after the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody broil.

For not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king's Majesty to Hampton Court, and there he was examined; where the king's Majesty, seeking the means of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop, to confer with him: and so he did. But, as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his co-partners sought, by all subtle means, how to entangle and to entrap them in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass; for, by certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following, at the Spittal; at the which sermons, besides other reporters which were thither sent, Stephen Gardiner also was there present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to trip them in their talk, if he had spoken any thing awry. When these three had thus preached their sermons, among whom Barnes preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him, in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand; and the said Gardiner thereupon held up his finger. Yet notwithstanding, shortly after, by means of the said reporters, they were sent for to Hampton Court; who from thence were carried to the Tower, by Sir John Gostwike. From thence they never came out till they came to their death, as, Christ willing, shall more hereafter appear.

Then the protestants went again beyond the seas; the priests were divorced from their wives; certain bishops were deposed from their bishoprics; and other good men denied Christ and bare faggots at Paul's Cross. Then immediately, without judgment, they were put to death, as it is manifest; but the death was in such form, that a papist and a protestant were laid upon one hurdle, to be drawn to Smithfield. This was Winchester's device, to colour his own tyranny, and to make the people doubtful what faith they should trust to.

At his death, Dr. Barnes gave great commendations to the king's Majesty, that he should fear God, and maintain religion, and keep marriage undefiled most honourably; and then declared his faith and his articles. Then they prayed together, and Barnes said to Master Priest, being sheriff, "Know ye wherefore I die, seeing I was never examined nor called to any judgment?" He answered, He knew nothing, but thus we are commanded. Then he took Master Sheriff by the hand, and said, "Bear me witness, and my brother, that we die christianly and charitably; and I pray you and all the people to pray for us: and if the dead may pray for the quick, we will pray for you." And so he, and the rest, forgave their enemies, and kissed one another, and stood hand in hand at the stake, praying continually until the fire came: and so rested in Christ Jesus.

And thus, hitherto, concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the story and doings of Thomas Garret.

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"About the year of our Lord 1526, Master Garret, curate in Honey Lane, in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of *Unio Dissidentium*, and Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English; which books he sold to divers scholars in Oxford, whose names, for his accountable memory, belike, he wrote in a small book of accounts.

"After he had been there awhile, and had despatched those books, news came from London that he was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling of those heretical books, (as they termed them,) because they spake against the usurped authority and erroneous doctrine of the bishop of Rome, and his no less impure and filthy synagogue. For it was not unknown to Cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others of that ungodly generation, that Master Garret had a great number of those heretical books, as the world then accounted them; and that he was gone to Oxford, to make sale of them there, to such as he knew to be the lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined to make forthwith a privy search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his aforesaid books, and him too if they could: so burning hot was the charity of these holy fathers. But yet at that time, one of the aforesaid proctors, called Master Cole, of Magdalene College, who afterwards was cross-bearer unto Cardinal Wolsey, was well acquainted with Master Garret; and, therefore, he gave secret warning unto a friend or two of Master Garret's, of this privy search; and willed, therefore, that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford: for if he were taken in the same search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

"The Christmas before that time, I, Anthony Dalaber, then scholar of Alban's Hall, who had books of Master Garret, had been in my country in Dorsetshire, at Stalbridge, where I had a brother parson of that parish, who was very desirous to have a curate out of Oxford, and willed me, in any wise, to get him one there, if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the brethren, (for so did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another,) that Master Garret, changing his name, should be sent forth with my letters into Dorsetshire to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly convey himself from thence some whither over the sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in all haste possible unto my brother, for Master Garret to be his curate, but not declaring what he was indeed; for my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had, for the gospel's sake.

"So the Wednesday, in the morning, before Shrovetide, Master Garret departed out of Oxford towards Dorsetshire, with my letters for his new service. How far he went, and by what occasion he so soon returned, I know not. But, the Friday next, in the night time, he came again to Radley's house, where he lay before, and so, after midnight, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors; and, on the Saturday, in the morning, was delivered unto one Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln College, then being commissary of the university, who kept him as prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists for his apprehension, and especially with Dr. London, warden of the New College, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's, two arch-papists, who immediately sent their letters, in post-haste, unto the cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic; for the which their doing, they were well assured to have

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great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Master Garret's so sudden return, neither that he was so taken; for after I had sent him out of Oxford with my letters, as before is said, the same week having taken a chamber in Gloucester College, for the purpose of studying the civil law, because the scholars in Alban's Hall were all sophisters, I removed all such poor stuff as I had, from thence unto Gloucester College; and there was I much busied in setting up in order, my bed, my books, and such things else as I had, so that I had no leisure to go forth any where those two days, Friday and Saturday. And having set up all my things handsomely in order the same day before noon, I determined to spend that whole afternoon, until even-song time, at Frideswide College, at my book in mine own study; and so shut my chamber door unto me, and my study door also, and took into my hand to read Francis Lambert, upon the Gospel of St. Luke, which book only I had then within there; all my other books written on the Scripture, of which I had a great number, as of Erasmus, of Luther, of Ecolampadius, &c., I had yet left in my chamber at Alban's Hall, where I had made a very secret place to keep them safe in, because it was so dangerous to have any such books. And so, as I was diligently reading in the said book of Lambert upon Luke, suddenly one knocked at my chamber door very hard, which made me astonished, and yet I sat still, and would not speak; then he knocked again more hard, and yet I held my peace; and straightway he knocked yet again more fiercely, and then I thought this: peradventure it is somebody that hath need of me; and therefore I thought myself bound to do as I would be done unto: and so, laying my book aside, I came to the door, and opened it, and there was Master Garret as a man amazed, (whom I thought then to have been with my brother,) and one with him.

"As soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly, in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not; but he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber; and thereupon desired his servant (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me; and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in the privy search, as ye have heard; and that now, when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he, hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came straight unto Gloucester College, to speak with that monk, if he had been within, who had also bought books of him.

"Then said I unto him, 'Alas, Master Garret! by this your uncircumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.' I asked him, why he went not unto my brother, with my letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto Oxford; and so he came again on Friday at night, and then was taken as ye heard before: But now, with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any; and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but I had none but priest-like, such as his own was.

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"Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God, our heavenly Father, desired him, with plenty of tears, so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure and will were. And then we embraced, and kissed the one the other, the tears so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all be-wet both our faces, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another: and so he departed from me, appareled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our almighty and merciful Father.

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

"This done, I laid aside my book safe, folded up Master Garret's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel; and so, having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber doors, and went toward Frideswide's to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoon. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's church, to go first unto Corpus Christi College, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of Magdalene College, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying, that we were all undone, for Master Garret was returned again to Oxford, taken the last night in the privy search, and was in prison with the commissary. I said, it was not so. He said, it was so. I told him, it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me and said, 'I know he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the even, and was taken in his bed at Radley's, this night, in the privy search; for,' quoth he, 'I heard our proctor, Master Cole, say and declare the same this day in our college, to divers of the house: But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the same unto our other brethren, whom he should meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for this his wonderful deliverance, and to pray him, also, that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies. And I told him that I was going unto Master Clark of Frideswide's, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily, that he, and divers others there, were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to Frideswide's, and evensong was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there in their grey amices; they were almost at Magnificat before I came thither. I stood at the choir door and heard Master Taverner play, and others of the chapel there sing, with and among whom I myself was wont to sing also; but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing.

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"As I thus and there stood, in cometh Dr. Cottisford, the commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare-headed, as pale as ashes (I knew his grief well enough); and to the dean he goeth into the choir, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what, I know not; but whereof, I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the choir door, to see and hear more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. About the middle of the church met them Dr. London, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed for keeping his prisoners so negligently, insomuch that he wept for sorrow. And it was known abroad that Master Garret was escaped, and gone out of the commissary's chamber at even-song time; but whither, no man could tell.

"These doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies every where. Master Clark, about the middle of the compline, came forth of the choir: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened that afternoon, of Master Garret's escape. He was glad, for he knew of his fore-taking. Then he sent for one Master Sumner, and for Master Bets, fellows and canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very godly exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, *Prudentiam serpentiam et simplicitatem columbinam*; for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Master Sumner and Master Bets were come unto him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two; and they were very glad that Master Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then, desiring them to tell unto our other brethren what had happened, (for there were divers other in that college,) I went to Corpus Christi College, to comfort our brethren there, being in like heaviness. When I came to Corpus Christi College I found together, in Sir Diet's chamber, tarrying and looking for me, Fitzjames, Diet, and Udal. They knew all the matter before by Master Eden, whom I had sent unto Fitzjames; but yet I declared the matter unto them again. And so I tarried there, and supped with them in that chamber, where they had provided meat and drink for us, before my coming: at which supper we were not very merry, considering our state and peril at hand. When we had ended our supper and committed our whole cause, with fervent sighs and hearty prayers, unto God our heavenly Father, Fitzjames would needs have me to lie that night with him, in my old lodging at Alban's Hall; and so I did. But small rest, and little sleep, took we both there that night.

On the Sunday, in the morning, I was up and ready by five o'clock; and as soon as I could get out at Alban's Hall door, I went straight towards Gloucester College to my chamber. It had rained that morning a good shower, and with my going I had all besprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto Gloucester College, which was about six o'clock, I found the gates fast shut; whereat I did much marvel, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the wall there a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the mean while, my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so, when the gate was opened, thinking to shift myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and, going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not in a long season do it; whereby I perceived that my lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered: yet, at last, with much ado, I opened the lock and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all tossed and tumbled,

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my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study-door open; whereat I was much amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Master Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man that brought him to my chamber.

Now was there lying in the next chamber unto me a monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told how Master Garret was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the commissary, and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust through my bed-straw, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Master Garret and albeit his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, unto the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another gown; and therefore so all be-dirted as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him to the said prior's chamber, where I found the said prior standing, and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night. I told him I lay at Alban's Hall, with my old bed-fellow Fitzjames; but he would not believe me. He asked me, if Master Garret were with me yesterday. I told him, Yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him, I knew not where he was, except he were at Woodstock. For so (said I) he had showed me that he would go thither, because one of the keepers there, his friend, had promised him a piece of venison to make merry withal the Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This tale I thought meetest, though it were nothing so. Then had he spied on my finger a big ring of silver, very well double gilt, with two letters A.D. engraved in it for my name: I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name: an A, for Anthony, and a D, for Dunstan. When I heard him so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

"Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men, were come unto Master Prior, requiring him straightways to bring us away unto Lincoln College, to the commissary, and to Dr. London: whither when I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary; Dr. Higdon, then dean of the cardinal's college; and Dr. London, warden of the New College, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought unto them, after salutations given and taken between them, they called for chairs and sat down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the university, and I told them almost three years. And they asked me what I studied I told them that I had read sophistry and logic in Alban's Hall, and now was removed unto Gloucester College, to study the civil law, which the aforesaid prior of the students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Garret, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelvemonth. They asked me, when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoon.

"Now by this time, while they had me in this talk, one came unto them who was sent for, with pen, ink, and paper; I trow it was the clerk of the university. As soon as he was come, there was a board and trestles, with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a

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great mass book laid before me; and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it a while at first, but afterwards, being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me; but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath, and, that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then made they great courtesy between them, who should examine me, and minister interrogatories unto me. At the last, the rankest papistical Pharisee of them all, Dr. London, took upon him to do it.

"Then he asked me again, by my oath, where Master Garret was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him, I had not conveyed him, nor yet wist where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock, (as I had before said,) as he showed me he would. Then he asked me again, when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about evensong time; and that one brought him unto my chamber door, whom I knew not; and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry withal this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat, and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lend him; and then he straight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a paper book.

"Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely, they said, I brought him going some whither this morning; for that they might well perceive, by my foul shoes and dirty hosen, that I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly, that I lay at Alban's Hall, with Sir Fitzjames, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at even-song. I told them, at Frideswide's, and that I saw first Master Commissary, and then Master Doctor London, come thither at that time unto Master Dean of Frideswide's; and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth, where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into Little-ease. But Master Commissary prayed me, with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straightway. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupy and toss me almost two hours in the chapel, sometimes with threatenings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me. Then was he that brought Master Garret unto my chamber brought before me, and caused to declare what Master Garret said unto me, at his coming to my chamber: but I said plainly, I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

"At last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of the which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great chamber over Master Commissary's chamber, wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them; in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so departed they, (I think to their abominable mass,) locking fast the chamber door, and leaving me alone.

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"When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clark, my father in Christ, who, well nigh two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wheresoever he should teach or preach, (the which he did daily,) said unto me much after this sort, 'Dalaber! you desire you wot not what, and that which you are, I fear me, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution, to try you withal, whether you can, as pure gold, abide the fire, or, as stubble and dross, be consumed therewith. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by St. Paul, *Quod mines qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu, persecutionem patientur*. Yea, you shall be called and judged a heretic; you shall be abhorred of the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you; and you shall be cast into prison; and no man shall dare to help or comfort you; and you shall be accused and brought before the bishops, to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful friends and kinsfolk. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clark, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore, rather than that you should do this, leave off from meddling with this doctrine, and desire not to be, and continue, in my company.'

"At which his words I was so grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God, showed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired; saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me, would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me, took me up in his arms, and kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me, 'The Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.' Now were there at that time in Oxford divers graduates and scholars of sundry colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all resorted unto Master Clark's disputations and lectures in divinity at all times as they might; and when they might not come conveniently, I was, by Master Clark, appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture; that by me, from him, they might have the true understanding of the same; which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

"This aforesaid forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martyr of God Master Clark, coming to my remembrance, caused me, with deep sighs, to cry unto God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him, of his fatherly love, to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all: for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be blessed! I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen to me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Master Garret was, and, if I would so do, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was: no more

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indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat: I told him, 'Yea, right gladly.' He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake me fair, and some threatened me, calling me heretic; and so departed, locking the door fast upon me."

Thus far Anthony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who, before the finishing, departed, A.D. 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury; the residue whereof, as we could gather it out of ancient and credible persons, so have we added here unto the same.

After this, Garret was apprehended and taken by Master Cole the proctor, or his men going westward, at a place called Hinxsey, a little beyond Oxford, and so, being brought back again, was committed to ward: that done, he was convented before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's, (now called Christ's College,) into St. Mary's church, where they, sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their law as a heretic, (as they said,) and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Frideswide's, and Dalaber likewise with him; Garret having his red hood on his shoulders, like a master of arts. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

There were suspected, besides, a great number to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Garret sold unto them; as Master Clark, who died in his chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the communion, being in prison, and saying these words, *Crede, et manducasti*; Master Sumner, Master Bets, Taverner the musician, Radley, with others of Frideswide College; of Corpus Christi College, as Udal and Diet; with others of Magdalene College; one Eden, with others of Gloucester College; and two black monks, one of St. Augustine's of Canterbury, named Langport, the other of St. Edmund's Bury, monk, named John Salisbury; two white monks of Bernard College; two canons of St. Mary's College, one of them named Robert Ferrar, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and burned in Queen Mary's time. These two canons, because they had no place in the university with the others, went on the contrary side of the procession bareheaded, and a beadle before them, to be known from the others. Divers others there were, whose names I cannot remember, who were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges, and sought their friends. Against the procession time there was a great fire made upon the top of Carfax, whereinto all such as were in the said procession, either convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded, in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every man to cast a book into the fire, as they passed by.

After this, Master Garret, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended, and burned with Dr. Barnes; with whom also William Jerome, some time vicar of Stepney, was likewise drawn into Smithfield, and there, together with them, constantly endured martyrdom in the fire. Now let us also add to these the story of Jerome.

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The life and story of William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, and martyr of Christ.



HE third companion which suffered with Barnes and Garret, was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. This Jerome, being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached divers and sundry sermons; wherein, to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere truth of Christian religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirpate and weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened, that the said Jerome, preaching at Paul's on the fourth Sunday in Lent last past, made there a sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified: in process whereof he showed further how that Sarah and her child Isaac, and all they that were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified: contrary, they that were born of Hagar, the bondwoman, were bound and under the law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that which St. Paul himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the Galatians, or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound doctrine, and the vein of the gospel? Now see what rancour and malice, armed with crafty and subtle sophistry, can do. This sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the king at Westminster, and there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Percase thou wilt muse, gentle reader! what erroneous doctrine here could be picked out. Note therefore, for thy learning; and he that listeth to study how to play the sycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this rush was this: for that he preached erroneously at Paul's Cross, teaching the people that all that were born of Sarah were freely justified, speaking there absolutely, without any condition either of baptism, or of penance, &c. Who here doubteth, but if St. Paul himself had been at Paul's Cross, and had preached the same words to the Englishmen, which he wrote to the Galatians in this behalf, ipso facto, he had been apprehended for a heretic, for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance?



Jerome Preaching

Furthermore it was objected against him touching matter against magistrates, and laws by them made. Whereunto he answered again and affirmed, (as he had before preached,) that no magistrate of himself could make any law or laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior people, unless it were by the power, authority, and commandment of his or their princes to him or them given, but only the prince. And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the prince make laws consenting to God's laws, we are bound to obey them. And if he make laws repugnant to the laws of God, and be an evil and wicked prince, yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Also concerning his sermons, one Dr. Wilson entered into disputation with him, and defended, that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to salvation. To whom Jerome answered again, that all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor

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any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God direct the workers thereof; and yet it is at his mercy and goodness to accept them: which, to be true, Dr. Wilson neither could, nor did, deny.

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

Ye heard before, how Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, were caused to preach at Easter at the Spittal; the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by Stephen Gardiner writing against George Joye, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing that the said Barnes, Jerome, and Garret should preach the Lent following, A.D. 1540, at Paul's Cross, to stop the course of their doctrine, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at Paul's; which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that room. Gardiner therefore, determining to declare the gospel of that Sunday containing the devil's three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abase of Scripture amongst some, as the devil abused it to Christ; and so, alluding to the temptation of the devil, wherein he alleged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying:

"Now-a-days," quoth he, "the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no 'forward' in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins; and all is backward, insomuch that men must now learn to say their Pater-noster backward. For where we said, Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; now it is, As thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my debtors; and so God must forgive first; and all, I say, is turned backward," &c.

Amongst other things, moreover, Gardiner noted "the devil's craft and shift in deceiving man; who, envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath, for that purpose, procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money; and to retail that merchandise, the devil used friars for his ministers. Now they be gone, with all their trumpery; but the devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the devil perceiveth that it can no longer be borne to buy and sell heaven by the friars, he hath excogitated to offer heaven, without works for it, so freely, that men shall not need for heaven to work at all, whatsoever opportunity they have to work: marry! if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in heaven needs no works at all, but only belief, only, only, and nothing else," &c.

This sermon of Stephen Gardiner finished, Dr. Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next following, to make his sermon; who, taking the same text of the gospel which Gardiner had done before, was, on the contrary

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side, no less vehement in setting forward the true doctrine of Christian religion, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from truth to lies, from sincerity to hypocrisy, from religion to superstition, from Christ to antichrist. In the process of which sermon he proceeding, and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant allegory to a cock-fight; terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting cock, and himself to be another: but the garden cock (he said) lacketh good spurs: objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his grammar rules; thus saying, that if he had answered him in the schools, so as he had there preached at the Cross, he would have given him six stripes: declaring furthermore what evil herbs this Gardiner had set in the garden of God's Scripture, &c.

Finally, with this sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the spleen, that he immediately went to the king to complain, showing how he, being a bishop and prelate of the realm, was handled and reviled at Paul's Cross.

Hereupon the king, giving too much ear to Gardiner's grief, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy closet; having with him the earl of Southampton, who was the Lord Wriothesley, and the master of the horse, who was Anthony Brown; also Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson. Unto whom when Barnes had submitted himself, "Nay," said the king, "yield thee not to me; I am a mortal man;" and therewith rising up and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his bonnet, said, "Yonder is the Master of us all, the author of truth: yield in truth to him, and that truth will I defend; and otherwise yield thee not unto me." Much ado there was, and great matter laid against Barnes. In conclusion this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom one was Dr. Cox, the other was Dr. Robinson, with two others also to them assigned, who should be reporters to the king of the disputation; at the first entry of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him (as he saith) all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose; which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached.

The question between them propounded, by Gardiner's narration, was this: "Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the grace of justification, or not?" This question arose upon a certain contention which had been between them before: for Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our neighbour, to obtain forgiveness of him; yet, he said, that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else, to forgive our neighbour were sin, by the text which saith: All that is not of faith, is of sin, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner, to prove the contrary, came forward with his arguments two or three: to the which arguments (saith Gardiner) Barnes could not answer, but desired to be spared that night, and the next morning he would answer his arguments. In the morning, Gardiner with the hearers being again assembled, Dr. Barnes, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assail his arguments. To his solutions Gardiner again replied: and thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two hours. In the end of this cock-fight, Winchester thus concludeth this glorious tale, and croweth up the triumph; declaring how Barnes besought him to have pity on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his scholar: whom then the said Winchester (as he himself confesseth) receiving, not as his scholar, but as his companion, offered to him a portion out of his living, to the sum of forty pounds a year, which if it be true, (as Stephen Gardiner himself reporteth,) why then doth this glorious cockatrice crow

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so much against Barnes afterwards, and cast him in the teeth, bearing all the world in hand that Barnes was his scholar? whereas he himself here refuseth Barnes to be his scholar, but receiveth him as his companion, fellow-like: but to the story.

This done, the king being advertised of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the bishop's house at London the Monday following: which he did, with a certain other companion joined unto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not express, only he saith that it was neither Jerome nor Garret. In this next meeting between Barnes and the bishop, upon the aforesaid Monday, the said bishop studying to instruct Barnes, uttered to him certain articles or conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchester's articles against Barnes.

"I. The effect of Christ's passion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christ's passion.

"II. They that will enjoy the effect of Christ's passion must fulfil the condition.

"III. The fulfilling of the condition requireth first knowledge of the condition; which knowledge we have by faith.

"IV. Faith cometh of God, and this faith is a good gift; it is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this faith: ergo, by the gift of God, I may do well before I am justified.

"V. Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.

"VI. There is ever as much charity towards God as faith: and as faith increaseth, so doth charity increase.

"VII. To the attainment of justification are required faith and charity.

"VIII. Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and set at liberty, without any cause of provocation.

"IX. Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in Christ, (if I fulfil the condition,) and love must accomplish the condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the promise according to God's truth.

"X. A man being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification."

These articles, forasmuch as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joye, in his joinder and rejoinder against Winchester, I shall not need to cumber this work with

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any new ado therewith, but only refer the reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these popish articles.

I told you before, how the king was contented that Barnes should resort to the house of the bishop of Winchester, to be trained and directed by the bishop: which Barnes then hearing the talk of the people, and having also conference with certain learned men, within two days after his coming to the bishop's house, waxed weary thereof, and so coming to the bishop signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more; and so clean gave over the bishop.

This being known unto the king, through sinister complaints of popish sycophants, Barnes again was sent for, and convented before the king; who, being grievously incensed against him, enjoined both him, Jerome, and Garret, at the solemn Easter sermons at St. Mary Spittal, openly in writing to revoke the doctrine which they before had taught; at which sermon Stephen Gardiner also himself was present, to hear their recantation..

First Dr. Barnes, according to his promise made to the king, solemnly and formally began to make his recantation; which done, he, with much circumstance and obtestation, called upon the bishop, (as is above touched,) and, asking of him forgiveness, required him, in token of a grant, to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his charity before the world, the bishop also would declare his charity in like manner. Which when the bishop at first refused to do as he was required, Barnes again called for it, desiring him to show his charity, and to hold up his hand; which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little, then Barnes, entering into his sermon, after his prayer made, beginneth the process of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted; insomuch that the mayor, when the sermon was finished, sitting with the bishop of Winchester, asked him whether he should from the pulpit send him to ward, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching, contrary to his recantation. The like also did Jerome, and Garret after him.

The king had before appointed certain to make report of the sermons. Besides them, there was one, who, writing to a friend of his in the court, in the favour of these preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to satisfy the recantation, and also in the same sermons to utter out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore, partly by these reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the Lord Cromwell's hands, saith Gardiner, Barnes with his other fellows, were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Stephen Gardiner, in his aforesaid book against George Joye, would needs clear himself, that he was no party to nor cause of their casting into the Tower; and giveth this reason for him, for that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as Cromwell's time lasted, to the king's secret counsel: yet, notwithstanding, the said Gardiner cannot persuade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the king, and his secret whisperings in his friend's ears, and his other workings by his factors about the king, was a great sparkle to set their faggots afire.

Thus then Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the thirtieth day of July, which was two days after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then ensued process against them, by the king's council in the parliament, to the which process

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Gardiner confesseth himself that he was privy, amongst the rest. Whereupon all those three good saints of God, the thirtieth day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they, preparing themselves to the fire, had there at the stake divers and sundry exhortations: among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following:

"I am come hither to be burned as a heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection, although I have been slandered to preach that our Lady was but a saffron-bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the Anabaptists, which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary; which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ: and now hearken to my faith.

"I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, that created and made all the world: and that this blessed Trinity, sent down the second person, Jesu Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here, bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the Anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin. And I believe that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell; and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only; and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his passion, as touching our justification: for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect." [And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses.] For although perchance," said he, "you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord! not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord: and in another place, Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment? Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and verily they that do them not, shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.

"I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered for and confessed his name be saints; and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express: and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I

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say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born."

Then said Master Sheriff, "You have said well of her before." And, being afraid that Master Sheriff had been or should be aggrieved with any thing that he should say, he said,

"Master Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace; for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey."

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he,

"Now of saints you shall hear my opinion. I have said before somewhat that I think of them: how that I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But, I say, throughout all Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Master Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

"Well, have you any thing more to say?" Then spake he to Master Sheriff, and said, "Have ye any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer." And no man answered. Then said he,

"Well! I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand by an act of parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for heresy, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death. And if any of the council, or any others, have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all, to pray for the king's Grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father hath begun. I have been reported a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient unto him; and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience' sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the king should command you any thing against God's law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it."

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Then spake he to the sheriff and said,

"Master Sheriff, I require you, on God's behalf, to have me commended unto the king's Grace, and to show him that I require of his Grace these five requests: first, that whereas his Grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbeys:" – Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, "Master Sheriff! I warrant you I will speak no harm; for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away, and the king's Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king, (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his ancestors that reigned before him, ever had,) and that, through the preaching of us, and such other wretches as we are, who always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward. Well! it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you! Would to God it might please his Grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them.

"The second that I desire his Grace is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men, for every light cause invented, cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

"The third, that the abominable swearers may be punished and straitly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths."

Then desired he Master Pope to have him commended to Master Edgar, and to desire him, for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

"The fourth request, that his Grace would set forth Christ's true religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward, and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do. And that it would please his Grace to look on God's word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now," said he, "how many petitions have I spoken of?" And the people said, "Four." "Well," said he, "even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the king's Grace may be certified of; and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers, and evil counsel; for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lambs' skins."

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

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The like confession made also Jerome and Garret, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, as the time would suffer; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned: protesting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear son Prince Edward: which done, Jerome added this exhortation in few words following:

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

In much like sort Garret also, protesting and exhorting the people, after his confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth:

"I also detest, abhor, and refuse, all heresies and errors, and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy. Or if I have been too vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire of him, and all other persons whom I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his laws, and also the king's accordingly: and if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord! if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire of thee pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send, the king's Grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield up my soul unto Almighty God. trusting and believing that he, of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour Jesu Christ. will take it, and pardon me of all my sins, whereby I have most grievously. from my youth, offended his Majesty: wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die stedfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity."



Illustration – Barnes, Garret and Jerome at the Stake

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

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such as causeless suffer, with a guiltless conscience, for religion's sake, above others who suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they which suffer as malefactors, commonly are wont to go heavy and pensive to their death; so the others, with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, do abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them: example whereof we have right well to note, not only in these three godly martyrs above mentioned, but also in the Lord Cromwell, who suffered but two days before, the same no less may appear; who, although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a guiltless conscience he bare to his death, his Christian patience well declared; who, first calling for his breakfast, and cheerfully eating the same, and, after that, passing out of his prison down the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution, (who, for other matter, here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned,) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with cheerful countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was so heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; "for," said he, "there is no cause for you to fear; for if you repent, and be heartily sorry for that you have done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord,

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who, for Christ's sake, will forgive you; and therefore be not dismayed. And though the breakfast which we are going to be sharp, yet, trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful dinner." And so went they together to the place of execution, and took their death patiently, July 28th, 1540.

200. Papists, Executed the same time with Barnes, Jerome, and Garret.

The same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, three others also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, for denying the king's supremacy; whose names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel: the which spectacle so happening upon one day, in two so contrary parts or factions, brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts so to suffer, the one for popery, the other against popery, both at one time. Insomuch that a certain stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words, *Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt gentes? Me suspenduntur papistæ, illic comburuntur antipapistæ.* But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from posterity, whereby they shall the less marvel how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed; which happened by reason of a certain division and discord among the king's council, who were so divided among themselves in equal parts, that the one half seemed to hold with the one religion, the other half with the contrary; the names of whom, although it were not necessary to express, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands.

PROTESTANTS.

Canterbury
 Russel, Treasurer.
 Suffolk,
 Paget,
 Viscount Bewchamp,
 Sadler,
 Viscount Lisle
 Audeley.

PAPISTS.

Winchester,
 William Paulet,
 Durham,
 John Baker,
 Norfolk,
 Richard, Chancellor of the Augmentation.
 Southampton,

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Anthony Brown,
Wingfield, Vice-chancellor.

This division and separation of the council amongst themselves, caused both these parts above mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for another, to suffer together. For, as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Garret, and Jerome; so the other part, likewise, called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel; which six, being condemned and drawn to the place of execution, two upon a hurdle, one being a papist, the other a protestant, thus, after a strange manner, were brought into Smithfield, where all the said six together, for contrary doctrine, suffered death; three, by the fire, for the gospel; the other three, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, for popery.

Alan Cope, in his worshipful Dialogues, making mention of these three aforesaid, Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel, amongst others who died in King Henry's days in the like popish quarrel, that is, for the like treason against their prince, (being in all to the number of twenty-four,) extollet them not only in words, but with miracles also, up to the height of heaven, among the crowned martyrs and saints of God. To the which Cope, because in this haste of story I have no leisure at this present to give attendance, I shall wait attendance (the Lord willing), another time, to join in this issue with him more at leisure. In the mean time, it shall suffice at this present to recite the names only of those twenty-four rebels, whom he, of his popish devotion, so dignified with the pretended title of martyrs: the names of thirteen of which monkish rebels be these here following:

John Houghton,
John Stone,
Robert Laurence,
John Traverse,
Augustine Webster,
William Horne,
Reginald of Sion,
Powell,
John Haile,
Fetherstone,
John Rochester,
Abel
Jacobus Wannere,

Besides these there were other nine Carthusian monks which died in the prison of Newgate; to which number if you add Master More and the bishop of Rochester, the *summa totalis* cometh to twenty-four, whom the said Cope unjustly crowned for martyrs. But of these more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

201. Further Persecution Arising from the Six Articles.

Thus, having discoursed the order of the six articles, with other matter likewise following in the next parliament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord Cromwell, of Dr. Barnes, and his fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this history) consider what great disturbance and vexations ensued after the setting forth of the said articles, through the whole realm of England, especially among the godly sort: wherein first were to be mentioned the strait and severe commissions sent forth by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices, mayors, and bailiffs in every shire, and other commissioners by name in the same commissions expressed; and, amongst others, especially to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the same, to inquire diligently after all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire after all such persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the aforesaid act, set forth, of the six articles. The tenor of the said commissions being sufficiently expressed in ancient records, and in the bishops' registers, and also partly touched before, therefore, for tediousness I here omit: only showing forth the commission directed to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to take the oath of the mayor of London, and of others, for the execution of the commission aforesaid; the tenor whereof here followeth:

"Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the church of England, unto the reverend father in Christ, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and to his well-beloved the bishop's chancellor, health. Know we that we have given you, jointly and severally, power and authority to receive the oaths of William Roche, mayor of London; John Allen, knight; Ralph Warren, knight; Richard Gresham, knight; Roger Cholmley, knight, serjeant-at-law; John Gresham; Michael Dormer, archdeacon of London, the bishop's commissary and official; Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, and John Morgan, and every of them, our commissioners for heresies, and other offences done within our city of London and diocese of the same, according to the tenor of a certain schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore the command you that you receive the oaths aforesaid; and when you have received them, to certify us into our chancery, under your seals, returning this our writ.

"Teste me ipso at Westminster the twenty-ninth of January, in the thirty-second year of our reign."

What the oath was of these commissioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

A note how Bonner sat in the Guildhall in commission for the six articles: also of the condemning of Mekins.

Upon this commission given unto Edmund Bonner, he, coming to the Guildhall, with other commissioners, to sit upon the statute of the six articles, began eftsoons to put in execution his authority after a rigorous sort, as ye shall hear. And first, he charged certain juries to take their oath upon the statute aforesaid, who, being sworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict: at which day they indicted sundry persons, which, shortly after, were apprehended and brought

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to ward; who, after a while remaining there, were, by the king and his council, discharged at the Star-chamber, without any further punishment.

Not long after this, Sir William Roche being mayor, Bonner with other commissioners sat at the Guildhall aforesaid, before whom there were a certain number of citizens warned to appear; and after the commission read, the said parties were called to the book, and when five or six were sworn, one of the said persons, being called to the book, Bonner seemed to mislike, and said, "Stay awhile, my masters," quoth he; "I would you should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the wealth of the realm; and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence than here." Then communed the commissioners with Bonner about that man, so that at length he was called to the book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two juries were sworn, Bonner taketh upon him to give the charge unto the juries, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his charge, he brought forth to the bar a boy, whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes; and produced into the said court two witnesses, which were there sworn in the face of the court. So a day was assigned upon which the juries aforesaid should give up their verdict; at which day both the commissioners, and the said juries, met at Guildhall aforesaid. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then said the foreman of that jury, whose name was William Robins; "My Lord," with a low courtesy, "we have found nothing;" at which words he fared as one in an agony, and said, "Nothing? have ye found nothing? what nothing? By the faith I owe to God," quoth he to the foreman, "I would trust you upon your obligation; but by your oath I will trust you nothing." Then said some of the commissioners; "My Lord, give them a longer day." "No," quoth he, "in London they ever find nothing. I pray you, what say you to Mekins?" "My Lord," quoth the foreman, "we can say nothing to him, for we find the witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification." "Why," quoth Bonner, "did he not say that Barnes died holy?" Then pausing awhile, he bade call the other jury. "Put in your verdict," quoth he. "My Lord," said one, "we have found nothing." "Jesus!" quoth he, "is not this a strange case?"

Then spake one of the same jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, and said, "My Lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the parsons and curates of every parish to give us instructions; and it was denied us." Then stood up the recorder, and said, it was true indeed that he had spoken; and therewithal said, "This last year were charged two juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the king's people; and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you." "Nay, nay," quoth Bonner, "this was the cause: If the parson or curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to a knave-priest, and he shall go by-and-by and open it." "What!" said my lord mayor, "there is no man, I trow, that will say so?" "Yes, by my troth," quoth Bonner, "knave-priest, knave-priest." Then said my lord mayor, somewhat smiling, "There be some of them slippery fellows; and as men find them, so will they oftentimes report." Bonner, not well contented with those words, said to the jury, "My

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masters, what say you to Mekins?" They answered, "The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them." "Why," quoth Bonner, "this court hath allowed them." Then said one of the jury to the recorder, "Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this court do allow them?" "Yea," said the recorder, "it is sufficient;" and said, "Go you aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict." After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which at Bonner's hand was friendly received; so both they and the other jury were discharged, and bidden take their ease. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after they sat for life and death. Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him, "Mekins, confess the truth, and submit thyself unto the king's law, that thy death may be an example to all others."

This Richard Mekins, being a child that passed not the age of fifteen years, (as Hall reporteth,) as he had heard some other folks talk, so chanced he to speak against the sacrament of the altar; which coming to Bonner's ears, he never left him (as afore doth plainly appear) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother, for fear, durst aid him with any relief; whereby he there endured in great misery. At what time he was brought unto the stake, he was taught to speak much good of the bishop of London, and of the great charity he showed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, but especially Dr. Barnes, unto whom he imputed the learning of that heresy, which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would, for safeguard of his life, have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But for this deed many spake and said, "It was great shame for the bishop, whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, than to procure that terrible execution; seeing that he was such an ignorant soul, that he knew not what the affirming of heresy was."

Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hemet, martyrs, who suffered at Salisbury.

About the same time also a certain priest was burned at Salisbury, who, leaving his papistry, had married a wife, and became a player in interludes, with one Ramsey and Hemet, which three were all condemned and burned; against whom, and especially against Spencer, was laid matter concerning the sacrament of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this inquisition above mentioned was meant properly and especially concerning the six articles, yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts began to arise, and to be moved by the quest: whether they might inquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and cases of Lollardy, or for speaking against holy bread, holy water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes, of Friar Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, &c.: whereupon great perturbation followed in all parishes almost through London in the year aforesaid, which was 1511, as here ensueth in a brief summary table to be seen.

A brief table of the troubles at London, in the time of the six articles, containing the persons presented, with the cause of their persecution.

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In St. Alban's parish in London.

John Dixe was noted never to be confessed in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a sacramentary.

Richard Chepeman; for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy-days, and not coming to the church.

Mrs. Cicely Marshall; for not bearing her palm, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Hawkes; for not coming to the church, and for receiving young men of the new learning.

Master John Browne; for bearing with Barnes.

Anne, Bedike's wife; for despising our Lady, and not praying to saints.

Andrew Kempe, William Pahen, and Richard Manerd; for disturbing the service of the church, with brabbling of the New Testament.

In the parish of Trinity the Less.

William Wyders denied, two years before, the sacrament to be Christ's body, and said that it was but only a sign.

William Stokesley; for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy; for speaking against worshipping of saints.

Master Blage; for not coming to his parish church, not confessing, nor receiving.

St. John Baptist in Wallbrook.

William Clinch; for saying, when he seeth a priest preparing to the mass, "Ye shall see a priest now go to masking." Item, For calling the bishop of Winchester, "False flattering knave." Item, For burying his wife without dirge, and causing the Scot of St. Katharine's to preach the next day after the burial.

William Maine; seeing a priest going to mass, said, "Now you shall see one in masking." Item, When he came to the church, with loud reading the English Bible he disturbed the divine service.

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St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

Herman Johnson, Jerome Akon, Giles Hosteman, Richard Bonfeld, Thomas Cowper, Humphrey Skinner, John Sneudnam, Richard Philips, John Celos: these nine persons were presented, for that they were not confessed in Lent, nor had received at Easter.

St. Nicholas, in the Flesh Shambles.

John Jones, William Wright, Peter Butcher, Roger Butcher: these four were presented for not keeping the divine service in the holy days.

Brisley's wife, for busy reasoning on the new learning, and not keeping the church.

St. Andrew's in Holborn.

Mrs. Castle; for being a meddler, and a reader of the Scripture in the church.

Master Galias, of Bernard's Inn; for withstanding the curate ceasing the altars on Corpus Christi even, and saying openly that he did naught.

Master Pates, of David's Inn, and Master Galias; for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the king's injunctions and reading the Bishop's Book, so that he had much ado to make an end.

St. Mildred in Bread Street.

William Beckes and his wife; suspected to be sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham, William Thomas, Richard Beckes, William Beckes: these four were presented for interrupting the divine service.

Ralph Symonds; for not keeping our Lady's mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith, apprentice; for saying that he had rather hear the crying of dogs, than priests singing matins or even-song.

St. Magnus' Parish.

Thomas Bele, John Sturgeon, John Wilshire, Thomas Symon, Ralph Clervis and his wife, James Banaster, Nicholas Barker, John Sterky, Christopher Smith, Thomas Net: these eleven persons of St. Magnus parish were presented and accused for maintaining of certain preachers (as then it was called) of the new learning, as Wisdom, Rose, Friar Ward, and Sir William Smith, alias Wright.

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Nicholas Philip; for maintaining heresies and Scripture books, and for using neither fasting nor prayer.

Richard Bigges; for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a bitch, and for not looking up to the elevation.

St. Mary Magdalene in Milk Street.

Mrs. Elizabeth Statham; for maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Jerome, and divers others.

John Duffet; for marrying a woman which was thought to be a nun.

St. Owen's parish, in Newgate Market.

William Hilliard and Duffet; for maintaining Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, with others.

Grafton and Whitchurch; suspected not to have been confessed.

St. Martin's at the Well with two Buckets.

John Greene, Mother Palmer, Christopher Coots, William Selly, Alexander Frere, William Bredi, John Bush, William Somerton, George Durant, Master David's apprentice: all these being of the parish of St. Martin's at the Well with two Buckets, were presented for contemning the ceremonies of the church: also some for walking in the sacring time with their caps on: some for turning their heads away: some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church, &c.

St. Michael's in Wood Street.

Robert Andrew; for receiving heretics into his house, and keeping disputation of heresy there.

John Williamson, Thomas Buge, Thomas Gilbert, W. Hickson, Robert Daniel, Robert Smitton: these other six were suspected to be sacramentaries and rank heretics, and procurers of heretics to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mayler; to be a sacramentary, and a railer against the mass.

Richard Bilby, draper; presented for saying these words, "That Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament."

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St. Giles's Without Cripplegate.

Henry Patinson and Anthony Barber: these two were detected for maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar: also Patinson came not to confession.

Robert Norman also refused to come to confession, saying, that none of his servants "should be shriven of a knave-priest."

John Humfrey; for speaking against the sacraments and ceremonies of the church.

William Smith and his wife, John Cooke and his wife: these two couple were presented for not coming to service in their parish church, and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

William Gate or Cote, William Aston, John Humfrey, John Cooke: to these four it was laid, for saying, that the mass "was made of pieces and patches." Also for depraving of matins, mass, and even-song.

John Miles and his wife, John Millen, John Robinson, Richard Millar, John Green and his wife, Arnold Chest; all these were put up for railing against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Crosdall, John Clerke, John Owel: these three labouring men, for not coming to divine service on holy-days, and for labouring on the same.

Thomas Grangier and John Dictier; noted for common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Sutton and his wife, and John Segar: these three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.

John Rawlins, John Shiler, William Chalinger, John Edmonds, John Richmond and his wife; for despising holy bread and holy water, and letting divine service.

Margaret Smith; for dressing flesh-meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham; for reasoning against the sacrament of the altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

St. Thomas the Apostle.

Robert Granger, William Petingale, William May and his wife, John Henrison and his wife, Robert Welch, John Benglosse, John Pitley, Henry Foster, Robert Causy, William Pinchbeck and his wife: all these thirteen were put up by the inquisition, for giving small reverence at the sacring of the mass.

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St. Benet Finch.

Martyn Bishop's wife: she was presented by her curate, for being not shriven in Lent, nor receiving at Easter: also she did set light by the curate, when he told her thereof.

Robert Plat and his wife: these were great reasoners in Scripture. saying, that they had it of the Spirit: and that confession availeth nothing; and that he, not able to read, would use no beads.

St. Michael at Queenhithe.

Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke; the cause laid to these three persons, was for reasoning of the Scripture, and of the sacraments.

The register saith, that they denied all the sacraments: but this popish hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with popish practices, sitteth to be the judge.

John Cockes: this man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, and maintainer of Barnes's opinions.

John Boultes: for forbidding his wife to use beads.

Thomas Kelde; he refused to take penance and absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

St. Mary Woolchurch.

Nicholas Newell. a Frenchman; presented to be a man far gone in the new sect, and that he was a great jester at the saints. and at our Lady.

John Hawkins and his servant, Thomas Chamberlain and his wife, John Curteys, Master Dissel, his wife and his servant: these eight were great reasoners and despisers of ceremonies.

St. Katharine Coleman.

The curate of St. Katharine Coleman: he was noted for calling of suspected persons to his sermons by a beadle, without ringing of any bell: and when he preached, he left his matters doubtful.

Item, for preaching without the commandment of his parson.

Item, for that he was a Scottish friar, driven out of his country for heresy.

Tulle Bustre, his wife and his son-in-law: these were noted for coming seldom to the church, and many times were seen to labour upon the holy-days.

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St. Matthew's Parish.

William Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certain preachers; and for causing one Taverner, being a priest, to preach against the king's injunctions.

Merifield, and his son-in-law, Nicholas Russel; the good man of the Saracen's Head in Friday Street; William Callaway, John Gardiner, with three apprentices: against this company presentation was made for gathering together in the evening, and for bringing ill preachers, (that is to say, good preachers,) amongst the people.

Thomas Plummer was presented, for saying that the blessed sacrament was to him that doth take it, so; and to him that doth not, it was not so.

Shoreditch.

Shermons, keeper of the Carpenters' Hall in Christ's parish, was presented for procuring an interlude to be openly played, wherein priests were railed on, and called knaves.

Saint Benet at Paul's Wharf.

Lewes Morall, a servant; also James Ogule and his wife; noted not to have been confessed certain years before.

Saint Margaret in Fish Street.

Thomas Babam; accused not to have been confessed nor houseled in his parish church.

Saint Antholine's.

The parson and curate of St. Antholine's; for not using the ceremonies in making holy water, nor keeping their processions on Saturdays.

Lewis Bromfield; for not taking his houseled, and for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Saint Mary Hill.

John Sempe and John Goffe; for dispraising a certain anthem of our Lady, beginning Te matrem, &c.; saving that there is heresy in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey; for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Saint Mary Magdalene in Old Fish Street.

Thomas Cappes; for saying these words, "That the sacrament of the altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lord's death."

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Saint Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mailer, grocer; for calling the sacrament of the altar "the baken god," and for saying that the mass was called beyond the sea, "miss," for that all is amiss in it.

Saint Martin's in Ironmonger Lane.

John Hardyman, parson of St. Martin's in Ironmonger Lane; presented for preaching openly that confession is confusion and deformation; and that the butcherly ceremonies of the church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, "What a mischief is this, to esteem the sacraments to be of such virtue! for in so doing they take the glory of God from him:" and for saying, that faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other sacraments, to justify.

Saint Bridget's in Fleet Street.

Christopher Dray, plumber; for saying of the sacrament of the altar, that it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification of the thing.

Saint Andrew's in Holborn.

Robert Ward, shoemaker; presented by three witnesses, for holding against the sacrament of the altar: he died in prison in Bread Street.

Allhallows, Barking.

Nicholas Otes; for not coming to the housel at Easter, he was sent to Newgate.

Herman Peterson and James Gosson; for not coming to shrift and housel at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bread Street.

Saint Olave's in the Old Jewry.

Richard White, haberdasher; for saying, that he did not think that Christ was in the sacrament of the altar within the sepulchre, but in heaven above.

Saint Botolph's Without Aldgate.

Giles Harrison, being in a place without Aldgate, merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbours, where some of them said, "Let us go to mass:" "I say tarry," said he; and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lifted it up over his head; and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a cross over the cup, and so taking the said cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head, saying these words, "Have ye not heard mass now?" For the which he was presented to Bonner, then bishop of London; against whom came these, namely, Thomas Castle, William Greene, Andrew Morice, and John Margetson, as witnesses against him.

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Richard Bostock, priest: for saying that auricular confession hath killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters have done since King Henry was king of England, &c. Also for saying, that the water in the Thames hath as much virtue, as the water that the priests do hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth; for having no reverence to the sacrament at sacring time. Item, for instructing of maids, and being a great doctress.

In Aldermanbury.

John Leicester, Christopher Townesend, Thomas Mabs, Christopher Holybread, W. Raynold, Thomas David Skinner, Thomas Starckey, Martyn Donam, and W. Derby: all these noted and presented for maintaining of Barnes, and such other preachers; and many of their wives, for not taking holy bread, nor going in procession on Sundays.

Lawrence Maxwel, bricklayer; for speaking and reasoning against auricular confession.

Saint Martin's the Great.

John Coygnes, or Livelonde; for holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

Saint Clement's Without Temple Bar.

Gerard Frise; presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached, is better than the sacrament of the altar; and that he had rather go to hear a sermon, than to hear a mass.

Saint Katharine's.

Dominick Williams, a Frenchman; for not receiving the sacrament of the altar at Easter. Thomas Lancaster, priest; be lay in the Compter in the Poultry, for compiling and bringing over books prohibited.

Item, Gough, the stationer; troubled for resorting unto him.

Friar Ward; laid in the Compter in Bread Street; for marrying one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vow made of chastity.

Wilcock, a Scottish friar; prisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against confession, holy water, against praying to saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory, and holding that priests might have wives, &c.

John Taylor, doctor in divinity; presented for preaching at St. Bride's in Fleet Street, that it is as profitable to a man to hear mass and see the sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, who kissed Christ our Saviour, &c.

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W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholine's; presented and examined before Edmund Bonner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his church, having no licence of his ordinary; and also for allowing the sermons of the said Alexander Seton, which he preached against Dr. Smith.

To the said Tolwine, moreover, it was objected, that he used, the space of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general exorcism, beginning *Exorcise te, &c.*; using these words for the same, *Benedicite, Domine: ab eo sit benedicta, a cujus latere fluxit sanguis et aqua: adjoino thereto, commixtio salis et aquæ fiat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.*

The like usage of making holy water was also used in Aldermary church, where Dr. Crome was, and in Honey Lane.

Against this objection thus Tolwine defended himself, saving, that he took occasion so to do by the king's injunctions, which say, that ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.

In the end this Tolwine was forced to stand at Paul's Cross, to recant his doctrine and doings.

The same time also Robert Wisdom, parish priest of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, and Thomas Becon, were brought to Paul's Cross, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burn their books.

Little Allhallows.

Sir George Parker, priest and parson of St. Pancras, and curate of Little Allhallows, was noted, suspected, and convented before the ordinary, for certain books; especially for having *Unio dissidentium, &c.*

Sir John Burch, priest of St. Botolph's Lane, was complained of by one Master Wilson, for being a busy reasoner in certain opinions which agreed not with the pope's church.

Alexander Seton, a Scottish man, and a worthy preacher, was denounced, detected, and presented, by three priests, of whom one was fellow of Whittington College, called Richard Taylor; another was John Smith; the third was John Huntingdon, who afterwards was converted to the same doctrine himself.

This Seton was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, and by him was made free denizen. In his sermon preached at St. Antholine's, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which, for example, I thought here to exhibit to the reader, to the intent that men may see, not only what true doctrine Seton then preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving what is right, or in wresting what is well meant, or in carping at what they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none are; as by these their sinister cavillations may appear.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Certain places or articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's sermons by his adversaries.

The sayings and words of Alexander Seton, spoken and preached by him in his sermon, made the thirteenth day of November, at afternoon, in the parish church of St. Antholine's in London: "Paul saith, Of ourselves we can do nothing; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than Paul, James, Peter, and all the apostles? Hast thou any more grace than they? Tell me now, if thy will be any thing or nothing: if it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say, to do ill, I will grant thou hast a great deal. If thou say, to do good, I ask whether is more, somewhat or nothing? for Paul said, he could do nothing, and I am sure thou hast no more grace than Paul and his companions."

"Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is will, the other two are consent and deed. The first, that is will, God worketh without us, and beside us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us."— And here he alleged St. Augustine, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, "Thou hast not one jot, no not one tittle, to do any good."

"There is nothing in heaven or earth, creature or other, than can be any mean towards our justification; nor yet can nor may any man satisfy God the Father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his blood."

"He that preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our salvation, or any part of our justification, preacheth a doctrine of the devil."

"If any thing else, save only Christ, be any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ only justify us."

"I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier; and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two servants: the one is called John, and the other Robert; and I promise to send you such a day twenty pounds by John my servant, and at my day I send you by John my servant nineteen pounds nineteen shillings and eleven pence three farthings, and there lacketh but one farthing, which Robert doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pounds, every penny and farthing: yet will I ask, if I be true of my promise, or no; and thou mayst say, 'Nay.' And why? Because I promised to send thee that whole twenty pounds by John, and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together."

"One scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe, to prove that Christ only was promised to be our only justifier, our only mean; and that is in the twenty-second of Genesis, where it is written. In thy seed shall all people be blessed; meaning thereby only Christ: and he said not, in thy seeds, nor, in the works of thy seeds. Wherefore, all they that preach that works be any part or mean toward our justification, do make God false of his promise."

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"They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of justice, wrought by him that is already a just man, which cannot choose but bring forth good fruit."

"I would ask a question, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad; for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot choose but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he can bring forth no fruit but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit."

"He that saith that works do merit any thing towards our salvation, doth make works checkmate with Christ, and plucketh from Christ what is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, Wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, Good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that saith that good works are to be done for no other cause than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say, he lieth, and believe him not."

"He that can show me in any scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first scripture I will (without any further judgment) lose both mine ears; for the second, my tongue; and for the third, my neck. For of this I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle. Wherefore believe them not."

"Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie on us: we deny nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer; and he that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a popish doctrine."

"If you ask me, when we will leave preaching only Christ: even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier. and only mean to our justification; and, till then, we will not cease, in God's cause, to set forth only Christ, to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction."

"If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I say, Yea, and with no less than eternal glory; but for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise' sake; and he will not break his promise."

Other articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's sermons.

Touching reconciliation, spoken of by Dr. Smith, preaching in the forenoon at Paul's Cross, Alexander Seton, preaching at afternoon at St. Antholine's, and, reciting his sayings and scriptures, reprov'd him for alleging this saying, Reconcile yourselves to God; because it is there spoken passively, and not actively; so that there should be no thing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also, reprov'd the said Dr. Smith, for that the said doctor said, that man, by his good works, might merit: which saying of Dr. Smith the said Alexander Seton reprov'd in the pulpit at St. Antholine's, the thirteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1541, as naughtily spoken.

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Moreover the said Alexander Seton said, in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous doctrine as to say that works should merit; adducing, When ye shall have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

Finally Seton said, "Peradventure ye will say the church hath determined this matter touching works. And I say," quoth he, "that it is *ecclesia malignantium*, so determining any thing against Scripture."

To these pretended objections of his adversaries he made his answer again by writing, first denying many things there presented, taking upon his conscience, that he never spake divers of those words, and again many things that he never meant to such end or purpose; as in the said register may appear. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the ordinary proceeded in his consistory judgment, ministering to him certain interrogatories (after the popish course) to the number of ten articles. The greatest matter laid against him was for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesu; against false confidence in good works; and man's free-will. Also it was laid unto him, for affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers, profited not the souls departed: so that in the end, he, with Tolwine aforesaid, was caused to recant at Paul's Cross, A.D. 1541.

Add to these aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, parson of St. Peters in Corn Hill; South, parish priest of Allhallows in Lombard Street; Some, a priest; Giles, the king's beer-brewer, at the Red Lion in St. Katharine's; Thomas Lancaster, priest: all which were imprisoned likewise for the six articles.

To be short, such a number out of all parishes in London, and out of Calais and divers other quarters, were then apprehended, through the said inquisition, that all prisons in London were too little to hold them, insomuch that they were fain to lay them in the halls. At last, by the means of good Lord Audeley, such pardon was obtained of the king, that the said Lord Audeley, then lord chancellor, being content that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the Star-chamber, the next day after All-Souls, there to answer, if they were called; but neither was there any person called, neither did there any appear.

202. John Porter, Thomas Sommers, and Others

The story of John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Paul's.

In the number of these before-named cometh the remembrance of John Porter, who, in the same year, (A.D. 1541,) for reading the Bible in Paul's church, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear. It was declared in this history above, how Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the days of the Lord Cromwell, being then ambassador at Paris, was a great doer in setting forward the printing of the Bible in the great volume; promising moreover, that he would, for his part, have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which, also, at his coming home, he no less performed, according to the king's proclamation set forth for the same, whereof read before.



he Bibles thus standing in Paul's by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, so long as the days of Cromwell lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly-disposed persons, who frequented there the reading of the aforesaid Bible, that one John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying as well of himself, as of others. This Porter was a fresh young man, and of a big stature; who, by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters-forth of God's truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up, by Bonner's commandment, upon divers pillars in Paul's church, fixed unto the same with chains for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains, being grieved withal, (and the world beginning then to frown upon the gospellers,) sent for the said Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements, which he had fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid unto his charge that he had made expositions upon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him. But, in fine, Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon; being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose name is also Porter, a man yet alive, and can testify that it is true, and dwelleth yet without Newgate. He, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons; and so, through friendship and money, had him up among other prisoners, which lay there for felony and murder; where Porter, being amongst them, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned of the Scriptures; for which his so doing he

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was complained on, and so carried down, and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where, within six or eight days after, he was found dead.

It is signified to us, by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the same place of the prison where Porter lay, did hear him piteously to groan, and make a lamentable noise, where some suppose that he was put in certain strait irons which be there in the house, called, "the devil on the neck;" being after a horrible sort devised; straining and wrenching the neck of a man with his legs together, in such sort as the more he stirreth in it, the straiter it presseth him; so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a man's back and body in pieces: in which devilish torment, whether John Porter was slain or no, it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is aforesaid) in the dungeon, with such groaning and piteous noise heard the night before the said dungeon, as is declared.

A note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the gospel.

Amongst these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also, (though a little out of place,) another note of a merchant, called Thomas Sommers, who died in the Tower of London, for confessing of the gospel; which Thomas, being a very honest merchant and wealthy, was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luther's books (as they termed them); and after great suit made for him to the said cardinal, his judgment was, that he should ride from the Tower into Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and with books hanging round about him, with three or four other merchants after the same order; which was done. And when Master Sommers should be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow prisoners were, a friend of his, called Master Copland, brought him a very good gelding, fair dressed with bridle and saddle; and when the bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment, to have thrust the strings of the books therein; "Nay," said Sommers, "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel: "and taking the books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar; and being on horseback, rode foremost through the streets, till they came about the Standard in Cheap-side, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons, in token that they had deserved it.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a basin, at the noise whereof Master Sommer's horse, being a lofty gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he who rung the basin, being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great space before that any horseman followed after. At length, when they came to the fire, every of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Master Sommers saw that his New Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire, which was seen by some of God's enemies, and brought to him again, commanding him to cast it into the fire, which he would not do, but cast it through the fire; which thing was done three times; but at last a stander-by took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the said Master Sommers was again cast into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents, who, soon after, died in the said prison for the testimony of his faith.



Illustration – An evil monk and a holy martyr

What trouble and vexation happened amongst the godly brethren in London for the six articles, hitherto we have discoursed: albeit neither have I comprehended all which were molested through all the parishes of London, nor again did this rigorous inquisition so cease within the precincts of this city only, but also extended further to Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln, and through all other shires and quarters of the realm; so that where any popish prelate most bare stroke, there persecution most increased. The bishop of Lincoln, the same time, was John Longland, and Dr. Draycot, his chancellor; of whose rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His ready diligence in all popish quarrels, as it never lacked before, so now, in

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the execution of these six articles, it was not far behind: in whose diocese divers good men and women, especially about Buckingham and Amersham, and quarters thereabouts, were grievously disquieted, appearing yet in the register; as for instance:

Elenore Godfrey, of Great Marlow,

For laughing and speaking certain words against one Thomas Collard, who, like a pope-holy hypocrite, in the church of Marlow, used at mass-time to crouch behind the children; and when the priest crossed his head with the saucer, (as she termed it,) he would cross his head likewise. And for these words she was convented before the bishop, and miserably vexed.

William Hart, of Great Brickhill,

For saying these words: "Thinkest thou that God Almighty will abide over a knave priest's head?"

Christopher Erles, of Risborough,

Because he did no reverence unto the sacrament, coming to the church: and for looking upon his book at the time of elevation; and that he would not come to see the elevation, &c. Item, as he was working upon a piece of fustian on a holy-day, and being asked why he kept not the holy-day, he answered that that was no work, and that it was better to do that, than to sit at the alehouse drinking drunk.

William Fastendich, of Woburn,

For speaking certain words against the sacrament of the altar, and because he believed not that it was the very body of Christ.

William Garland, of West Wycombe.

William Garland, talking of extreme unction, said that those things were godly signs, but there were but two sacraments, &c.

William Web, of the same parish,

Because he set the image of a headless bear in the tabernacle of St. Roke.

About the same time John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two upon one day, the one named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton; the one for teaching the Lord's Prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of St. James translated into English.

In Oxford also the same time, or much thereabout, recanted one Master Barber, master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned; who, being called up to Lambeth before the archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them that yet be alive,

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and were present thereat) neither Cranmer himself nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of Augustine; wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the archbishop, with the residue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding, by compulsion of the time, and danger of the six articles, at last he relented, and, returning again to Oxford, was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but wore away.

203. False Alarm at Oxford

A merry and pleasant narration, touching a false fearful imagination of fire, raised among the doctors and masters of Orford, in St. Mary's church, at the recantation of Master Malary, master of arts of Cambridge.



ITHERTO, gentle reader, we have remembered a great number of lamentable and bloody tragedies of such as have been slain through extreme cruelty: now I will here set before thee again a merry and comical spectacle, whereat thou mayest now laugh and refresh thyself, which, forasmuch as it did necessarily accord with our present enterprise, I have not thought it good to pass it over with silence. For God hath oftentimes, by divers manifest means, deluded the craft and subtlety of the bishops and their vain hypocrisy; as, for example, in Joan of Mentz, who, being a woman, and secretly concealing her sex, ruled the bishopric of Rome; but, by being delivered of a child before her time, even in the midst of open procession, she defiled that see, that the note or blot thereof will never be wiped out again. Besides that, how great reproach and derision, even of children, was in that pompous and ridiculous ambassade of Thomas Wolsey and Lawrence the cardinal, whereof we have before spoken. And now again the Divine wisdom deluded the cruel toils of the bishops; for this recantation of Master Barber aforesaid, in the university of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of another recantation likewise, happening not long before in the said university, which I thought here not to overpass.

There was one Master Malary, master of arts of Cambridge, scholar of Christ's College, who, for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the catholic determination of holy mother church of Rome, that is, for the right truth of Christ's gospel, was convented before the bishops, and, in the end, sent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his faggot, to the terror of the students of that university. The time and place were appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church upon a Sunday; where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university, were together assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens and town-dwellers, which came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual sermon for the holding up of the mother church of Rome, Dr. Smith, reader then of the divinity lecture, was appointed to make the sermon at this recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this sermon there was assembled a mighty audience of all sorts and degrees, as well of students as others. Few almost were absent which loved to hear or see any news; insomuch that there was no place almost in the whole church, which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, cometh forth poor Malary with his faggot upon his shoulder. Not long after, also, proceedeth the doctor into the pulpit, to make his sermon, the purpose and argument whereof was wholly upon the sacrament; the which doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy catholic cake, and the sacrament of the altar, there to hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor, with his god-almighty, entering his godly sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof, the people

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giving great silence with all reverence unto his doctrine, but suddenly was heard into the church the voice of one crying in the street, "Fire, fire!" The party who thus cried first in the street was called Heuster. This Heuster coming from Allhallows parish saw the chimney on fire, and so passing through the street by St. Mary's church, cried "Fire, fire!" as the fashion is; meaning no hurt.

This sound of fire being heard in the church, first of them that stood outermost next to the church door, so increased and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself; who, as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marvelling what the matter should mean, began to look up into the top of the church, and to behold the walls. The residue seeing them look up, looked up also. Then began they, in the midst of the audience, to cry out with a loud voice, "Fire, fire!" "Where?" saith one; "Where?" saith another. "In the church!" saith one. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when, as in one moment, there was a common cry amongst them, The church is on fire! the church is set on fire by heretics!" &c. And, albeit no man did see any fire at all, yet, forasmuch as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse, and tumult of people, through the whole church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

And as in a great fire, (where fire is indeed,) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles a-burning; so here, upon a small occasion of one man's word, kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion, running in every man's head within the church, thinking the church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders; that is, that these great doctors and wise men of the schools, who think themselves so wise in God's matters as though they could not err, should see, by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were, in these so small matters and sensible trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them, to make it seem most true, which was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the heretic there bearing his faggot, which gave them to imagine that all other heretics had conspired with him, to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it showed as it had been the smoke of fire; which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men so afraid, that, leaving the sermon, they began all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For, while they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast, that neither they that were without could get into the church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So then, one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the north side, toward the college called Brasenose, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people, clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their bones or sides. There was yet another door

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towards the west, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened, yet now ran they to it with such sway, that the great bar of iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of men's hands, the door, notwithstanding, could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

At last, when they were there also past all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly-burly rising so of nothing beard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all: so that if Democritus, the merry philosopher, sitting in the top of the church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad-men, now hither, now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waves or tempests; trembling and quaking, raging and fuming, without any manifest cause; especially if he had seen those great rabbins, the doctors, laden with so many badges or cognisances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in; gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselves; I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his life-time; or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said, that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed, that he saw it with his eyes, and another sware that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in men's hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the heretic that was there to do penance; who, casting his faggot off from his shoulders upon a monk's head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the others did.

All the others, being careful for themselves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor that preached, (who was, as I said, Dr. Smith,) who, in manner first of all, cried out in the pulpit, saying, "These are the trains and subtleties of the heretics against me: Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!" But might not God, as it had been (to speak with Job) out of a whirlwind, have answered again unto this preacher thus: "Thou dost now implore my mercy, but thou thyself showest no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren! How doth thy flesh tremble now at the mention of fire! But you think it a sport to burn other simple innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning and to suffer a torment of fire seem so grievous a matter unto you, then you should also have the like consideration in other men's perils and dangers, when you do burn your fellows and brethren! Or, if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go to now, do you also, with like courage, contemn, and, with like patience, suffer now, the same torments yourselves. And if so be I should now suffer you, with the whole church, to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, than you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore, since you so little esteem the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you." With this, I say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or human charity, in the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea, if there had been a fire indeed, (as they were more feared than hurt,) who would have doubted, but that it had happened unto them according to their deserts? But now, worthy it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of those Catholics either were deluded, or how their cruelty was reprov'd, whereby they, being better

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taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, which they themselves here so much abhorred.

But, to return again to the description of this pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been over their heads. In all this great maze and garboil, there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason and counsel out of their minds, to behold what practices and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only Democritus and Heraclitus also to laugh, but rather a horse well near to break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as seemed greatest wise men, saving that in one or two, peradventure, somewhat more quietness of mind appeared; among whom was one Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College, (whom, for reverence, and learning's sake, I do here name,) and a few other aged persons with him, who, for their age and weakness, durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives unto the sacrament. The others, who were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the incivility of men, and waxed angry with the unmannerly multitude that would give no room unto the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates and regent-masters. But, as the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of persons or degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown, did there nothing avail the doctor; neither the master's hood, nor the monk's cowl, was there respected.

Yea, if the king or queen had been there at that present, and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways, and saw no remedy, neither by force nor authority to prevail, they fell to entreating and offering of rewards; one offering twenty pounds of good money, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears!

Some stood close unto the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead: others, being without money, and unprovided of all shifts, knew not which way to turn them. One, being a president of a certain college, (whose name I need not here to utter,) pulling a board out from the pews, covered his head and shoulders therewith against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the church. Now what a laughter would this have adnistered unto Democritus amongst other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who, seeing the doors stopped, and every way closed up, thought, by another compendious means, to get out through a glass window, if it might be by any shift? But here the iron grates letted him; notwithstanding his greedy mind would needs attempt, if he could haply bring his purpose to pass. When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the grates where he should creep out, first he thrust in his head with the one shoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other shoulder after; but there was a great labour about that, and long he stuck by the shoulders with much ado; for what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten; but, by what part of his body he did stick fast, I am not certain, neither may I feign, forasmuch as there be yet witnesses who did see these things, who would correct me, if I should so do. Notwithstanding, this is most certain, that he did stick fast between the grates, and could neither get out nor in.

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Thus this good man, being indeed a monk, and having but short hose, by the which way he supposed soonest to escape, by the same he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For, if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside, those parts which did hang out of the window had been in danger; and, contrariwise, if the flame had raged within the church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did stick fast in the window, so did the rest stick as fast in the doors, that sooner they might have been burned, than they could once stir or move one foot: through the which press, at last, there was a way found, that some, going over their heads, gat out.

Here also happened another pageant in a certain monk (if I be not misadvised) of Gloucester College, wherent Calphurnius might well laugh with an open mouth. So it happened, that there was a young lad in this tumult, who, seeing the doors fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had not way to get out, climbed up upon the door; and there, staying upon the top of the door, was forced to tarry still: for, to come down into the church again he durst not for fear of the fire, and to leap down toward the street he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there awhile, he advised himself what to do; neither did occasion want to serve his purpose: for, by chance, amongst them that got out over men's heads, he saw a monk, coming towards him, who had a great wide cowl hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the monk came near unto him, the boy, who was on the top of the door, came down, and prettily conveyed himself into the monk's cowl; thinking (as it came to pass indeed) that if the monk did escape, he should also get out with him. To be brief, at last the monk gat out over men's heads, with the boy in his cowl, and, for a great while, felt no weight or burden.

At last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and did shake his shoulders, feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behind in his cowl, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking, in very deed, that the evil spirit which had set the church on fire had flien into his cowl. By and by he began to play the exorcist: "In the name of God," said he, "and all saints, I command thee to declare what thou art, that art behind at my back!" To whom the boy answered, "I am Bertram's boy," said he; for that was his name. "But I," said the monk, "adjure thee, in the name of the unseparable Trinity, that thou, wicked spirit! do tell me who thou art, from whence thou earnest, and that thou get thee hence." "I am Bertram's boy," said he, "good master! let me go:" and with that his cowl began, with the weight, to crack upon his shoulders. The monk, when he perceived the matter, took the boy out, and discharged his cowl. The boy took to his legs, and ran away as fast as he could.

Among others, one wiser than the rest ran with the church door key, beating upon the stone walls, thinking therewith to break a hole through to escape out.

In the mean time those that were in the street, looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signs and tokens to them that were in the church to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

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But, forasmuch as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the church, those signs made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the church; and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry still within the church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain hours.

The next day, and also all the week following, there was an incredible number of bills set upon the church doors, to inquire for the things that were lost, in such variety and number, as Democritus might here again have had just cause to laugh. "If any man have found a pair of shoes yesterday in St. Mary's church, or knoweth any man that hath found them," &c. Another bill was set up for a gown that was lost. Another entreated to have his cap restored. One lost his purse and girdle, with certain money; another his sword. One inquired for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there were few in this garboil, but that either through negligence lost, or through oblivion left, something behind them.

Thus have you heard a tragical story of a terrible fire, which did no hurt; the description whereof, although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the worthiness of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we have superficially set forth some shadow thereof, whereby the wise and discreet may sufficiently consider the rest, if any thing else be lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the heretic, because he had not done his sufficient penance there by occasion of this hurly-burly, therefore the next day following he was reclaimed into the church of St. Frideswide, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his plenary penance.

204. The King Divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleves, and Married to the Lady Katharine Howard, his Fifth Wife.

The same year, and in the month following next after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, which was August, 1540, the king immediately was divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleves; the cause of which separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the king, being freed from that pretended matrimony, (as they called it,) might marry where he would, and so might she likewise; who, also, consenting to the same divorcement herself, by her own letters, was after that taken no more for queen, but only called Lady Anne of Cleves. Which things thus discussed by the parliament and convocation-house, the king the same month was married to his fifth wife, which was the Lady Katharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother. But this marriage likewise continued not long.

In the same month of August, and the same year, I find, moreover, in some records, besides the four and twenty Charterhouse monks above recited, whom Cope doth sanctify for holy martyrs, for suffering in the pope's devotion, against the king's supremacy, other six which were also brought to Tyburn, and there executed in the like case of rebellion; of whom the first was the prior of Doncaster; the second a monk of the Charterhouse of London, called Giles Horn (some call him William Horn); the third one Thomas Ipsam, a monk of Westminster, who had his monk's garment plucked from his back, being the last monk in King Henry's days that did wear that monkish weed; the fourth one Philpot; the fifth one Carew; the sixth was a friar. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blind superstition, once rooted in man's heart by a little custom.

Now, as touching the late marriage between the king and the Lady Howard, ye heard how this matrimony endured not long; for, in the year next following, 1542, the said Lady Katharine was accused to the king of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with Francis Dereham. but also of spouse-breach, after her marriage, with Thomas Culpepper. For this both the men aforesaid, by act of parliament were attainted, and executed for high treason; and also the Lady Katharine, late queen, with the Lady Jane Rochford, widow. late wife to George Bullen, Lord Rochford. brother to Queen Anne Bullen, were beheaded for their deserts, within the Tower.

After the death and punishment of this lady, his fifth wife, the king calling to remembrance the words of the Lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old counsellor, and partly also smelling somewhat the ways of Winchester, began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the life of Cranmer,) yet now, the more he missed the Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. And therefore, in the same year and in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king, understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about pilgrimages and idolatry, and other things besides, to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters unto the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury,

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for the speedy redress and reformation of the same; the tenor of which letters hereafter fully ensueth in these words:

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved! We greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we did not only cause the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; but, also, by our injunctions commanded, that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacraments of the altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that, this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monument of those things, do yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition; and also that our injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our letters, expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things; and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away as there remain no memory of it; but also, that you shall take order with all the curates, and others having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable, and to see that our injunctions be duly kept as appertaineth, without failing; as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet at our town of Hull, the fourth day of October, in the thirty-third year of our reign"

Furthermore, the next year after this ensuing, which was 1543, in the month of February, followed another proclamation, given out by the king's authority, wherein the pope's law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behoof of the king's subjects.

205. Four Windsor Martyrs

The trouble and persecution of four Windsor men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Peerson, and John Marbeck: persecuted for righteousness' sake, and for the gospel.



COMING now to the story and time of the four Windsor men, troubled and persecuted for the true testimony of God's word, whereof three were martyred and sacrificed in fire, the fourth (which was Marbeck) had his pardon; first, I have to show the original of their troubles in several parts; secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was A. D. 1543; thirdly, to answer partly in purgation of myself, against certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleasure in railing against my former edition of Acts and Monuments, for mistaking the name of Marbeck, whom, in one place, I reported to have been burned; albeit, in the end of the story, correcting myself again, I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore, to stop the brawling mouths of such quarrellers, I thought here to set forth the full narration, both of the said Marbeck and of his fellows, in truth, as I trust none of them shall have just cause to quarrel thereat.

A full narration of the persecution at Windsor.

Persons persecuted at Windsor A. D. 1543:— Robert Testwood. Henry Filmer. Anthony Peerson, John Marbeck, Robert Bennet, Sir Philip Hobby and his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine and his wife, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon; Snowball and his wife, of the king's chamber; and Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter.

Persecutors:— Master Ely, Simons a lawyer, Dr. London, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Wriothesley, then secretary to the king, and afterwards lord chancellor; Southarne, treasurer of Exeter; Dr. Bruerwood, chancellor of Exeter; Master Knight, Winchester's gentleman; Dr. Oking; Dr. Capon, bishop of Sarum; Sir William Essex, knight; Sir Thomas Bridges, knight; Sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklin, dean of Windsor: Master Fachel, of Reading; Bucklayer, the king's attorney; Filmer's brother: Hide, a jurate dwelling beside Abingdon: Robert Ocham, a lawyer.

The original of Robert Testwood's trouble.

In the year of our Lord 1543, there was one Robert Testwood, dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name, that the musicians in Windsor College thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they informed Dr. Sampson (being then their dean) of him. But, forasmuch as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, how that he smelled of the new learning, (as they called it,) it would not be consented unto at first. Notwithstanding, with often suit of the aforesaid musicians, made to one Dr. Tate, (who, being half a musician himself, bare a great stroke in such matters,) a room being void, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the choir-men, he was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after settled in

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Windsor with his household, and was had in good estimation with the dean and canons a great while. But when they had perceived him, by his often talk at their tables, (for he could not well dissemble his religion,) that he leaned to Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. And so, passing forth among them, it was his chance, one day, to be at dinner with one of the canons, named, Dr. Rawson. At that dinner, among others, was one of King Edward's four chantry priests, named Master Ely, an old bachelor of divinity; which Ely, in his talk at the board, began to rail against laymen, who took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English tongue) than they that had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their lives.

Then Testwood, perceiving he meant that against him, could forbear his railing no longer, but said, "Master Ely, by your patience, I think it to be no hurt for laymen, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures." "Which of you," quoth Ely, "that be unlearned, knoweth them, or understandeth them? St. Paul saith, If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; and, in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Now, sir," quoth Ely, "what meaneth St Paul by these coals of fire?" "Marry, sir," quoth Testwood, "he meaneth nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning charity, that, with doing good to our enemies, we should thereby win them "Ah, sirrah," quoth he, "you are an old scholar indeed!"

After this they fell into further communication of the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the parliament-house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be head of the church or no? against which Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But, when they were both well stricken in a heat, Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say, that every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ: at which words Ely was so chafed, that he rose up from the table in a great fume, calling him heretic, and all that nought was; and so went brawling and chiding away, to the great disquieting of all the company that were there.

Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously: whereupon, after dinner, he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so to have been at one again; but ever as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but did spit at him; saying to others that walked by, "Beware of this fellow! for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic that ever came into Windsor."

Now began the matter to brew; for, after that Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy, and other of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing surely, at the dean's coming home, (if all things had chanced even,) to have put him to his trump. But see the fortune. It was not twelve days after, ere that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament-house. Whereupon the dean, Dr. Sampson, came home suddenly in the night, late, and forthwith sent his verger about to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the chapter-house by eight of the clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons over-night, (as late as it was,) and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to a great plunge: "But he that layeth a snare for another man," saith Solomon, "shall be taken in it himself." And so was Ely; for when the dean and every man were come and placed

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in the chapter-house, and that the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in tending the choir, exhorting them also to continue in the same, he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confounding the same, by manifest Scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the parliament-house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England for ever; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no more, but bishop of Rome, and whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his cause by any manner of means. he should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God and to the king. The canons, hearing this, were all stricken in a dump: yet, notwithstanding, Ely's heart was so great, that he would fain have uttered his cankered stomach against Testwood; but the dean (breaking his tale) called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons which hanged about the church, to be brought into the chapter-house, and cast into the chimney, and burned before all their faces; and so departed.

Another cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

As it chanced Testwood one day to walk in the church at afternoon, and to behold the pilgrims, especially of Devonshire and Cornwall, how they came in by plumps, with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Windsor, as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great idolatry committed, and how vainly the people had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads; insomuch that he could not refrain, but, seeing a certain company which had done their offering and were standing gazing about the church, he went unto them, and with all gentleness began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright; putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his people, for running a whoring to such stocks and stones, and so would plague them and their posterity, if they would not leave it. After this sort he admonished them so long, till at the last his words, as God would, took such place in some of them, that they said, they never would go a pilgrimage more.

Then he went further, and found another sort licking and kissing a white Lady made of alabaster, which image was mortised in a wall behind the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples and flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their eyes and faces, as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he up with his hand, in which he had a key, and smote down a piece of the border about the image, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to break off the image's nose. "Lo! good people," quoth he, "you see what it is; nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it to help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no more deceived." And so he gat him home to his house, for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the image, how it was defaced. And among all others, came one William Simons, a lawyer, who, seeing the image so bewrayed, and to lack her nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he spied the image's nose where it lay, which he took up and put in his purse, saying it should be a dear nose to Testwood one day.

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Now were many offended with Testwood; the canons, for speaking against their profit; the wax. sellers, for hindering their market; and Simons, for the image's nose. And more than that, there were of the canons' men that threatened to kill him. Hereupon Testwood kept his house and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter in writing by his wife to Master Cromwell the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons, hearing that Testwood would send to Cromwell, sent the verger unto him, to will him to come to the church; who sent them word again, that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldest petty canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, that he had no such trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then wist they not what shift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell; but sent, in post haste, for old Master Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who, being come, and hearing the matter, was very loth to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to Testwood, and had much ado to persuade him; but, at last, he did faithfully promise him by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harms, so that Testwood was content to go with him.

And when Master Ward, and Testwood, were come into the church, and were going toward the chapter-house, where the canons abode their coming, one of the canons' men drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted, and got Testwood into the chapter-house, causing the serving-man to be called in, and sharply rebuked by their masters, who straitly commanded him, upon pain of losing their service, and further displeasure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter-house with the canons and Master Ward, was gently treated, and the matter so pacified, that Testwood might quietly come and go to the church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Third cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

Upon a Relic Sunday, (as they named it,) when every minister, after their old custom, should have borne a relic in his hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood; which relic (as they said) was a rochet of Bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it from him, saying, If he did give it to him, he would make sport withal; and so the rochet was given to another. Then came the verger down from the high altar with St. George's dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a relic. "Marry," quoth Testwood, "give it to Master Hake," who stood next him, "for he is a pretty man of his hands:" and so the dagger was given unto him. Now Testwood perceiving the dagger in Master Hake's hand, and being merrily disposed, (as he was a merry-conceited man,) stepped forth out of his place to Dr. Clifton, standing directly before him in the midst of the choir, with a glorious golden cope upon his back, having the pix in his hand, and said, "Sir! Master Hake hath St. George's dagger. Now, if he had his horse, and St. Martin's cloak, and Master John Shorn's boots, with King Harry's spurs, and his hat, he might ride when he would:" and so stepped into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wist not what to say.

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Fourth cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

In the days of Master Franklin, who succeeded Dr. Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, there was, on a time, set up at the choir door, a certain foolish printed paper in metre, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, &c., to the great derogation of Christ. Which paper, one of the canons, called Master Magnus, (as it was reported,) caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then Testwood, coming into the church, and seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean staid to take holy water, and reaching up his hand as he went, plucked away the paper with him. The dean, being come to his stall, called Testwood unto him, and said, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take down the paper in his presence. Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more, that his Mastership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up; beseeching him not to be offended with what he had done, for he would stand unto it. So Master Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no more papers set up, but poor Testwood was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meal; "and a heretic he was, and would roast a faggot for this gear one day."

Now Master Magnus, being sore offended with Testwood for plucking down his papers, to be revenged on him, devised with the dean and the rest of the canons, to send their letters to Dr. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the king's physician, who lay, for the most part, at the court, to see what he would do against Testwood; which letters, being made, were sent with speed. But, whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for fear of Cromwell, or what else, I cannot tell, their suit came to none effect. Then wist they not what to do, but determined to let the matter sleep, till St. George's feast, which was not far off.

Now, in the mean time, there chanced a pretty story, between one Robert Philips, gentleman of the king's chapel, and Testwood; which story, though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, yet it grieved his adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: Robert Philips was so notable a singing man, (wherein he gloried,) that wheresoever he came, the best and longest song, with most counter-verses in it, should be set up at his coming. And so, his chance being now to be at Windsor, against his coming to the anthem, a long song was set up, called *Laudate vivi*, in which song there was one counter-verse towards the end, that began on this wise, *O redemptrix et salvatrix*: which verse, of all others, Robert Philips would sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide that ditty. Now Testwood, knowing his mind well enough, joined with him at the other part; and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with *O redemptrix et salvatrix!* repeating the same, one in another's neck, Testwood was as quick, on the other side, to answer him again with *non redemptrix, nec salvatrix!* and so, striving there with O and Non who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verse; whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but Robert Philips, with others of Testwood's enemies, were sore offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as their custom is yearly to do) came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which feast the duke of Norfolk was president; unto whom the dean and canons made a grievous complaint on Testwood: who, being called

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before the duke, he shook him up, and all-to-reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet, nevertheless, Testwood so behaved himself to the duke, that, in the end, he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the dean and canons.

Here you have heard the causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction, and could not attain their purpose, till that wicked Haman, Dr. London, came, as shall be showed in the process following.

The original of Henry Filmer's trouble.

About the year of our Lord 1511, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed and put down, there chanced one Sir Thomas Meister, who had been a friar before, and had changed his friar's coat, (but not his friar's heart,) to be vicar of Windsor. This priest, on a time, made a sermon to his parishioners, in which he declared so many fond and friarish tales, as, that our Lady should hold out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such-like festival tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this Henry Filmer, then one of the churchwardens; who was so zealous to God's word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly, and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content, at his gentle admonition, to reform himself without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Now there was one in the town, called William Simons, a lawyer, (as is aforesaid,) who, hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and had reproved him for his sermon, took pepper in the nose, and got him to the vicar, and did so animate him in his doings, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to Filmer, and followed the mind of Simons; who, meeting with Filmer afterwards, all-to-reviled him, saying, he would bring him before the bishop, to teach him to be so malapert. Then Filmer, hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said, that the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine; and so would he say to the bishop, whensoever he came before him. Then Simons slipped not the matter, but went to the mayor, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signed with their own hands, in the priest's favour as much as could be devised: and so departed himself, with other his friends, to go to the bishop, (whose name was Dr. Capon,) and to take the priest with them; which was a painful journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a sore leg.

Now Filmer, hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foil, consulted with his friends what was best to do; who concluded to draw out certain notes of the vicar's sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons, or before him, if it might be possible. Thus, both the parties being in a readiness, it chanced them to set forth from Windsor all in one day: but, by reason the priest, being an impotent man, could not endure to ride very fast, Filter and his company got to the town an hour and more before Simons, went to the bishop, and delivered up their bill unto him; which bill, when the bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, it did behove him to look upon it; for the priest had preached heresy, and should be punished.

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Then Filmer declared unto the bishop the form of his talk he had with the priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his Lordship therewith. "Well," said the bishop, "ye have done like honest men: come to me soon again, and ye shall know more." And so they departed from the bishop to their inn; and, while they were there reposing themselves, Simons, with his company, came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the bishop in all post haste, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing of more Windsor men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the vicar of the town, with others besides, he caused the vicar to be brought in; to whom he said, "Are you the vicar of Windsor?" "Yea, forsooth, my Lord," quoth he. "How chanceth it," quoth the bishop, "that you are complained on? for there have been with me certain honest men of your town, who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you: if it be so, I must needs punish you." And opening the bill, he read it unto him. "How say you," quoth the bishop, "is this true, or no?" The vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then was his company called in, and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well, and said, "Wherefore come you, Master Simons?" "Pleaseth it your Lordship," quoth he, "we are come to speak in our vicar's cause, who is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd fellow we have in our town, called Filmer, who is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country. And truly, my Lord, quoth Simons, "there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to control it, and to say it is stark naught. Wherefore we shall beseech your Lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this busy fellow troubled him. And, that your Lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with the these honest men of the town: and besides all that, a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same:" and so he held out the writing in his hand.

Then said the bishop, "So God help me, Master Simons! ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, who hath preached heresy, and hath confessed it: wherefore I may not, nor will not, see it unpunished. And as for that honest man Filmer, of whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly, he hath in this point showed himself a great deal more honest man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next Sunday recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church." And so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, who waited without, and delivered the priest's recantation unto them, with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop, and departed with a flea in his ear, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed of the foil. For this cause Simons could never brook Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger, (as his manner was, where he owed displeasure,) and say, "I will be even with you one day, trust me!"

The original of Anthony Peerson's trouble.

There was a certain priest, named Anthony Peerson, who frequented much to Windsor about the year of our Lord 1540, and, using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was

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greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which he made both in the town and country, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were sore offended, insomuch that Simons at the last began to gather of his sermons, and to mark his auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a year and more after, a minister of Satan, called Dr. London, warden of New College in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor, who, at his first coming to Windsor, began to utter his stomach and to show his affection. For, at his first residence-dinner which he made to the clerks, (which company, for the most part, at that time favoured the gospel,) all his whole talk to two gentlemen, strangers at his board, (till the table was a taking up,) was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm unto, if they might be so suffered. "And by St. Mary, masters!" quoth he to the clerks at last, "I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house." Some made answer, it was undeserved. "I pray God it be," quoth he, "I am but a stranger, and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Then spake Testwood, "By my troth, sir!" quoth he, "I think that was spoken of malice: for prayer, as your Mastership knoweth better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yea, marry, sir," quoth he, "but the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers do allow." "What the old fathers do allow," quoth Testwood, "I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name." "Then you will have no mean between you and God," quoth Dr. London. "Yes, sir," quoth Testwood, "our mean is Christ, as St. Paul saith, There is one Mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ." "Give us water," quoth Dr. London: which being set on the board, he said grace, and washed; and so falling into other communication with the strangers, the clerks took their leave and departed. When Dr. London had been at Windsor awhile, among his catholic brethren, and learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons, (who showed him our Lady's nose, as he called it,) what sort of heretics were in the town, and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty priest, called Anthony Peerson, he was so maliciously bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the devil, to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the aforesaid Simons, a meet clerk to serve such a curate, and others of like sort, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in Windsor and thereabouts, indicted of heresy, and so to proceed further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First, they drew out certain notes of Anthony Peerson's sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar, and their popish mass. That done, they put in Sir William Hobby, with the good lady his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife, as chief ciders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. Also they noted Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted Anthony Peerson's sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the gospel, or did but smell thereof.

Then had they privy spies to walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament, at the elevation-time, and to bring his name to Dr. London. And of these spies some were chantry priests; among the which there was

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one notable spy, whose name was called Sir William Bows, such a fleeing priest as would be in every corner of the church pattering to himself, with his portues in his hand, to hear and to note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus, when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect book thereof, Dr. London, with two of his catholic brethren more, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics that were in Windsor, declaring unto him how the town was sore disquieted through their doctrine and evil example: wherefore they besought his Lordship's help, in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop, hearing their complaint, and seeing their book, praised their doings, and bade them make friends and go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nail, sparing for no money or pains-taking, as Marbeck saith that he himself heard one of them say, who was a great doer therein, and afterwards sorry for that he had done, that the suit thereof cost him that year, for his part only, a hundred marks, besides the death of three good geldings.

Now Bishop Gardiner, who had conceived a further fetch in his brain than Dr. London had, made Wriothesley and others of the council on his side, and spying a time convenient, went to the king, complaining what a sort of heretics his Grace had in his realm, and how they were not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber; beseeching therefore his Majesty that his laws might be prosecuted. The king, giving credit to the council's words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the bishop what he desired, and forthwith procured a commission for a privy search to be had in Windsor for books and letters that Anthony Peerson should send abroad; which commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

At this time the canons of Exeter (specially Southarne, treasurer of the church, and Dr. Bruerwood, the chancellor) had accused Dr. Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread and holy water, and that he should say in one of his sermons (having occasion to speak of matrimony) that marriage and hanging were destiny; upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester (at the same time) had also informed the council of Master Hobby, how he was a hearer of Anthony Peerson, and a great maintainer of heretics: whereupon both he, and Dr. Haynes, were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of friends they were both delivered.

Now, as touching the commission for searching for books, Master Ward and Master Fachel, of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who came to Windsor the Thursday before Palm Sunday, A.D. 1543, and began their search about eleven of the clock at night: in which search were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the six articles, who were kept in ward till Monday after, and then fetched up to the council, all save Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay sore diseased of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison, Filmer and Bennet to the bishop of London's jail, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea; whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

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The first examination of John Marbeck before the council. on the Monday after Palm Sunday, A.D. 1543.



Marbeck examined by the council

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called *The Concordance of the Bible*; which book, being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, at the upper end of the board; who, beholding the poor man awhile, said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?" "No, my Lord," quoth he. "No!" quoth the bishop; "that is a marvellous thing." "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be." "Then thou knowest the matter well enough;" quoth the bishop: and, taking up a quire of the *Concordance* in his hand, he said, "Understandest thou the Latin tongue?" "No, my Lord," quoth he, "but simply." "No!" quoth the bishop; and with that spake Master Wriothesley (then secretary to the king): "He saith, but simply." "I cannot tell," quoth the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin *Concordance*:" and so began to declare to the rest of the council the nature of a *Concordance*, and how it was first compiled in Latin, by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go

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forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so, casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the Book of Isaiah the Prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other, looking upon it, said, "Forsooth, any Lord, I wrote it." "Read it," quoth the bishop. Then he read it thus, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "read it as thou hast written it." "Then shall I read it wrong," quoth he, "for I had written it false." "How hadst thou written it," quoth the bishop. "I had written it," quoth he, "thus, 'Heaven is my seat, and the earth is not my footstool.'" "Yea, marry," quoth the bishop, "that was thy meaning." "No, my Lord," quoth he, "it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your Lordship seeth, this word not is blotted out." At this time came other matters into the council, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there awhile, one of the council, named Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Belson of the guard, saying unto him on this wise: "Take this man and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure that he shall treat him gently; and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the prisoners do take it; and minister it unto him as he shall have need." And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission most faithfully and truly. both to the keeper and to the prisoner, as he was commanded.

The second examination of Marbeck, before the bishop's gentleman in the Marshalsea.

On the next day, which was Tuesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, there came one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen into the Marshalsea, whose man brought after him two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons, "I had no such commandment," quoth he; "for the messenger which brought him yesternight from the council, said it was their pleasure, he should be gently used." "My Lord," quoth the gentleman, "will not be content with you:" and so taking the books of his man, he called for a chamber, up to which he carried the prisoner, and casting the books from him upon a bed, sat him down and said, "Marbeck! my Lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much harm. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, forasmuch as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thyself, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great sort of heretics, as Hobby and Haynes, with others more, and knowest much of their secrets: if thou wilt now open them at my Lord's request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living."

"Alas! sir," quoth he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with Master Hobby or Master Haynes, to know any part of their minds." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what estimation they had both thee and Anthony Peerson, for your religion." "For Anthony Peerson," quoth he, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life: and as for myself, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and showed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am."

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"Peradventure," quoth the gentleman, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest they, hearing thereof, might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee; which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee more, nor any man else."

With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepest thou?" quoth the gentleman. "Oh, sir," quoth he, "I pray you pardon me: these men have done me good; wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted myself."

"Well," quoth the gentleman, "I perceive thou wilt play the fool;" and then he opened one of the books and asked him if he understood any Latin. "But a little, sir;" quoth he. "How is it then," quoth the gentleman, "that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the tongue?" "I will tell you," quoth he; "in my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small." Then the gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the books, and so departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber, the door fast shut unto him.

About two hours after, the gentleman came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and set him down upon the bed-side, (as before,) and said, "By my troth, Marbeck! my Lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last with Haynes?" "Forsooth," quoth he, "about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him." "And what talk," quoth the gentleman, "had he at his board?" "I cannot tell now," quoth he. "No!" quoth the gentleman; "thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space." "Yes, sir," quoth he, "such familiar talk as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten; and so it was with me." "Didst thou never," quoth the gentleman, "talk with him, or with any of thy fellows, of the mass, or of the blessed sacrament?" "No, forsooth," quoth he. "Now, forsooth," quoth the gentleman, "thou liest; for thou hast been seen to talk with Testwood, and others of thy fellows, an hour together in the church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you; and, ever as they have drawn near you, ye have stayed your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear whereof you talked." "I deny not," quoth he, "but I have talked with Testwood and others of my fellows. I cannot tell how oft; which maketh not that we talked either of the mass or of the sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters. that they would not that every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best." "Well!" quoth the gentleman, "thou must be plainer with my Lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weenest." "How plain will his Lordship have me to be, sir?" quoth he. "There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordship's pleasure." "What tellest thou me," quoth the gentleman, "of thy conscience? Thou mayest, with a safe conscience, utter those that be heretics, and, so doing, thou canst do God and the king no greater service." "If I knew, sir," quoth he, "who were a heretic indeed, it were a thing; but if I should accuse him to be a heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived! yea, it were a deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment." "In faith," quoth the gentleman, "thou knowest as well who be heretics of thy fellows at home, and who be none, as I do know this paper to be in my hand. But it maketh no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I

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warrant thee. And what a foolish dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they be, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth?" "Whatsoever," quoth he, "they shall say of me, let them do it in the name of God: for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know." "Marry! quoth the gentleman, "if thou wilt do so, my Lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now, peradventure, thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee ink and paper, that thou mayest excogitate with thyself, and write such things as shall come to thy mind." "O Lord!" quoth Marbeck, "what will my Lord do? Will his Lordship compel me to accuse men I wot not whereof?" "No," quoth the gentleman, "my Lord compelleth thee not, but gently entreateth thee to say the truth: therefore make no more ado, but write; for my Lord will have it so." And so he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Now was Marbeck so full of heaviness and woe, that he wist not what to do, nor how to set the pen to the book to satisfy the bishop's mind, unless he did accuse men to the wounding of his own soul. And thus, being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down with weeping tears, and said,

"O most merciful Father of heaven! thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, that, to save this frail and vile body, which shall turn to corruption at its time, I may have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my Christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words:

"Whereas your Lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows at home, pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence: more than this I know not."

Now the gentleman, about his hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," quoth he, "hast thou written nothing?" "Yes, sir;" quoth he, "as much as I know." "Well said," quoth the gentleman; and took up the paper: which, when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lord's body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. "Therefore," quoth he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my Lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if his Lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said." "Then wilt thou repent it," quoth the gentleman: and so putting up his penner and ink-horn, he departed with the paper in his hand.

The third examination of Marbeck before the bishop of Winchester himself, in his own house.

The next day, which was Wednesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, the bishop sent for Marbeck to his house at St. Mary Overy's, and as he was entering into the bishop's hall,

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he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a roll in his hand; and going toward the great window, he called the poor man unto him, and said, "Marbeck! wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my Lord," quoth he, "I trust." "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it." "Yes, my Lord," quoth he, "I do esteem it; and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me." "And why the devil," quoth the bishop, "didst thou not hold thee there?" And with that he flung away from the window out of the hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, the bishop began on this wise: "Ah, sirrah," quoth he, "the nest of you is broken, I trow." And unfolding his roll, (which was about an ell long,) he said, "Behold, here be your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pack of thy sect about Windsor, and yet wilt thou utter none of them." "Alas, my Lord," quoth he, "how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing?" "Well," quoth the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can let thee? What helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy book?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he. "none." "None!" quoth the bishop; "how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help." "Truly, my Lord," quoth he, "I cannot tell in what part your Lordship doth take it, but, howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, save God alone." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "I do not discommend thy diligence, but why shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertained not to thee?"

And in speaking of these words, one of his chaplains, called Master Meadow, came up, and stayed himself at a window, to whom the bishop said, "Here is a marvellous thing; this fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men at least, and yet will he bear me in hand, that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt," quoth the bishop, "except God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it." And so, going forth to a window where two great Bibles lay upon a cushion, the one in Latin, and the other in English, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, "Canst thou English this sentence?" "Nay, my Lord," quoth he, "I trow I be not so cunning to give it a perfect English, but I can fetch out the English thereof in the English Bible." "Let's see," quoth the bishop. Then Marbeck, turning the English Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up, and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

And as the bishop was going, said the gentleman who had examined Marbeck in the Marshalsea the day before, "Shall this fellow write nothing while your Lordship is at mass, for he passeth not for it?" "It maketh no matter," quoth the bishop, "for he will tell nothing:" and so went down to hear mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the gallery. The bishop was no sooner down, but the gentleman came up again with ink and paper. "Come, sirrah!" quoth he, "my Lord will have you occupied till mass be done:" persuading him with fair words, that he should be soon despatched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. "Alas, sir!" quoth he, "what will my Lord have me to do? for more than I wrote to his Lordship yesterday, I cannot" "Well, well; go too," quoth the gentleman, "and make speed:" and so went his way. There was no remedy but Marbeck must now write something; wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the bishop

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was come from mass, and had looked on the writing, he pushed it from him, saying, "What shall this do? It hath neither head nor foot." "There is a marvellous sect of them," quoth the bishop to his men, "for the devil cannot make one of them to bewray another." Then was there nothing among the bishop's gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but "crucifige" upon the poor man. And when the bishop's white rochet was on him, and all, "Well, Marbeck," quoth he, "I am now going to the court, and had purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's Majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine house; but, seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil for me."

Then was he carried down by the bishop's men, with many railing words. And, coming through the great chamber, there stood Dr. London, with two more of his fellows, waiting the bishop's coming, and passing by them into the hall, he was there received by his keeper, and carried to prison again. It was not half an hour after, ere that the bishop sent one of his gentleman to the under-keeper, called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut in a chamber alone; and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own wife) to come and see him, or minister any thing unto him. When the porter (who was the cruellest man that might be to all such as were laid in for any matter of religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this commandment from the bishop, he clapped irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the house, that no man should speak or talk to Marbeck, whensoever he was brought down: and so he continued the space of three weeks and more, till his wife was suffered to come unto him.

The suit of Marbeck's wife to the bishop of Winchester.

Marbeck's wife, at the time of her husband's apprehension, had a young child of a quarter old sucking upon her breast; and when her husband was taken from her, and had away to the council, not knowing what should become of him, she left the child and all, and gat her up to London; and hearing her husband to be in the Marshalsea, goeth thither. But when she came there, she could in no wise be suffered to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrow. Then, by counsel of friends, she gat her to the bishop of Winchester, for other help was there none to be had at that time,) making great suit to have his licence to go and see her husband, and to help him with such things as he lacked. "Nay," quoth the bishop, "thy husband is acquainted with all the heretics that be in the realm, both on this side the sea and beyond; and yet will he utter none of them." "Alas, my Lord!" quoth she, "my husband was never beyond the seas, nor any great traveller in the realm, to be so acquainted; therefore, my good Lord, let me go see him." But all her earnest suit from day to day would not help, but still he put her off, harping always upon this string, "Thy husband will utter nothing." At last, she, finding him in the court at St. James, going towards his chamber, was so bold as to take him by the rochet, and say, "Oh. my Lord, these eighteen days I have troubled your Lordship. Now, for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my husband." And as she was standing with the bishop and his men, in a blind corner going to his chamber, one of the king's servants, called Henry Carrike, and her next neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk between the bishop and her, desired his Lordship to be good unto the poor woman, who had her own mother lying bedrid upon her hands, beside five or six children. "I promise you," quoth the bishop, "her husband is a great heretic, and hath read more Scripture than any man in the realm hath done." "I

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cannot tell, my Lord," quoth Carrike, "what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honest a quiet neighbour as ever I dwelt by." "He will tell nothing," quoth the bishop: "he knoweth a great sort of false harlots, and will not utter them." "Yes, my Lord," quoth Carrike, "he will tell, I dare say, for he is an honest man." "Well," quoth the bishop, (speaking to the wife,) "thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou love thy husband well, go to him, and give him good counsel, to utter such naughty fellows as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall have what I can do for him; for I do fancy him well for his art, wherein he hath pleased me as well as any man:" and so, stepping into his chamber, said she should have his letter to the keeper. But his mind being changed, he sent out his ring by a gentleman, which gentleman delivered the ring to his man, charging him with the bishop's message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, and took boat, who never rested railing on her husband all the way, till they came to the prison; which was no small cross unto the poor woman.

And when they were come to the Marshalsea, the messenger showed the bishop's ring to the porter, saying, "Master Stokes! my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to have recourse to her husband; but he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both coming and going, lest she bring or carry any letters to or fro, and that she bring nobody unto him, nor any word from any man." "God's blood!" quoth the porter, (who was a foul swearer,) "what will my Lord have me to do? can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her husband, or let her not go; for I see nothing by him but an honest man." The poor woman, fearing to be repulsed, spake the porter fair, saying, "Good master, be content, for I have found my Lord very good lord unto me. This young man is but the gentleman's servant who brought the ring from my Lord, and I think doth his message a great deal more straiter than my Lord commanded the gentleman, or than the gentleman his master commanded him: but, nevertheless, good master," quoth she, "I shall be contented to strip myself before you both coming and going, so far as any honest woman may do with honesty; for I intend no such thing, but only to comfort and help my husband." Then the messenger said no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who, from that time forth, was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

The fourth examination of Marbeck, before the commissioners in the bishop of London's house.

About three weeks before Whitsunday was Marbeck sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, having before them all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Marbeck! we are here in commission, sent from the king's Majesty, to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." "I am content, my Lord," quoth he, "to tell you the truth so far as I can:" and so took his oath. Then the bishop of Salisbury laid forth before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago. "For what cause:" quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "didst thou gather them?" "For none other cause, my Lord, but to come by knowledge: for I, being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought, by reading of learned men's works, to come the sooner thereby. And where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work." "So me think," quoth the bishop of Ely, (who had one of the books of notes in his hand all the time of their sitting,) "thou hast read of all sorts of books, both

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good and had, as seemeth by the notes." "So I have, my Lord," quoth he. "And to what purpose?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "By my truth," quoth he, "for no other purpose but to see every man's mind." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, who, looking upon it awhile, lifted up his eyes to Dr. Oking, standing next him, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great sort of our priests:" to the which Oking made no answer.

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?" "Truly, my Lord," quoth he, "no help at all." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?" "I will tell your Lordship," quoth he, "what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas Matthew's Bible came first out in print, I was much desirous to have one of them; and being a poor man, not able to buy one of them, I determined with myself to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of Moses in fair great paper, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Master Turner chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause, 'Tush' quoth he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English.' 'A Concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, and that there was such a one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about such a thing. 'Enough,' quoth he, 'for that matter, for it requireth not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so painful a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a goodly exercise for thee.' And this, my Lord, is all the instruction that ever I had before or after, of any man." "What is that Turner?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," quoth Dr. May, "an honest learned man, and a bachelor of divinity, and some time a fellow in Magdalene College in Oxford." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it to this order and form, as it is?" "I borrowed a Latin Concordance," quoth he, "and began to practise my wit; and, at last, with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your Lordship doth see." "A good wit with diligence," quoth the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass." "It is great pity," quoth the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue." "So it is," quoth Dr. May. "Yet cannot I believe," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work, than write it out after some other that is learned."

My Lords," quoth Marbeck, "I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and to grant my request if it shall seem good unto you." "Say what thou wilt," quoth the bishops. "I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so much examined for this book, and whether I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other to be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore, to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone; ye see that I am yet but in the letter L; begin now at M, and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other."

"By my troth, Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion." "That he shall," quoth they all. Then they bade Dr. Oking

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draw out such words as he thought best, in a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with Marbeck, (for the bishops of Ely and Hereford were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst,) who, perceiving the bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. "Shall I tell thee, Marbeck?" quoth the bishop of Sarum. "Thou art in better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give forty pounds to be in no worse case than thou art:" whose sayings the other affirmed. Then came Dr. Oking with the words he had written, and while the bishops were perusing them over, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, very friendly, on this wise: "Good Master Marbeck, make haste, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered." And as the bishops were going away, the bishop of Hereford took Marbeck a little aside, and informed him of a word which Dr. Oking had written false, and also, to comfort him, said, "Fear not; there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done; for if ye had written a thousand heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you." And so went they all with the bishop of Sarum to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the hall, at the steward's board; and besides that, had wine and meat sent down from the bishop's table.

When dinner was done, the bishop of Sarum came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the bishop, what time his Lordship would appoint him to do it in? "Against to-morrow this time;" quoth the bishop; which was about two of the clock, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his prison-chamber, fell to his business. and so applied the thing, that by the next day. when the bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more: which when he had delivered to the bishop of Sarum, Dr. Oking standing by, he marvelled and said. "Well, Marbeck, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee," quoth he, putting up the paper into his bosom, "the king shall see this ere I be twenty-four hours older." But he dissembled every word, and thought nothing less than so; for afterwards, the matter being come to light, and known to his Grace, what a book the poor man had begun, which the bishops would not suffer him to finish, the king said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the bishop of Sarum to prison again, and heard no more of his book.

The fifth examination of Marbeck, before Dr. Oking, and Master Knight, secretary to the bishop of Winchester, in St. Mary Overy's church.

Upon Whitsunday following at afternoon, was Marbeck sent for once again to St. Mary Overy's, where he found Dr. Oking, with another gentleman in a gown of damask, with a chain of gold about his neck, (no more in all the church but they two,) sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the church door, looking upon an epistle of Master John Calvin's, which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church alone. Now, as soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman, (whom before he knew not, by reason of his apparel,) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, and did also cause him to write in the bishop's gallery, but never knew his name till now he heard Dr. Oking call him Master Knight.

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This Master Knight held forth the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is."

When Marbeck had taken the paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes in the margin. "Then I perceive;" quoth Knight, "thou wilt not go from thine own hand." "No, sir," quoth he, "I will deny nothing that I have done." "Thou dost well in that," quoth Knight, "for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides, to try out thy hand by. But I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the first leaf?" "That I cannot tell you," quoth Marbeck. "Then how camest thou by it?" quoth Knight. "Forsooth I will tell you," quoth he. "There was a priest dwelling with us about five or six years ago, called Marshal, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written; desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared past an hour or twain: and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again."

"And how came this hand in the margin," quoth he, "which is a contrary hand to both the others?" "That I will tell you," quoth Marbeck: "When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste of it, that I understood not the matter, wherefore I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation; and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margin, as ye see. And shortly after this, it was his chance to go beyond the seas, (where he lived not long,) by reason whereof the epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the notes in the margin, were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell." "Tush," quoth Dr. Oking to Master Knight, "he knoweth well enough that the notes be Haynes's own hand." "If you know so much," quoth Marbeck, "ye know more than I do; for I tell you truly, I know it not." "By my faith, Marbeck," quoth Knight, "if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if ye do tear the whole body in pieces, I trust in God, ye shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully." "If thou be so stubborn," quoth Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it." "Die, Master Oking!" quoth he, "wherefore should I die? You told me the last day, before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took from me, I should be delivered: and shall I now die? This is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend; but I know the cause: ye have read the ballet I made of Moses' chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not to die God's true man and the king's." "How so?" quoth Knight. "How canst thou die a true man unto the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and are not most of the notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?" "No, sir," quoth Marbeck; "I have not offended the king's laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance, (which is almost six yeas ago, I have been occupied in nothing else: so that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon." "Trust not to that," quoth Knight, "for it will not help thee." "No, I warrant him," quoth Dr. Oking. And so going down to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to prison again.

The suit of Filmer's wife, to the bishops who sat in commission, for her husband.

In like manner the wife of Filmer, knowing her husband's trouble to be only procured of malice by Simons, his old enemy, made great suit and labour unto the bishops who were commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodness to examine her

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husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her only request to every of the bishops from day to day, wheresoever she could find them; insomuch that two of the bishops (Ely and Hereford) were very sorry (considering the importunate and reasonable suit of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus, travelling long up and down from one to another, to have her husband examined, it was her chance at last to find the bishops all three together in the bishop of Ely's palace; unto whom she said, "O good my Lords! for the love of God, let now my poor husband be brought forth before you, while ye be here all together. For truly, my Lords, there can nothing be justly laid against him, but that of malicious envy and spite Simons hath wrought him this trouble. And you, my Lord of Salisbury," quoth the poor woman, "can testify (if it will please your Lordship to say the truth) what malice Simons bare to my husband, when they were both before you at Salisbury, little more than a year ago, for the vicar of Windsor's matter. For, as your Lordship knoweth, when my husband had certified you of the priest's sermon, which you said was plain heresy, then came Simons, (after the priest himself had confessed it,) and would have defended the priest's error before your Lordship, and have had my husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to commend and praise my husband for his honesty, and to rebuke Simons for maintaining the priest in his error; and thereupon commanded the priest to recant his heresy, at his coming home to Windsor. This, my Lord, you know to be true. And now, my Lords," quoth the woman, "it is most certain, that for this cause only did Simons evermore afterwards threaten my husband to be even with him. Therefore, my good Lords, call my husband before you, and hear him speak; and if ye find any other matter against him than this that I have told you, let me suffer death." "Is this so, my Lord?" quoth the bishops of Ely and Hereford. And the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latin to the bishop of Salisbury, and he to them, and so departed. For the matter was so wrought between Dr. London and Simons, that Filmer could never be suffered to come before the commissioners to be examined.

The martyrdom of Peerson, Testwood, and Filmer; with the manner of their condemnations, and how they died.— Also the sparing of Marbeck, after he was sentenced to death.

When the time drew nigh that the king's Majesty (who was newly married to that good and virtuous Lady Katharine Parr) should make his progress abroad, the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the king as he did: wherewith the gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked every hour to be clapped in the neck; for the saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. But, in the mean time, three or four of the poor rascals were caught, that is to say, Anthony Peerson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, and sent to Windsor by the sheriff's men the Saturday before St. James's day, and laid fast in the town jail: and Testwood, who had kept his bed, was brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them. But as for Bennet, which should have been the fifth man, his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behind in the bishop of London's jail, whereby he escaped the fire.

Now, these men being brought to Windsor, there was a sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday after, which was St. Ann's day: against the which sessions (by the counsel of Dr. London and of Simons) were all the farmers, belonging to the college of Windsor, warned to appear; because they could not pick out papists enough in the town, to go upon the jury. The

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judges that day were these: Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury; Sir William Essex, knight; Sir Thomas Bridges, knight; Sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklen, dean of Windsor and Master Fachel of Reading.

When these had taken their places, and the prisoners were brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam, occupying for that day the room of the clerk of the peace, called Anthony Peerson, according to the manner of the court, and read his indictment, which was this:

"First, That he should preach two years before in a place called Wingfield, and there should say, that like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so, when the priest is at mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

"Also, that he said to the people in the pulpit, 'Ye shall not eat the body of Christ as it did hang upon the cross gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood run about your lip': but you shall eat him this day as ye eat Him to-morrow, the next day, and every day: for it refresheth not the body, but the soul.'

"Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the word of God, he said as followeth: 'This is the word: this is the bread: this is the body of Christ.'

"Also he said that Christ, sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat; this is my body. 'What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to break it to the people?'"

To this Anthony answered and said, "I will be tried by God and his holy word, and by the true church of Christ, whether this be heresy or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the bishop of Rome, and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his gospel, ye have always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your powers to hurt my soul." "Thou callest us thieves," quoth the bishop. "I say," quoth Anthony, "ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach and teach the word of God purely and sincerely to the people; which ye do not, nor ever did; but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and glory's sake, through the which ye are become rather bite-sheeps than true bishops, biting and devouring the poor sheep of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not." Then spake Simons his accuser, standing within the bar, saying, "It is pity this fellow had not been burned long ago, as he deserved." "In faith," quoth Anthony, "if you had as you have deserved, you were more worthy to stand in this place than I. But I trust, in the last day, when we shall both appear before the tribunal seat of Christ, that than it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place." "Shall I have so long a day?" quoth Simons, holding up his finger: "Nay then, I care not: "and so the matter was jested out.

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Robert Testwood.

Then was Testwood called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, in the time that the priest was lifting up the sacrament, "What, wilt thou lift him so high? what yet higher? Take heed; let him not fall."

To this Testwood answered, saying, it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou hast been seen that when the priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldst thou look down upon thy book or some other way, because thou wouldst not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament." "I beseech you, my Lord," quoth Testwood, "whereon did *he* look, that marked me so well?" "Marry," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics, that so despised the blessed sacrament."

Henry Filmer.

Then was Filmer called, and his indictment read; that he should say that the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremony; and also, if God be in the sacrament of the altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you must understand, that these words were gathered of certain communication which should be between Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus:

This Henry Filmer, coming upon a Sunday from Clewer, his parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced, in the way, to meet his brother, (which was a very poor labouring man,) and asked him whither he went. "To the church," said he. "And what to do?" quoth Filmer. "To do," quoth he, "as other men do." "Nay," quoth Filmer, "you go to hear mass, and to see your God." "What if I do so?" quoth he. "If that be God should Filmer say, "I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better than all that thou shalt see or hear there."

This tale was no sooner brought to Dr. London, (by William Simons, Filmer's utter enemy,) but he sent for the poor man home to his house, where he cherished him with meat and money, telling him he should never lack, so long as he lived; that the silly poor man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Dr. London. was content to do and say whatsoever he and Simons would have him say or do against his own brother. And when Dr. London had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his household men until the court day was come, and then sent him up to witness this aforesaid tale against his brother. Which tale Filmer denied utterly, saying, that Dr. London, for a little meat and drink's sake, had set him on, and made him say what his pleasure was: "Wherefore, my Lord." quoth Filmer to the bishop, "I beseech your Lordship weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this town, that can or will testify with him, that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness the same with him, I refuse not to die." But say what he could, it would not prevail.

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Then Filmer, seeing no remedy but that his brother's accusation should take place, he said, "Ah, brother! what cause hast thou to show me this unkindness? I have always been a natural brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time, as thou thyself knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindness? God forgive it thee, my brother, and give thee grace to repent." Then Filmer, looking over his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the book of Statutes. His wife, being at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the book of Statutes, ran down to the keeper, and brought up the book, and gat it conveyed to her husband.

The bishop, seeing the book in his hand, start him up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the faith of his body, he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper. "Like enough, my Lord," quoth Simons, "for he is one of the same sort; and as worthy to be here as the rest, if he were rightly served." But howsoever it was, the truth would not be known, and so the bishop sat him down again.

Then said Filmer, "O my Lord! I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, who would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies." "Nay," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "thine heresy is so heinous, and abhorreth thine own brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses."

Thus, as you see, was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Dr. London, who had enticed that wretched caitiff his brother, to be their minister to work his confusion. But God, who is a just revenger of all falsehood and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next year following, he, being taken up for a labourer to go to Boulogne, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a gun took him and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of Solomon fulfilled. "A false witness shall not remain unpunished."

John Marbeck.

Then was Marbeck called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, that the holy mass, when the priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, from which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of setting up of images of the calves, in the temple builded by Jeroboam; and that it is more abomination, than the sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made, in the mass, man's laughing-stock.

To this he answered and said, that these words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvin, drawn out of a certain epistle which the said Calvin had made, which epistle he had but only written out, and that, long before the six articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the king's general pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

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Then were the jury called, which were all farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, whereof few or none had ever seen those men before, upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners (counting the farmers as partial) desired to have the townsmen, or such as did know them, and had seen their daily conversations, in the place of the farmers, or else to be equally joined with them; but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

Now, when the jury had taken their oath and all, Bucklayer, the king's attorney, began to speak; and first he alleged many reasons against Anthony Peerson, to prove him a heretic: which when Anthony would have disproved, the bishop said, "Let him alone, sir: he speaketh for the king." And so went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making every man's cause as heinous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and said what he would, then Sir Humfrey Foster spake to the quest, in favour of Marbeck, on this wise: "Masters!" quoth he, "ye see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man Marbeck, saving he hath written certain thing; of other men's sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon: therefore ye ought to have a conscience therein." Then started up Fachel at the lower end of the bench, and said, "What can we tell, whether they were written before the pardon or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing that we know." These words of Fachel (as every man said) were the cause of Marbeck's casting that day.

Then went the jury up to the chamber over the place where the judges sat, and in the mean time went all the knights and gentlemen abroad, saving the bishop, Sir William Essex and Fachel, which three sat still upon the bench till all was done. And when the jury had been together above, in the chamber, about the space of a quarter of an hour, up goeth Simons (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the jury down to the bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while, whereby many conjectured that the jury could not agree of Marbeck. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down to give their verdict; and being required, according to the form of the law, to say their minds, one called Hide, dwelling beside Abingdon, in a lordship belonging to the college of Windsor, speaking as the mouth of the rest, said, they were all guilty.

Then the judges, beholding the prisoners a good while, (some with watery eyes,) made courtesy who should give judgment. Fachel, requiring the bishop to do it, he said, he might not. The others also, being required, said they would not. Then said Fachel, "It must be done; one must do it; and if no man will, then will I." And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgment. Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried unto the bishop, saying, "Ah! my Lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah! my Lord, you have deceived me." Then the bishop, casting up his hand, said, "he could not do withal."

Now the prisoners, being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow; comforting one another in the death and passion of their Master, Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, who had made them worthy to suffer so far for his

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sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them stedfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodness, (without their deserts,) for his promise' sake, receive their souls. Thus lay they all the night long, (till very dead sleep took them,) calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors, who, of blind zeal and ignorance, had done they wist not what, that God, of his merciful goodness, would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word: yea, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers, watching the prison without, whereof the sheriff himself was one, with divers gentlemen more, were constrained to shed out plenty of tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the next morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Sarum, and they among them, had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, called Master Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the court being then at Okingham) in favour of Marbeck; at the sight of which letter, the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained his pardon; which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who, with speed, returned with great joy, (for the love he bare to the party,) bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon; whereat many rejoiced.

Of this pardon were divers conjectures made. Some said, it was by the suit of the good sheriff Sir William Barrington, and Sir Humfrey Foster, with other gentlemen more that favoured Marbeck, to the bishop of Sarum and the other commissioners, that the letter was sent.

Some said again, that it came of the bishop of Sarum and Fachel's first motion, being pricked in conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Other again thought that it was a policy purposed afore, by the bishop of Winchester, of Sarum, and of Dr. London, because they should seem to be merciful. This conjecture rose upon this occasion: There was one Sadock, dwelling in the town, who was great with Dr. London and Simons; and he should say, four days before the sessions began, that the prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but Marbeck should have his pardon.

Others there were, that thought the aforesaid bishops, with Dr. London, had done it for this purpose; that he now, having his life, would rather utter such men as they would have him to do, than to come in like danger again; which conjecture rose upon this: Simons, meeting with Marbeck's wife, said thus unto her: "Your husband may thank God and good friends: my Lord of Winchester is good lord to him, who hath got his pardon. But shall I tell you?" quoth he: "his pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord, and other of the council, when he shall be demanded; for unto that purpose only is he reserved." "Alas, sir," quoth she, "what can he tell?" "Well, woman;" quoth Simons, "I tell thee plain; if he do not so, never look to have thy hus-hand out of prison;" and so departed from her.

The like meaning did Master Arch make to Marbeck himself, on the Saturday in the morning that the moo should be burned, when he came to confess them. I have nothing," quoth he, "to say unto you, Marbeck. at this time; but hereafter you must be content to do as shall be enjoined you:" meaning, he should be forced to do some unlawful thing, or else to lie in perpetual

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prison. And this was most likely to have been attempted, if they had proceeded in their purpose; whose intent was to have gone through the whole realm, in like sort as they had begun at Windsor, as the bishop of Sarum confessed openly, and said, that "he trusted, ere Christmas day following, to visit and cleanse a good part thereof." But most commonly God sendeth a shrewd cow short horns, or else many a thousand in England had smarted.

On Saturday in the morning that the prisoners should go to execution, came in to the prison two of the canons of the college, the one called Dr. Blithe, and the other Master Arch, which two were sent to be their confessors: Master Arch asked them, if they would be confessed; and they said, "Yea." Then he demanded if they would receive the sacrament: "Yea," said they, "with all our hearts." "I am glad," quoth Arch, "to hear you say so; but the law is," quoth he, "that it may not be ministered to any that are condemned of heresy. But it is enough for you that ye do desire it." And so he had them up to the hall to hear their confessions, because the prison was full of people. Dr. Blithe took Anthony Peerson to him to confess, and Master Arch the other two. But howsoever the matter went between the doctor and Anthony, he tarried not long with him, but came down again, saying, "he would no more of his doctrine." "Do you call him Dr. Blithe?" quoth Anthony. "He may be called Dr. Blind for his learning, as far as I see." And soon after the other two came down also. Then Anthony, seeing much people in the prison, began to say the Lord's Prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the officer came to fetch them away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of Marbeck, (their prison-fellow,) they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue; and, last of all, besought him heartily to help them with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their affliction: and so, kissing him one after another, they departed.

Now, as the prisoners passed through the people in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as Dr. Blithe and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) would persuade them to turn to their mother, holy church, "Away," would Anthony cry, "away with your Romish doctrine, and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it!

When Filmer was come to his brother's door, he stayed and called for his brother; but he could not be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of sight that same day, for the nonce.

And when he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, "And will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man." And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Peerson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now welcome mine own sweet wife! for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God."

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. "Yea," quoth Filmer, "I thank you. And now, my brother," quoth he, "I shall desire you, in the name of the living Lord, to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received." And so, taking the pot at his hand, he asked his brother Anthony, if he would drink. "Yea, brother Filmer, quoth he, "I pledge you in the Lord."



Filmer, Peerson and Testwod burned at the stake

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewise gave it to Testwood. Of this drinking, their adversaries made a jesting-stock, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and wist not what they said; when they were none otherwise drunk than as the apostles were, when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared: for, when Anthony and Testwood had both drunk, and given the pot from them, Filmer, rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts unto God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer." At the which words Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit; and Anthony Peerson, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, "This is God's hat; now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy." And so yielded they up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, with such humility and stedfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them.

How all their conspiracies were known.

Ye have heard before of one Robert Bennet, how he was at the first apprehended with the other four persons aforesaid, and committed to the bishop of London's prison; and about the time he should have gone to Windsor, he fell sick of the pestilence, by means whereof he remained still in prison.

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This Bennet and Simons (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and company keepers that were in all Windsor, and never lightly swerved the one from the other, saving in matters of religion, wherein they could never agree. For Bennet, the one lawyer, was an earnest gospeller, and Simons, the other lawyer, a cankered papist; but in all other worldly matters they cleaved together like burrs.

This Bennet had spoken certain words against their little round god, for which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the others if he had gone to Windsor when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the bishop of Salisbury, that Robert Ockam, on the Monday after the men were burned, should go to the bishop of Winchester, with the whole process done at the sessions the Thursday before.

Then Simons, at Bennet's wife's request, procured the bishop of Salisbury's favourable letter to the bishop of Winchester, for Bennet's deliverance, which letter Bennet's wife (forasmuch as her own man was not at home who should have gone with the letter) desired Robert Ockam to deliver to the bishop, and to bring her word again; who said he would. So forth went Ockam toward the bishop of Winchester, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things unto him. that were done at Windsor sessions. But all their wicked intents, as God would have it, were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the queen's men, named Fulk, who had lain at Windsor all the time of the business, and had got knowledge what a number were privily indicted, and of Ockam 's going to the bishop of Winchester, gat to the court before Ockam, and told Sir Thomas Cardine and others of the privy chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon Ockam was laid for, and had by the back as soon as he came to the court, and so kept from the bishop.

On the next morrow, very early, Bennet's wife sent her man to the court after Ockam, to see how he sped with her husband's letter. And when he came there, he found Sir Thomas Cardine, walking with Ockam up and down the green, before the court gate; whereat he marvelled, to see Ockam with him so early, mistrusting the matter: whereupon he kept himself out of sight till they had broken off their communication.

And as soon as he saw Master Cardine gone, (leaving Ockam behind,) he went to Ockam and asked him if he had delivered his master's letter to the bishop. "No," said Ockam, "the king removeth this day to Guildford, and I must go thither, and will deliver it there." "Marry," quoth he, "and I will go with you, to see what answer you shall have, and to carry word to my mistress;" and so they rode to Guildford together; where Bennet's man (being better acquainted in the town than Ockam was) got a lodging for them both in a kinsman's house of his.

That done, he asked Ockam, if he would go and deliver his mistress's letter to the bishop. "Nay," said Ockam, "you shall go and deliver it yourself:" and took him the letter. And as they were going in the street together, and coming by the earl of Bedford's lodging, (then lord privy seal,) Ockam was pulled in by the sleeve, and no more seen of Bennet's man, till he saw him in the Marshalsea. Then went Bennet's man to the bishop's lodging and delivered his letter: and when the bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. "Come, sirrah!" quoth he, "you can tell me more by mouth than the letter specifieth;" and had him into a little garden. "Now," quoth the bishop, "what say you to me?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "I

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have nothing to say unto your Lordship; for I did not bring the letter to the town." "No!" quoth the bishop, "where is he that brought it?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "I left him busy at his lodging." "Then he will come," quoth the bishop, "bid him be with me betimes in the morning." "I will," quoth he, "do your Lordship's commandment:" and so he departed home to his lodging. And when his kinsfolks saw him come in, "Alas, cousin," quoth they, "we are all undone!" "Why so?" quoth he, "what is the matter?" "Oh!" said they, "here hath been, since you went, Master Paget the king's secretary, with Sir Thomas Cardine of the privy chamber, and searched all our house for one that should come to the town with Ockam; therefore make shift for yourself as soon as you can." "Is that all the matter?" quoth he, "then content yourselves, for I will never flee one foot, hap what hap will." As they were thus reasoning together, in came the aforesaid searchers again: and when Master Cardine saw Bennet's man, he knew him very well, and said, "Was it thou that came to the town with Ockam?" "Yea, sir;" quoth he. "Now who the devil," quoth Master Cardine, "brought thee in company with that false knave?" Then he told them his business, and the cause of his coming; which being known. they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had Bennet's man a discharge for his master, (procured by certain of the privy chamber,) and so went home.

Now was Ockam all this while at my Lord Privy Seal's, where he was kept secret, till certain of the privy council had perused all his writings; among which they found certain of the privy chamber indicted, with other the king's officers, with their wives; that is to say, Sir Thomas Cardine, Sir Philip Hobby, with both their ladies, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the six articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. And besides them, they had indicted of heresy (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number more of the king's true and faithful subjects: whereof the king's Majesty being certified, his Grace, of his special goodness, (without the suit of any man,) gave to the aforesaid gentlemen of his privy chamber, and other his servants, with their wives, his gracious pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his Majesty. as he rode one day a-hunting in Guildford park, and saw the sheriff with Sir Humfrey Foster sitting on their horsebacks together, he called them unto him. and asked of them, how his laws were executed at Windsor. Then they, beseeching his Grace of pardon., told him plainly, that in all their lives they never sat on matter under his Grace's authority, that went so much against their consciences as the death of these men did; and up and told his Grace so pitiful a tale of the casting away of these poor men, that the king, turning his horse's head to depart from them, said, "Alas, poor innocents!"

After this the king withdrew his favour from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed of the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, he commanded certain of his council to search out the ground thereof. Whereupon Dr. London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined upon their oath of allegiance; and for denying their mischievous and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons, to wear papers in Windsor; and Ockam to stand upon the pillory, in the town of Newbury where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horse-tails, and so to stand upon the pillory in every of these towns, for false accusation of the aforementioned martyrs, and for perjury.

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And thus much touching the persecution of these good saints of Windsor, according to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testify the truth thereof.

An answer to the cavilling adversaries, touching John Marbeck.

Wherefore against these crooked cavillers, which make so much ado against my former book, because in a certain place I chanced to say that Bennet and Filmer had their pardon, (when indeed it was Bennet and Marbeck,) be it therefore known, protested, denounced, and notified, to all and singular such carpers, wranglers, exclaimers, depravers, with the whole brood of all such whisperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and spider-catchers, or by what name else soever they are to be titled, that here I openly say and affirm, profess, hold, maintain, and write the same as I said and wrote before, in the latter castigations of my book: that is, that John Marbeck was, with the others, condemned, but not burned; cast by the law, but by pardon saved; appointed with the rest to die, and yet not dead; but liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present day singeth merrily, and playeth on the organs, not as a dead man amongst "Foxe's Martyrs," (as it hath pleased some in the court to encounter against me,) but as one witnessed and testified truly in the book of Foxe's Martyrs to be alive. And, therefore, such manner of persons, if the disposition of their nature be such that they must needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where those faults, by their finding, may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already, and found to their hands, and also amended before, let then these legend-liars look on their own legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enough; and cease their biting there, where they have no just cause to bark.

And admit that I had not foreseen and corrected this escape before, touching the matter of John Marbeck, but that the place still had remained in the book as it was, (that is, that the said John Marbeck, who is yet alive, had then died and suffered with the other three, the same time at Windsor,) yet, what gentle or courteous reader could have therein any just matter to triumph and insult against me, seeing the judicial acts, the records and registers, yea, and the bishops certificate, and also the writ of execution remaining yet on record, sent to the king, did lead me so to say and think? For what man, writing histories, who cannot be in all places to see all things, but following his records and registers, wherein he seeth the said Marbeck to be judged and condemned with the rest, would otherwise write or think, but that he also was executed and burned in the same company.

But now I correct and reform the same again, and first of all others. I find the fault, and yet I am found fault withal. I correct myself. and yet I am corrected of others. I warn the reader of the truth, and yet am a liar. The book itself showeth the escape, and biddeth, instead of four, to read three burned; and yet is the book made a legend of lies!

Briefly, where I prevent all occasion of cavilling to the uttermost of my diligence, yet cannot I have that law, which all other books have, that is, to recognise and reform mine own *errata*.

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Wherefore, to conclude: these men, whosoever they are. it' they will be satisfied, I have said enough; if they will not, whatsoever I can say, it will not serve; and so I leave them. I would I could better satisfy them. God himself amend them!

206. Persecution in Calais.

The persecution in Calais. with the martyrdom of George Bucker, otherwise called Adam Damlip, and others.

At what time John Marbeck was in the Marshalsea, which was about the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the said prison with him one George Bucker, named otherwise Adam Damlip, who, having continued in the said prison three or four years, at the last, by the commandment of Winchester, was had to Calais by John Massy, the keeper of the Marshalsea, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason pretended, which was a little before the condemnation of the Windsor men aforesaid, as is, by the letters of the said John Marbeck, to me signified.

Touching which story of Adam Damlip, forasmuch as it includeth matter of much trouble and persecution that happened in Calais, to digest therefore, and comprise the whole narration thereof in order, first I will enter (the Lord willing) the story of Damlip, and so proceed in order to such as, by the said occasion, were afflicted and persecuted in the town of Calais.

PERSONS PERSECUTED IN THE TOWN OF CALAIS:— George Bucker, or else called Adam Damlip; a poor labouring man; W. Stevens; Thomas Lancaster; John Butler, commissary; William Smith, priest; Thomas Brook; Ralph Hare; Jacob, a surgeon; a Fleming; Clement Philpot, servant; Jeffery Loveday; Dodde; Sir Edmund, priest; William Touched, postmaster; Peter Becket; Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Henry Tourney, gentleman; George Darby, priest; John Shepard; William Pellam; William Keverdal; John Whitwood; John Boole; Ho. Cloddet; Coppen de Hane, alias James Cocke; Matthew Hound; William Button, crossbow-maker.

PERSECUTORS:— John Dove, prior of the Grey Friars in Calais; Sir Gregory Button, priest; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Sampson, bishop of Chichester; Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath; Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich; Harvey, commissary in Calais; Lady Honor, wife to Lord Lisle, deputy of Calais; Sir Thomas Palmer, knight; John Rookwood, esquire; Richard Long, soldier of Calais; Francis Hastings, a soldier; Edmund Payton, Robert Poole, and Thomas Boyse; Hugh Counsel, a servant; Sir Ralph Ellerker, knight; Sir John Gage.

In the year of our Lord 1539, the Lord Cromwell being yet alive, there came to Calais one George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, who had been, in time past, a great papist and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester: and, after the death of the bishop his master, had travelled through France, Dutchland, and Italy; and, as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion, and so proceeding in his journey to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion, in the end he found there (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ's true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that it abhorred his heart and conscience any longer there to remain; although he was greatly requested by Cardinal Pole, there to continue, and to read three lectures in the week in his house, for the which he offered him great entertainment, which he refused; and so, returning homeward, having a piece of money given him of the cardinal at his departure, to the value of a French crown, towards his charges, came to Calais, as is aforesaid. Who, as he was there waiting, without the gate, for passage into England, and being there perceived by certain

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Calais men, namely, William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, through conference of talk, to be a learned man, and also well affected; and moreover how that he, being of late a zealous papist, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion: was by them heartily entreated to stay at Calais a certain space, and to read and preach there a day or two, therewith to do the people to understand what he had found by his painful travelling to Rome; whereby they, who, through gross ignorance and vain superstition, had not altogether put out of their hearts that antichrist of Rome, that ancient enemy of God and all godly religion, the pope, might the rather detest and abhor his filthy false doctrine, whereof this godly and learned man was a seeing witness. To this request Adam gladly consented, so as he might be licensed by such as were in authority so to do.

Whereupon the said Stephens, at the opening of the gates, brought him unto the Lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches of Calais, unto whom he declared thoroughly what conference and talk had been between Adam Damlip and him. Which known, the said lord deputy instantly desired the said Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying, that he should have both his licence and the commissary's also, which then was Sir John Butler, so to do. Where, after he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked, both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but also the lord deputy, and a great part of the council, gave him marvellous great praise and thanks for it; and the said lord deputy offered unto him a chamber in his own house, to dine and sup every meal at his own mess, to have a man or two of his to wait upon him, and to have whatsoever it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for money, yea, and what he would in his purse to buy books or otherwise, so as he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it should seem good to himself. Who, refusing his Lordship's great offer, most heartily thanked him for the same, and besought him to be only so good unto him as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the town, where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his book, and would daily, once in the forenoon, and again by one o'clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them, according unto the talent that God had lent him. At which answer the lord deputy greatly rejoiced, and thereupon sent for the aforesaid William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge the said Damlip in his house, promising, whatsoever he should demand, to see it paid with the most: and, moreover, would send every meal, from his own mess, a dish of the best unto them; and indeed so did, albeit the said Damlip refused that offer, showing his Lordship that thin diet was most convenient for students. Yet could not that restrain him, but that every meal he sent it.

This godly man, by the space of twenty days or more, once every day, at seven of the clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, mightily inveighing against all papistry, and confuting the same; but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, touching transubstantiation, and the pestilent propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient doctors; earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to return from their popery; declaring how popish he himself had been, and how, by the detestable wickedness that he did see universally in Rome, he was returned so far homeward, and now became an enemy, through God's grace, to all papistry: showing therewith, that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of Cardinal Pole (as you have heard

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before); but, for very conscience' sake, joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word, he now utterly abhorred all papistry, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued awhile reading in the chapter-house of the White Friars; but, the place being not big enough, he was desired to read in the pulpit: and so, proceeding in his lectures, (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the damnable doctrine of transubstantiation, and the real presence in the sacrament, as is aforesaid,) he came, at length, to speak against the pageant or picture set forth of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas's church, declaring the same to be but mere idolatry, and an illusion of the Frenchmen before Calais was English.

Upon which sermon or lecture, there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, Master Greenfield, Sir John Butler, commissary, the king's mason, and Smith, with others, that they should search whether there were (as was put in writing, and under bull and pardon) three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood; and if they that ever he came into the prison of the Tower, where he first felt the sweetness of God's great mercy towards him, and the certainty of his salvation, through faith in Christ, promised in his holy word; the knowledge whereof he had attained unto by the reading of God's holy word, the English Bible, which, all his life before, he disdained to look upon: for whose godly end many men much rejoiced, and gave God hearty thanks for the same.

This Smith continued in the diligent bestowing of his talent there, till, shortly after, the devil got such hold in the hearts of a number of God's enemies, that he, with divers other godly men, was called over into England, and charred with erroneous opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

And forasmuch as we have entered into the story of Calais. and matters which were done in that town, it cometh to remembrance of one Thomas Brook, an alderman of that town, and burgess of the parliament before mentioned, wherein was concluded, the next year after this, A. D. 1540, the Act of Six Articles, as is before said.

After this bill of the six articles had passed the higher house, and was brought to the burgesses of the lower house, the Lord Cromwell gave intelligence, not only that it was the king's Majesty's determinate pleasure to have the bill to pass in sort as it had come down from the Lords, but, also, that if any man should stand against it earnestly, the same should put himself in great danger of his life.

Notwithstanding, this Thomas Brook, with great danger and peril of his life, did repugn and refute the said bill, with divers reasons and good ground of Scripture: insomuch that a message came down, by Sir N. Pollard, from the Lord Cromwell to the said Brook, willing him, as he loved his life, not to speak against the said bill. Notwithstanding, Brook proceeding in his enterprise, the Lord Cromwell meeting him the next time after that, called him unto him, and said, that he never knew man play so desperate a part as to speak against that bill, unless he made a reckoning to be either hanged or burned: "but God," said he, "hath mightily preserved thee; whereof I am glad."

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This fear caused men, much against their consciences, (such is man's frailty,) to establish that act: but yet not in such sort as the bill came down from the Lords. For whereas before, by that first bill sent down, it was only felony for a priest to have, or to take unto him, a wife of his own, (though St. Paul say that marriage is honourable among all men. and willeth that every man, for the avoiding of fornication, should have his own wife; and, rendering as it were a cause thereof, affirmeth, that it is better to marry than to burn,) but no punishment at all was appointed for such shameless whoremongers, incontinent priests, as, contemning holy matrimony, abused themselves both with women married and unmarried: now, upon the said Brook's urging that unless men had better opinion of whoredom than of holy matrimony, (called of St. Paul a bed undefiled,) it was of necessity to be granted, that at least the incontinent life of priests unmarried, should, by that act, have like pain and punishment as those priests, who, not having the gift of continency, therefore entered into the holy yoke of matrimony. Whereupon the greater part of the house so fully agreed to the equal punishment, that unless it had been made felony as well for the one as the other, that act had never passed the house; and, therefore, equal punishment was assigned for either of those deeds in that session, though in the next session or parliament after, there was mitigation or qualification of the punishment for the horrible whoredom of priests; the marriage of priests standing still under the danger and punishment limited in the statute afore.

The said Brook further spoke to this effect:

He required to be certified of them that were learned, how it might be proved by the Scriptures, that God at all commanded laymen to receive the sacrament of his blessed body and blood in one kind, (to wit, in material bread,) to do it in remembrance of him who shed his blood for the remission of their sins, and to show the Lord's death until his coming: if it be so, that in giving this commandment, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drink ye all of this, no layman at all be included, but, contrariwise, this other kind of sacrament, to wit, the cup, or the material wine, be by God forbidden them: "For," said he, "if in that universal proposition, Drink ye all of this, be included every one of that number unto whom Christ, when he took bread in his hand, and gave thanks unto his heavenly Father, did give this commandment, saying, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body; do ye this in remembrance of me: then needs must our clergy grant unto us who be laymen, that either it is lawful for us also, with the priests, to receive the sacrament in both the kinds, (that is to wit, both in bread and the cup or wine,) or else, that we silly laymen are not commanded to receive the sacrament at all; and, consequently, neither thereby to remember him to be our merciful Saviour, who hath died for remission of our sins, nor to show his death until he come, whereby he declared his most tender love towards us." Wherefore, if it might not be granted that it was lawful to receive the blessed sacrament in both kinds, he required some authority of Scripture to be brought for the same; alleging further, that albeit, through gross ignorance, contempt of God's holy word, and the insatiable ambition and covetousness of such men as made merchandise of men's souls, (affirming in effect that Christ died in vain,) that gross and foolish error of transubstantiation hath within this four or five hundred year crept in, and, as a festered canker, now spread itself abroad in all those places where the bishop of Rome hath established his usurped authority: "yet," said Brook, "even unto this day, in all the Greek church that blind error and foolish opinion of transubstantiation hath never been received, and St. Paul himself calleth it bread, after those words which they call the consecration, five times in one chapter: neither hath man," said he, "I think, ever heretofore presumed to affirm, that the bread, after the consecration, should be both the body and blood, and the wine both the blood and body,

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in such sort as either of those kinds divided unto many parts, should, in every of those parts, contain the whole natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, as this present act affirmeth. Therefore, before this act do pass, such doubts are to be resolved, whereby many afterwards might incur danger of life, for lack of the plain explication of our meaning of them; as for example: Where this act affirmeth that the wine, after the consecration, is Christ's natural blood and body both, how would our clergy, that the silly unlearned layman should answer, if it were asked him, (as it is like enough to be,) what he believes to be in the chalice, when the priest holds it over his head. For they make an infusion, you know, of water, and that before the consecration; so that there is a mixture of the water and wine. Whether now shall we affirm the thing which before was water, is now by the commixion of the wine, turned with the wine into both the natural blood and body of Christ: or else, will it content them that it be answered thus, That the water remaineth water still?

"Divers such doubts might be put, but, to come to an end: If this bill must needs pass as an act, I most heartily wish that first such places of the Scripture, and allegations of holy fathers, as the bishops and others, the learned of this realm, do recite in confirmation of this doctrine, those they would vouchsafe to communicate unto this house, to the intent that men who be yet of contrary minds, being overcome by their true conference of the Scriptures, and by strength of arguments, might, without grudge of conscience, agree unto that, which, while they be otherwise minded, they cannot without sin grant unto. And finally, whereas by this act we greatly differ from many Christian realms and provinces, all which profess Christ's true religion, and, nevertheless, set not forth these laws at all, (much less with such pains of death,) I heartily beseech God, it may please the king's Majesty, that this whole act, with the conferences of Scriptures, allegation of doctors, and forms of arguments, which our clergy and others, the furtherers of this act, have brought in and affirmed for the establishing of it now for a law, may be truly translated into the Latin tongue; to this intent, that other nations likewise, professing Christ's religion, seeing by those authorities what hath moved this realm to pass this act, either being overcome with our truth, thus lately found out, may be procured to receive the like doctrine, for that they see it sufficiently proved to be sincere and true; or else, seeing us by ignorance to be in error, by refelling or refuting the same as erroneous, may not only reduce us to the truth again, but, also, have cause to judge of this realm, that this act passed not through trust in men's own wits only, without respect had to the Holy Scriptures of God, but, as men that had ignorantly fallen, and not obstinately contemned the Scriptures. So will it come to pass, that, if this act be good, the goodness thereof shall be the more common, and, if it be otherwise, it shall do the less hurt, yea, and continue the less while, when other men, not in thralldom, or fear of this law, shall freely, and out of good conscience, write and show, what opinion they have of it."

Unto these words of the said Brook, no man took upon him to make any direct answer, but yet, first, one Master Hall, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, in acknowledging that he was not able to refel the objections made against the bill, for that he lacked learning thereunto, said as followeth:

"That he would only speak his conscience touching the passing of that bill, which be grounded (he said) upon this: that he had read in chronicles, that some one prince of this realm had, by laws, commanded auricular confession to be used through all his provinces and dominions; another prince, the keeping of this holy day or that. And, to be short, in chronicles

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may be found," said he, "that the most part of ceremonies now used in the church of England, were by princes either first invented, or at leastwise established; and, as we see, the same do, till this day, continue. Whereas, if the subjects receiving the same ceremonies and rites of the church at their princes' order and commandment, had been against God's law, or the princes' commandment to the subjects had not been a sufficient discharge in their consciences before God, for the observing of them, I cannot think but the learned clergy in those days, (for in all ages some of the clergy were well learned,) would have stood therein, and proved to their princes, that it was not lawful to command such things.

"Wherefore, and forasmuch as far the greater part of us laymen are unlearned in the Scriptures and ancient doctors, methinketh it is the bounden duty of us that be subjects, to be obedient and ready to observe all such things touching our religion, according as our prince or sovereign for the time being, specially, with the consent of the bishops and the rest of the clergy, shall, at any time, please to set forth to be observed or believed; which his said commandment, with the clergy's consent, I verily believe shall be a sufficient discharge for us, his loving subjects, before the face of God," said he; "for it is written, Obey your king. Nevertheless, I like right well (so as it stood with the king's Majesty's pleasure) the request that the gentleman made that spake last before, for the quieting of many men's consciences that is, that the learned of this house might see the conferences of Scriptures, and the allegations of the ancient fathers, which the bishops, and the other learned of the clergy, bring in, for the passing of this act, or at leastwise, if that cannot be obtained, that yet this act, with all their allegations, might be printed in the Latin tongue, whereby other nations might see upon what ground we proceed. But, touching mine own conscience, I am sufficiently persuaded, whereupon I have showed such simple reasons as you have heard."

His words ended, Sir William Kingston, knight, comptroller of the king's house, much offended with the said Brook's word stood up and said: "Gentlemen! you there, that spoke last save one, I know not your name, nor indeed am able to dispute with you: but, instead of an argument, I will say thus much unto you: Tell this tale the twelfth day of July next, and I will bring a faggot to help to burn you withal" (on which twelfth day of July, that bloody act should take place). This his eloquent oration ended, he sat him down again, not without that he offended in a manner the whole house, and caused them to say, "It was very unseemly, that a gentleman of the house should so ungodly be used, where it was equally lawful for every man reverently to speak plainly his mind: besides that nothing was spoken by him but the same was reverently uttered, rather to try learning and truth of doctrine, than any wise in contempt or displeasure against the bill." Whereupon the speaker, verifying as much, desired the said Sir William Kingston not to be offended, for that he, Sir William, had done contrary to the order of the House, rather than the other.

But leaving the parliament at Westminster, I will leap to Calais, where the Lord Lisle, the king's deputy there, whom we showed to be the maintainer of Damlip, (albeit he were himself of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble blood, the base son of that noble prince King Edward the Fourth,) being fiercely set on, and incessantly enticed, by the wicked Lady Honor his wife, who was an utter enemy to God's honour, and, in idolatry, hypocrisy, and pride, incomparably evil, she being daily and hourly thereunto incited and provoked by Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, and John Rookwood, esquire, two enemies to God's word, beginning now to flourish at Calais.

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These, I say, with certain other of the council of the said town of Calais, to the number of seven more besides themselves, seeking occasion, or rather a quarrel where no just cause was given, began to write very heinous letters and grievous complaints unto the lords of the privy council, against divers of the town of Calais, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions; as first, the aforesaid Adam Damlip, who, though he were for a time escaped their hands, yet stuck still in their remembrance from time to time, until, at last, the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traitor, as hereafter shall appear.

Also, besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare; likewise of Sir John Butler, then commissary; of Sir W. Smith, James Cocke, alias Coppen de Hane, James Barber, and others; and the names of all them they sent over. Of the which persons, first the said Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare, Coppen de Hane, and James Barber, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to prison in Westminster Gate, and then commanded to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Chichester, and ten other appointed by the king's Majesty's commission for the examination of them. And their accusers were sent over with letters from the council there, unto his privy council here, in the furtherance of their malicious suits against those honest men, with certain special letters directed unto the Lord Fitzwilliam, then earl of Southampton, great admiral of England, and to the Lord Sands, lord chamberlain of the household; likewise also to Sir William Kingston, knight, comptroller of the household, and to Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester and others; tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preserved them, and as it were overshadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

That the same may the better appear, you shall understand, that first Ralph Hare, a man rude, and so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet, through God's grace, was very zealous; and therewith led so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This Ralph Hare was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread and holy water: yea, and beside that, he was one which would not lightly swear an oath, nor use almost any manner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his book. This poor simple man, being charged by the commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise, (coming out of a town so infected with pernicious errors and sects, as that was,) was willed by them to take good heed to himself, lest, through obstinacy, he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresy: for an error defended is heresy.

"My good Lords," said the poor man, "I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy. Wherefore, I beseech you, let my accusers come face to face before me: for, if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be truth, I will stand unto it: and otherwise, if it be an error, I will, with all my heart, utterly forsake it: I mean, if it be against Gods holy word. For the Lord is my witness, I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors; and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from then."

"Aha!" quoth the bishop of Winchester, "do you not hear what he saith, my Lord? I perceive now thou art a naughty fellow." "Alas, my Lord!" said Ralph Hare "what evil said I?"

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"Marry, sir, you said, 'the Lord!' 'the Lord,' and that is a badge of heretics," said Winchester. "What is that, my Lord? for God's sake tell me," said Hare. "Thou art naught, thou art naught," said he. At which words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayed. Wherewith the above-named Brook, standing by next to the said Hare, said, "My Lord! I beseech your Honour not to conceive evil opinion of the poor man for using this word, 'the Lord.' For, by your Lordship's favour, no man who at any time hath translated the Bible, hath used to English these two Hebrew words. Jehovah and Adonai, and this Greek word Κυριος [Greek: Kyrios], but only thus, 'the Lord.' So that, under your Lordship's correction, it might rather be called the badge of Christians, or pious men, than of heretics. "I pray you, sir, then," said the bishop of Winchester, "why doth Christ teach us to say, Our Father which art in heaven, and not, the Father?" "My Lord, by your favour," said Brook, "he useth there the vocative case, teaching us to invoke God; and joineth thereto this pronoun *noster*; so that this article, the, were not there to be used, neither should it express the full meaning of Christ in those words. But if your Lordship would descend down a little from the Lord's Prayer unto the Ave Maria or Salutation, there it manifestly appeareth, that the angel (in no part falsifying God's message committed to him) saith, ο κυριος μετα σου [Greek: O Kyrios meta son]: which is, truly turned into English, no otherwise but thus: The Lord (and not our Lord, nor thy Lord, nor my Lord) is with thee. Wherefore the poor man is there taught plainly of God, and that by an angel, to say (as he said) the Lord; and, therefore, he is worthy of no blame." At these words the bishop began to be much moved and offended: whereupon Dr. Gwent, dean of the Arches, one of those commissioners, said, "Well, Master Brook! well; you abuse my Lord here very much: it were a matter rather to be disputed of in the schools, than thus to be reasoned of openly here." Whereat the said Brook answered that he was sorry that he had offended my Lord, or any others; but what he had spoken, he spake it of charity, and pity taken on the simple poor man: and therewith he held his peace. But the truth is, that, through the cavillation of Winchester, rose more contention than profit needful about the Lord and our Lord, the papists holding with Winchester, and the other part with the Lord. But now, to return to the said Ralph Hare's examination again, within half an hour after Dr. Gwent had blamed the said Brook, for that he spake in the behalf of Ralph Hare, whilst the said Brook was there present, and standing by, he heard among the names of those that were, by the letters of the council of Calais, charged with pernicious errors and heresies, himself named and called. Some of the commissioners answered, "Yea, yea; but it makes no matter, let him alone till hereafter." At the muttering forth of these words, the said Brook stood forth and said, "I know, and it like your Honours, no Thomas Brook of Calais but myself. Is it your Lordships' pleasures to have any thing with me?" "Nay, Master Brook," answered the commissioners, "we may not meddle with you, and that you know right well: or else, we suppose, you would not have been here now. You consider you are a burges of the parliament." "Truth it is," said Brook, "that unworthily so I am; but if your Lordships and the rest of the commissioners have any thing wherewith to charge me, I here openly renounce the privilege of that high court, and submit myself to the laws of the realm, to answer to that which may be objected against me."

"Write, scribe!" said Winchester. And straightway the said Brook was commanded not to depart without licence. Furthermore, they commanded him to be had aside, lest he should give any instructions unto Ralph Hare. Then they called again for the said Ralph Hare, and there charged him with many heinous and detestable errors, especially that he was a great reader of the New Testament in English; that he was such a one that in deed neither used to take holy bread,

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holy water, holy ashes, nor holy palm, but spake against them, and against auricular confession also: wherefore, they threatened him, that if he would stand in the defence of these things, and of such others as would evidently be laid and proved against him, it would cost him his life.

These words drew the man yet into a greater agony and fear; which thing Winchester well perceiving. said unto him. "Ralph Hare! Ralph Hare! by my troth I pity thee much. For, in good faith, I think thee to be a good simple man, and of thyself wouldest mean well enough, but that thou hast had shrewd and subtle school-masters, that have seduced thee, good poor simple soul; and therefore I pity thee. And it were indeed pity that thou shouldest be burned, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and hast served the king right well in his wars. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the king as good service as ever thou wast; and we all will be a mean to his Grace to be good gracious lord unto thee, if thou wilt take pity of thyself, and leave thy errors. For I dare say for us all that be commissioners, that we would be loth that thou shouldest be cast away: for, alas! poor simple man, we perceive thou hast been seduced, I say, by others. How sayest thou therefore? thou knowest my Lord of Canterbury's Grace here is a good gentle lord, and would be loth thou shouldest be east away. Tell me, canst thou be content to submit thyself unto him, and to stand unto such order as he and we shall take in this matter? how sayest thou, man.? Speak!" The poor man therewith falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to my Lord's Grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, in this wise: "My good Lord! for Christ's sake be good unto me; and I refer myself unto your Grace's order, to do with me what you please."

Thu archbishop of Canterbury, considering what danger he was ready to fall in, and pitying the same, (though the simplicity of the man was so great that he perceived it not,) said, "Nay, Ralph Hare, stand up and advise thyself well, and commit not thyself to me, for I am but one man, and in commission but as the others are, so that it lieth in me to do nothing. But, if thou do commit thyself unto us all, then thou committest thyself unto the law, and the law is ordained to do every man right." "Go to, Ralph Hare," said Winchester, "submit thyself to my Lord and us: it is best for thee to do so." Whereupon he fell upon his knees again, and said, "My Lords and masters all! I submit myself wholly unto you." And therewith a book was holden him, and an oath given him to be obedient unto them, and to all ecclesiastical laws. And straightway he was enjoined to abjure, and to bear a faggot three several days; and, moreover, the poor man lost his whole living that he had at Calais.

This simple man, hearing his penance, piteously lamented, and earnestly at the first denied to stand thereunto, with piteous exclamation, saying, "O my Lord of Winchester! my Lord of Winchester! have you made me a log, ready to be laid upon the fire whensoever any wicked man falsely, of malice, by provocation of the devil, shall lay any small trifle to my charge? or shall I be thus handled, nothing proved to my face against me? Alas! I have always hated errors and heresies." "Content thyself, Hare, there is now no remedy: thou must either do thy penance, or be burned," said the commissioners. Thus have you heard how Ralph Hare did speed.

Then was Thomas Brook called for, against whom it was objected by some of the council's letters of Calais, that he was a seditious fellow. Among these accusers, besides the rest, was one Richard Long, another Francis Hastings, men at arms, who charged the aforementioned

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Thomas Brook, and one Jeffery Loveday, esquire, for staying and maintaining the aforesaid Adam Damlip at Calais, as who had promised unto him a stipend to preach such heresies and pernicious opinions as afterwards he taught there; and that these two daily gathered many several sums of money for the entertainment of the said Adam. Howbeit the aforesaid Hastings failed in the proof thereof: for Loveday proved that he was, eight days before Damlip's coming to Calais, and during fourteen days continually after he began to preach, abiding at Paris, there occupied about necessary affairs of Charles, duke of Suffolk. And Brook, during the said time, was at London, daily attendant in the parliament house, whereof he had enough to bear witness against that untrue surmise.

After that, came three at once against the said Brook, well armed, as they thought, who had not only consulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at Calais, besides their conference and talk by the way keeping company from thence hither, but also had obtained from the lord deputy, and others of the council, special letters, as is aforesaid, and, among other, one letter unto the bishop of Chichester, for the earnest and speedy furtherance of the advancement of their accusations against Brook.

The first of these three was a young gentleman lately brought up under the said Brook in the office of customs, whose name was Edmund Payton. The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both base born, and also such a one as, in his youth, for murdering a man with a club, in Bow Lane in London, was fain, by obtaining the king's pardon, to save his neck. The third was one Thomas Boyse, who, showing more honesty than the rest, affirmed not that he himself heard the said Brook speak any thing of that which was objected against him, but justified that which each of the other two had stedfastly affirmed to him, that Brook had spoken unto them those things which, here beneath, he said were objected against him.

The first young man objected against the said Brook, that he should say, that the thing which the priest useth to hold up over his head at mass, is not the natural body of Jesus Christ: for, if that were so, whoso would might have their stomach full of gods, their entrails full of gods; and the that had lately received the sacrament before he went to the sea, might haply cast god up again on shipboard.

And thus much he brought over in writing with him from Calais, and added thereto, as it should seem, to exasperate the commissioners and the rest of the clergy against him, certain other heinous words spoken against bishops and priests: as that the knaves, the bishops and priests, for their own gain and belly's sake, bare this layman so in hand, and would shamefully blear our eyes; which words he never spake; "for it did abhor both his heart and his ears, to hear either so shameful and unreverent words concerning the blessed sacrament, or so arrogant and disdainful words, spoken against the bishops, and other inferior ministers, unto whom God had given authority, though they, for the most part, were very unworthy thereof.)" confessing, nevertheless, that he had secret and private talk with the young man touching the truth of the sacrament, wherein he showed, as reverently as he could speak to the young man, the right use of the same: concluding that, albeit with our mouths we received very material bread and wine, yet, by faith, all Christian men do receive, eat, and drink, to their great comfort and benefit, the very natural body and blood of Christ, which was both born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered death on

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the cross for the remission of their sins: which most holy sacrament whoso cometh unworthily unto, the same was so far from eating of Christ's body and blood, that all such, without hearty repentance, do eat their own damnation. And, to conclude with him, in that private talk he told him, that if the gross and unlearned error of transubstantiation were indeed matter of truth and sincere doctrine, then not only this should follow of it, that every man who would, might have everlasting life, (for they might, when they would, receive the outward sacrament, seen with our eyes, which the priests call Christ's natural body, and whoso eateth Christ's natural body, and drinketh his blood, hath everlasting life, saith Christ,) but also there should great absurdities follow thereby, as when a man happeneth to go to sea, having lately received the sacrament, he should put it overboard, or upon the hatches; and, therefore, exhorted the said Payton to leave that gross error.

The second accuser was Poole, who objected against him, that, about two years past, he himself, dining with the said Brook with fifteen or sixteen other honest men, heard him to say thus at the table: that the thing which the priests use to hold up over their heads, was not the very body and blood of Christ, but a sacrament to put us in remembrance thereof. Unto whose objections the said Brook answered, that a man in mirth might well enough in charity beshrew such a guest as, when he had dined with a man, could, so long after, remember to say him such a grace: and required of Poole, from whence the rest of the guests were. He answered, they were of the town, all. Then inferred he, that he was sure Poole could as well remember some of their names which then were present, as freshly to keep in mind (for so by oath upon a book he had affirmed) every word of the whole matter which he objected; but for that the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the said Brook desired their Honours to consider the slenderness of his tale.

To be short, he, with the rest of his fellows, to wit, Ralph Hare, Coppen, and James the barber, were for that time dismissed.

During the time while these four were thus in examination at London, the other two, to wit, Sir William Smith, preacher, and John Butler, by commandment were apprehended in Calais, and bound by surety not to pass the gates of the town of Calais. In the which town, the said John Butler, commissary, was accused by Richard Thorpe and John Ford, soldiers of Calais, saying, that he should say, that if the sacrament of the altar be flesh, blood, and bone, then there is good *aqua vitæ* at John Spicer's. Upon which accusation the said Thorpe and Ford brought for records before the council of Calais, Marraunt, Haynes, John Luckes, Harry Husson, and Harry Trost, all of the district of Oye, beside Calais. Whereupon, shortly after, the said John Butler and Sir William Smith were sent for, and, by one Swallow a pursuivant, which fetched up the others aforesaid, brought into England, unto the house of the said Swallow dwelling by St. James's, where the king's Majesty lay at that time. And the next day, being Thursday, after dinner, Butler and Smith were brought to the Star-chamber before the privy council, where both sedition and heresy were objected against them. And after much talk it was said unto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they should make their purgation by the law. And from thence, by the aforesaid Swallow, they were sent to the Fleet.

The next day, being Friday, after dinner, Butler and Smith were sent for to come to Bath Place, where they were brought into the chapel, there sitting Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath, and Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester: Dr. Repse, the bishop of Norwich, who was a monk, being

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fast asleep. Then was objected unto Butler, with great reverence, the opprobrious words spoken against the blessed sacrament, rehearsing (as is aforesaid) the articles. Butler required to have them in writing, and so he would make answer in writing; the which they would not grant him: and upon that answer he stood. Then choler gathered in the bishop of Chichester. The story were too long to write, yet part ye shall understand.

Chichester found great fault that Butler made not low courtesy, being stubborn and arrogant, as he said, and, in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then, turning him about, he called to his brother Banester, being present, (that time dwelling in Paternoster Row,) to make answer for the shirt. He said, "I can make answer for the shirt." "No good answer," said Chichester. "Forsooth," said he, "the shirt is mine; I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any servant." "A good answer," said the bishop of Bath. Then Butler made low courtesy, and said, "The shirt is answered" Then Chichester said, "Thou mockest us;" but he said "No." And thus much concerning that time.

Then, after Butler, was Sir William Smith, curate of our Lady's parish in Calais, called before them, and charged in a manner with the same heinous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected against the said Ralph Hare; and thereto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against praying to saints, against doing of good works, and many other such-like things: and therewithal one Richard Long, a man-at-arms at Calais, proved against the said Sir William Smith, and the aforesaid Brook, by an oath taken upon a book, that the said Smith and Brook did eat flesh together in Lent, in the said Brook's house. "For a miller's boy," said he, "came into Brook's kitchen, and saw half a lamb lie a roasting at the fire." Whereas the truth is, that the said Sir William Smith, during all the Lent, came never once within the said Brook's house. And it is as true also, that the said Richard Long, upon a displeasure taken with his wife, went shortly after out of his own house, to the jutting end of the haven at Calais, where desperately he drowned himself; not one boy, but many men, women, girls, and boys seeing him miserably taken up again stark dead, all which lamented his pitiful ruin. A terrible example unto all such as are ready to forswear themselves on a book upon malice, or whatsoever other cause it be; a thing in these days over-rife every where, and almost no where regarded as it ought to be. But to return to Sir William Smith; for the heinousness of his errors, equal every whit to Ralph Hare's, and worse, (though there was no matter sufficient in the law to burden him, that could be proved,) yet he must needs (no remedy was there) recant at Calais, openly in the pulpit, and so depart the town and marches. Which recantation he did in such sort, as he in effect denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, and, therewith, was done according to the commissioners' order, whilst the other heretic, Ralph Hare, stood before him with a faggot on his shoulder: and, also, it seemed unto such of the council of Calais, as had by their letters complained so grievously of the pernicious sects and heresies of that town, that, now, what with the aforesaid Brooks inveighing against the six articles in the parliament-house, and the punishment of these two heretics, they had won their spurs by making such complaints: insomuch as the matters fell out as you hear.

There was also called before them Sir John Butler, then commissary of Calais, whom they would have burned with the maintenance, or, at the least wise, sufferance of the aforesaid Adam Damlip, which preached so long time there, and was not by him punished. Butler, for his

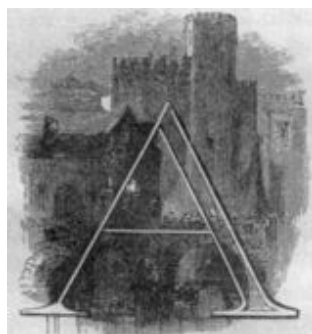
defence, answered, that the lord deputy, and the whole council there, so highly entertained, and so friendly used, the said Damlip, and with their own presence and high commendations outwardly so allowed and commended his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwise than he did; and therefore, humbly besought their Lordships and other the commissioners to be good unto him: at whose hands, after long attendance given, he was discharged, and so returned home again; being also dismissed of his commissaryship.

Now, to declare what order was taken with these aforesaid Calais men, it was appointed that Sir William Smith, priest, Ralph Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber, should be sent to Calais, there to abjure and to do penance; where Sir William Smith was enjoined to make the sermon, Ralph Hare, James Cooke, and James Barber standing with faggots upon their shoulders. The sermon was made in the market of Calais. Which being done, they went with their faggots about the marketplace, the drum and fife going before them; and then, returning to the commissioners with the testimonial of the same, they departed. Albeit, in this recantation, the said William Smith, curate of our Lady's church, handled his sermon after that sort, that, in effect, he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, according to the commissioners' order; appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the town and marches.

As touching James Barber aforesaid, forasmuch as his dwelling was not at Calais, but four miles off from the town, it was therefore enjoined him to bear his faggot, not at Calais, but on the Saturday next following to stand in the market there where he dwelt, with his faggot upon his shoulder; and the said Sir William Smith likewise there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the first commission sent over to Calais, to inquire upon the heretics there.

A new commission appointed and sent over to Calais.



FTER all these things done and past, the grudging minds of the adversaries were not yet satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the king's ears against the town of Calais, making the king believe that, through new opinions, the town was so divided, that it was in great danger to be overcome of the adversary.

Whereupon, shortly after the week before Easter next following, other new commissioners were sent over by the king to Calais: to wit, the earl of Sussex, lord great chamberlain; the Lord St. John; Sir John Gage, knight; Sir John Baker, knight; Master Layton, clerk of the closet; and Dr. Currin; with special instructions besides, signed by the king's Majesty's own hand. For his Highness had been incensed once again from the council of Calais, that the town was in peril, through dissension and diversity of opinions. Upon their arrival, Dr. Currin preached a notable sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but "charity," "charity." But, as it seemed afterwards, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the commissioners, that had not God pitied the innocency of men's causes, there had a hundred been burned or hanged shortly after.

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But it happened far otherwise, for, of the number of those accusers, four were, by those commissioners, sent over into England, to wit, Clement Philpot, servant to the Lord Lisle; Sir Edmund, curate of our Lady's church; W. Touched, a post-master; Peter Bequet. Of the which four, Touched and Bequet were sent to their places again; the other two were drawn, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of all them that were accused, there was not one that lost one hair of his head.

After the sermon was done, on the morrow, to wit, on Share-Thursday, all the commissioners solemnly received the sacrament. And, at afternoon, the council were with the commissioners; and after their consultation, tipstaves warned above the number of fourscore, such perverse persons as the like were not in the town or marches, to appear on the morrow at eight of the clock before the council at the Staple inn; who, at their appearance, were commanded upon their allegiance to present all such heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons, as they did know; and in no wise to doubt or dread so to do, for they should have great advantage thereby; yea, they should either have their livings or their goods: and, besides that, they should have great thanks at the king's Majesty's hand, and his honourable council, and what friendship they of the king's council there could show them.

All that Good Friday, even till ten of the clock at night, those wicked and malicious persons occupied their time in answering to sundry and divers questions. These things were not so secretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honest men's knowledge. Whereupon such fear and distrust assaulted all men, that neighbour distrusted neighbour, the master the servant, the servant the master, the husband the wife, the wife the husband, and almost every one the other, that lamentable it was to see how mourningly men and women went in the streets, hanging down their heads, showing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

Upon Easter Monday, one Hugh Councill, an honest mat., servant to the said Brook, was convent-ed before them, and by the space of fourteen days not suffered to return to his master's house, but was kept in custody; and was many times examined upon articles and interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of heresy or treason, against the said Brook; and the same day that Brook was committed to ward, the said Hugh Councill was discharged.

The Wednesday in the Easter week, sundry quests were charged, by their oaths, to make inquisition for all manner of heresies, erroneous opinions, and seditious: as a quest of aldermen, another of men-at-arms. and another of constables and vintners, another of common soldiers, and another of commoners.

And shortly after their presentments, on Good Friday, there were convented before the commissioners, and straight were sent to close prison, Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Harry Tournay, gentleman; Sir George Darby, priest; John Shepherd, William Pellam, William Keverdale, John Whitwood, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Copen de Hane, and Matthew de Hound: upon whom ran sundry bruits. Some said they should be hanged; some said burned; some said hanged, drawn, and quartered; some said nailed to the pillory: so that pitiful it was to see the lamentation that their wives, their children, servants, and friends, made secretly where they durst; for that they found every where words of discomfort, and no where of comfort, but still inquisition was made.

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The aforesaid William Stevens, after his return from London above-mentioned, besides many other articles laid to him for religion, to the number of forty or well nigh, was, by the lord deputy, charged that he had stayed the aforesaid Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and given him meat, drink, and lodging, coming from the arrant traitor Cardinal Pole, and suborned by him; and that he had received money of him, to the intent he should preach in Calais false and erroneous doctrine, whereby the town, being divided and at contention within itself, might easily be overcome and won by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the said Stevens answered, that whatsoever he had done unto the said Adam Damlip, he had done it at the earnest request and commandment of the said lord deputy. Whereupon, if it had been treason indeed, he must have been more faulty.

Then the said William Stevens was again, the second time, by the said commissioners sent over into England. and clapped in the Tower, and afterwards, to wit, immediately after the said commissioners' repair unto the king's Highness, the said lord deputy was sent for over, and likewise put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And when the king's Majesty minded to have been gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God took him out of this world, whose body resteth in the Tower, and his soul with God, I trust, in heaven: for he died very repentant. But the wicked lady, his wife, immediately upon his apprehension, fell distraught of mind, and so continued many years after. God, for his mercy, if she yet live, give her his grace to repent.

The second Monday after Easter, the aforesaid Brook was convented before the commissioners, and committed to close prison in the mayor's jail, whither no man of his calling was ever committed, unless sentence of death had first been pronounced against him; for otherwise the ordinance of the town was, that his prison should be only another alderman's house, with licence at night to lie at his own house. Then the council of Calais, doubting lest there should not be any sedition or heresy proved against him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied the comptroller's office in the Custom-house. This man was kept in close prison, so that neither his wife, then great with child, nor any other of his friends, might repair unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes been borne in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by Brook in the office of the Customs, and that the said Bradway should he grievously punished, if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the said Brook with some kind of concealment; the poor simple man, hoping thereby to get release of his imprisonment, accused the said Brook, that he had, for a long time, concealed four groats every day for his clerk's wages; and to that accusation they caused the simple man to set his own hand before witnesses.

Hereupon, after a day or two, the said Bradway, grieved in his conscience for the same his most untrue accusation, did, with a knife, enterprise to cut his own throat: but God, of his mercy, so directed his wicked purpose, that the back of his knife was towards his weasand; whereby, though the wound were broad, yet he escaped with life. And as he gave a groan with the sudden pain that he felt, the jailor came up, and bereft him of the knife. But, through the guiltiness of the false accusation, and shame of the world, the man lost his wits, who then, staring and dismayed, was dismissed out of prison, and a long time after went, in piteous case, so dismayed about the street, to the great impoverishing of him, his poor wife, and family.

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This kind of handling of the said Brook made all his friends, but especially his wife, to be greatly afraid of the malice of his enemies: the rather, also, for that all his goods and lands were seized, and his wife thrust into the meanest place of all his house, with her children and family; the keys of all the doors and chests also taken from her. Who, for that she was rigorously treated at Sir Edward Kinglet's hand, comptroller of the town, (an office of no small charge, though he knew not a "B" from a battledore, nor ever a letter of the book,) saying unto her, that if she liked not the room, he would thrust her quite out of the doors: "Well, .sir," said she, "well; the king's slaughterhouse had wrong, when you were made a gentleman." And with all speed she wrote a letter to the Lord Cromwell, therein discoursing how hardly and sore those poor men were handled, that were committed to ward and close prison; and that all men feared, (what through the malice of their papistical enemies, and the great rigour and ignorant zeal of those that were in authority,) they should shortly, for their faith and consciences, being true men, and such as reverently feared God, be put to death; but, chiefly, her husband, who was yet more extremely handled than any other: so that unless his Honour vouchsafed to be a means to the king's Majesty, that they, with their causes, might be sent over into England, they were but dead men. Sundry other letter she wrote to divers friends, to solicit the cause. But when, at noon time, a servant of hers was seen to receive again the same packet of letters, of one to whom before he had taken them to carry them into England, and now, because the passage served not till the afternoon, to carry them back to his mistress, he that so saw them declared so much to the commissioners, at dinner time. Whereupon they gave very strait commandment that the thing should be kept close, and strait wait laid for him, to whom any servant of his should deliver any letter: and that, attaching the same, they should be brought to them. Whereupon one Francis Hall, esquire, a man of great wisdom, godliness, and temperance, hearing what was said, and nothing distrusted of the commissioners, pretended a sudden qualm to come over his stomach, and rising from the table speedily told Mistress Brook what had happened; whereupon, with all speed, she writ as many other letters with like directions, but with far unlike contents. For unto the Lord Cromwell she highly advanced the honours, wisdom, and justice which she knew to abound in the honourable commissioners, doubting only, nevertheless. she said, the maliciousness of her husband's enemies and their untrue accusations, and, therewith, the weakness of her husband's body, greatly subject to sickness when it was best cherished: wherefore, though she assuredly knew her husband should have, at their Honours, true justice and equity, so as she would not wish any other in all England to be commissioners in their places, yet she most humbly besought his Lordship to write his favourable letters unto them, to this end, that in respect of his weakness and infirmity, he might have justice with as much expedition as conveniently might be; and, in the mean time, to let him have somewhat more liberty, and open air: and in the other letters to her friends she wrote like honour of the said commissioners, and also desired them to crave his Lordship's letters to like effect. These letters, closed and delivered as the first were, were straightway seized upon and brought to the commissioners, who immediately sent for her, and, the while opening the letters, and understanding the effect, they were, in their minds, well pleased with her; and, therefore, when she fell on her knees before them, and besought their Honours to be good unto her husband, and to forgive her, in that she had presumed to write in his behalf, which, she said, was but her bounden duty; they, thinking thereby to have comforted her well, bade her never take thought for him, (he was a naughty fellow,) saying, they would themselves bestow her much better, and, the rather, for her father's sake, whom they knew right well to be a man of good service, whom the king favoured well. So she departed from them, and the next day also, at three of the clock at afternoon, she sent one William Manton unto a house

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without the gates, where he kept himself close, till a mariner, appointed for that purpose, called him up at midnight, and, taking him alone into the ship, through God's goodness, set him on land in the morning before day; who, with speed repairing to the Lord Cromwell, made discourse of the whole state of his master and the other honest men.

Whereupon the said Lord Cromwell wrote speedily his letters unto the commissioners, declaring, that the king's Majesty's pleasure and commandment was, that the arrant traitor and heretic Brook, with a dozen or twenty complices, should, with their accusers, be immediately sent over, that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there, at Calais, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits. Now, by the time that the said commissioners had received these letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine score honest men more to be cast in prison: but these letters so appalled them, that they stayed, and afterwards sent no more to ward. But, making then as diligent inquisition as was possible, to have found some worthy matter against those before named, whereby there might have been some colour both of the council's grievous complaints, and of the commissioners' rigorous dealing; when no such thing could fall out, because they would be assured that they should not go unpunished, they first banished them the town and marches of Calais with a trumpet blown, under pain of death, for a hundred years and a day, (if that one day had been left out, all had been marred,) and then sent them back to prison: staying them there upon hope that the Lord Cromwell should come into captivity sooner than he did. But, at last, to wit, on May-day, they sent the thirteen prisoners through the market, the said Brook going before with irons on his legs, as the chief captain, the rest following him, two and two, without irons, unto shipboard, and then were they all coupled in irons, two and two together. Where, because they were loth to go under the hatches, Sir John Gage, with a staff, smote some of them cruelly. Whereupon Anthony Pickering said unto him, "Sir, I beseech you yet be as good to us, as ye would be to your horses or dogs; let us have a little air that we be not smothered." Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put down close, and they guarded and kept with a great company of men; and so, sailing forward, by God's merciful providence, were within four-and-twenty hours at anchor before the Tower of London. But by the way thitherward, upon what occasion it was not known, whilst the hatch stood open for the convenience of one of the prisoners, his fellow-prisoner the while for weariness, lying upon his hack and casting his arm over his face, the kettle, with the hot scalding beef-broth, fell down upon the prisoners, namely, upon the gown-sleeve of Brook and the boots of Tourney, whereby both the fur of the sleeve and the leather of the boot were scorched and crackled, yet neither the face nor the leg, through God's goodness, were hurt; which sight caused their keepers to be amazed, and to say, that surely they were men that God loved, and were wrongfully punished. And when the Lord Cromwell understood they were come, he commanded their irons to be smit off at the Tower wharf, and the prisoners to be brought unto him.

When he saw them, he smiled upon them, stedfastly beholding each of them, and then said, "Sirs! you must take pain for a time; go your way to the Fleet, and submit yourselves prisoners there, and shortly you shall know more." So indeed they did; and that evening he sent them word they should be of good cheer, for, if God sent him life, they should shortly go home with as much honesty as they came with shame.

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Whilst these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, to wit, the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. 1541, the aforesaid Lord Cromwell, for treason laid against him, was at Tower-hill beheaded, as is before specified in his story, who made there a very Christian end. Then had the poor Calais men great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But He, in the midst of their deep troubles and miseries, so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation and joy in him; so far forth that Matthew de Hound, one of these thirteen, who was in trouble only for that he heard Copen de Hane read a chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and country, as the rest, got, in short time, such instruction, that having therewith a soul and conscience fraught full of godly zeal unto God's glory', and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance out of the Fleet, for inveighing constantly against the wicked honouring of images, and praying to saints departed, he was cruelly, in a most constant faith and patience, burned in Flanders.

Now, therefore, when all hope in man was past, the right honourable Lord Audeley, lord chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged first the said thirteen that were in the Fleet, and at length, two years after, he delivered William Stevens also, by the king's own motion, out of the Tower; saying, at the discharging of those thirteen, "Sirs! pray for the king's Majesty; his pleasure is, that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings be taken from you, yet despair not, God will not see you lack. But, for God's sake, sirs, beware how you deal with popish priests; for, so God save my soul! some of them be knaves all. Sirs," said he, "I am commanded by the council to tell you, that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you, are called sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the king's Highness, for his Grace's pleasure is, that I should dismiss you; and so I do, and pity you all. Farewell, sirs!"

So, giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed dismissed as you have heard, being indeed in very poor estate; but not in so miserable estate as all those eight councillors of Calais were, within one year and a half after. For, whereas the other three councillors who seemed more favourable unto them, (to wit, the Lord Gray, Sir George Carew, and Sir Richard Grenville,) who purged the town of those slanders that untruly were raised upon it, were there-for, for a time, in their prince's high displeasure; within that year they were all three in greater favour with his Majesty than ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by year to him and to his heirs, who had least. The other eight councillors, unjustly charging them and the town with sedition and heresy, (that is to say, the Lord Lisle, the Lord Sands, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Kingsly, Robert Fowler, esquire, vice-treasurer; Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, called Long Palmer; William Simpson, esquire, under-marshal; and John Rockwood,) were either greatly out of their prince's favour, and in the Tower, or else were prisoners, or else by very desperate deaths, in outward appearance, taken out of this world.

For tediousness, I will rehearse but only the horrible end of the said Rockwood, the chief stirrer-up of all the afflictions afore spoken of; who, even to his last breath, staring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to ask God mercy, who was ready to forgive all

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that asked mercy of him, he brayed and cried out, "All too late, for I have sought maliciously the deaths of a number of the most honest men in the town; and though I so thought them in my heart, yet I did what lay in me to bring them to an evil death: all too late therefore, all too late!" Which same words he answered to one, who, at the departure of the thirteen in irons towards England, said, "Sir! I never saw men of such honesty so sharply corrected, and taking it so patiently and joyfully." Rockwood then, fetching a frisk or two, scoffingly answered, "All too late." The under-marshal suddenly fell down in the council-chamber, and never spake a word after, nor showed any token of remembrance. The plagues of the others also, as I am credibly informed, were little better.

The second apprehension of Adam Damlip; with his martyrdom.

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, how he, being convented before the bishops at Lambeth, and afterwards secretly admonished, and having money given him by his friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the bishops; after he had sent his allegations in writing unto them, departed into the west country, and there continued teaching a school a certain space. about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miserable inquisition of the six articles, and brought up to London, where he was, by Stephen Gardiner, commanded into the Marshalsea, and there lay the space of other two years or thereabouts.

During the imprisonment of this Damlip in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck (as partly ye heard before) was committed also unto the same prison, which was the morrow after Palm Sunday. The manner of that time so required, that at Easter every person must needs come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was enforced to come upon Easter-day to Sir George Bucker aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then confessor to the whole house. By this occasion John Marbeck, which had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lain there in prison, by whom and wherefore; who declared, moreover, his mind to Marbeck, to the effect as followeth: "And now, because," said he, "I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the bishop of Winchester, in an epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the west: I can but lose my life present, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my talent to God's glory. Wherefore, God willing, I will surely put it in proof."

This Damlip, for his honest and godly behaviour, was beloved of all the whole house, but especially of the keeper himself, whose name was Massy, whom he always called master; and being suffered to go at liberty within the house whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascal sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and kept them in such good order and awe, that the keeper thought himself to have a great treasure in him. And no less also Marbeck himself confesseth to have found great comfort by him; for, notwithstanding the strait precept given by the bishop of Winchester, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man, yet the said Adam many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

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Now, when he had made and drawn out his epistle, he delivered the same to his master the keeper, upon Saturday in the morning, which was about the second week before Whitsunday following, desiring him to deliver it at the court, to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper said, he would; and so did. The bishop, what quick speed he made for his despatch I know not, but thus it fell out, as ye shall hear.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners (who had tarried supper for his coming) saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the keeper, casting up his eyes upon Sir George, said, "O George! I can tell thee tidings." "What is that, master?" quoth he. "Upon Monday next thou and I must go to Calais." "To Calais, master? What to do?" "I know not," quoth the keeper: and pulled out of his purse a piece of wax with a little label of parchment hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when Sir George saw it, he said, "Well, well, master, now I know what the matter is." "What?" quoth the keeper. "Truly, master, I shall die in Calais" "Nay," quoth the keeper, "I trust it to be not so." "Yes, yes, master; it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for Sir George, as they there called him; who, notwithstanding, was merry himself. and did eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life: insomuch that some at the board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters!" quoth he, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein."

At length it came to pass, that by the bishop of Winchester's diligent pursuing of the aforesaid Adam Damlip, (for he was always excellent good at the sucking of innocent blood.) this godly man was gotten again into their hands, that first laid heresy to his charge: for on Monday, early in the morning before day, the keeper with three other of the knight-marshal's servants setting out of London, conveyed the said Adam Damlip to Calais upon the Ascension even, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon which day John Butler, the commissary aforesaid, and Sir Daniel, his curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison, and commandment given for no man to speak with Butler.

Upon Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The cause which first they laid to Ins charge, was for heresy. But, because by an act of parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned, (through which act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before,) yet, for the receiving of the aforesaid French crown of Cardinal Pole, (as you heard before;) he was condemned of treason, and in Calais cruelly put to death; being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The day before his execution, came unto him one Master Mote, then parson of our Lady's church in Calais, saying, "Your four quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the town." "And where shall my head be?" said Damlip. "Upon the Lantern gate," said Mote. Then Damlip answered, "Then shall I not need to provide for my burial." At his death, Sir Ralph Ellerker, knight, then knight-marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, "Despatch the knave; have done!" For Sir William Mote, appointed there to preach, declared to the people, how he had been a sower of seditious doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the general pardon, yet he

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was condemned for being a traitor against the king. To the which when Adam Damlip would have replied and purged himself, the aforesaid Sir Ralph Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away. And so, most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent martyr took his death, Sir Ralph Ellerker saying, that he would not away before he saw the traitor's heart out. But, shortly after, the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, in a skirmish or rout between the Frenchmen and us at Boulogne, was, among others, slain; whose only death sufficed not his enemies, but after they had stripped him stark naked, they shamefully mutilated him, and cut the heart out of his body; and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they showed such indignation against the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, more than against the rest.

As touching John Butler, and Sir Daniel his curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with Damlip, upon Sunday next following they were committed to John Massy aforesaid, keeper of the Marshalsea, and his company, and brought to the Marshalsea, where he and his curate continued nine months and more. At last, being sore laid unto by Sir George Gage, Sir John Baker, and Sir Thomas Arundel, knights, but especially by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, for the retaining of Adam Damlip, yet, by friends soliciting the king's Highness for him, (namely Sir Leonard Musgrave, and his brother Baunster, who were bound for his appearance in a thousand pounds,) he, at length, by great labour and long time, was discharged, and, at last, by licence permitted to return to Calais again.

Furthermore, as touching William Stevens above mentioned, who remained all this while prisoner in the Tower, the same also was condemned with Adam Damlip of treason; which was, for note and crime of popery, in lodging Adam Damlip the traitor, who came from Cardinal Pole, in his house, at the lord deputy's commandment. Notwithstanding, the king afterward, understanding more of the said William Stevens, how innocent he was from that crime, being known to all men to be an earnest and zealous protestant, gave him his pardon, and sent him borne again to Calais; and so, likewise, all the other thirteen above mentioned.

The story of a poor labouring man, and also of one Dodd, a Scotchman, burned in Calais.

By the credible information and writing of the said Calais men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of Calais, that after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in a certain company, he said that he would never he-here that a priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Harvey, commissary there; which Harvey, in time of his judgment inveighing against him with opprobrious words, said, that he was a heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man, (whose name yet I have not certainly learned,) answering for himself again, said that he was no heretic, but was in the faith of Christ: "And whereas thou sagest," said he, "that I shall die a vile death, thou thyself shalt die a viler death, and that shortly." And so it came to pass; for, within half a year after, the said Harvey was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for treason, in the said town of Calais.

After the burning of this poor man, there was also another certain scholar, counted to be a Scotchman, named Dodd, who, coming out of Germany, was there taken with certain German books about him; and, being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the truth that he had

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learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the said town of Calais, within the space of a year, or thereabouts, after the other godly martyr above mentioned.

The story of William Crossbowmaker, bearing a billet in Calais.

And, forasmuch as I am presently in hand with matters of Calais, I cannot pass from thence without the memory of another certain honest man of the same township, named William Button, alias Crossbowmaker; although the time of this story is a little more ancient in years: which story is this.

William Crossbowmaker, a soldier of Calais, and the king's servant, being a man (as some natures be) somewhat pleasantly disposed, used, when he met with priests, to demand of them certain merry questions of pastime; as these: Whether, if a man were suddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the pope's pardons instead of a broken paper?

Another question was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, dogs or priests? And if it were answered that dogs might rather be spared; to that he would reply again and infer, that if there were no dogs, we could make no more; but if there lacked ignorant priests, we might soon, and too soon, make too many of them.

It happened that in the time of Dr. Darly, parson of our Lady's church in Calais, being commissary there for Archbishop Warham, there came a Black Friar to Calais with the pope's pardons, who, for four pence, would deliver a soul out of purgatory. The friar was full of Romish virtues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This aforesaid William Button, alias Crossbowmaker, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his father and friends' souls, asked, if the holy father the pope could deliver souls out of purgatory? The friar said, "There is no doubt of that." "Why then," quoth Button, "doth not he, of charity, deliver all the souls thereout?" Of which words he was accused to the commissary; who, at his appearing before the said commissary, confessed to have asked such questions. The commissary, being angry thereat, said, "Doubtest thou thereof, thou heretic?" There was standing by a Black Friar named Capel, an Englishman, who said to the commissary, "There be ten thousand of these heretics between Gravelines and Triers." Button answered, "Master friar! of all men you may keep silence; for your coat hath been twice cut off from the faith. The first time your order was enjoined to have your black coat shorter than your white; and, for the second time, your order must go to the furthest part of their church, and there sing an anthem of our Lady." The commissary chafed at these words, calling Button "heretic," with many other opprobrious words. Then said Button to the commissary, "If your holy father the pope may deliver souls out of purgatory, and will not of charity deliver them, then, I would to God the king would make me pope, and I would surely deliver all out without money." At these words the commissary raged, and reviled Button exceedingly, causing him to bear a billet, and procured his wages (which were sixpence a day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the king's Majesty, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace, who sent him to Calais again, and gave him after that eight-pence a day.

207. Dr. London and the Goldsmith.

A notable example, wherein may appear as well the despite of Dr. London and other papists against the gospellers, as also the fidelity of a matron towards her husband.

Forasmuch as mention was made a little before of Dr. London, we will somewhat more add of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitful, to the intent it may more evidently appear, what truth and trust is to be looked for of this cruel kind of papists. This Dr. London was warden of New College in Oxford, where it happened that certain plate was stolen, and conveyed and brought up to London, and sold to a goldsmith, named William Callaway. This Callaway was a man of good and honest name and reputation among his neighbours, but especially earnest and zealous towards the gospel, and a great maintainer thereof. He had, oftentimes before, bought much plate of the same man without any peril or danger: wherefore, he doubted the less of his fidelity.

At last the principal of the theft being taken, and the goldsmith also, that was the buyer, being known, Dr. London, when he understood him to be a favourer of the gospel, (whereof he was an extreme adversary,) began straightways to be in a rage, and to swear great and deep oaths, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the goldsmith to the gallows, although it should cost him five hundred pounds. To be short, this good goldsmith was arraigned as accessory, and an action of felony brought against him. He, contrariwise, alleged, that they ought not to proceed against him, the principal being alive. Dr. London, on the contrary part, affirmed that the principal was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same college, and was alive, and but lately set at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the judge asked him what he could allege why he should not die? He required to have the privilege of his book according to the ancient custom and manner. But here it was objected against him that he had two wives, and therefore he might not have his book by the law: notwithstanding that, he never had two wives; but, because his wife had two husbands, it was imputed to him for bigamy.

Thus this good goldsmith, being secluded from all hope of life by the crafty spite of his malignant adversaries, his wife, being a woman of proved honesty and good fame, came in before the judges; and, perceiving her former marriage to be hurtful unto her husband, to save her husband's life, she took an oath before the judges that she was never married to more men than to the said goldsmith: and, although she had children by her other husband, and continued divers years with him, yet she sware that she was never married unto him. Thus this woman, by defaming of herself, to her great praise and singular example of love, delivered her innocent husband; thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach, than for her husband to die; less esteeming the loss of her good name, than of his life.

As touching the quality of this fact or perjury, I intermeddle not here to discuss, but leave it at large to the judgment of lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet, the true heart and faithful love between this man and his wife, counterpoising again as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many couples now-a-days, the more I think it worthy, not only to

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be praised, but also, for example's sake, to be notified. But, in the mean time, what shall we say to these priests and adversaries, who, in such sort violently do press and force the poor sheep of Christ, with peril of their conscience, unto such perjury; and that, in such causes, where no such truth is sought, but innocency oppressed, true religion persecuted, and only their spite and wrath against God's word wreaked.

208. Qualifications of the Act of the Six Articles.

During the time of these six articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death, yet so it happened by another contrary act, set forth before for the king's supremacy, (as ye have heard,) that the contrary sect also of the papists was not all in quiet. For, besides the death of More, and the bishop of Rochester, and the other Charterhouse monks, friars, and priests above specified, about this year, also, were condemned and executed by the same law two others, of whom one was a priest of Chelsea, named Lark, who was put to death at London for defending the bishop of Rome's supremacy above the king's authority: the other was Germain Gardiner, (near kinsman to Stephen Gardiner, and yet more near to his secret counsel, as it is supposed,) who, likewise, in practising for the pope against the king's jurisdiction, was taken with the manner, and so brought unto the gibbet.

Upon the detection of this Germain Gardiner, being secretary to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the king not to be unlike, but that the said Germain neither would, nor durst, ever attempt any such matter of popery, without some setting on or consent of the bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all his secrets, as he was. Whereby the king began somewhat more to smell and misdoubt the doings of the bishop; but yet the more in number, as the others who deposed against bishop so covertly and clearly conveyed his matters, playing under the board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort that (I cannot tell how) he still kept in with the king, to the great inquietation of the public state of the realm, and especially of Christ's church.

In declaring the dreadful law, before set forth, of the six articles, which was A.D. 1540, ye heard what penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, in like case as in treason and felony; so that no remedy of any recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another parliament, holden afterwards, A.D. 1544, by which parliament it was decreed, that such offenders as were convicted in the said articles for the first time, should be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid unto him by his ordinary, or, after his recantation, if he eftsoons offended again, then, for the second time, he should be admitted to abjure and bear a faggot; which if he deny to do, or else, being abjured, if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the law, &c. Although the straitness and rigour of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present parliament, yet, notwithstanding, the venom and poison of the errors and mischief of those articles remained still behind; not removed, but rather confirmed by this parliament aforesaid. By the which parliament, moreover, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the colour of religion; so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tyndale, or any others, having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words, or sentences, contrary to the six articles, were debarred. In like manner all songs, plays, and interludes, with all other books in English, containing matter of religion tending any way against the said articles, were abolished.

In the which parliament, furthermore, it was provided, that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers; yet was permitted, notwithstanding, to

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noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly, without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and besides, whereas before, the offender or defendant might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to purge and try himself, in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many, or more in number, as the others who deposed against him, &c.

After this parliament, moreover, followed another parliament, A.D. 1545, wherein other qualifications, more special, of the six articles were provided: that whereas before, the cruel statute of the six articles was so strait, that if any of the king's subjects had been complained of by any manner of person, as well being his enemy as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party so accused; and so thereupon to be attached, committed, and in fine to be condemned: it was, therefore, by this parliament provided, that all such presentments and indictments should not be brought before the commissioners, otherwise than by the oaths of twelve men, or more, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

"Item, That no such indictments or presentments should be taken, but within one year of the offences committed; or else the said indictments to stand void in the law.

"Item, That no person accused upon any such offence against the six articles, should be attached, or committed to ward, before he were thereof indicted, unless by special warrant from the king.

"Item, By the authority of the said parliament, it was considered and enacted, that if any preacher or reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be against the six articles, should be accused, but not within the space of forty days of the said his reading or preaching, then the party accused to be acquitted.

"Item, That the justices or inquirers of such presentments should have full power to alter and reform all panels of inquiry returned before them, in like manner as the justices of peace may do in their sessions, upon any other inquiries.

"Item, That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial, may have all manner of challenges, (peremptory only excepted,) as other persons arraigned for felony may have, by the laws of this realm."

By these qualifications and moderations of the six articles, it may appear that the king began somewhat to grow out of favour with Stephen Gardiner, and to descry his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somewhat in furthering the desolate cause of religion, as may appear both by these premises, and also by other provisions and determinations of the aforesaid parliament, A.D. 1545, wherein it was decreed by act of parliament, that the king should have full power and authority to appoint thirty-two persons; to wit, sixteen of the clergy, and sixteen of the temporalty, to peruse, oversee, and examine the canons, constitutions, and ordinances of the canon law, as well provincial as synodal; and so, according to their discretions, to set and

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establish an order of ecclesiastical laws, such as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be received and used within this realm: which statute, as it is most needful for the government of the Church of England, so, would God it had been brought to perfection!

209 John Athy, John Heywood, Kerby, and Roger Clarke

In this year, touching matters of history, we read no great thing worthy of memory, but only of two persons, John Athy and John Heywood. Of which two, we find first John Athy to be indicted by the king's writ for certain words against the sacrament, which words in the indictment are specified to be these: "That he would not believe in the thing which the knave priest made, neither in that which Long's wife selleth; but only in God that is in heaven. And, when it was told him that God, through his word, could make it flesh and blood, he answered, 'So he might, if he would, turn it into a chicken's leg:' meaning the sacrament of the altar."

The same year also followed the recantation of John Heywood; who although he was attached for treason, for denying the king's supremacy, yet, using the clemency of the king, upon his better reformation and amendment, he made an open and solemn recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the pope's usurped supremacy, and confessing the king to be chief supreme head and governor of this Church of England, all foreign authority and jurisdiction being excluded.

In the year aforesaid, 1545, as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth, by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in Scotland against Master George Wishart and divers other good men of the same country, about the same year of our Lord 1545, and somewhat before. But, because now we are come to the latter end almost of King Henry's reign, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few other English stories paining to that time; and, that finished, then set upon those matters of Scotland, joining them whole together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see, good reader, in the latter end and closing up of this king's reign.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, martyrs.



Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546, first passing over the priest, whose name was Saxy, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one Henry, with his servant, burned at Colchester; I will now proceed to the story of Kerby, and of Roger Clarke of Mendlesham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A.D. 1546, the Saturday before Gang-Monday, and brought before the Lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations, judgments, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, a bill was set upon the town-house door, (by whom, it was unknown,) and brought the next day unto the Lord Wentworth; who answered, that it was good counsel: which bill, in the latter end, shall appear.

In the mean time Kerby and Roger, being in the jailer's house, named John Bird, an honest and a good man, (who had checks divers times at the bar, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a keeper,) came in Master Robert Wingfield, son and heir of Humfrey Wingfield,

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knight, with Master Bruess of Wenham; who then, having conference with Kerby, (being then in a several chamber separate from the other,) Master Wingfield said to Kerby, "Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betimes to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink;" with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again, "Ah, Master Wingfield! be at my burning, and you shall say, There standeth a Christian soldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us, than he will give us strength to bear." "Ah, Kerby!" said Master Wingfield, "if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for, I promise thee, I am not so strong that I am able to burn," And so both the gentlemen, saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and so departed.

Now first, touching the behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the judgment-seat, the Lord Wentworth with all the rest of the justices there ready, the commissary also, by virtue of the statute *ex officio*, sitting next to the Lord Wentworth, but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion in all men's eyes, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time, while they might say the Lord's Prayer five or six times. That done, their articles were declared unto them with all circumstances of the law: and then it was demanded and inquired of them, Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest, (as Christ spake them to his apostles,) there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after?

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last supper, on Maundy Thursday at night, to his disciples, was only to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins; and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine; and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then, with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats besides, (if it would have served,) were these two poor men hardly laid to; but most at the hands of Foster, an inferior justice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live; and so continued unto the end.

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

Then did the Lord Wentworth talk secretly, putting hie head behind another justice that sat between them. The said Roger, perceiving that, said with a loud voice, "Speak out, my Lord! and if you have done any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy; and we, for our parts, do forgive you: and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before Him that shall judge all men;" with other like words.

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The Lord Wentworth, somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance, (through remorse, as it was thought,) said, "I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is." Then were Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to prison there, and Roger to St. Edmund's Bury. One of the two, bursting out with a loud voice, (Roger it is supposed,) thus spake with a vehemency: "Fight," said he, "for your God; for he hath not long to continue."

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, wood, broom, and straw, and did off his clothes unto his shirt, having a nightcap upon his head; and so was fastened to the stake with irons, there being in the gallery the Lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the justices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the gallery by the Lord Wentworth, Dr. Rugham, who was before a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice, and a stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the said doctor began to disable himself, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures, being unprovided because the time was so short; but that he hoped, in God's assistance, it should come well to pass.

All this while Kerby was trimming with irons and faggots, broom and straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Master Doctor, at last, entered into the sixth chapter of St. John, who, in handling that matter, so oft as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade the people believe him. But, when he did otherwise, he told him again, "You say not true; believe him not, good people." Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Dr. Rugham a false prophet. So when Master Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, "Thou, good man! dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby, answering boldly, said, "I do not so believe." "How dost thou believe?" said the doctor. Kerby said, "I do believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, on Maundy Thursday, to his disciples, (which ought of us likewise to be done,) is the death and passion, and his blood-shedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered: and (as I said before) yet bread, and more than bread; for that it is consecrated to a holy use." Then was Master Doctor in his dumps, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

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

Then Kerby, taking his nightcap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again; but, remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn *Te Deum*, and the Belief, with other prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, while Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done: you may execute your office, good Master Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands, so long as his remembrance would serve,

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and so ended his life; the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

On the Gang-Monday, A.D. 1546, about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke of Mendlesham was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury, and, by the way, the procession met with them; but he went on, and would not bow cap nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. And without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came, and kneeled down, and said Magnificat, in the English tongue, making as it were a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness, as any others, yet humbled herself to her Saviour. "And what sayest thou, John Baptist," said he, "the greatest of all men's children? Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." And thus, with a loud voice, he cried unto the people, while he was in fastening unto the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn; so that he was choked with smoke. And, moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith sore pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And, at length, one standing by took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, so pashed him, and struck him belike upon the head, that he shrank down on the one side into the fire; and so was dissolved.

In the beginning of this story of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certain bill put upon the Town-house door, and brought the next day to the Lord Wentworth, the words of which bill were these.

The bill set upon the Town-house door in Ipswich.

"Judge rightly, ye sons of men: yet, when ye shall judge, minister your justice with mercy.

"A fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God: be ye learned, therefore, in true knowledge, ye that judge the earth; lest the Lord be angry with you.

"The blood of the righteous shall be required at your hands. What though the veil hanged before Moses' face; yet at Christ's death it fell down.

"The stones will speak, if these should hold their peace: therefore harden not your hearts against the verity.

"For fearfully shall the Lord appear in the day of vengeance to the troubled in conscience. No excuse shall there be of ignorance, but every vat shall stand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorse in your conscience; fear him that may kill both body and soul.

"Beware of innocent blood-shedding; take heed of justice ignorantly ministered; work discreetly as the Scripture doth command: look to it, that ye make not the truth to be forsaken.

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"We beseech God to save our king, King Henry the Eighth, that he be not led into temptation. So be it."

210 King Henry's Acts and Proclamations, 1545-46

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

About the latter end of this year, 1545, in the month of November, when the king had subdued the Scots, and afterwards, joining together with the emperor, had invaded France, and had got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. In the which was granted unto him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure. Whereupon, in the month of December following, the king, after the wonted custom, came into the parliament-house to give his royal assent to such acts as were there passed; where, after an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he, answering again unto the same, not by the lord chancellor, (as the manner was,) but by himself, uttered forth this oration, word for word, as it is reported and left in story.

In the contents of which oration, first, eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and subventions, offered unto him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace, and unity. Whereunto if he had also joined the third part, that is, as in words he exhorted to unity, so he had begun indeed first himself to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects; that is, had removed the stumbling-block of the six articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbour against neighbour, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ: then, had he not only spoken, but also done, like a worthy prince. But of this, more shall be said in the sequel hereof, God willing.

The King's oration in the parliament-house.

"Although my chancellor for the time being hath, before this time, used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such orations as have been set forth in this high court of parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner as I myself am, and can do. Wherefore I, taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, Master Speaker! say, that whereas you, in the name of our well-beloved commons, have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all that you put me in remembrance of my duty, which is, to endeavour myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a prince or governor should or ought to have; of which gifts I recognise myself both bare and barren.

"But for such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending, with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me, such notable virtues and princely qualities, as you have alleged to be incorporate in my person.

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"These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, I eftsoons thank you again, that you, considering our great charges, (not for our pleasure, but for your defence; not for our gain, but to our great cost,) which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortress, which was to this realm most displeasent and noisome, and shall be, by God's grace, hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely, of your own mind, granted to us a certain subsidy here in an act specified; which, verily, we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I consider the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief, in my good doings and just proceedings; for that you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and other places specified in a certain act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of our commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the church to decay; or learning, which is so great a jewel, to be minished; or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved; you might say that I, being put in so special a trust as I am in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable man to mine even christened, neither a lover of the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

"Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoured his subjects than I do you, nor any subjects or commons more love and obey their sovereign lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor, if necessity require, shall my person be unadventured. Yet, although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue, except you, my lords temporal, and you, my lords spiritual, and you, my loving subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which is surely amiss and far out of order, to the which I most heartily require you; which is, that charity and concord is not among you, but discord and dissension beareth rule in every place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, in the thirteenth chapter, Charity is gentle, charity is not envious, charity is not proud, and so forth, in the said chapter. Behold then what love and charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other heretic, and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again papist, hypocrite, and Pharisee. Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these the signs of fraternal love between you? No, no, I assure that this lack of charity amongst yourselves will be the hinderance and assuaging of the fervent love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of the spirituality. For if I know a man which liveth in adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily, that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old mumpsimus, others be too busy and curious in their new sumpsimus.

"Thus all men almost be in variety and discord, and few or none do preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable

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persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do. Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them, in your sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's word, both by true preaching and good example-giving; or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant, and an untrue officer.

"Although (as I say) the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the temporality be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy; for you rail on bishops, speak slanderously of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God, the authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours; and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly err. And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own conscience, and to instruct your children and family; and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting-stock against priests and preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: and yet I am even as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it, in doing, so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor was God himself amongst Christians ever less revered, honoured, or served. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with another like brother and brother: love, dread, and fear God (to the which I, as your supreme head and sovereign lord, exhort and require you): and then, I doubt not but that that love and league which I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved or broken between us. And as touching the laws which be now made and concluded, I exhort you, the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same; or else your labour shall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing relieved."

Notes upon the aforesaid exhortation.

Princes who exhort to concord and charity do well; but princes who seek out the causes of discord, and reform the same, do much better. The papist and protestant, heretic and Pharisee, the old mumpsimus and the new sumpsimus, be terms of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, symptoms of a sore wound in the commonwealth. But he that will amend this wound must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof: otherwise, to cure the sore outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle still, it is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth hence: from the prelates and clergy of Rome, seeking, as it seemeth, altogether after riches, pomp, and honour of this world; who, to maintain the same under pretence of religion, do in very deed subvert religion. Under that title of the church, they bring into the church manifest errors and absurdities intolerable, who, pretending to be fathers of the church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightness of life, or negligence of government, they might be borne withal, for peace and concord's sake; and here

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modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity, might have place amongst modest natures. But now, they obscure the glory of the Son of God, which in no case ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the gospel; they clog men's consciences; they set up idolatry, and maintain idols; they bring in false invocation, and restrain lawful matrimony, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredom in the church unspeakable; they corrupt the sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute God's people: briefly, their doctrine is damnable, their laws be impious, their doings are detestable. And yet, after all this, they creep craftily into the hearts of princes, under the title of the church, and colour of concord; making kings and princes believe that all be heretics and schismatics, who will not be subject to their ordinary power. Now Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up again the hearts of his people to understand his truth, and to defend his cause. Whereupon, of these two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which can in no wise be quenched, but that one part must needs yield and give over. There is no neutrality, nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two contrary doctrines, but either the pope's errors must give place to God's word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them.

Wherefore, as the good intent, and plausible oration of the king, in this behalf, was to be not discommended, in exhorting his subjects to charity, so had he much more deserved commendation, if he had sought the right way to work charity, and to help innocency amongst his subjects, by taking away the impious law of the six articles, the mother of all division and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words ever so much to charity, and indeed to give a knife to the murderer's hand, to run upon his naked brother, which never in conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himself? as by experience here followeth to be seen, what charity ensued after this exhortation of the king to charity, by the racking and burning of good Anne Askew, with three other poor subjects of the king, within half a year after; whereof shortly you shall hear more declared.

When these chantries and colleges thus, by act of parliament, were given into the king's hands as is above remembered, (which was about the month of December, A.D. 1545,) the next Lent following, Dr. Crome, preaching in the Mercer's chapel, among other reasons and persuasions to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, inferred this (grounding upon the said act of parliament): that if trentals and chantry masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the parliament not well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which served principally to that purpose. But, if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then is it a plain case, that such chantries and private masses do nothing to confer and relieve them in purgatory. This dilemma of Dr. Crome, no doubt, was insoluble. But, notwithstanding, the charitable prelates, for all the king's late exhortation unto charity, were so charitable unto him, that on Easter next they brought him *coram nobis*, where they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity, according as they burned Anne Askew and her fellows in the month of July the year following: whose tragical story and cruel handling now, consequently, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

211. Anne Askew

The two examinations of the worthy servant of God, Mistress Anne Askew, daughter of Sir William Askew, knight, of Lincolnshire, martyred in Smithfield for the constant and faithful testimony of the truth.

The first examination before the inquisitors, A.D. 1545.

"To satisfy your expectation, good people," (said she,) "this was my first examination, in the year of Lord 1545, and in the month of March.

"First, Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler's Hall, being one of the quest, and asked, If I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really. Then I demanded this question of him, Wherefore was St. Stephen stoned to death? and he said, he could not tell Then I answered that no more would I assoil his vain question.

"Secondly, he said, that there was a woman who did testify that I should read, how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I showed him chapters vii. and xvii. of the Acts of the Apostles; what Stephen and Paul had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough.

"Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said, I had rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five masses in the temple. I confessed that I said no less; not for the dispraise of either of the Epistle or the Gospel, but because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul doth witness in 1 Cor. xiv., where he saith, If the trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?

"Fourthly, he laid unto my charge, that I should say, If an ill priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God.

"My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying: that whosoever he were that ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received, nevertheless, the body and blood of Christ.

"Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning confession. I answered him my meaning, which was, as St. James saith, that every man ought to acknowledge his faults to other, and the one to pray for the other.

"Sixthly, he asked me what I said to the king's book: and I answered him that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

"Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me. I answered, if I had not, I was but a reprobate or castaway.

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"Then he said, he had sent for a priest to examine me, who was there at hand. The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a papist.

"Eighthly, he asked me, if I did not think that private masses did help the souls departed. I said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

"Then they had me thence unto my lord mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things, as I answered the quest before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but by them; and that was, whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or no? This question did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer, but smiled.

"Then the bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For St. Paul, he said, forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God. I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is, in 1 Cor. xiv., that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching: and then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

"Then my lord mayor commanded me to ward. I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he made me short answer, that he would take none; Then was I had to the Compter, and there remained eleven days, no friend admitted to speak with me. But, in the mean time, there was a priest sent unto me, who said that he was commanded of the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel, which he did not. But, first, he asked me for what cause I was put in the Compter; and I told him, I could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded, that he was very sorry for me.

"Secondly, he said, it was told him that I should deny the sacrament of the altar. And I answered him again, that what I had said, I had said.

"Thirdly, he asked me, if I were content to be shriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then said he, 'I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer us to preach.' Then I answered with the saying of Solomon, By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scathe, Prov i. .5.

"Fourthly, he asked, If the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast did receive God or no? I answered, 'Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to assoil it yourself: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me.' And he said it was against the order of schools, that he who asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

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"Fifthly he asked me, if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or no? I answered, that else I were no Christian woman; and thereat I did rejoyce, that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

"The 23d day of March, my cousin Brittainne came into the Compter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my lord mayor, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My Lord answered him and said, that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay; howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a spiritual officer: requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For, he said, like as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

"So, upon that, he went to the chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my lord mayor. He answered him, that the matter was so heinous, that he durst not of himself do it, without my Lord of London were made privy thereunto. But, he said, he would speak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next morrow, and he should well know my Lord's pleasure. And upon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the chancellor and with my Lord bishop of London. The bishop declared unto him, that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication; and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the clock at afternoon. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the examination such learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report, that I was handled with no rigour. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then said the bishop, 'Yes, as I understand, she is affectioned to Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she doth know them to be learned and of a godly judgment.' Also he required my cousin Brittainne, that he should earnestly persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak; but, if I said any manner of thing amiss, he, with others more, would he glad to reform me therein, with most godly counsel.

"On the morrow after, the bishop of London sent for me at one of the clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also, in any wise, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, 'Forasmuch as your Lordship appointed three of the clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come.' Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those four men who were aforementioned and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should not need, because the two gentlemen which were my friends, were able enough to testify what I should say.

"Anon after he went into his gallery with Master Spilman, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, 'Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?' To whom I answered again and said, 'Sir, ask, I pray you, my accusers; for I know not as yet.' Then took he my book out of my hand, and. said, 'Such

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books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware,' said he, 'beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic, I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield.' And then I asked him, if he were certain and sure that it was true which he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the book was of John Frith's making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the book and showed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth: and so he departed from me.

"Immediately after came my cousin Brittainne in with divers others, as Master Hall of Gray's Inn, and such other like. Then my Lord of London persuaded my cousin Brittainne, as he had done oft before, which was, that I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise. My Lord said after that unto me; that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my friends and well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience; for he assured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For, like as he promised them, (he said,) he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage for any word that I should speak; and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

"Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude; that if a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would administer help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. 'In like case,' saith he, 'can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened.' I answered, that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

"Then you drive me,' saith he, 'to lay to your charge your own report, which is this: you did. say, 'He that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God.' To that I answered, 'I never spake such words: but, as I said before, both to the quest and to my lord mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ.' Then said the bishop unto me, 'What saying is this, in spirit? I will not take you at that advantage.' Then I answered, 'My Lord, without faith and spirit I cannot receive him worthily.'

"Then he laid unto me, that I should say, that the sacrament remaining in the pix, was but bread. I answered that I never said so; but indeed the quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, (I said,) till such a time as they had assoiled me this question of mine, Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

"Then said my Lord unto me, that I had alleged a certain text of the Scripture. I answered that I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that 'God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.' Then asked he me, what my faith and belief was in that matter? I answered him, 'I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.'

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"Then inquired he of me, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is in the body of Christ?' 'I believe,' said I, 'as the Scripture doth teach me.' Then asked he again, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is not the body of Christ?' My answer was still, 'I believe as the Scripture informeth me.' And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind: howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believed therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his holy apostles did leave them.

"Then he asked me, why I had so few words? And I answered, 'God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon saith, That a woman of few words is the gift of God,' Prov. ix. 13.

"Thirdly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, 'No, I said not so. Howbeit I say the quest did ask me whether private mass did relieve souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, 'O Lord! what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God?' Then said my Lord again, 'What an answer is that!' 'Though it be but mean,' said I, 'yet it is good enough for the question.'

"Then I told my Lord, that there was a priest which did hear what I said there before my lord mayor and them. 'With that the chancellor answered, 'Who was the same priest?' 'So she spake it in very deed,' saith he, 'before my lord mayor and me.'

"Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus: 'That I said to my Lord of London, I have said.' Then Dr. Standish desired my Lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same text of St. Paul's learning, that I, being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures; especially where so many wise learned men were.

"Then my Lord of London said, he was informed that one should ask of me, if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.

"Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth; which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, 'I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him papist.' That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet made I him none answer unto it.

"Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore priests at Lincoln. 'Indeed,' quoth I, I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the minster, reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.'

"Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him, yes; that there was one of them at last, which did speak to me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them.

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Then said my Lord, 'There are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter.' I said again, 'My Lord! I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.' Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance: but what it was, I have not all in my memory; for he would not suffer me to have the copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it:

"Be it known,' saith he, 'of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also, I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name.'

"There was somewhat more in it, which, because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked if I did agree to it. And I said again, 'I believe so much thereof, as the Holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that ye will add that thereunto. Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great chamber and read the same bill before the audience, who inveigled and willed me to set to my hand; saying also, that I had favour showed me. Then said the bishop, I might thank other, and not myself, for the favour that I found at his hand; for he considered, he said, that I had good friends, and also that I came of a worshipful stock.

"Then answered one Christopher, a servant unto Master Denny: 'Rather ought you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake, than for man's.' Then my Lord sat down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church.'"

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the writing of Bonner, which this godly woman said before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to infer the same, both with the whole circumstance of Bonner, and with the title thereunto prefixed by the registrar, and also with her own subscription: to the intent the reader, seeing the same subscription neither to agree with the time of the title above prefixed, nor with the subscription after the writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such bishops, and to such registrars. The tenor of Bonner's writing proceedeth thus:

"The true copy of the confession and belief of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, made before the bishop of London, the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1545; and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said bishop and others whose names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present: to the intent the world may see what credence is now to be given unto the same woman, who, in so short a time, hath so damnably altered and changed her opinion and belief; and therefore was rightly, in open court, arraigned and condemned."

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"Be it known to all faithful people, that, as touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, there is present really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also, whensoever the said sacrament is received, whether the receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do believe that, whether the said sacrament be then received of the minister, or else reserved to be put into the pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very body and blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the minister, or the receiver, be good or bad, yea, whether the sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed body of Christ really.

"And this thing, with all other things touching the sacrament and other sacraments of the church, and all things else touching the Christian belief, which are taught and declared in the king's Majesty's book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian people, I, Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, do truly and perfectly believe; and so here presently confess and acknowledge. And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say or do any thing against the premises, or against any of them. -In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name unto these presents.

"Written the 20th day of March, in the year of our Lord God 1545.

"By me, ANNE ASKEW,
otherwise called ANNE KYME."

"Witnesses: Edmund, bishop of London; John, bishop of Bath; Owen Oglethorp, doctor of divinity; Richard Smith, doctor of divinity; John Rudde, bachelor of divinity; William Pie, bachelor of divinity; John Wimsley, archdeacon of London; John Cook; Robert John; Francis Spilman; Edward Hall; Alexander Brett; Edmund Butts, with divers others more being then present."

Here mayest thou note, gentle reader, in this confession, both in the bishop and his register, a double sleight of false conveyance. For although the confession purporteth the words of the bishop's writing, whereunto she did set her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, mayest thou see that both she was arraigned and condemned before this was registered; and also, that she is falsely reported to have put to her hand, which indeed, by this her own book, appeareth not so to be, but after this manner and condition: "I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church, and not otherwise?" It followeth more in the story:

"Then, because I did add unto it 'the catholic church,' he flung into his chamber in a great fury. With that, my cousin Brittainne followed, desiring him, for God's sake, to be good lord unto me. He answered, that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Brittainne desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his Lordship's great wisdom.

"Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, that the cause why I did write there 'the catholic church,' was, that I understood not the church written afore. So, with much ado, they persuaded my Lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Brittainne, and Master Spilman of Gray's Inn.

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"This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law: howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the next morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guildhall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow, in Paul's church, which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman, at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge! Notwithstanding at the St, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognisance for my forth-coming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

"Written by me, ANNE ASKEW."

The latter apprehension and examination of the worthy martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, A.D. 1546.

"I do perceive, dear friend in the Lord, that thou art not yet persuaded thoroughly in the truth concerning the Lord's supper, because Christ said unto his apostles, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.

"In giving forth the bread as an outward sign or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect belief to receive that body of his which should die for the people, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and salvation of their souls. The bread and the wine were left us for a sacramental communion, or a mutual participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and blood-shedding, and that we should, in the end thereof, be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our redemption. For, in the closing up thereof he said thus, This do ye in remembrance of me: yea, so oft as ye shall eat it or drink it. Else should we have been forgetful of that we ought to have in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it. Therefore it is meet that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our foreheads the true meaning of the Holy Ghost concerning this communion. For St. Paul saith, The letter killeth; the Spirit is it only that giveth life. Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied unto faith: note also the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end thereof ye shall find, that The things which are seen are temporal, but they that are not seen are everlasting. Yea, look in Hebrews iii., and ye shall find that Christ as a son (and no servant) ruleth over his house, whose house are we, and not the dead temple, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of that hope to the end. Wherefore, as said the Holy Ghost, To-day if ye shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts, &c."

The sum of my examination before the king's council at Greenwich.

"Your request as concerning my prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this: I, being before the council, was asked of Master Kyme. I answered, that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not so do; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said, it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he

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not to hear two poor common women, much more his Grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So, in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits, also, of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said, I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said, I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, 'for if I show the open truth,' quoth I, ye will not accept it' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

"Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my Lady Garnish.

"The next day I was brought again before the council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the sacrament. I answered, that I already had said what I could say. Then, after divers words, they bade me go by. Then came my Lord Lisle, my Lord of Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said I to my Lord Parre and my Lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto, in few words, they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

"Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, 'So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ' Then desired the bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me why. I aid, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine.

"Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again of the sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I said, in the Scripture. Then he went his way. Then the bishop said I should be burned. I answered, that I had searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. 'Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.' Then was I commanded to stand aside. Then came to me Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion, we could not agree.

"Then they made me a bill of the sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto; but I would not. Then, on the Sunday, I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die: therefore I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremity of sickness; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray!"

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The confession of me, Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my belief.

"I find in the Scripture, that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you; meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being thereof an only sign or sacrament. For, after like manner of speaking, he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying his own body by the temple, as St. John declareth it, and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a communion of Christian love; although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof: for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the clearness thereof, I perceive the same veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel in the Bible, that, God dwelleth in nothing material. O king, saith Daniel, be not deceived; for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men. Oh! what stiff-necked people are these, that will always resist the Holy Ghost. But, as their fathers have done, so do they, because they have stony hearts.

"Written by me, Anne Askew, that neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; and as merry as one that is bound towards heaven."

"Truth is laid in prison. The law is turned to wormwood. And there can no right judgment go forth.

"Oh! forgive us all our sins, and receive us graciously. As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them; for it is thou, Lord, that art our God. Thou showest ever mercy unto the fatherless.

"Oh! if they would do this, saith the Lord, I should heal their sores, yea, with all my heart would I love them.

"O Ephraim, what have I to do with idols any more? Whoso is wise, shall understand this; and he that is rightly instructed will regard it, for the ways of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly, will walk in them; and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them.

"Solomon, saith St. Stephen, builded a house for the God of Jacob. Howbeit, the Highest of all dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet, Heaven is my seat, and earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it that I shall rest in? Hath not my hand made all things?

"Woman, believe me, saith Christ to the Samaritan, the time is at hand, that ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye wot not what; but we know what we worship: for salvation cometh of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and is now, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and verity.

"Labour not, saith Christ, for the meat that perisheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of man shall give you: for him hath God the Father sealed."

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The sum of the condemnation of me, Anne Askew, at the Guildhall.

"They said to me there, that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in my opinion. I answered, that I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But, as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not, I said, deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know, if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said, 'Yea: for the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, (mark it when you list,) let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.'

"After that, they willed me to have a priest; and then I smiled. Then they asked me, if it were not good; I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear with favour. And so we were condemned by a quest."

"My belief which I wrote to the council was this: 'That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our soul's recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion.' Then would they needs know, whether the bread in the box were God or no: I said, 'God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.' Then they demanded, 'Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?' I answered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witness whereof I recited again the history of Bel, Dan. xix., Acts vii. and xvii., and Matt. xxiv., concluding thus: 'I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; God have the praise thereof with thanks.'"

My letter sent to the lord chancellor.

"The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

"My duty to your Lordship remembered, &c.: It might please you to accept this my bold suit, as the suit of one who, upon due consideration, is moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to your Lordship, is only that it may please the same to be a mean for me to the king's Majesty, that his Grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me for the same, I think his Grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your Lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all saints, Amen.

"By your handmaid, Anne Askew."

My faith briefly written to the king's Grace.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your Grace, that, forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven

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and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency: and, according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe also so much as he willed me to follow and believe, and so much as the catholic church of him doth teach: for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning.

The cruel handling and racking of Anne Askew after her condemnation.

"The elect of my examination and handling since my departure from Newgate.

"On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Master Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God: but I did not esteem their glosing pretences.

"Then came there to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

"Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

"Then came Rich and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience, to show unto them, if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady of Suffolk, my Lady of Sussex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliam. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, that the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, that the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as dissembled with in other matters.

"Then commanded they me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me: and as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they, by her, did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

"Then they said that there were divers gentlewomen that gave me money: but I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers ladies that had sent me money. I answered, that there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of Hertford wait me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me: whether it were true or no, I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said, there were of the council that did maintain me: and I said, No.

"Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still, and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nigh dead.

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"Then the lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor; where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God (I thank his everlasting goodness) gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

"Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job; I thank my Lord God there-for. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing: if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die, than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!"

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower thus it was; first she was let down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his jailor to pinch her with the rack. Which being done as much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again: which because he denied to do, tendering the weakness of the woman, he was threatened therefore grievously of the said Wriothesley, saying, that he would signify his disobedience unto the king. And so consequently upon the same, he and Master Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves; first asking her, if she were with child. To whom she answering again, said, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me." And so, quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder, in such sort as she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, Wriothesley and his fellow took their horse towards the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, eftsoons taking boat, sped him to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the others, and so did; who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mistress Askew, and how he was threatened by the lord chancellor, because, at his commandment, not knowing his Highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he, for compassion, could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly craved his Highness's pardon. Which when the king had understood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the woman, and also granted to the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the warders and other officers of the Tower, waiting for his return; whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God there-for.

Anne Askew's answer unto John Lacels' letter.

"O friend, most dearly beloved in God! I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire

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you not to believe of me such wickedness: for I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, that what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's Majesty should have information thereof; wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well! their cruelty God forgive them. "Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell and pray."

The purgation or answer of Anne Askew, against the false surmises of her recantation.

"I have read the process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant a thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth but this: that I believed therein as the word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereinto my hand; but I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matter, they said.

"Then with mach ado, at the last I wrote thus: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word do agree to the same, and the true catholic church.' Then the bishop, being in great displeasure with me because I made doubts in my writing, commended me to prison, where I was awhile; but afterwards, by means of friends; I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to John vi., and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well, quoth Anne Askew."

The confession of faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate, before she suffered.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly Majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity. For I take him to witness, that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold: that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after those words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs say I, nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

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"Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart, and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps.

"There be some do say, that I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world: for my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I base now spoken, will I suffer death."

A prayer of Anne Askew.

"O Lord! I have more enemies now, than there be hairs on my head: yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but light thou, Lord, in my stead; for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them that are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done, unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it!

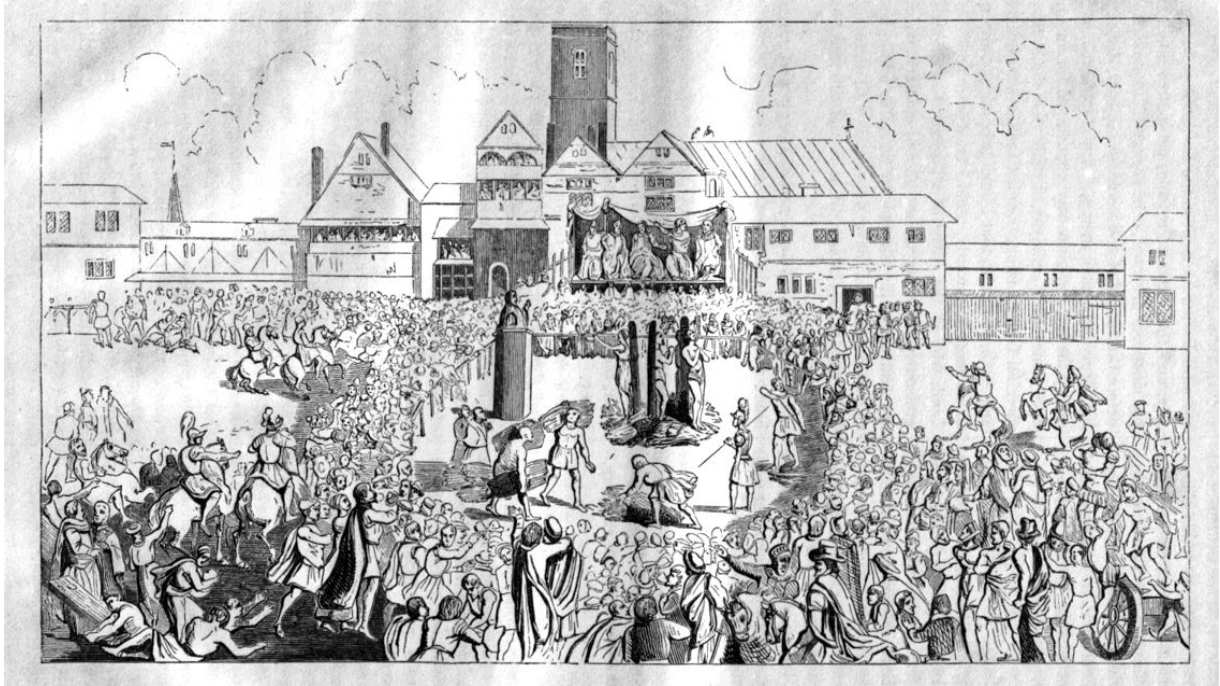
"By me, ANNE ASKEW."

Hitherto we have treated of this good woman: now it remaineth that we touch somewhat as concerning her end and martyrdom. After that she (being born of such stock and kindred that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would rather have followed the world than Christ) now had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret, the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, by means of her great torments. When she was brought unto the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain, that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Dr. Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew, hearing and answering again unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, "There," said she, "he misseth, and speaketh without the book."

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing there tied at three several stakes ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people was exceeding; the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench under St. Bartholomew's church sat Wriothlesley, chancellor of England; the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers others. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the bench, hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being alarmed lest the faggots, by strength of the gunpowder, would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the earl of Bedford, declaring unto him how the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots,

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but only about their bodies, to rid them out of their pain, which having vent, there was no danger to them of the faggots, so diminished that fear.



Anne Askew burned at the stake

Then Wriothesley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; who, refusing once to look upon them, made this answer again, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the letters likewise offered unto the others, who, in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, denied not only to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put unto them, cried with a loud voice, *Fiat justitia*.

And thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, being troubled se many manner of ways, and having passed through so many torments, having now ended the long course of her agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord A.D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

212. John Lacels, John Adams, And Nicholas Belenian.

There was, at the same time, also burned together with her, one Nicholas Belenian, priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, gentleman of the court and household of King Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew: for, albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they, being the more boldened, received occasion of greater comfort in that so painful and doleful kind of death; who, beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, did set apart all kind of fear.

Thus they, confirming one another with mutual exhortations, tarried looking for the tormentor and fire, which at the last, flaming round about them, consumed their blessed bodies in happy martyrdom, in the year of our salvation 1546, about the month of June.

There is also a certain letter extant, which the said John Lacels briefly wrote, being in prison, touching the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; wherein he doth both confute the error of them, who, being not contented with the spiritual receiving of the sacrament, will leave no substance of bread therein, and, also, confuteth the sinister interpretation of many thereupon: the tenor of which letter is as hereunder followeth.

The copy of the letter of John Lacels, written out of prison.

"St. Paul, because of sects and dissension among the Corinthians, wrote this Epistle unto them; and, in like case pertaining to my conscience, I do protest my whole heart in the blessed supper of the Lord; wherein I trust in God to bring nothing for me, but I shall be able, with God's holy word, to declare and manifest the same. And herein I take occasion to recite the saying of St. Paul, in the said Epistle, chap. xi., That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body, which is broken for you.

"Here, me seemeth, St. Paul durst not take upon him his Lord and Master's authority. Wherefore, as at God's hand the breaking of the most innocent and immaculate body and blood of Christ is the quietness of all men's consciences, the only remedy of our sins, and the redemption of mankind, which is called in the Scripture the daily offering: so the mass, which is the invention of man, (whose author is the pope of Rome, as it doth appear in Polydore Virgil and many others,) is the unquietness of all Christendom, a blasphemy unto Christ's blood, and (as Daniel calleth it) the abominable desolation, as the Scripture shall hereafter more manifest it. St. Paul was, belike, to learn of the Romans' church, the manner of the consecration, as they call it, with the breathing over the host, and other ceremonies besides, that he durst not take upon him to say, *Hoc est corpus meum*. But this I will admit: it was the Lord Jesus that made the supper; who also did finish it, and made an end of the only act of our salvation, not only here in this world, but with his Father in heaven; as he declareth himself, that he will drink no more of this bitter cup, till he drink it new in his Father's kingdom, where all bitterness shall be taken away.

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"Now, if any man be able to finish the act of our Saviour, in breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood here, and also to finish it with the Father in heaven, then let him say it. But I think that if men will look upon St. Paul's words well, they shall be forced to say, as St. Paul saith, The Lord Jesus said it; and once for all, which only was the fulfiller of it. For these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, were spoken of his natural presence, (which no man is able to deny,) because the act was finished on the cross, as the story doth plainly manifest it to them that have eyes. Now this bloody sacrifice is made an end of; the supper is finished, forasmuch as Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the flesh, and hath entered in by his own blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternal redemption.

"Here now followeth the administration of the supper of the Lord, which I will take at Christ's hands after the resurrection, although other men will not be ashamed to bring the wicked counsels of foolish inventions for them. And it came to pass, as Christ sat at meat with them, he took bread, blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them; and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vanished out of their sight. And the apostles did know him in breaking of bread.

"Here, also, it seemeth to me the apostles to follow their Master Christ, and to take the right use of the sacrament, and also to teach it to those that were converted to Christ, as mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, They continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and prayer; and they continued daily with one accord in the temple, and brake bread in every house, and did eat there with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God; and had favour with all the people. And St. Paul, following the same doctrine, doth plainly show the duty of the minister, and also of them that shall receive it: As oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death until he come. Here I do gather, that the minister hath no further power and authority than to preach and pronounce the Lord's death, or else to say, the Lord Jesus said it, which did fulfil it on the cross.

"Furthermore, I do stedfastly believe, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinance of Christ, the blessed and immaculate Lamb is present to the eyes of our faith, and so we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, which is, to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are sure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his Holy Spirit, even as the forefathers, that were before Christ's coming, did presently see the Lord's death, and did eat his body, and drink his blood.

"In this I do differ from the pope's church, that the priests have authority to make Christ's natural presence in the bread, for so doth he more than our Lord and Saviour did; as the example is manifest in Judas, who at Christ's hands received the same wine and bread as the other apostles did. But the pope and his adherents are even they whom Daniel speaketh of, saying, He shall set men to unhallow the sanctuary, and to put down the daily offering, and to set up the abominable desolation. Yea, he, of Rome, shall speak marvellous things against the God of heaven, and God of all gods, wherein he shall prosper so long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the conclusion is devised already. He shall not regard the God of heaven, nor the God of his fathers, yea, in his place shall he worship the mighty idol, and the god whom his fathers knew not, which is the god Maozim.

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"For lack of time, I leave the commemoration of the blessed supper of the Lord, and the abominable idol the mass, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the god Maozim. Read the second and last chapten of Daniel, and 2 Thess. ii., where they recite the abomination of desolation, which Matthew saith, standeth in the holy place, that is, in the consciences of men. Mark saith, where it ought not to stand, which is a plain denial of all the inventions of men. Farther, Luke saith, the time is at hand. Paul saith, the mystery of iniquity worketh already, yea, and shall continue till the appearance of Christ, which in my judgment is at hand.

"Now for the supper of the Lord, I do protest to take it as reverently as Christ left it, and as his apostles did use it, according to the testimonies of the prophets, the apostles, and our blessed Saviour Christ, which accordingly St. Paul to the Ephesians doth recite.

"Now, with quietness, I commit the whole world to their pastor and herdsman Jesus Christ, the only Saviour and true Messiah, and I commend my sovereign lord and master the king's Majesty, King Henry the Eighth, to God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ: the queen, and my lord the prince, with this whole realm, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lamb, that his blood may wash and purify their hearts and souls from all iniquity and sin, to God's glory, and to the salvation of their souls. I do protest, that the inward part of my heart doth groan for this; and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewell in Christ Jesu.

"John Lacels, late servant to the king, and now I trust to serve the everlasting King, with the testimony of my blood in Smithfield."

213. One Rogers, a Martyr, Burned in Norfolk.

Like as Winchester and other bishops did set on King Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, so Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich, did incite no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers in the county of Norfolk; who, much about the same year and time, was there condemned and suffered martyrdom for the six articles. After which time it was not long, but within a half year, both the king himself and the duke's house decayed: albeit, the duke's house, by God's grace, recovered again afterwards, and he himself converted to more moderation in this kind of dealing.

214. Katherine Parr

The story of Queen Katharine Parr, late queen, and wife to King Henry the Eighth wherein appeareth in what danger she was for the gospel, by means of Stephen Gardiner and others of his conspiracy; and how graciously she was preserved by her kind and loving husband the king.

After these stormy stories above recited, the course and order as well of the time as the matter of the story doth require now somewhat to treat, likewise, touching the troubles and afflictions of the virtuous and excellent lady, Queen Katharine Parr, the last wife to King Henry; the story whereof is this.

About the same time above noted, which was about the year after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that Queen Katharine Parr, at that time his wife, was very much given to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, and that she, for that purpose, had retained divers well learned and godly persons to instruct her thoroughly in the same; with whom as, at all times convenient, she used to have private conference touching spiritual matters, so also of ordinary; but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon, for the space of an hour, one of her said chaplains, in her privy chamber, made some collation to her and to her ladies and gentlewomen of her privy chamber, or others that were disposed to hear; in which sermons they oftentimes touched such abuses as in the church then were rife. As these things were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknown to the king; whereof, at first, and for a great time, he seemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the gospel, and the professors thereof) frankly to debate with the king touching religion, and therein flatly to discover herself; oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

And albeit the king grew, towards his latter end, very stern and opinionate, so that of few he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithstanding, towards her he refrained his accustomed manner, (unto others in like case used,) as appeared by great respects, either for the reverence of the cause, whereunto of himself he seemed well inclined, if some others could have ceased from seeking to pervert him, or else, for the singular affection which, until a very small time before his death, he always bare unto her. For never handmaid sought with more careful diligence to please her mistress, than she did, with all painful endeavour, apply herself, by all virtuous means, in all things to please his humour.

Moreover, besides the virtues of the mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, being things wherein the king was greatly delighted: and so enjoyed she the king's favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the gospel within this realm at that time, had not the malicious practice of certain enemies professed against the truth, (which at that time also were very great,) prevented the same, to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and

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certain others with her, if God had not marvellously succoured her in that distress. The conspirers and practisers of her death were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Wriothesley, then lord chancellor, and others, as well of the king's privy chamber, as of his privy council. These, seeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose) to revive, stir up, and kindle, evil and pernicious humours in their prince and sovereign lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then she stood in with the king, (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their antichristian sect, if it should continue,) and thereby to stop the passage of the gospel; and consequently, (having taken away her, who was the only patroness of the professors of the truth,) openly, without fear of check or controlment, with fire and sword, after their accustomed manner, to invade the small remainder, as they hoped, of that poor flock, made their wicked entry unto this their mischievous enterprise, after this manner following.

The king's Majesty, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although not in smaller matters, yet in causes of religion, as occasion served, the queen would not stick, in reverent terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of Scripture now and then to contrary; the which the king was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her hands he took all in good part, or, at least, did never show countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appal her adversaries to hear and see. During which time, perceiving her so thoroughly grounded in the king's favour, they durst not for their lives once open their lips unto the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back. And so long she continued this her accustomed usage, not only of hearing private sermons, (as is said,) but also of her free conference with the king in matters of religion, without all peril; until, at the last, by reason of his sore leg, (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase,) he waxed sickly, and therewithal froward, and difficult to be pleased.

In the time of this his sickness, he had left his accustomed manner of coming, and visiting the queen, and therefore she, according as she understood him, by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometime being sent for, at other times of herself, would come to visit him, either after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for her purpose: at which times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the king's accustomed patience, so that he began to show some tokens of misliking; and, contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the queen, to whom, notwithstanding, in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she, for that time, took her leave of his Majesty; who, after his manner, bidding her "Farewell, sweet heart!" (for that was his usual term to the queen,) licensed her to depart.

At this visitation chanced the bishop of Winchester aforementioned to be present, as also at the queen's taking her leave, (who very well had printed in his memory the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her tale, and falling into other matter,) and thought, that if the iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the king's humour were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the queen, as might both overthrow her, and all her endeavours; and only awaited some occasion to renew in the king's memory the former misliked argument. His expectation in

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that behalf did nothing fail him; for the king at that time showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words: "A good hearing," quoth he, "it is, when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife."

The bishop, hearing this, seemed to mislike that the queen should so much forget herself as to take upon her to stand in any argument with his Majesty, whom he, to his face, extolled for his rare virtues, and especially, for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above doctors professed in divinity; and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his Majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him, for his part, and other of his Majesty's councillors and servants, to hear the same; and that they all, by proof, knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters: inferring, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been, for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subjects' hands; who, as they take boldness to contrary their sovereign in words, so want they no will, but only power and strength, to overthrow them in deeds.

Besides this, that the religion by the queen so stiffly maintained, did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and politic government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the prince's estate so perilous, that (saving the reverence they bear unto her for his Majesty's sake) they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she did speak, and defending those arguments that she did defend, had, with indifferent justice, by law deserved death.

Howbeit, for his part, he would not, nor durst he, without good warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his Majesty, and the zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might, through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the prince's safety, without his Majesty would take upon him to be their protector, and as it were their buckler: which, if he would do, (as in respect of his own safety he ought not to refuse,) he, with others of his faithful councillors, could, within short time, disclose such treasons cloaked with this cloak of heresy, that his Majesty should easily perceive how perilous a matter it is, to cherish a serpent within his own bosom: howbeit, he would not, for his part, willingly deal in the matter, both for reverent respect aforesaid, and, also, for fear lest the faction was grown already too great, there, with the prince's safety, to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenance, and whispering together with them of that sect there present, he held his peace.

These, and such other kinds of Winchester's flattering phrases, marvellously whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate; for the assurance whereof, princes use not to be scrupulous to do any thing. Thus then Winchester, with his flattering words, seeking to frame the king's disposition after his own pleasure, so far crept into the king at that time, and, with doubtful fears he, with other his fellows, so filled the king's mistrustful mind, that before they departed the place, the king (to see,

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belike, what they would do) had given commandment, with warrant to certain of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the king, by their persuasions, pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, having any rigour or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this commission they departed for that time from the king, resolved to put their pernicious practice to as mischievous an execution.

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies and mischievous practices, as well to suborn accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to understand what books, by law forbidden, she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden, but by means, deal with her, they thought it best, at first, to begin with some of those ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her blood; the chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and privy to all her doings, were these: the Lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the Lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her cousin german; the Lady Tyrwit, of her privy chamber, and, for her virtuous disposition, in very great favour and credit with her.

It was devised that these three above named should, first of all, have been accused and brought to answer unto the six articles; and, upon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have been found whereby the queen might be charged; which, being found, the queen herself, presently, should have been taken, and likewise, by barge, carried by night unto the Tower. This platform thus devised, but yet in the end coming to no effect; the king, by those aforesaid, was forthwith made privy unto the device by Winchester and Wriothesley, and his consent thereunto demanded; who, (belike to prove the bishop's malice, how far it would presume,) like a wise politic prince, was contented dissemblingly to give his consent, and to allow of every circumstance; knowing, notwithstanding, in the end what he would do. And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaid, were appointed; which device yet after was changed.

The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his chamber or privy gallery; and few of his council, but by especial commandment, resorted unto him; these only except, who, by reason of this practice, used, oftener than ordinary, to repair unto him. This purpose so finely was handled, that it grew now within few days* of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen neither knew, nor suspected, any thing at all, and therefore used, after her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, still to deal with him touching religion, as before she did.

The king, all this while, gave her leave to utter her mind at the full, without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or misliking (ye must conceive) to bare her speedy despatch, but rather closely dissembling with them, to try out the uttermost of Winchester's fetches. Thus, after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him, (the time and day of Winchester's final date approaching fast upon,) it chanced that the king, of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in misliking her religion, brake the whole practice unto one of his physicians, either Dr. Wendy, or else Owen, but rather Wendy, as is supposed: pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled

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with such a doctress as she was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the parties above named, with all circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

The queen all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows; so closely was the matter conveyed. But, see what the Lord God (who from his eternal throne of wisdom seeth and despatcheth all the inventions of Ahithophel, and comprehendeth the wily, beguily, themselves) did for his poor handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

For, as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the bill of articles drawn against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand, (although dissemblingly, you must understand,) falling from the bosom of one of the aforesaid councillors, was found and taken up of some godly person, and brought immediately unto the queen; who, reading there articles comprised against her, and perceiving the king's own hand unto the same, for the sudden fear thereof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort as was lamentable to see, as certain of her ladies and gentlewomen, being yet alive, who were then present about her, can testify.

The king, hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians unto her; who, travailing about her, and seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery;. Then Wendy, who knew the cause better than the others, and perceiving, by her words, what the matter was, according to that the king before had told him, for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in secret manner, touching the said articles devised against her, which he himself (he said) knew right well to be true: although he stood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter the same to any living creature. Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that mischief that hanged over her head; beseeching her most instantly to use, all secrecy in that behalf, and exhorting her somewhat to frame and conform herself unto the king's mind, saying, he did not doubt but, if she would so do, and show her humble submission unto him, she should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

It was not long after this, but the king, hearing of the dangerous state wherein she yet still remained, came unto her himself; unto whom, after that she had uttered her grief, fearing lest his Majesty (she said) had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her, he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words so refreshed and appeased her careful mind, that she, upon the same, began somewhat to recover; and so the king, after he had tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

After this the queen, remembering with herself the words that Master Wendy had said unto her, devised how, by some good opportunity, she might repair to the king's presence. And so, first commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were against the law, the next night following, after supper, she (waited upon only by the Lady Herbert her sister, and the Lady

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Lane, who carried the candle before her) went unto the king's bed-chamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber; whom when the king did behold, very courteously he welcomed her, and, breaking off the talk which, before her coming, he had with the gentlemen aforesaid, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of religion, seeming as it were desirous to be resolved by the queen, of certain doubts which he propounded.

The queen, perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what sort to behave herself towards the king, with such answers resolved his questions as the time and opportunity present did require, mildly, and with reverent countenance, answering again after this manner:

"Your Majesty," quoth she, "doth right-well know, neither I myself am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as privy chamber and subject unto man as our head; from which head all our direction ought to proceed: and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments, even so, also, made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that, by his wisdom, such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

"Since, therefore, that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your Majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your Majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? which when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your Majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here in earth, next under God, to lean unto."

"Not so, by St. Mary," quoth the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, (as we take it,) and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your Majesty take it so," quoth the queen, "then hath your Majesty very much mistaken me, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly, and preposterous, for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband; but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And whereas I have, with your Majesty's leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your Majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your Majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your Majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your Majesty's learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereby: wherein, I assure your Majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself, in all such matters, unto your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

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"And is it even so, sweet heart!" quoth the king, "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then, perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added this, saying, that it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances never again in any sort more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasant discourses with the queen and lords, and the gentlemen standing by, in the end (being very far in the night) he gave her leave to depart: whom, in her absence, to the standers-by, he gave as singular and as affectuous commendations, as beforetime, to the bishop and the chancellor, (who then were neither of them present,) he seemed to dislike of her.

Now then, God be thanked! the king's mind was clean altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly showed) this tragical practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who, nothing understanding of the king's well-reformed mind and good disposition toward the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day's labour, which was the day determined to have carried the queen to the Tower.

The day and almost the hour appointed being come, the king, being disposed in the afternoon to take the air, (waited upon with two gentlemen only of his bed-chamber,) went into the garden, whither the queen also came, being sent for by the king himself, the three ladies above named alone waiting upon her; with whom the king, at that time, disposed himself to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before: when suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in cometh the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guards at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies aforesaid, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower. Whom then the king sternly beholding, breaking off with his mirth with the queen, stepping a little aside, called the chancellor unto him; who, upon his knees, spake certain words unto the king, but what they were, (for that they were softly spoken, and the king a pretty good distance from the queen,) it is not well known, but it is most certain that the king's replying unto him, was "Knavel!" for his answer; yea, "arrant knave! beast! and fool!" And with that the king commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. Which words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen did easily, with her ladies aforesaid, overhear them; which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming, as perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the lord chancellor out of the king's presence as he came, with all his train; the whole mould of all his device being utterly broken.

The king, after his departure, immediately returned to the queen; whom she, perceiving to be very much chafed, (albeit, coming towards her, he enforced himself to put on a merry countenance,) with as sweet words as she could utter, she endeavoured to qualify the king's displeasure, with request unto his Majesty in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended; saying, for his excuse, "that albeit she knew not what just cause his Majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error," and so besought his Majesty, (if the cause were at very heinous,) at her humble suit, to take it.



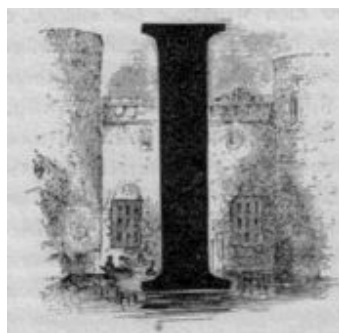
King Henry with Queen Katharine and the Lord Chancellor in the garden

"Ah! poor soul," quoth he, "thou little knowest how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweet heart! he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." To this the queen, in charitable manner replying, in few words ended that talk; having also, by God's only blessing, happily, for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel's sake.

215. Wicked Deeds Of Bishop Gardiner

The pestiferous purpose of this bishop, and of such-like bloody adversaries practising thus against the queen, and proceedings of God's gospel, (as ye have heard,) putteth me in remembrance of another like story of his wicked working in like manner, a little before; but much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen: which story, likewise, I thought here, as in convenient place, to be adjoined and notified, to be known to all posterity, according as I have it faithfully recorded and storied by him who heard it of the archbishop Cranmer's own mouth declared, in order and form as followeth.

A discourse touching a certain policy used by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry the Eighth from redressing of certain abuses of ceremonies in the church; being ambassador beyond the seas: also the communication of King Henry the Eighth, had with the ambassador of France at Hampton Court, concerning the reformation of religion, as well in France as in England, A.D. 1546, in the month of August.



IT chanced in the time of King Henry the Eighth, when his Highness did lastly (not many years before his death) conclude a league between the emperor, the French king, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner by name, was sent in embassy beyond the seas for that purpose; in whose absence the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, attending upon the king's court, sought occasion somewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion, not yet fully restored unto perfection. For, like as the said archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so was that other bishop a contrary instrument, continually spurning against the same, in whatsoever coast of the world he remained. For, even now, he, being beyond the seas, in the temporal affairs of the realm, forgat not, but found the means, as a most valiant champion of the bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder, as well the good diligence of the said archbishop, as the godly disposition of the king's Majesty in that behalf, which thus chanced:

Whilst the said bishop of Winchester was now remaining beyond the seas about the affairs aforesaid, the king's Majesty and the said archbishop having conference together for the reformation of some superstitions enormities in the church, amongst other things the king determined forthwith to pull down the roods in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallow-night, with a few such-like vain ceremonies; and therefore, when the said archbishop took his leave of the king to go into Kent, his diocese, his Highness willed him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised: "By me," quoth the king, "to be signed; the one to be directed unto you, my Lord, and the other unto the archbishop of York, wherein I will command you both, to send forth your precepts unto all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies reformed undelayedly, that we have communed of."

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So upon this, the king's pleasure known, when the archbishop of Canterbury was then come into Kent, he caused his secretary to conceive and write these letters according to the king's mind; and, being made in a readiness, sent them to the court to Sir Anthony Denny, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denny had moved the king thereunto, the king made this answer:

"I am now otherways resolved, for you shall send my Lord of Canterbury word, that since I spake with him about these matters, I have received letters from my Lord of Winchester, now being on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us, the emperor, and the French king, and he writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done. Wherefore, my Lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbear until we may espy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose."

Which matter of reformation began to be revived again, at what time the great ambassador from the French king came to the king's Majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death; where then no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his lord and master, without a velvet coat, and a chain of gold. And, for that entertainment of the ambassador, were builded in the park there three very notable, great, and sumptuous banqueting-houses; at the which it was purposed, that the said ambassador should have been, three sundry nights, very richly banqueted. But, as it chanced, the French king's great affairs were then suddenly such, that this ambassador was sent for home in post-haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, so that he had but the fruition of the first banqueting-house.

Now, what prince-like order was there used, in the furniture of the banquet, as well in placing of the noble estates, namely, the king's Majesty, and the French ambassador, with the noble men both of England and France on the one part, and of the queen's Highness and the Lady Anne of Cleves, with other noble women and ladies on the other part, as also touching the great and sumptuous preparation of both costly and fine dishes there out of number spent, it is not our purpose here presently to treat thereof, but only to consider and note the conference and communication had the first night after the said banquet was finished, between the king's Majesty, the said ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury, (the king's Highness standing openly in the banqueting-house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arm upon the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arm upon the shoulder of the ambassador,) touching the establishing of godly religion between those two princes in both their realms: as, by the report of the said archbishop unto his secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in King Edward's visitation, then being registrar in the same visitation, relation was made on that behalf in this sort:

When the said visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners should proceed in their voyage, the said archbishop sent for the said registrar, his man, unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make notes of certain things in the said visitation; whereof he gave unto him instruction: having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the said visitation. Upon which occasion the registrar said thus unto his master the archbishop.

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Registrar:—"I do remember, that you, not long ago, caused me to conceive and write letters, which King Henry the Eighth should have signed, and have directed unto your Grace and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow-night, and such-like vain ceremonies: which letters your Grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's Majesty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein."

"Why," quoth the archbishop again, "never heard you how those letters were suppressed and stopped?" Whereunto the archbishop's servant answering again: "As it was," said he, "my duty to write those letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon." "Marry:" quoth the archbishop, "my Lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation should here pass in the realm touching religion, in his absence, against his appetite, wrote to the king's Majesty, bearing him in hand that the league then towards, would not prosper nor go forwards on his Majesty's behalf, if he made any other innovation or alteration in religion, or in the ceremonies in the church. than was already done; which his advertisement herein caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denny wrote to me by the king's commandment."

Then said his servant again unto him, "Forasmuch as the king's good intent took no place then, now your Grace may go forward in those matters, the opportunity of the time much better serving thereunto than in King Henry's days."

"Not so," quoth the archbishop. "It was better to attempt such reformation in King Henry the Eighth's days than at this time; the king being in his infancy. For, if the king's father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it? Marry! we are now in doubt how men will take the change, or alteration of abuses, in the church; and, therefore, the council hath forborne especially to speak thereof, and of other things which gladly they would have reformed in this visitation, referring all those and such-like matters unto the discretions of the visitors. But, if King Henry the Eighth had lived unto this day with the French king, it had been past my Lord of Winchester's power to have visored the king's Highness, as he did when he was about the same league."

"I am sure you were at Hampton Court," quoth the archbishop, "when the French king's ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting-houses, not long before the king's death; namely, when, after the banquet was done the first night, the king leaning upon the ambassador and upon me: if I should tell what a communication between the king's Highness and the said ambassador was had concerning the establishing of sincere religion then, a man would hardly have believed it: nor had I myself thought the king's Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you, it passed the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it that few in England would have believed, that the king's Majesty and the French king had been at this point, not only, within half a year after, to have changed the mass in both the realms into a communion, (as we now use it,) but also utterly to have extirped and banished the bishop of Rome, and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions. Yea, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the emperor to do the like in Flanders and other his countries and seigniories; or

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else they would break off from him. And herein the king's Highness willed me," quoth the archbishop, "to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French king, to consider of. But the deep and most secret providence of Almighty God, owing to this realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these princes."

A brief narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.

Here would also something be said of Sir George Blage, one of the king's privy chamber, who, being falsely accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and Master Littleton, was sent for by Wriothesley, lord chancellor, the Sunday before Anne Askew suffered, and the next day was carried to Newgate, and from thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the Wednesday following. The words which his accusers laid unto him were these: "What if a mouse should eat the bread? then, by my consent, they should hang up the mouse:" whereas, indeed, these words he never spake, as to his life's end he protested. But the truth (as he said) was this, that they, craftily to undermine him, walking with him in Paula church after a sermon of Dr. Crome, asked if he were at the sermon. He said, "Yea." "I heard say," saith Master Littleton, "that he said in his sermon, that the mass profiteth neither for the quick, nor for the dead." "No," saith Master Blage. "Wherefore then?" "Belike for a gentleman when he rideth a hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling." And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended, (as showed,) and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among them of the privy chamber, the king, hearing them whispering together, (which he could never abide,) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and suit made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford, then lord privy seal, the king, being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his privy chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wriothesley, commanding eftsoons to draw out his pardon himself, and so was he set at liberty: who, coming after to the king's presence, "Ah! my pig" (saith the king to him, for so he was wont to call him). "Yea," said he, "if your Majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere this time."

But to let this matter of Sir George Blage pass, we will now reduce our story again to Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, who, the same week, were burned, and could find no pardon.

216. Suppression of Books; Tyndale's Condemned.

Then the catholic fathers, when they had brought this Christian woman, with the residue, as above hath been declared, unto their rest, they, being now in their ruff and triumph, like as the Pharisees, when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised with themselves how to keep him down still, and to overtread truth for ever. Whereupon, consulting with certain of the council, they made out a strait and hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all such English books as might give any light to the setting forth of God's true word, and the grace of the gospel: the copy and tenor of which proclamation is this, as followeth:

"The king's most excellent Majesty – understanding how, under pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, divers lewd and evil-disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books imprinted in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and his word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's Majesty in this his realm; his Highness, minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said books, is enforced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as followeth:

"First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever be or they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament, of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year of his Majesty's most noble reign; nor, after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be, set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndale, Wickliff, Joye, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them; or any other book or books containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year thirty-four, or thirty-five; but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English book or books, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts aforesaid as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese; to the intent the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the king's Majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the king's Majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming.

"And, to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the king's Majesty is most graciously

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contented, by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books; and commandeth that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved and convicted, by sufficient witness, before four of the king's most honourable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's Majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his Highness for the same, as by his Majesty, or four of his Grace's said council, shall be determined, &c.

"Finally, His Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute any English book, printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person dwelling within this his Grace's realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his Highness's express grant, to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited; and therewithal to incur his Majesty's extreme indignation."

Forasmuch as it is, and always hath been, the common guise and practice of the pope's church, to extinguish, condemn, and abolish all good books and wholesome treatises of learned men, under a false pretence of errors and heresies, whereof examples abundantly appear in this history above: now, for the better trial hereof, to see and try the impudent and shameless vanity of these catholic clergymen, in mistaking, falsifying, depraving, blaspheming, and slandering, where they have no cause, against all right and honest dealing, yea, against their own knowledge, conscience, and manifest verity of God's word; I shall therefore desire the attentive reader, before we pass any further, to consider and expend here two things by the way: First, what opinions and articles these men gather out of their books for errors and heresies. Secondly, how wittingly and willingly they wrest, pervert, and misconstrue their sayings and writings in such sense as the writers never spake nor meant; and all, to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their books.

So did they before with John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome: so did they with Martin Luther, Tyndale, Frith, Lambert, Barnes, Joye, Roy, Seton; and, briefly, yet do still with all the protestants, either perverting their sayings otherwise than they meant, or noting for heresies such as are manifest principles and grounds of our religion: or else falsely belying them, or untruly mistaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may serve for their most advantage, to bring them out of credit with princes and all the people.

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou shalt see here, Christian reader, as in a table laid before thine eyes, the book or catalogue of such errors, blasphemies, and heresies, which the catholic papists in their own registers have extracted out of their books, whom in this, and other proclamations, they have condemned. Whereunto, moreover, we have

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annexed the very places also of the authors, out of which every article is gathered, keeping the same signature of verse and page, which they in their registers do send us unto. So that with little diligence thou mayest now, loving reader, easily perceive, conferring the articles and places together, what truth and fidelity these bloody catholics have used toward the children of God: first, in burning up their bodies; then, in consuming and abolishing their books; and afterwards, in drawing out articles, such as they list themselves, out of their works, to make the people believe what damnable heretics they were, as by these articles hereunder ensuing, collected and contained in their own registers, may well appear. In all which articles, there is not one (speaking of these writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect truth, and a principle of Christian doctrine, or else it is falsely gathered, or perversely recited, or craftily handled, and maliciously mangled; having either something cut from it, or some more added, or else racked out of his right place, or wrested to a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath always been a common practice amongst God's enemies from the beginning, to falsify, wrest, and deprave all things, whatsoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it ever so true and just. So began they with Stephen, the first martyr of Jesus Christ, and so have they continued still, and yet do to this present day.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold, what spite and falsehood were used in the articles of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wickliff, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, Sir John Oldcastle, John Huss, the Bohemians, and such others: which thing, if the books and places whence these articles were gathered against them had been suffered to remain, we might more plainly understand. In the mean season, as touching these articles here present, forasmuch as the bishops' own registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the selfsame books from whence they be excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee, friendly reader, first to consider the articles, and lay them with the places which the registers themselves do assign, and then judge thyself, what is to be thought thereof. The articles, gathered out of the aforesaid books, with the bishops' decree prefixed before the same, are as hereunder follow:

A public instrument by the bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other books, to be read in English.

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful people, to whom these present letters testimonial, or this present public and authentic instrument, shall come to be seen, read, heard, or understood, and whom this underwritten shall or may teach, or appertain unto in any manner of wise in time to come; William, by the sufferance of Almighty God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by these presents, that the king, our sovereign lord, hearing of many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in the parts beyond the seas, to be brought into divers towns, and sundry parts of this his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith catholic, and perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his Highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Christ's religion: considering also, that he, being defender of the faith, would

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be full loth to suffer such evil seed sown amongst his people, and so take root that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine before sprung in the souls of his subjects: for the repelling of such books, calling unto him of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerks of his realm, but also of each university a certain number of the chief learned men, proposed such of those books as his Grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them: who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space); gathering also out of them many great errors and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to show for what cause they reputed the said books damnable; of which hereafter, out of each book gathered, many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said books, which books totally do swarm full of heresies and detestable opinions."

Heresies and errors collected by the bishops out of the book of Tyndale, named The Wicked Mammon, with the places of the book annexed to the same, out of which every article is collected.

First article. "Faith only justifieth." Fol. 62. This article being a principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our salvation, is plain enough by St. Paul and the whole body of the Scripture; neither can any make this a heresy, but they must make St. Paul a heretic, and show themselves enemies unto the promises of grace, and to the cross of Christ.

II. "The law maketh us to hear God, because we be born under the power of the devil." Fol. 62.

III. "It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God." Fol. 62.

The place of Tyndale from whence these articles be wrested, is in The Wicked Mammon, as followeth: which place I beseech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

"In the faith which we have in Christ, and in God's promises, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the law we find death, damnation, and wrath: moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to say the law, is called of Paul, the ministration of death and damnation. (2 Cor. iii.) In the law we are proved to be enemies of God, and that we hate him: for how can we be at peace with God, and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God: much more is it impossible for a man to fulfil the law by his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation," &c.

IV. "The law requireth impossible things of us." Fol. 62.

Read the place:

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"The law, when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damneth thee because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the promises, and to the gospel, which is called of Paul the ministration of righteousness, and of the Spirit."

V. "The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit." Fol. 65.

The place is this:

"The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself. She bringeth God's promises of all good things in Christ. God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect. And as faith entereth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from the captivity and bondage under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God; altereth him and changeth him clean; fashioneth and forgeth him anew; giveth him power to love and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new nature; so that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed and contrarily disposed, and is knit and coupled fast to God's will, and naturally bringeth forth good works, that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination: and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of her own accord," &c.

VI. "Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified." Fol. 67.

If Tyndale say that works do only declare our justification, he doth not thereby destroy good works; but only showeth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testify a lively faith, which only justifieth us. The article is plain by the Scripture and St. Paul.

VII. "Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven." Fol. 69.

Read the place:

"All good works must be done freely, with a single eye, without respect of any thing, so that no profit be sought thereby. That commandeth Christ, where he saith, Freely have ye received, freely give again. For look, as Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven, (for that was his already,) but did us service therewith; and neither looked [for], nor sought his own profit, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only: even so we, with all our works, may not seek our own profit, neither in this world nor in heaven; but must and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner [of] respect seek our neighbour's profit, and do him service," &c.

VIII. "Labouring by good works to come to heaven, thou shamest Christ's blood." Fol. 70. Read the place:

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"If thou wouldest obtain heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so doest thou wrong, yea, and shamest the blood of Christ, and unto thee Christ is dead in vain. Now is the true believer heir of God by Christ's deservings, yea, and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God; and, in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life; and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ, and, therefore, love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely; and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already."

IX. "Saints in heaven cannot help us thither." Fol. 70.

Whether saints can help us unto heaven, see the Scripture; and mark well the office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any further.

X. "To build a church in the honour of our Lady, or any other saint, is in vain; they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends." Fol. 71. Read the place of Tyndale:

"What, buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chantries, and colleges, in the honour of saints, to my Mother, to St. Peter, Paul, and saints that be dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not, yea, they are not thy friends, [but theirs which lived then when they did, of whom they were holpen.] Thy friends are thy poor [which are now in thy time and live with thee, thy poor] neighbours, which need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with the unrighteous mammon, that they may testify of thy faith, and that thou mayest know and feel that thy faith is right, and not feigned."

XI. "All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin." Fol. 74.

This article is evident enough of itself, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no allegations.

XII. "Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved." Fol. 75, 76.

Read the place:

"A physician serveth but for sick men, and that for such men as feel their sickness, and mourn therefor, and long for health. Christ, likewise, serveth but for such sinners only as feel their sin, and that for such sinners that sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfil the law, or to keep the commandments: Now, he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole: Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake, (that is, to fulfil the law,) for their lust shall be fulfilled. Matt. v.

"This longing, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God, is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest, that thou mightest be sure that God

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will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chooseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sin, and mournest, and consentest to the law, and longest, (though thou be never so weak,) yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certify thine heart, that God, for his truth, shall deliver thee, and save thee; yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved – not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably; neither canst then be damned; except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him."

The like comfortable words he hath afterwards, fol. 82, which are these:

"He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart to be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his truth must hear him, which saith by the mouth of Christ, Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. God, for his truth's sake, must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, so feeble and frail, though he have sinned never so oft and so grievous; yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his truth's sake, and love to Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God, that would be no sinner: he that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already: his heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the law and will of God, and justifieth God, that is, beareth record that God which made the law, is righteous and just. And such a heart, trusting in Christ's blood, is accepted for full righteousness, and his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins are not looked upon, until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his desire.

XIII. "The commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God." Fol. 76.

Read the place:

"If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. First remember, that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore, because that we, of ourselves, are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and so repent and come unto Christ, and receive mercy," &c.

XIV. "Fasting is only to avoid surfeit, and to tame the body; all other purposes be nought." Fol. 81.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting or overmuch eating, from drunkenness and cares of the world, as thou mayest read in Luke xxi. And the end of fasting, is to tame the body, that the spirit may have a free course unto God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the spirit, choke her, and tangle her, that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise herself in the things of God, the same is

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blind, and wotteth not what he doth; erreth, and shooteth at a wrong mark; and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God."

XV. "To bid the poor man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any trust in his prayer." Fol. 82.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"When we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness: our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of God's promises. We have also a promise, that when two or three or more agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us. Notwithstanding, as God heareth many, so heareth be few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God."

XVI. "Though thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before." Fol. 83.

The words be these:

"If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Man's imagination can make the commandment of God neither greater nor smaller; neither can to the law of God either add or diminish. God's commandment is as great as himself?"

XVII. "A good deed done, and not of fervent charity, as Christ's was, is sin." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Though thou show mercy unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love as Christ did unto thee, so must thou acknowledge thy sin, and desire mercy in Christ."

XVIII. "Every man is lord of another man's goods." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Christ is Lord over all, and every Christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore lord of all, and every one lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet showest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbed thou him of his own, and art a thief?"

Read more hereof in the twentieth article following.

XIX. "I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart." Fol. 84.

The place of this article is this:

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"I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea, and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the ensample that Christ loved me; neither to spare goods, body, nor life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if God's Spirit be in me."

XX. "The worst Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his needs, as my household, or mine own self." Fol. 84.

Read and mark well the place in The Wicked Mammon:

"In Christ, we are all of one degree without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian man's heart be open to all men, and receiveth all men, yet, because that his ability of goods extendeth not so far, this provision is made, that every man shall care for his own household; as father and mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee; wife, children, and servants. If thou shouldest not care and provide for thine household, then were thou an infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do; and forasmuch as that is thy part, committed unto thee of the congregation. When thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessing of God, that owest thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are destitute of friends: to the poor, I mean, which thou knowest; to them of thine own parish. If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and hearest necessity to be among the brethren a thousand miles off, to them art then debtor: yea, to the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, so far forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to blaspheme Christ. Thus is every man that needeth thy help, thy father, mother, sister, and brother in Christ; even as every man that doth the will of the Father, is father, mother, sister, and brother unto Christ.

"Moreover, if any be an infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his household, his wife, children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound to them, and thou have wherewith, even as much as to thine own household; and they have as good right in thy goods, as thou thyself," &c.

"If the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with thee, as we are all heirs with Christ."

XXI. "Alms deserve no meed." Fol. 84. The place is this:

"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 be oweth him, the same is blind, and seeth not what it is to a Christian man, and to have fellowship in Christ's blood."

XXII. "There is no work better than another to please God, to pour water, to wash dishes, to be a souter, or an apostle, all is one; to wash dishes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed to please God." Fol. 85.

The words of Tyndale be these:

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"As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou, in doing them, pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God; as when thou pourest water, &c.

"Moreover, put no difference between works, but whatsoever cometh into thy hands, that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low: for as touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy works, as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the works pleased him, as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them. But God looketh first on the heart; what faith thou had to his words; how thou believest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath showed thee. He looketh with what heart thou worked, and not what thou worked; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker.

"Set this ensample before thine eyes: Thou art a kitchen-page, and washest thy master's dishes. Another is an apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this apostle hark what St. Paul saith, If I preach, (saith he,) I have nought to rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me. As who should say, God hath made me so: woe is unto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly, (saith he,) then have I my reward; that is, then am I sure that God's Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. If I do it against my will, an office is committed unto me; that is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had rather otherwise live; then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God myself, &c.

"Moreover, howsoever he preacheth, he hath not to rejoice in that he preacheth. But and if he preach willingly, with a true heart, and of conscience to God, then hath he his reward; that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth God's goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth and acknowledgeth his sin, in that the heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord: and, nevertheless, is he yet at peace with God, through faith and trust in Christ Jesu. For the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his heart, that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no trust.

"Now thou that ministerest in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen-page, receivest all things of the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that office, submittest thyself to his will, and servest thy master, not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart, according as Paul teacheth us; putteth thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoiceth therein; yea, when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consented unto the deed; thy heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured; and thou, in thine heart, doest the same that the apostle doth, and haply with greater delectation and a more fervent spirit. Now, he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive the reward of a prophet (Matt. x.); that is, he that consenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same Spirit, and earnest of everlasting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect as the prophet is.

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"Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt washing of dishes and preaching the word of God: but, as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man; hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart, by faith and trust in Christ," &c.

XXIII. "Ceremonies of the church have brought the world from God." Fol. 86.

Read the place of Tyndale:

"Seek the word of God in all things, and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear ever so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God, that count idolatry. The kingdom of heaven is within us. Wonder therefore at no monstrous shape, nor at any outward thing without the word. For the world was never drawn from God, but with an outward show, and glorious appearance and shining of hypocrisy, and of feigned and visored fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising."

XXIV. "Beware of good intents: they are damned of God." Fol. 87.

XXV. "See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee." Fol. 87.

The words of Tyndale out of which these two articles be gathered are these:

"Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection or zeal, as they call it. Peter, of a good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, chid Christ, because he said that he must go to Jerusalem and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour, (a name that belongeth to the devil,) and said that he perceived not godly things, but worldly.

Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume the Samaritans; but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wist not of what spirit they were; that is, they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The very Jews, of a good intent and of a good zeal, slew Christ, and persecuted the apostles, as Paul beareth them record. I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to Godward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing, then, to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayest know God's will, and what he would have thee to do. "Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal, are blind, and all that we do of them is damned of God; and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See, therefore, that thou do nothing to please God withal but that he commandeth; neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promised thee."

XXVI. "Churches are for preaching only, and not as they be used now." Fol. 87.

This article containeth neither error nor heresy, but is plain enough of itself, to all them that have their minds exercised in the Scriptures of God.

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XXVII. "To worship God otherwise than to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an idol." Fol. 87.

Read the words of Tyndale with this article.

"God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances, and also true in all his promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an idol of him."

XXVIII. "Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart at God's pleasure." Fol. 95.

XXIX. "Our prelates, in sin say they have power." Fol. 95.

Read the place in The Wicked Mammon, out of the which these two articles are gathered.

"Paul saith, if thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe: that is, if thou believe he raised him up again for thy salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves: and that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God. Pharaoh, for pain of the plague, was compelled to confess his sins; but had yet no power to submit himself unto the will of God, and to let the children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for God's pleasure: as our prelates confess their sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet have we the power. And again, The scribes and the Pharisees, say they, sat in Moses' seat: Do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confess they that they are abominable."

Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops out of Tyndale's book named The Obedience of a Christian Man, with the places of the book annexed to the same.

First Article.—"Tyndale saith, 'We are bound to make satisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God.'"Fol. 132.

"Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends-making to him whom we have offended, which recompence we are able to make one man to another, and are bound so to do; but to God no man can make any amends or recompence, but only God's own Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else, if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ died in vain."

Lo! what heresy or error is in this article?

II. "He saith, that children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents." Fol. 120. The words of Tyndale in The Obedience, be these:

"Let the fathers and mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and, by experience of their own infirmities, help their children, and keep them from occasions. Let them provide marriages for them in season, teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife which the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent and good will of their elders, or them that have authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then

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are they not to blame, if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers always take the uttermost of their authority of their children, but, at all times, suffer with them, and bear their weakness, as Christ doth ours."

III. "He saith, that vows are against the ordinance of God." Fol. 109.

They that say that this article is a heresy, let them show where these vows in all the New Testament be ordained of God; especially such vows of single life, and wilful poverty, as by the canon law be obtruded on young priests and novices. St. Paul plainly forefendeth any widows to be admitted under the age of threescore years. Is not here, trow you, a perilous heresy?

IV. "He saith, that a Christian man may not resist a prince being an infidel and an ethnic. This taketh away free-will." Fol. 112.

St. Peter willeth us to be subject to our princes. St. Paul also doth the like; who was also himself subject to the power of Nero; and, although every commandment of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and state of Nero; as the pope useth to do against the state not only of infidels, but also of Christian princes.

V. "'Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, is damnable sin.' This is against moral virtues." Fol. 113.

What heresy Aristotle in his Ethics can find by this article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God, well considered, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable heresy.

VI. "He reproveth men that make holy saints their advocates to God, and there he saith, that saints were not rewarded in heaven for their holy works." Fol. 114.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"They turn from God's word, and put their trust and confidence in the saint and his merits, and make an advocate, or rather a god, of the saint." * * * "They ascribe heaven unto their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberality of God, by the merits and deserving of Christ."

VII. "God-moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people; likewise he moved kings," &c. Fol. 118.

The words in The Obedience be these:

"In Psalm cvi., thou readest, He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. When the children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wiliness."

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"In 2 Kings ii., God was angry with his people, and moved David to number them, when Joab and the other lords wondered why he would have them numbered; and because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the king: yet it holped not. God so hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people."

VIII. "Paul was of higher authority than Peter." Fol. 125.

The words in "The Obedience" be these:

"I suppose; saith he, (meaning Paul,) that I was not behind the high apostles; meaning in preaching Jesus Christ and his gospel, and in ministering the Spirit. And, in the same chapter, he proveth by the doctrine of Christ, that he was greater than the high apostles: for Christ saith, To be great in the kingdom of God, is to do service, and take pain for other." Upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying, If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more: in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteous, in death oft, &c. If Paul preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the testimony of Christ."

IX. "A priest ought to have a wife for two causes." Fol. 133.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"He must have a wife for two causes; one, that it may thereby be known who is meet for the room; he is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, that chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perilous for that degree, inasmuch as the people look as well onto the living as unto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the faith, and believe not the word."

X. "He condemneth auricular confession." Fol. 140.

Of this read above.

XI. "Every man is a priest, and we need no other priest to be a mean for us unto God." Fol. 144.

The words in The Obedience be these:

"There is a word called in Latin, sacerdos, in the Greek, ιερευς[iereus], in Hebrew, cohan; that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or priest, as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them; and in the English it should have had some other name than priest: but antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever, and all we are priests through him, and need no more of any such priest to be a mean for us unto God," &c.

XII. "He destroyeth the sacraments of matrimony and orders." Fol. 144.

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As truly as matrimony and orders be sacraments, so truly is this article a heresy.

XIII. "He saith that purgatory is the pope's invention, and, therefore, he may do there whatsoever he will." Fol. 150.

One of the pope's own writers saith thus: "Souls being in purgatory, are under the pope's jurisdiction, and the pope may, if he will, evacuate all purgatory." Furthermore the old fathers make little mention of purgatory; the Greek church never believed the purgatory; St. Augustine doubteth of purgatory; and the Scriptures plainly disprove purgatory. St. John saith, "The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God purgeth us from all sin;" and the pope saith, "Sin cannot be purged but by the fire of purgatory." Now, whose invention can purgatory be, but only the pope's?

XIX. "Saints be saved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ." Fol. 151.

What can be more manifest and plain by the Scriptures, than this? Isaiah saith, "All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath laid upon him all our iniquities," &c.

XV. "He saith, 'No man may be hired to pray.'" Fol. 155.

The words in The Obedience be true, which are these:

"To pray one for another, are we equally bound: and to pray, is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand: and that to do, may no man hire another: Christ's blood hath hired us already;" &c.

XVI. "He saith, Why should I trust in Paul's prayer or holiness? If St. Paul were alive, he would compare himself to St. Paul, and be as good as he." Fol. 159.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Why, am not I also a false prophet, if I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in God's word, as Paul did? If Paul were here, and loved me as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a servant to preach Christ, what good could he do for me, or wish me, but preach Christ, and pray to God for me, to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Christ? Unto which port or haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, joint-heir with Paul of all the promises of God;" &c

XVII. "He saith, that all that be baptized, become Christ himself." Fol. 163.

With this article confer the words of The Obedience, which be these:

"In Matt. xxv., saith Christ, Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of them my brethren, ye have done it to me: and inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it unto me. Here seest thou that we are Christ's brethren, and even Christ himself, and whatsoever we do one to another, that do we to Christ?" &c.

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XVIII. "He saith, that the children of faith be under no law." Fol. 163.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"I serve thee not because thou art my master or my king, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ. For the children of faith are under no law, as thou seest in the Epistles to the Romans, to the Galatians, and the First of Timothy, but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ; and, therefore, need they no law to compel them," &c.

XIX. "There is no deed so good, but that the law condemneth it." Fol. 167.

The place in The Obedience is this:

"Thou hast the story of Peter, how he smote Malchus' ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou, in the plain text, great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this example, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes; and of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel, saying, As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth, and mangleth, the conscience. There is no ear so righteous, that can abide the hearing of the law. There is no deed so good, but that the law damneth it. But Christ (that is to say, the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ) healeth the ear and conscience, which the law hath hurt"

XX. "To ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry." Fol. 171.

The words of Tyndale are these:

"Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments; thither get thyself, and there abide," &c. "If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry; for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slack thine hunger without meat. Now, to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry," &c.

XXI "Our pains-taking in keeping the commandments, doth nothing but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh; but to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, than God hath promised for Christ's sake, is abominable in the sight of God." Fol. 171.

Consider the place in The Obedience, which is this:

"To look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake, and which Christ hath deserved for us with his pain-taking, is abominable in the sight of God; for Christ only hath purchased the reward. And

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our pain-taking to keep the commandments, doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us that we are chosen and sealed with God's Spirit, unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us."

XXII. "The pope hath no other authority but to preach only." Fol. 173.

Christ said to Peter, "Feed my sheep;" "and thou being converted, confirm thy brethren." And to his apostles he said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel," &c. Again, St. Paul saith, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach: to what other office or function he sent the pope, let them judge, which consider the Scriptures.

XXIII. "If thou bind thyself to chastity, to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an infidel." Fol. 175.

Read and confer the place of Tyndale, which is this:

"Chastity canst thou not give to God, further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned. Last of all, for what purpose thou bendest thyself, must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look in Deuteronomy, and there thou shalt find it more largely treated of."

XXIV. "He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles." Fol. 176.

The words in Tyndale's Obedience be these:

"And when they cry Miracles, Miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting testament with us in Christ's blood; against which we may receive no miracles, no, neither the preaching of Paul himself, if he came again, (by his own teaching to the Galatians,) neither yet by the preaching of the angels of heaven," &c.

"The end of God's miracles is good: the end of these miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they foam out their own shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stench of their filthiness." Fol. 159.

XXV. "He saith, that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain idolatry." Fol. 177.

The place is this in The Obedience:

"Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good seals which are without God's word; for they are nothing else but plain idolatry, and worshipping of false gods."

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Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops, out of the book called The Revelation of Antichrist, with the places of the book, out of which they were gathered, annexed to the same.

I. "To bind a man perpetually to any vow of religion, is without doubt an error." Fol. 19. The place of the book called The Revelation, whence this article is gathered, is this that followeth; "Which the fathers did neither make nor keep: he meaneth vows, but, with the liberty of the spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For, if they did, without doubt, they erred according to man's fragility."

II. "To say the constitutions of religion are good, because holy men did ordain them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominic, and such others, and to follow such examples of fathers, is to leave the faith." Fol. 19.

The place of the article is this:

"But they object, The statutes and ordinances are good: holy men did make them, as Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominic, and such others. To this I answer, that is even it that Christ and the apostles did mean, that these works should be like to those things which are taught in the gospel, for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and privily bringing in of sects and heresies, because they take only of the fathers' examples of works, and leave the faith," &c.

III. "All moral divines have a wicked conscience, full of scrupulosity." Fol. 3.

Moral divines be they, whose doctrine and hope of salvation consisteth in moral virtues, rather than in Christian faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such, can never be certified in conscience of their salvation, but always be full of fear and scrupulosity. St. Paul, therefore, saith, It is therefore of faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed.

IV. "Moral virtues, as justice, temperance, strength, chastity, described by natural reason, make a synagogue, and corrupt Christ's faith." Fol. 64.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"So many he (the pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath subdued and led under his laws and empery. And who is be in the world that is not subject under him, except they be infants, or peradventure some simple persons, we reserved by the inscrutable counsel and provision of God? O thou man of sin! O thou son of perdition! O thou abomination! O thou corrupter! O thou author of evil consciences! O thou false master of good consciences! O thou enemy of faith and Christian liberty! Who is able to rehearse, yea, or to comprehend in his mind, the infinite waves of this monstrous king's evils?"

"If he had ordained these his laws in those works of virtues that are commended in the ten precepts, or else in such as the philosophers and natural reason did describe, as are justice,

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strength, temperance, chastity, mildness, truth, goodness, and such others, peradventure they should only have made a synagogue, or else have ordained in the world a certain civil justice; for, through these, faith also should have been corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raising infinite tempests of mischief, enticing and drawing us to ceremonies, and his own feigned traditions, and bindeth us like asses and ignorant fools, yea, and like stocks unto them," &c.

V. "Christ took away all laws, and maketh us free and at liberty; and most of all be suppresseth all ceremonies." Fol. 63, 65.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Christ, taking away all laws to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppress and disannul the ceremonies, which did consist in places, persons, garments, meats, days, and such other; so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent," &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all laws, he declareth a little before, saying:

"He hath not delivered us from the law, but from the power and violence of the law, which is the very true loosing. But, for all that, he hath not taken away from the powers and officers, their right, sword, and authority to punish the evil: for such pertain not to his kingdom, until they are made spiritual; and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God."

VI. "If the pope would make all the observations of the ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-days, confession, matrimony, mass, matins, and relics, &c., free and indifferent, he should not be antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ, he utterly corrupteth the church, suppresseth the faith, and advanceth sin?" Fol. 67.

If the pope will infer a necessity of those things which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himself but antichrist? The article is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of Christ, and St. Paul.

VII. "To believe in Christ, maketh sure inheritors with Christ." Fol. 1.

VIII. "If a man say, 'Then shall we do no good works?' I answer as Christ did: 'This is the work of God to believe in him whom he hath sent'" Fol. 1.

The place of these two articles, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Who is this light, that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as St. John doth testify. He was the true light, that lighteneth all men who come into the world. To believe in this light, maketh us the children of light, and the sure inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel adversaries, who set up their bristles, saying, Why! shall we then do no good works? To these we answer, as Christ did to the people, in the sixth of St. John, which asked him what they should do, that they might work the works of God. Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent, And after it followeth, Verily, verily

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I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also consenteth St. John, in his Epistle, saying, These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that you may surely know, how that you have eternal life.— What is the name of the Son of God? Truly his name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must believe that he is a Saviour.

"But what availeth this? The devils do thus believe and tremble. They know, that he is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesu, the Son of God! what have we to do with thee? They know, that he hath redeemed mankind by his passion, and they laboured to let it: for when Pilate was set down to give judgment, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in my sleep about him. No doubt she was vexed of the devil, to the intent that she should persuade her husband to give no sentence upon him, so that Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over mankind. They know, that he hath suppressed sin and death; as it is written, Death is consumed into victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be unto God which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ: who by sin damned sin in the flesh. For God made him to be sin for us, that is to say, a sacrifice for our sin, (and so is sin taken in many places,) which knew no sin, that we, by his means, should be that righteousness, which before God is allowed. It is not, therefore, sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee," &c.

IX. "Numbering of sins maketh a man more a sinner, yea, a blasphemmer of the name of God." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Knowledge thyself a sinner, that thou mayest be justified. Not that the numbering of thy sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater sinner, yea, and a blasphemmer of the holy name of God, as thou mayest see in Cain, which said that his sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveness; and so was a reprobate," &c.

X. "God bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"If thou ask of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish, thou shalt have St. Augustine's answer, who saith, in the second book that he wrote to Jerome, that the law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to eschew; to the intent that when we see ourselves not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whom we shall ask this strength, so that we may say unto our Father, Good Father! command whatsoever it pleaseth thee, but give us thy grace to fulfil what thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the law is good and holy, and that we are sinners and carnal, sold under sin. But let us not here stick; for now we are at hell-gates, and doubtless should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, showing us his gospel and promise, saying, Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom," &c.

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XI. "Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which died for us." Fol. 4.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Sin hath no power over us, neither can condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which died for us that were wicked and naturally the children of wrath. But God, which is rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through sin, hath quickened us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and, with him hath made us sit in heavenly places, through Jesus Christ; for to show, in times to come, the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness towards us through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself," &c.

XII. "I will show thee an evident argument and reason, that thou mayest know without doubt, who is antichrist. All they that do pursue, are antichrist. The pope, bishops, cardinals, and their adherents do pursue: therefore the pope, bishops, and cardinals, and their adherents, are antichrists. I ween our syllogismus be well made." Fol. 9. The place of this article gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"I will show thee an evident reason, that thou mayest know without doubting who is the very antichrist: and this argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirm, writing to the Galatians. We, dear brethren, are the children of promise, as Isaac was; not the sons of the bondwoman, as Ishmael. But, as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Mark Paul's reason. By Isaac, are signified the elect; and by Ishmael, the reprobate. Isaac did not persecute Ishmael; but, contrary, Ishmael did persecute Isaac. Now let us make our reason:

"All they that do persecute as Ishmael, be reprobates and antichrists.

"But all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, do persecute.

"Therefore all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, be Ishmael; reprobates and antichrists.

"I ween our syllogismus is well made, and in the first figure."

Read the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this argument more at large.

XIII. "I think verily, that so long as the successors of the apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian men, and no longer." Fol. 10.

The bishops of Rome in the primitive church, were under persecution the space of well near three hundred years, under the which persecution, as good as thirty of them, and more, died martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundred and four popes, which have lived in great

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wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the book of The Revelation think that there be not four to be found good Christian men, I think no less but that he may so think without any heresy.

XIV. "It is impossible that the word of the cross should be without affliction and persecution." Fol. 10.

St. Paul saith, Whosoever will live virtuously in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. And how then can this be truth in Paul, and in this man heresy.

XV. "That the apostles did ever curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture: for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them." Fol. 11.

Upon what good ground of The Revelation this heresy is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written in these words following:

"They are as merciful as the wolf is on his prey. They were ordained to bless men; but they curse as the devil were in them. Paul saith, that he hath power to edify, and not to destroy. But I wot not of whom these bloody beasts have their authority, which do so much rejoice in cursing and destruction. We read how Paul did excommunicate the Corinthian, (and that for a great transgression,) to the intent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity, and desired again the Corinthians to receive him with all charity: but, that the apostles did curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture; for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them," &c.

XVI. "By works, superstitions, and ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truly justify and make holy." Fol. 15.

Note here, good reader, how perversely and corruptly this article is drawn. For whereas the place of this book, which is written in fol. 15, expressly speaketh of trusting to works, meaning that we should put no confidence in works, but only in faith in Christ Jesus, this article, to make it appear more infamous and heretical, leaveth out the false trust, and speaketh simply as though works should decay faith. Read the place, which is written in these words following:

"Daniel calleth not this word *peschiam*, any manner of sin, but those special and chief sins, which resist and fight against the troth and the faith: as are the trusting in works, superstitions, and ceremonies, by which we decay from the faith," &c.

XVII. "The abuson of the mass with all its solemnities, with vigils, year-minds, foundations, burials, and all the business that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloak of godliness, and a deceiving of the people; as they were good works rather for the dead than for the quick." Fol. 24.

True godliness consisteth in faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God, whom he hath sent, and in the observation of God's commandments. All their rites and additions instituted by man, are no part of true godliness. And whoso putteth trust and confidence therein,

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as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such funerals St. Augustine calleth rather refreshings of the living, than relievings and helps of the dead.

XVIII. "To keep and observe one day to fast, another to abstain; to forbear such a meat upon the fasting day to deserve heaven thereby; is a wicked face and cloak, and against Paul." Fol. 29.

The truth of this article is manifest enough to be void of all error and heresy, unless it be heresy to believe and hold with the Scripture. St. Paul saith, If heaven, and our righteousness, come by the law, then Christ died in vain.

XIX. "The multiplication of holy-days, of feasts of Corpus Christi, of the Visitation of our Lady, &c., is a wicked face and colour; and indeed foolish, unprofitable, and vain." Fol. 30.

This article, likewise, needeth no declaration, containing in it a true and necessary complaint of such superfluous holy-days of the pope's making: which, as they bring with them much occasion of wickedness, idleness, drunkenness, and vanity, and so having also joined unto than opinion of religion, and meritorious devotion and God's service, they gender superstition, and nourish the people in the same.

XX. "Keeping of virginity and chastity of religion is a devilish thing." Fol. 30.

The place, cited in the book of The Revelation of Antichrist, doth sufficiently open itself, speaking and meaning only of those monkish vows, which, by the canonical constitution of the pope, are violently forced upon priests and monks, the coercion whereof St. Paul doth rightly call the doctrine of devils. And here note by the way another trick of a popish caviller: for, where the words of the book speak plainly of the chastity of the religious, he, fraudulently turning it to a universality, saith, "the chastity of the religion," whereby it might seem to the simple reader more odious and heretical. The words of the place be these:

"Keeping of virginity and chastity of the religious seemeth to be a godly and a heavenly thing; but it is a devilish thing: of the which it is spoken in I Tim. iv., Forbidding to many, &c. Whereas, again, our most reverend father maketh that thing necessary, that Christ would have free, whereof Daniel speaketh, He shall not be desirous of women. Here Daniel meaneth, that he shall refuse and abstain from marriage, for a cloak of godliness, and not for love of chastity."

XXI. "Worshipping of relics is a proper thing, and a cloak of advantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men." Fol. 30, 31.

These be the words in The Revelation:

"This (the worshipping of relics he meaneth) is a proper and most fruitful cloak of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable pilgrimages, with which the foolish and unlearned people might lose their labour, money, and time; nothing, in the mean season, regarding their houses, wives, and children; contrary to the commandment of God; when they might do much better deeds to their neighbours, which is the precept," &c.

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XXII. "There is but one special office that pertaineth to thine orders, and that is, to preach the word of God." Fol. 36.

Of this matter sufficient hath been said before in the twenty-second article alleged out of the book of The Obedience.

XXIII. "The temple of God is not stones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any house which was called The temple of God." Fol. 37.

The place of this article is this:

"Which is an adversary, (the pope he meaneth,) and is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, and show himself as God. Doth he not sit in the temple of God, which saith and professeth himself to be the master in the whole church? What is the temple of God? Is it stones and wood? Doth not Paul say, The temple of God is holy, which temple are ye? Neither in the time of Paul was there any house, which was called the temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this sitting, but reigning, teaching, and judging? Who, since the beginning of the church, durst presume to call himself the master of the whole church, but only the pope?" &c.

XXIV. "He that fasteth no day, that saith no matins, and doth none of the precepts of the pope, sinneth not, if he think that he doth not sin." Fol. 43.

The place in The Revelation is this:

"Because he feareth the consciences under the title and pretence of Christ's name, he maketh of those things which in themselves are no sins, very grievous offences. For he that believeth that he doth sin if he eat flesh on the apostles' even, or say not matins and prime in the morning, or else leave undone any of the pope's precepts, no doubt he sinneth; not because the deed which he doth is sin, but because he believeth it is sin, and because against this foolish belief and conscience he offendeth; of which foolish conscience the pope only is head-author; for another, doing the same deed, thinking that he doth not sin, truly offendeth not. And this is the cause, that the spirit of Paul complaineth that many shall depart from the faith. And for this foolish conscience men's traditions be pernicious and noisome, the snares of souls, hurting the faith and the liberty of the gospel. If it were not for this cause, they should do no hurt. Therefore the devil, through the pope, abuseth these consciences to establish the laws of his tyranny, to suppress the faith and liberty, and to replenish the world with error, sin, and perdition," &c.

XXV. "Christ ordained the sacrament of the altar only to nourish the faith of them that live; but the pope maketh it a good work, and a sacrifice to be applied both to the quick and dead." Fol. 48.

The place is this:

"Satan hated the sacrament, and knew no way how to suppress and disannul it; therefore he found this craft: that the sacrament, which Christ did only ordain to nourish and establish the

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faith of them that live, should be counted for a good work and sacrifice, and bought and sold. And so faith is suppressed, and this wholesome ministry is applied, not to the quick, but unto the dead; that is to say, neither to the quick, nor yet to the dead. Oh this incredible fury of God!" &c.

XXVI. "These signs (he speaketh of miracles and visions, or apparitions) are not to the increase of faith and gospel, for they are rather against the faith and gospel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying signs." Fol. 49.

The place is as followeth:

"Who is able to number the monstrous marvels only of them that are departed? Good Lord! what a sea of lies hath invaded us, of apparitions, conjurings, and answers of spirits? by which it is brought to pass, that the pope is also made the king of them that are dead, and reigneth in purgatory, to the great profit of his priests, who have all their living, riches, and pomp out of purgatory. Howbeit they should have less, if they did so well teach the faith of them that live, as they do [teach] riddles of them that are dead: neither was there, since the beginning of the world, any work found of so little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpose were gathered almost the possessions of all princes and rich men; and, through these riches, sprang up all pleasures and idleness, and of idleness came very Babylon and Sodom, &c.

"Neither are these signs to the increase of the faith and gospel (for they are rather against the faith and gospel); but they are done to establish the tyranny of these faces and riddles, and to set up and confirm the trust in works. Among these illusions are those miracles to be reputed, which are showed in visions, pilgrimages, and worshippings of saints, as there are plenty now-a-days, which the pope confirmeth by his bulls, yea, and sometimes doth canonize saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying signs," &c.

XXVII. "The people of Christ do nothing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them." Fol. 63.

The words out of which this article is gathered, are these:

"They are the people of Christ, which willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the law, but only enticed and led with a gracious liberty and faithful love; not doing any thing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them, though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwise, should be counted the people of the law and synagogue," &c.

XXVIII. "In the whole new law is no urgent precept, nor grievous; but only exhortations to observe things necessary for soul's health." Fol. 63.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"A Christian should work nothing by compulsion of the law, but all through the spirit of liberty, as Paul saith: The law is not given to a righteous man. For whatsoever is done by compulsion of the law, is sin, for it is not done with a glad and willing spirit, but with a contrary

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will, and rebelling against the law; and this truly is sin. Therefore, in Corinthians, he calleth the preachers of the New Testament the ministers of the Spirit, and not of the letter, because they teach grace, and not the law. Wherefore in the whole New Testament are there no urgent or grievous precepts, but only exhortations to observe those things which are necessary to our health: neither did Christ and his apostles at any time compel any man. And the Holy Ghost was for that cause called Paracletus, that is to say, an exhorter and comforter," &c.

XXIX. "All things necessary are declared in the New Testament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to his own will. Therefore Christ teacheth, that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided." Fol. 63, 66.

The words in The Revelation are these:

"In the New Testament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to seek, find, and obtain help to do and to leave undone. But no man is compelled, but suffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in Matthew, he teacheth that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided, and put out of company like a Gentile," &c.

XXX. "Christ forbade that one place should be taken as holy, and another profane; but would that all places should be indifferent." Fol. 68.

The place is this:

"Christ taketh away the difference of all places; will be worshipped in everyplace. Neither is there in his kingdom one place holy, and another profane, but all places are indifferent; neither canst thou more heartily and better believe, trust, and love God, in the temple, at the altar, in the church-yard, than in thy barn, vineyard, kitchen, or bed. And, to be short, the martyrs of Christ have honoured him in dark dungeons and prisons," &c.

XXXI. "He railleth against all the rites and ceremonies of the mass, as he were mad." Fol. 68.

The place out of which this article is collected, is as followeth:

"If a nun touch the altar-cloth, or corporal, (as they call it,) it is a sin. To touch the chalice is a great transgression. To say mass with an unhallowed chalice, is a grievous offence. To do sacrifice in vestments which are not consecrated, is a heinous crime. It is reputed for a sin, if in ministering any sacrament, the priest doth lack any ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a child, or speak in the words of a canon, it is a sin. He offendeth also that doth stutter or stammer in the words of the canon. He sinneth that toucheth the holy relics of saints. He that toucheth the sacrament of the altar either with hand or finger, though it be for necessity, to pluck it from the roof of his mouth, committeth such villanous iniquity, that they will scrape and shave off the quick flesh from the part which did touch it. I think, at length, they will flay the tongue, the roof of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, because they touch the sacrament. But to hurt thy

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neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no sin, nor yet regarded," &c.

XXXII. "No labour is now-a-days more tedious than saying of mass, matins, &c., which, before God, are nothing but grievous sins." Fol. 70.

XXXIII. "The sins of Manasseh, and other wicked kings, sacrificing their own children, are but light and childish offences to those. The cursed sacrifices of the Gentiles my not be compared to ours; we are seven times worse Gentiles than we were before we knew Christ." Fol. 70.

The words out of which these two articles are gathered, are these:

"They are so oppressed, (those he meaneth who are under the servitude of the pope's laws and decrees,) that they fulfil them only with the outward work; for their wills are clean contrary, as we see by experience in the troublesome business of vigils, masses, and hours, which must be both said and sung: in the which they labour with such weariness, that now-a-days no labour is more tedious. Yet, nevertheless, the cruel exactors of these most hard works compel men to work such things without ceasing, which before God are nothing but grievous sins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the service of God. Here are invented the enticements of the senses through organs, music, and diversity of songs; but these are nothing to the spirit, which rather is extinct through these wanton trifles. Ah, Christ! with what violence, with what power, are they driven headlong to sin, and perish through this abomination.

"It is horrible to look into these cruel whirlpools of consciences, which perish with so great pains and labour. What light offences to these are the sins wherein Manasseh and other wicked kings sinned, by doing sacrifice with their own children and progeny! Truly, the cursed sacrifices of the most rude Gentiles, no not of the Lestrigones, may be compared unto ours. The saying of Christ may be verified in us: seven more wicked spirits make the end worse than the beginning. For I say, that we are worse Gentiles seven times, than we were before we knew Christ," &c.

XXXIV. "It were better to receive neither of the parts of the sacrament of the altar, than the one alone." Fol. 73.

The words be these:

"Plainly I think that the whole is taken away, since I see manifestly the one part gone (for the bread and the wine is but one sacrament); the other is left only for a laughing-stock. For he that in one part offendeth against God, is guilty in at Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, than the one alone; for so we might the more surely eschew the transgression of that which Christ did institute," &c.

XXXV. "The law of the pope, that commandeth all men to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruel law, constraining men to their own destruction." Fol. 73.

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The place is this:

"He (the pope he meaneth) setteth a most cruel and deadly snare to tangle the consciences; suffereth not the use of this sacrament to be free; but compelleth all together, on one certain day once in the year, to communicate. Here, I pray thee, Christian brother! how many dost thou think to communicate only by the compulsion of this precept, who truly, in their heart, had rather not communicate? and all these sin, (for they do not communicate in spirit, that is to say, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulsion of this letter and law,) since this bread requireth a hungry, and not a full heart, and much less a disdain and hateful mind. And of all these sins the pope is author, constraining all men, by his most cruel law, to their own destruction; whereas he ought to leave this communion free to every man, and only call and exhort them, and not compel and drive them unto it," &c.

XXXVI. "The Spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in the Scripture." Fol. 81.

In things appertaining to God's worship and service, true it is that he is not to be worshipped, but only according to that which he hath revealed and expressed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the author, as by his words doth plainly appear.

XXXVII. "St. Thomas Aquinas savoureth nothing of the Spirit of God." Fol. 83.

The doctrine of Thomas Aquinas referreth the greatest, or a very great part of our righteousness to *opus operatum*, and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteousness before God, only to our faith in Christ. Now, how these savour together, let any indifferent reader judge.

XXXVIII. "The pope did condemn the truth of the word of God openly at Constance in John Huss, persevering unto this day in the same stubbornness." Fol. 86.

Touching the condemnation of John Huss, and the manner of his handling, and the cause of his death, read his story before; and consider, moreover, his prophecy of the hundred years after him expired, how truly the sequel did follow in Martin Luther, and then judge of his cause, good reader, as the truth of God's word shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these slanderous articles.

Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops out of the book named The Sum of the Scripture, with the places of the book annexed to the same.

I. First article:—"The water of the font hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water." Fol. I.

II. "The virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thing, but only in faith." Fol. 6.

The place of these two articles gathered out of The Sum of the Scripture, is this:

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"The water of baptism taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash ourselves therein; neither hath the water of the font more virtue in itself, than the water that runneth in the river of Rhine. When Philip baptized the eunuch, the servant of Candace the queen of Ethiopia, there was then no hallowed water, nor candle, nor salt, nor cream, neither white habit; but he baptized him in the first water they came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, nor in the outward things that we have at the font, but in the faith only, &c. Christ hath healed us (saith St. Paul) by the hath of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost"

III. "Godfathers and godmothers be bound to help their children that they be put to school, that they may understand the gospel, and the epistles of St. Paul." Fol. 15.

The place of this article, gathered out of the said book, is this:

"The godfathers and godmothers be bound to help the children that they be put to school, to the intent that they may understand the gospel, the joyful message of God, with the epistles of St. Paul. God hath commanded to publish, and to show the gospel, not only to priests, but to every creature: Go ye (saith Christ unto his disciples) into the universal world, and preach the gospel to every creature. For we be all equally bound to know the gospel and the doctrine of the New Testament, &c. And St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, confesseth that he sendeth his epistles to all the church; that is to say, to all the assembly of Christian men, and to all them that call on the name of Jesus," &c.

IV. "We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith that a Christian man is bound to have; but so doth the devil believe." Fol. 17.

V. "To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be one God, is not the principal that we must believe: our faith doth not lie principally in that; for so believeth the devil." Fol. 18.

The place out of the which these two articles are collected, is this:

"We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith which a Christian is bound to have. The devil believeth also that there is a God, and life everlasting, and a hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembled always for his faith, as saith St. James, The devils believe, and they tremble. A man might ask, What shall I then believe? Thou shalt believe plainly and undoubtedly, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is one only God, &c. But this, likewise, believeth the wicked spirits, and are nothing the better therefor. There is yet another faith which Christ so much requireth of us in the gospel, and whereunto, St. Paul in almost all his epistles so strongly exhorteth us; that is, that we believe the gospel. When-our Lord first began to preach, he said, (as rehearseth St Mark,) Repent and believe the gospel."

Of this faith read before in the first article gathered out of The Wicked Mammon, and in the ninth and tenth of The Revelation of Antichrist.

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VI. "If we believe that God hath promised everlasting life, it is impossible that we should perish." Fol. 20.

Lo here, good reader! another manifest example of the dishonest dealing and false cogging of these men. For where the place of the author speaketh expressly of putting our trust in God and his promises, the article prettily leaveth out our trusting in God's promise, and saith only, if we believe that God hath promised. Read the place, and confer it with the article, and then judge whether there be no difference between trusting in the promise that God hath made of everlasting life, and believing only that God hath made the promise of everlasting life. The place here followeth as it is there written:

"When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in God and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish, for he hath promised us life everlasting. And forasmuch as he is Almighty, he may well perform that which he hath promised; and in that he is merciful and true, he will perform his promise made unto us, if we can believe it stedfastly, and put all our trust in him."

VII. "If thou canst surely and stedfastly believe in God, he will hold his promise: for he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us heaven, in case that we believe him." Fol. 21.

Seeing all our hope standeth only upon the promise of God, what heresy then is in this doctrine, to say that God oweth us heaven by his promise, which is to mean no other but that God cannot break promise? And now judge thou, good reader, whether is more heresy to say, that God oweth us heaven by his promise, as we say; or this, that God oweth us heaven by the condignity and congruity of our works, as the papists say.

VIII. "All Christ's glory is ours." Fol. 27.

IX. "We need not to labour for to be Christ's heirs, and sons of God, and to have heaven; for we have all these things already." Fol. 24.

The words out of the which these two heresies are gathered, be these:

"We be made his heirs, and all his glory is ours, as St. Paul largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deserving, and we need not to labour for all these things, for these we have already," &c.

They which note these articles for heresy, by the same judgment they may make heresy of St. John's Gospel, and of Paul's Epistle, and of all together. St. John saith, The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one, as we also are one. As many as received him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God. St. Paul saith, The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the sons of God. If we be sons, then are we also heirs, the heirs I mean of God, and heirs annexed with Christ.

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X. "We need not to labour, by our good works, to get everlasting life, for we have it already; we be all justified; we be all the children of God." Fol. 28.

XI. "All that think that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of salvation, they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour." Fol. 28.

XII. "If we be circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in works, Christ shall not help us." Fol. 18.

XIII. "We deserve nothing of God.," Fol. 30.

XIV. "We deserve not everlasting life by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before that we began to do good." Fol. 40.

XV. "Every Christian man must keep God's commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life." Fol. 42.

XVI. "The Jews kept the commandments, and the law of God; yet they could not come to heaven." Fol. 43.

XVII. "Men, trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such men as come to the church daily, keep holy-days and fasting-days, and hear masses, and these people be soonest damned; for this is one of the greatest errors in Christendom, to think that thy good works shall help thee to thy salvation." Fol. 47.

If these articles be made heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to God's gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us shut up clean the New Testament, and away with God's word, and set up a new divinity of the pope's making; yea, let us leave Christ with his heretical gospel, and, in his stead, set up the bishop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the disciples of his decretals. And, certes, except Christian princes begin betimes to take some zeal of God unto them, and look more seriously upon the matter, the proceedings of these men seem to tend to little better, than to drive us at length from true Christianity, to another kind and form of religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well near to pass already.

XVIII. "To serve God in a tediousness, or for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, is but a shadow of good works, and such service doth not please God." Fol. 41.

The place is this:

"Works done in faith be only pleasant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the Holy Ghost, that dwelleth in us by this faith. But they that are done by tediousness, and evil will, for fear of hell, or for desire of heaven, be nothing else but shadows of works, making hypocrites. The end of our good works is only to please God, knowledging that if we do ever so much, we can never do our duty; for they that for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, do serve God, do a constrained service, which God will not have. Such people do not

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serve God, because he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid his punishments; and such people are hired men and waged servants, and are not children. But the children of God serve their Father for love," &c.

XIX. "We must love death, and more desire to die, than to fear death." Fol. 36.

Although our nature be frail, and full of imperfection, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to die, and be with Christ, as the place itself doth well declare, which is this:

"We must love death, and more desire to die, and to be with God, as did St. Paul, than to fear death. For Jesus Christ died for us, to the intent that we should not fear to die; and he hath slain death, and destroyed the sting of death, as writeth St. Paul, saying, death, where is thy sting? Death is swallowed up in victory! And to the Philippians, Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage."

XX. "God made us his children and his heirs, while we were his enemies, and before we knew him." Fol. 44.

I marvel what the papists mean in the registers to condemn this article as a heresy, unless their purpose be utterly to impugn and gainstand the Scripture, and the writings of St. Paul, who, in the fifth chapter to the Romans, and other his epistles, importeth even the same doctrine in all respects, declaring, in formal words, that we be made the children and heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his enemies.

XXI. "It were better never to have done good works, and ask mercy there-for, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promise." Fol. 48.

XXII. "We can show no more honour to God, than faith and trust in him." Fol. 48.

The place out of which these two articles be gathered, is this:

"It were better for thee a thousand fold, that thou hadst been a sinner, and never had done good deeds, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, asking mercy with a good heart, lamenting thy sins, than to have done good works, and in them to put thy trust, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of speaking) bindeth God, but firm and stedfast faith and trust in him and his promises, &c.: for we can show unto God no greater honour; than to have faith and trust in him: for whosoever doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mighty, and merciful," &c.

XXIII. "Faith without good works, is no little or feeble faith, but it is no faith." Fol. 50.

XXIV. "Every man doth as much as he believeth." Fol. 50.

The place out of the which these two articles be gathered, is this:

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"If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then hast not thou the right faith, thou doest but only think that thou hast it. For St. James saith, That faith without works is dead in itself. He saith not, that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead; and that which is dead, is not. Therefore, when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou hast no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the Spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to stir up love, cannot be idle. Every one doth as much as he believeth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth St. John: He that hath this hope, that he is the son of God, purifieth himself as he is pure. He saith not, he that purifieth himself hath this hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the faith; as it behoveth that the tree must first be good, which must bring forth good fruit."

XXV. "We cannot be without motions of evil desires; but we must mortify them in resisting them." Fol. 52.

They that note this article of heresy, may note themselves rather to be like the Pharisee, who, foolishly flattering himself in the false opinion of his own righteousness, was not subdued to the righteousness which standeth before God by faith; and, therefore, went home to his house less justified than the publican. If the Scriptures condemn the heart of man to be crooked, even from his youth; and also condemn all the righteousness of man to be like a dyed cloth; and if St. Paul could find in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but showeth a continual resistance between the old man and the new; then must it follow, that these Pharisees, who condemn this article of heresy, either carry no flesh and no old man about them to be resisted; or, verily, say what they will, they cannot choose but be cumbered with evil motions, for the inward man continually to fight against. The place of the author sufficiently defendeth itself, as followeth:

"St. Paul biddeth us mortify all our evil desires and carnal lusts, as uncleanness, covetousness, wrath, blasphemy, detraction, pride, and other like vices. And unto the Romans, he saith, Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies: that is to say, albeit that we cannot live without the motion of such evil desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in us, but shall mortify them in resisting them," &c.

XXVI. "All true Christianity lieth in love of our neighbours for God: and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, praying, and singing, and long prayers, daily and all day long hearing mass, running on pilgrimage," &c. Fol. 52.

The place of this article is this:

"Thou hast always occasion to mortify thine evil desires, to serve thy neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsel and exhortation, and other semblable means. In such love towards our neighbour for the love of God, lieth all the law and the prophets, as saith Christ, yea, and all Christianity; and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, singing, and long prayers; daily and all day long hearing of masses, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimages, and such other things, which as well the hypocrites, proud people, envious, and subject to all wicked affections, do," &c.

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XXVII. "Many doctors in divinity, and not only common people, believe that it is the part of Christian faith only to believe that Jesus Christ hath lived here on earth." Fol. 53, 54.

The place is this:

"We believe that Jesus Christ hath here lived on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he died for us, and did many other things. When we believe these things after the story, we believe that this is our Christian faith. This not only the simple people believe, but also doctors in divinity, which are taken for wise men. Yea, the devil hath also this faith; as saith St. James, The devils believe, and they tremble. For, as we have said before, the devil believeth that God is God, and that Jesus Christ hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. This must we also believe, but this is not the faith whereof speaketh the gospel, and St. Paul," &c.

Of this faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth articles of this book, and of the first article gathered out of The Wicked Mammon, and the ninth and tenth articles of The Revelation of Antichrist.

XXVIII. "He that doth good against his will, he doth evil." Fol. 56.

The place is this:

"All good deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are sin before God, as saith St. Augustine: He that doth good against his will, doth evil; albeit that he doth good: for that which I do against my will, I hate; and when I hate the commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it," &c.

XXIX. "No man doth more than he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make others partakers of their good works." Fol. 59.

The words be these:

"The prophet Isaiah saith, We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justice is as it were a filthy cloth: and therefore I can never marvel enough, that many of the religious persons would make others partakers of their good works, seeing that Christ saith in the gospel, When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done but that which was our duty to do. For none can do too much. None doth more than he is bound to do, but only Jesus Christ (which only, as saith St. Peter, never did sin, neither was there deceit found in his mouth) hath done that he was not bound to do; and, as the prophet Isaiah saith, hath taken upon him our infirmities, and borne our sorrows; he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness, and by his stripes are we made whole," &c.

XXX. "Christ hath gotten heaven by his passion; but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his promises." Fol. 59.

Read the place:

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"Jesus Christ possesseth the kingdom of heaven by double right: first, because he is the Son of God, and very inheritor of his kingdom: secondly, because he hath gotten it by his passion and death. Of his second right he hath no need, and therefore he giveth it to all them that believe and trust in him and his promises."

XXXI. "If God had promised us heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our salvation." Fol. 59.

XXXII. "Be our sins ever so great, so that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must believe to be saved." Fol. 59.

The words out of the which these two articles be gathered are these:

"If God had promised heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our salvation: for we should never know how much, nor how long, we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never die joyfully. But God would assure us of heaven by his promise, to the intent we should be certain and sure, for he is the truth, and cannot lie; and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And, notwithstanding that after the greatness and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet always we must believe it without any doubt, because of his sure promise: and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully die, and abide the judgment of God, which, else, were intolerable."

Read more hereof before in the eleventh article taken out of The Wicked Mammon.

XXXIII. "If thou love thy wife because she is thy wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in God." Fol. 83.

The words be these:

"Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing so straitly, as to love one another; yea, to love our enemies also: then how much more should the man and wife love together! But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy wife only because she is thy wife, and because she serveth and pleaseth thee after the flesh, for beauty, birth, riches, and suchlike, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh not St. Paul, for such love is among harlots, yea, among brute beasts: but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in the Christian faith; and because she is inheritor together with thee in the glory of God; and because ye serve together one God; because ye have received together one baptism, &c. Thou shalt also love her for her virtues, as shamefacedness, chastity, and diligence, sadness, patience, temperance, secrecy, obedience, and other godly virtues," &c.

XXXIV. "It is nothing but all incredulity, to run in pilgrimage, and seek God in one certain place, which is alike mighty in all places." Fol. 62.

The matter of this article is evident to all indifferent and learned judgments, to be void of all doubt of heresy.

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XXXV. "Men should see that their children come to church, to hear the sermon." Fol. 89.
The place of this article is this:

"On the festival days thou shalt bring thy children to the church, to hear the sermon; and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memory of the sermon. Thou shalt teach them the Christian faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to die, than to do any thing that is against the will of God; and principally, thou shalt learn them the contents of the prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the Pater-noster; that is to say, how they have another Father in heaven, of whom they must look for all goodness, and without whom they can have no good thing; and how that they may seek nothing in all their works, and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father: and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire: and how that they must submit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good, &c. Thou shalt buy them wholesome books, as the holy Gospel, the Epistles of the holy apostles, yea, both the New and the Old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet fountain and waters of life."

XXXVI. "Thou shalt not vex or grieve, by justice or otherwise, the poor that oweth unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin." Fol. 97.

The place is this:

"Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, &c., as Christ saith, Resist not evil, but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, &c. St. Paul saith, Render not evil for evil; and, if it be possible, and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging yourselves, my well-beloved, but give place to wrath: for it is written, To me be the vengeance, and I will render it, saith the Lord God."

XXXVII. "Some text of canon law suffereth war, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless, when a city is besieged, or a country invaded, the lord of the country is bound to put his life in jeopardy for his subjects." Fol. 119.

XXXVIII. "So a lord may use horrible war charitably and Christianly."

As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any people or country, upon any rash cause, as ambition, malice, or revenge, the gospel of Christ giveth us no such sword to fight withal. Notwithstanding, for defence of country and subjects, the magistrate, being invaded or provoked by others, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best: as the city of Marburg did well in defending itself against the emperor, &c.

XXXIX. "The gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the world." Fol. 79.

He that compiled this article, to make the matter to appear more heinous, craftily leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, "by the rule of charity;" for that the author addeth withal. By which rule charity, and not of office and duty, every Christian man is bound one to help another; as Christ himself, being Lord of all, yet, of charity, was a servant to every man to do him good.

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Read the place of the Sum of the Scripture, in the page as in the article it is assigned.

XL. "The gospel is written for persons of all estates, prince, duke, pope, emperor." Fol. 112.

They which noted this article for a heresy, I suppose could little tell either what God, or what the Scripture, meaneth.

XLI. "When judges have hope that an evildoer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the woman taken in advoutry. The temporal law must obey the gospel; and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by justice." Fol. 113.

The purpose of the book whence this article is wrested, being well understood, intendeth not to bind temporal judges and magistrates from due execution of good laws, but putteth both them, and especially spiritual judges, in remembrance, by the example of Christ, to discern who be penitent offenders, and who be otherwise; and where they see evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be ecclesiastical judges, to spare them; if they be civil magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call *επιεικεια* [*epieikeia*].

And thus much hitherto of these heresies and articles collected by the bishops, and inserted in their own registers out of the books above specified. The names of the bishops and collectors were these, Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor; William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Tonstall, bishop of London; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel; Richard Woolman, master of the requests; John Bell, Dr. Wilson, with a great number more, as in the registers doth appear.

I shall not need, I trust, gentle reader, further here to tarry thee with reciting more places, when these already rehearsed may suffice for a taste and a trial for thee, sufficient to note and consider how falsely, and most slanderously, these catholics have depraved and misreported the books and writings of good men, who might almost gather heresies as well of St. John's Gospel, and St. Paul's Epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being set on mischief? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the bellows of ambition and iniquity? And as they have done with these, the like parts they have and do practise still against all others, whosoever, in defence of troth, dare touch ever so little either the pope's crown, or the bellies of his clergy: for these two sores in no case they can abide to be touched.

And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Heresy, Heresy; Blasphemy, Error, and Schism. Although the doctrine be ever so sound and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the writer be not such, in all points, (especially in these two above touched,) as will sing after their tune, and dance after their pipe, he is by and by heretic, by virtue of their inquisition. So did they with the articles of the learned Earl Johannes Picus Mirandula. So did they also with John Reveline or Capnion. So did they also with good John Colet here in England. Also, with the like spirit of lying and cavilling, the catholic faculties of Louvain, Spain, and Paris, condemned the works and writings of Erasmus, and many more. So full they are of censures, articles, suspicions, offences,

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inquisitions. So captious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, so practised in depraving, misconstruing, and wresting, true meanings into wrong purposes. Briefly, so pregnant they be in finding heresies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serve their devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for a heretic. Yea, and though no just cause of any heresy be ministered, yet where they once take disliking, they will not stick sometimes, with false accusations, to press him with matter which be never spake nor thought. If Luther had not stirred against the pope's pardons and authority, he had remained still a white son of the mother catholic church, and all had been well done, whatsoever he did. But, because he adventured to touch once the triple crown, what floods of heresies, blasphemies, and articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole world! what lies and forged crimes were invented against him!

Here now cometh Staphylus and furious Suring, with their fraternity, and say, that he learned his divinity of the devil. Then followeth another certain chronographer, who, in his lying story reporteth most falsely, that Luther died of drunkenness. With like malice the said chronographer writeth also of Master Bucer, falsely affirming upon his information, that he should deny at his death Christ our Messias to be come; when not only Dr. Redman, who preached at his burial, but also all Englishmen who knew the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

So was it laid against one Singleton, chaplain some time to Queen Anne Bullen, that he was the murderer of Packington, and afterwards, that he was a stirrer-up of sedition and commotion; who also suffered as a traitor for the same. Whereas, in very deed, the true cause was for nothing else, but for preaching the gospel unto the people; whose purpose was ever so far from stirring sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared and protested to one Richard Lent his scholar, who is yet alive, and can testify the truth hereof. But this is no new practice amongst the Romish bishops; whereof enough hath been said before in the story of Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Acton, &c.

Another like practice of such malicious slander we find also in one Merial a bricklayer, whose name, with his abjuration, remaineth yet in the registers of the bishop of London.

The story is this, and not unworthy to be remembered. In the year of our Lord 1534, which was about the first beginning of Queen Anne Bullen, at what time purgatory and such trumpery began to grow in contempt, Stokesley, bishop of London, made a sermon in the Shrouds, upon the Sunday before May-day; where he, preaching in the commendation and virtue of masses, declared to the people, that, for a little cost, if they procured masses to be said, wives might deliver their husbands, and husbands their wives, out of the bitter pains of purgatory. At this sermon, besides many others, was Thomas Merial, a zealous favourer of God's word; who, being in the watch on May-even, made relation of these words of the bishop unto the company about him, amongst whom then was one John Twyford, a furious papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the stakes in Smithfield, whereat the good saints of God were burned.

This Twyford, who then kept a tavern, and had an old grudge against the said Merial for striking his boy, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain lewd persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these: Blackwell, Laurence, Wilson, Thomas Clark, John

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Duffield, William Kenningham, Thomas Hosier, Worme, a cutler, Allen Ryse, with another that was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly Master Chambers's clerk, whose name was Bright. And when he had craftily overcome them with wine, and made them to report what words he listed, and which they knew not themselves, the clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this article was gathered against Merial, that he should hold and affirm, that the passion of Christ doth not help them that came after him, but only them that were in limbo before: and also that he should say, that his wife was as good as our Lady. Upon this writing of the notary, he was immediately brought to Bishop Stokesley, and there, by the deposition of these ten false witnesses, wrongfully accused, and also for the same should have been condemned, had not Dr. Barret the same time bid him speak one word (which he knew not) as the sentence was in reading, whereby the condemnation was stayed, and he put to do open penance, and to bear a faggot. Notwithstanding the said Merial swore before the bishop that he never spake nor meant any such word as there was said unto him, but only recited the words of the bishop's sermon, reporting the same in the person of the bishop, and not his own; which also was testified to be true, by the oaths of three others, to wit, William Tompson, Gregory Newman, and William Wit, who, being in the aforesaid watch the same time, did take upon their oath before the bishop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. These three witnesses, at the second edition hereof, were also living, with the wife of the aforesaid Merial, who would then also be sworn that the same was true: whereas, contrary, the other ten persons be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom, moreover, the most of all the said ten came to a miserable end; whereas the other three who testified the truth with Merial, being living at the second edition hereof, did see the end of all the others. And as for Twyford, which was the executioner of Frith, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, Lambert, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, that none could abide him, and thus came to a wretched end.

Of this malicious and perverse dealing of these men contrary to all truth and honesty, in defaming them for heretics which indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to slander their cause, which is nothing else but the simple truth of Christ's gospel, whoso listeth to search, further, (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice,) let him read the story of Merindol and Angrogne. Let him consider the furious bull of Pope Martin, the like slanderous bull also of Pope Leo the Tenth, with the edict of Charles the emperor against Luther. Also let him survey the railing stories of Surius the monk of Cologne; the book of Hosius; of Lindanus; the chronography of Genebarde; the story of Cochleus against the Hussites and the Lutherans, with the preface of Conradus Brunus the lawyer prefixed before the same, wherein he, most falsely and untruly railing against these protestants, whom he calleth heretics, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and men, church-robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of public peace and tranquillity, corrupters and subverters of commonweals, and all else that naught is.

In much like sort was Socrates accused of his countrymen for a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defendeth. Aristides the just lacked not his unjust accusers. Was it not objected unto St. Paul, that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might do evil that good might come thereof? How was it laid to the Christian martyrs in the primitive church, for worshipping of an ass's head, and for sacrificing of infants. And, to come more near to these our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian congregation of the Frenchmen, gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of filthy

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commixion of men and women together, and the king the same time (Henry the Second) was made to believe that beds with pillows and mats were found there on the floor where they lay together; whereupon the same time divers were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which can be void of these slanders and criminations, when also our Saviour Christ himself was noted for a wine drinker, and a common haunter of the publicans, &c.

Even so, likewise, it pleaseth our Lord and Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his church under the like kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who, under the name of the church, will needs maintain a portly state and kingdom in this world; and because they cannot uphold their cause by plain Scripture and the word of God, they bear it out with facing, railing, and slandering; making princes and the simple people believe, that all be heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, rebels, and subverters of all authority and commonweals, whosoever dare reply with any Scripture against their doings.

It is written of Nero, that when he himself had burned the city of Rome six days and seven nights, he made open proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, whereby he might burn and destroy them as rebels and traitors.

Not much unlike seemeth the dealing of these religious catholics, who, when they be the true heretics themselves, and have burned and destroyed the church of Christ, make out their exclamations, bulls, briefs, articles, books, censures, letters, and edicts against the poor Lutherans, to make the people believe, that they be the heretics, schismatics, disturbers of the whole world; who, if they could prove them, as they reprove them to be heretics, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them heretics, and can prove no heresy; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error. They call them schismatics, and what church since the world stood hath been the mother of so many schisms as the mother church of Rome? They charge them with dissension and rebellion; and what dissension can be greater than to dissent from the Scripture and word of God? or what is so like rebellion, as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of peace and public authority; which is as true, as that the Christians set the city of Rome on fire. What doctrine did ever attribute so much to public authority of magistrates, as do the protestants? or who ever attributed less to magistrates, or deposed more dukes, kings, and emperors, than the papists? He that saith that the bishop of Rome is no more than the bishop of Rome, and ought to wear no crown, is not by and by a rebel against his king and magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authority; which, indeed, the bishop of Rome cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see whether be the greater heretics, the protestants or the papists? Let us try it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory only of the Son of God, which cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech thee, whosoever knowest the doctrine of them both, whether of these two do ascribe more or less to the majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the protestants, which admit no other head of the church, nor justifier of our souls, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father, but him alone; or else the papists, who can abide none of these articles, but condemn the same for heresy? This being so, (as they themselves will not deny,) now judge, good reader, who hath set the city of Rome on fire – Nero, or the Christians.

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But to return again to the purpose of our former matter, which was to show forth the proclamation of the bishops for the abolishing of English books above rehearsed as being corrupt and full of heresy, which, notwithstanding, we have declared to contain no heresy, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and scripture of God.

Here now, when the prelates of the pope's side had procured this edict and proclamation aforesaid, for the condemnation of all such English books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand against the gospel's ever rising again, and that they had established their kingdom for ever; as indeed, to all men's thinking, it might seem no less. For who would have thought, after so strait, so precise, and so solemn proclamation, set forth and armed with the king's terrible authority; also after the cruel execution of Anne Askew, Lacels, and the rest: item, after the busy search, moreover, and names-taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up, divers in present peril, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought it (I say) otherwise possible, but that the gospel must needs have an overthrow, seeing what sure work the papists here had made, in setting up their side, and throwing down the contrary?

But it is no new thing with the Lord, to show his power against man's presumption, that when man counteth himself most sure, then is he furthest off, and when he supposeth to have done all, then is he anew to begin again. So was it in the primitive church before Constantine's time, that when Nero, Domitian, Maxentius, Decius, and other emperors, impugning the gospel and profession of Christ, did not only constitute laws and proclamations against the Christians, but also did engrave the same laws in tables of brass, minding to make all things firm for ever and a day; yet we see how, with a little turning of God's hand, all their puissant devices and brazen laws turned all to wind and dust: so little doth it avail for man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings! Howsoever man's building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick and mouldering stones, yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time waste, nor man pluck down. What God setteth up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intendeth, standeth; what he blesseth, that prevaieth. And yet man's unquiet presumption will not cease still to erect up towers of Babel against the Lord, which, the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruin: for what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing, as in example of all ages it is to be seen, so, in this late proclamation devised by the bishops, is it in like manner exemplified; the which proclamation, though it was sore and terrible for the time, yet, not long after, by reason of the king's death, (whom the Lord shortly thereupon took to his mercy,) it made at length but a castle come down. So that where the prelates thought to make their jubilee, it turned them to the "threnes" of Jeremy. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hosts, whose name be sanctified for ever!

This I do not infer for any other purpose, but only for the works of the Lord to be seen; premonishing thee, good reader, withal, that as touching the king, (who in this proclamation had nothing but the name only,) here is nothing spoken but to his laud and praise; who, of his own nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in all things virtuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redress of religion hath not lightly been seen in any other prince christened: as in abolishing the stout and almost invincible authority of the pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing custom of idolatry and pilgrimage, &c.; which enterprises, as never king of England did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him, so, yet to this

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day, we see but few in other realms dare follow the same. If princes have always their council about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of princes themselves. So long as Queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, Master Denny, Doctor Butts, with such like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage-worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holy-days, both by act public, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect.

A private letter of the king to Bishop Bonner.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well! And whereas, considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue to our subjects, by the great superfluity of holy-days, we have, by the ascents and consents of all you the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed. And to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receipt hereof, to address your commandments, in our name, to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holy-days aforesaid, a transumpt whereof ye shall receive herewith; commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur at, or to contemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation. And forasmuch as the time of harvest now approacheth, our pleasure is ye shall, with such diligence and dexterity, put this matter in execution, as that it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time accordingly, without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our monastery of Chertsey, the eleventh day of August."

Thus, while good counsel was about him, and could be heard, the king did much good. So again, when sinister and wicked counsel, under subtle and crafty pretences, had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth and verity out of the prince's ears, how much religion and all good things went prosperously forward before, so much, on the contrary side, all revolted backward again. Whereupon proceeded this proclamation above mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English books: which proclamation, bearing the name of the king's Majesty, but being the very deed of the popish bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly sort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, had not the shortness of the king's days stopped the malignant purposes of the aforesaid prelates, causing the king to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For, within four

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months after, the proclamation coming out in August, he deceased in the beginning of January, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, A.D. 1547; leaving behind him three children, who succeeded him in his kingdom, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; of whom it remaineth now to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the process of this history, according as the order of their succession, and acts done by them in the church, shall require; after that, first, I shall have prosecuted certain other matters by the way, according to my promise here to be inserted.

217. Sir John Borthwike

The history touching the persecution in Scotland, with the names and causes of such blessed martyrs, as in that country suffered for the truth, after the time of Patrick Hamelton.

Thus, having finished the time and race of King Henry the Eighth, it remaineth now, according to my promise made before, here to place and adjoin so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ, which in that country, likewise, suffered for the true religion of Christ, and the testimony of their faith.

To proceed therefore in the history of these Scottish matters, next after the mention of David Stratton and Master Nicholas Gurley, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to infer the memory of Sir John Borthwike, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike; who, being accused of heresy, as the papists call it, and cited there-for A.D. 1540, and not appearing, and escaping out into other countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates of Scotland; and all his goods confiscated, and his picture at last burned in the open market-place. Whose story, with his articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here ensueth in process under expressed, as followeth.

The act or process, or certain articles against Sir John Borthwike, knight, in Scotland: with the answer and confutation of the said Borthwike; whose preface to the reader here followeth.

"By the help of a certain friend of mine, there came certain articles unto my hand, for the which the Scottish cardinal, and such other like of his sect and affinity, did condemn me as a heretic. And forasmuch as this condemnation should not lack his cloak or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, whereas, besides the bare names of the witnesses, they alleged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling those articles, which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspicion, as though that I, being vanquished or overthrown by their threatenings, would deny Christ; and, partly, that their errors being thereby made manifest, they should even for very shame repent, or else, hereafter, the less abuse the furor or madness of such witnesses to shed blood. Therefore I will first confirm, by evident testimonies of the Scriptures, those things which in times past I have taught; and afterwards I will refel their vain sophistication, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God."

The act or process, &c.

"Sir John Borthwike, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convicted by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation than he himself, in the year of our Lord 1540, the twenty-eighth day of May, in the cloister of St. Andrew's, in the presence of the most reverend fathers, Gawine, archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of Scotland; William, bishop of Aberdeen, Henry, bishop of Candicatia, John, bishop of Brechin, and William, bishop of Dunblane; Andrew of Melrose, George of Dunfermline, John of Paslet, John of Londrose, Robert of Rillos, and William of Rulrose, abbots; Mancolme of

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Quiterne and John of Petinuaim, priors; Master Alexander Balfour, vicar of Ritman, rector of law, official of St. Andrew's; John Winryme, subprior; John Annand and Thomas Cunningham, canons of St. Andrew's; John Thompson of the university of St. Andrew's; and Master John Mairr and Peter Capel, bachelors of divinity and doctors; Martin Balfour, bachelor of divinity, and of the law, and official principal of St. Andrew's; John Tulildaffe, warden of the Friars Minors, and John Patterson of the same convent: and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty, and right worshipful lords, George earl of Huntelo, James earl of Arran, William earl marshall, William earl of Montrose; Malcolm Lord Fleming, chamberlain of Scotland; John Lord Linsey, John Lord Erskine, George Lord Seton, Sir James Hamelton of Finwart, Walter, lord of the knights of St. John, of Forfichen; Master James Foules of Collington, clerk to the king's register; with divers other lords, barons, and honest persons, being called and required together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish, and openly teach, these errors following."

The first article.

"That our most holy father the pope, the vicar of Jesu Christ, hath not, neither can exercise, greater authority over Christians here on earth, than any other bishop or prelate."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"These holy ones do magnify their Lord by like title as common thieves and robbers are accustomed to prefer the captains and ringleaders of their robberies and mischiefs, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that in the whole world there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth seek after all kind of delicateness and wantonness, and finally aboundeth with all kind of vice, as treason, murder, rapine, and all kind of such evils.

"Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the vicar of Christ here on earth, it shall be easily convinced, when it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath, nor can exercise, more power or authority over Christians, than any other bishop or prelate. For unto that office of being vicar they refer that great authority the which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the office of vicar doth also fall and decay. But now, to attempt the matter, I will first demand of the maintainers of this pre-eminency and authority, whereupon they will ground the same? I know that they will answer unto me, that Peter had power and authority over the other apostles, and consequently over the universal church, the which power, by succession, is translated unto the bishops of Home. But how unshamefacedly do they lie herein, any may easily perceive who hath but any small spark of judgment in him, when he shall hear the testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will allege to confirm this our opinion. For Peter, in Acts xv., in the council, doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessity we ought to do. And he there did also hear others speak, and did not only give them place to say their minds, but also permit and receive their judgment; and whereas they decreed, he followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to have power over others?

"Furthermore, whereas in his First Epistle he writeth unto bishops and pastors, he doth not command them as a superior or head over them, by power and authority, but maketh them his fellow companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accustomed to be done between equals of

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degree; for these are his words: I beseech and desire the bishops and pastors which are amongst you, forasmuch as I myself am also a bishop, and a witness of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, that they do diligently feed the flock of Christ, which is committed unto them. Why then do they so challenge unto them the authority of Peter, which he never acknowledged in himself? Truly, I do not doubt but that if Peter were, here present, he would, with like severity, rebuke their folly and madness, as Moses, in times past, did unto Joshua, which burned with too earnest a zeal towards him.

"I doubt not but that many, in this feigned authority of Peter, do seek out more vain helps to maintain and uphold the tyranny of popes, rather than to make him ruler and governor over all others. For whereas in Acts viii. he is commanded by his fellows to go with John into Samaria, he did not refuse so to do. Insomuch then as the apostles do send him, they declare thereby, that they do not count him as their head and superior; and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the office or ministry committed unto him, he confesseth thereby that he hath a society and fellowship with them, but no rule or empery over them, as he writeth in his Epistle. But if none of these examples were evident or manifest, the only Epistle to the Galatians were sufficient to put us out of all doubt; where St. Paul, almost throughout two whole chapters, doth nothing else but declare and affirm himself to be equal unto Peter, in the honour or dignity of the apostleship. For, first of all, he rehearseth how he went up to Jerusalem unto Peter, not to the intent to profess any homage and subjection unto him, but only to witness, with a common consent and agreement, unto all men the doctrine which they taught; and that Peter did require no such things at his hand, but gave unto him the right side or upper hand of the fellowship, that they might jointly together labour in the vineyard of the Lord. Moreover, that he had no less favour and grace among the Gentiles, than Peter had amongst the Jews; and finally, when Peter did not faithfully execute his office and ministry, he was by him rebuked, and Peter became obedient unto his correction.

"All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality between Paul and Peter, and also that Peter had no more power over the residue of the apostles than he had over Paul: which thing St. Paul even of purpose doth treat of, lest any man should prefer Peter or John before him in the office of apostleship, which were but his companions, and not lords over one another. Whereupon these places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge Peter to be superior or head over other apostles, neither the pope over other bishops: but I acknowledge and confess Christ to be the only Head of the church, the Foundation and High Priest thereof, who, with one only oblation, hath made perfect for evermore all those which are sanctified. And I boldly do affirm and say with St. Gregory, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called, the head or universal priest or bishop, in that his pride he is the fore-rider or predecessor of antichrist; forasmuch as, through his pride, he doth exalt himself above all others.

"Furthermore, whereas they allege, out of the old law, the high priesthood and the supreme judgment which God did institute and ordain at Jerusalem; I answer thereunto, that Christ was that high bishop, unto whom the right and title of priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will take upon him to succeed in the place or degree of his honour; forasmuch as this priesthood doth not consist only in learning, but is the propitiation and mercy of God, which Christ hath fulfilled by his death, and in the intercession, by which he doth now entreat for us unto his Father.

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"Whereas also they do allege out of Matt. xvi., Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c., if they do think that this was particularly spoken unto Peter, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine shall sufficiently answer them, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the unity of the church; for so saith St. Cyprian: 'In the person of one man God gave unto them all the keys, that he might thereby signify the unity of them all. For even as Peter was, even the very same were all the residue, being endued with like fellowship of honour and dignity. But it was convenient that it should take its original of one, that the church of God might be manifested to be one only.' St. Augustine's words are these: 'If the mystery of the church were not in Peter, the Lord would not have said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If this were spoken unto Peter, the church hath them not. If the church have them, then Peter, when he received the keys, did figurate the whole church. Again, when they were all demanded and asked, only Peter answered, Thou art Christ. Then was it said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys, as though that he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; for, like as he alone spake that for them all, so he, as it were, bearing the person of that unity, received the same with them all. Therefore, one for them all, because he is united unto them all.'

"Another argument they do gather upon the words which Christ spake unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church: which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the apostles. This argument shall easily be dissolved, if we do understand and know why Christ did give Peter that name, which otherwise was called Simon. In the first chapter of John, Christ speaketh thus unto him: Thou shalt be called Cephas; which, by interpretation, signifieth Peter: in that point having respect unto the constant confession of Christ, which he had made, like as God changed the name of Abraham, who at first was called Abram, because he should be a father of many nations. Then, even as Abraham took his name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likewise Peter took his name of the constant confession of Christ, which indeed is the true rock whereupon the church is builded, and not Peter himself; no otherwise than Abraham, which was not the multitude itself, whereof he took his name. Besides this, the church should be stayed, or builded, upon an over-weak foundation, if it should have Peter for the ground or foundation thereof, who, being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did so constantly deny Christ.

"Now, therefore, I think there is no man but that doth understand how these Romish builders do wrest the Scriptures hither and thither, and, like unto the rule or square, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and use they themselves think good.

"Furthermore, in that they do allege, out of John xx., Feed my sheep, it is an over-childish argument; for to feed, is not to bear rule and dominion over the whole church. Besides all this, as Peter had received commandment of the Lord, so doth he exhort all other bishops to feed their flock, in his First Epistle and fifth chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these words of Christ, that either there was no authority given unto Peter more than unto others, or else that Peter did equally communicate that right and authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reserve It unto himself after his death, to be transported unto the bishops of Rome.

"As for such reasons as they do allege, which are not gathered or taken out of Holy Scriptures, I pass them over, lest I might seem to contend with shadows."

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The second article.

"That indulgences and pardons, granted by our supreme head the pope, are of no force, strength, or effect; but tend only to the abuse of the people, and to the deceiving of their souls."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"It shall be evidently declared, that indulgences and pardons are of none effect, after that I have, first of all, taught what they do call indulgences or pardons. They say, they are the treasures of the church, that is to say, the merits of Christ, of the saints, apostles and martyrs, whom they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more at God's hand, at the time of their death, than was necessary or needful for them; and that of the abundance of their merits there did so much superabound, as was not only sufficient for themselves, but also might redound to the help of others. And, because so great a goodness should not be superfluous or in vain, they affirm and teach, that their blood was mixed and joined with the blood of Christ; and of them both, the treasure of the church was compound, and made for the remission and satisfaction of sins. How cunning and notable cooks these are, which can make a confection of so many sundry herbs!

"Furthermore, they do feign the custody and keeping of this treasure to be committed wholly unto the bishop of Rome, in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great treasures, that either by himself may give or grant, or otherwise give power unto other to give the same. And hereupon rise the plenary indulgences and pardons granted by the pope, for certain years; by cardinals, for a hundred days; by bishops, for forty days. This is the judgment and opinion which they hold of the indulgences. But I pray you, who taught those saints to work or deserve for others, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of salvation? For, if the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himself can deserve or work his salvation, how did the saints then work or merit for others? It is manifest that Christ saith, in Luke xvii., When ye have done all that which is commanded you for to do, yet, saith he, ye are unprofitable servants. Besides this, all that which may be deserved or merited in the righteousness of man, is, in Isaiah xxxiv., compared unto the garment menstruous and defiled, to be cast out.

"There are almost infinite places in the Scripture, wherein man's power is so extenuated, and the corruption and frowardness of our nature so made manifest, that even in the best and most perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the ten virgins, written in Matthew xxv., ought to put us out of all controversy and doubt. There Christ describeth two kinds of men, the one kind of holy men, which observe and keep the inward righteousness of the heart as the oil of faith; the other sort is of such as, having no mind of their oil, are answered by them that are wise, No! lest that there be not sufficient for you and for us; but go you rather to them which do sell, and buy for yourselves: in the which place it is manifestly declared how vainly the second sort of men do fly to the patronage of the elect, by whose merits they think to be saved.

"Now let us weigh and consider upon what places of Scripture they build or establish their feigned invention of pardons. They allege the saying of St. Paul to the Colossians, I supply

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or fulfil the afflictions of Christ, which were wanting in my flesh, for his body which is the church. But Paul, in this place, doth not refer that defect or supplement to any work of redemption, expiation, or satisfaction; but to those afflictions, by the which the members of Christ, that is to say, all the faithful, should be afflicted, so long as they live in the flesh: wherefore he saith, that this doth yet remain of the passion of Christ, that those afflictions which once he suffered in his own body, he now daily suffereth in his members. For Christ hath vouchsafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute and call our afflictions to be his.

"And whereas St. Paul doth add this word, for the church, he doth not understand thereby for the redemption, reconciliation, satisfaction, or expiation of the church, but for the edifying and the profiting of the same, as in the Second Epistle to Timothy, he saith, that for the elect's sake he suffered all these things, that they might obtain salvation. But, to the intent that no man should think that salvation to depend upon those things which he himself had suffered, he added further, The which is in Christ Jesu.

"As touching the reason, that the blood of the martyrs is not shed in vain, without fruit or profit: and, therefore, ought to be conferred to the common utility and profit of the church; I answer, that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant; to glorify God by their death, to subscribe and bear witness unto the truth by their blood, and, by the contempt of this present life, to witness that they do seek after a better life; by their constancy and stedfastness, to confirm and establish the faith of the church, and subdue and vanquish the enemy."

The third article.

"That the pope is an open user of simony, daily selling the gifts of the spiritualities: and that it is lawful for all bishops to be coupled and joined in matrimony."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"This article hath its several parts, for those things which we have spoken or answered unto the article before-written, do sufficiently declare, that the pope is not only a user of simony, but also a notable deceiver, who selleth such kind of merchandise as can in no place help or prevail; forasmuch as his pardons are nothing less than such as he feigneth them to be. Doth he not then show himself a manifest deceiver, when he maketh fairs and markets of them?"

"But, to the intent I will not seem in this behalf vainly to labour or travail, I will pass unto the second part, where I do say, that it is not only done against the word of God, but also against equity and justice, to forbid priests to marry, forasmuch as it is not lawful for any man, by any means, to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For St. Paul, in Hebrews xiii., declareth that matrimony is lawful for all men, saying, that marriage, and the undefiled bed [or chamber], is honourable amongst all men. And in 1 Cor. vii., he saith, For avoiding of whoredom, let every man have a wife of his own. But I know what these obstinate and stiffnecked will answer unto me, that the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of priests.

But what will they answer unto me, as touching that which is written in 1 Tim. iii. 1, A bishop ought to be without rebuke, the husband of one wife? and, by and by after, he saith,

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Deacons ought to be the husbands of one wife, the which should rule and govern their children and family uprightly. Unto these Paul affirmeth matrimony to be meet and necessary, let them say what they can to the contrary.

"What could be more vehemently spoken against their wicked tyranny, than that which by the Holy Ghost he declareth in the fourth chapter of the same Epistle, that in the latter days there should come wicked men, which should forbid matrimony? and he calleth them not only deceivers, but also wicked spirits; attending unto the doctrine of wicked spirits. But these men think that they have very well escaped, when they wrest this sentence to those old ancient heretics the Tatianists. 'They,' say these men, 'did only condemn matrimony: we do not condemn it, but only forbid churchmen to marry; unto whom we think matrimony is not convenient.' As though that albeit this prophecy were first of all complete and fulfilled in the Tatianists, that it did not also redound unto them; or as though this their subtle sophistication were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibit matrimony, because they do not forbid it unto all men generally! Like as if a tyrant would contend and affirm his law to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof only one part of the city is oppressed.

"But now, let us hear the reasons of the contrary part: 'It behoveth,' say they, 'a priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable mark or token.' But read St. Paul, where he describeth the perfect image of a good bishop: did he not reckon and account marriage amongst the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how these men interpret Paul: verily, that a bishop ought not to be chosen, which hath married his second wife. But also it appeareth openly by the text, that this interpretation is false, forasmuch as he doth, by and by, declare and show what manner of women the wives of bishops and deacons ought to be. Wherefore St. Paul numbereth matrimony amongst the principal virtues pertaining unto a bishop: and these men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongst the orders of the church, and not being content with that general reproach or slander, they call it in the canons, 'the uncleanness, polluting, and defiling of the flesh.'

"Now let every man consider with himself out of what shop this stuff is taken. God instituted matrimony: Christ sanctified it with his presence, by turning water into wine; and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would have it the image or figure of his love and friendship with the church. What can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and praise of wedlock? But these unshamefaced faces do call it 'a filthy and unclean thing,' alleging the Levitical priests, which, as often as they came unto the office of ministration, were bound to lie apart from their wives, whereby they, being clean and undefiled, might handle the holy things: and our sacraments, forasmuch as they are much more noble and excellent than theirs, and daily used, it would be a very uncomely thing that they should be handled by married men! As though that the office of the ministry of the gospel were all one with the Levitical priesthood. For they, as figures, did represent Christ, which, being Mediator between God and man, by his singular and absolute purity and cleanness, should reconcile the Father unto us. For forasmuch as on no part sinners could exhibit or show forth any type or form of his sanctity or holiness, yet, to the intent they might shadow him out with certain similitudes or lineaments, they were commanded that whensoever they should come unto the sanctuary or holy place, they should purify themselves above all men's order or fashion: for then did they most near and properly figure Christ, which appeared in the tabernacle as peace-maker, to reconcile the people unto God. This

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image or personage, forasmuch as our ecclesiastical pastors at this day do not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the apostle, without all exception, upon a sure and good ground doth pronounce and say, that marriage is honourable amongst all men, and that whoremongers and adulterers do abide the judgment of God.

"Besides all this, the apostles themselves, by their examples, do prove that matrimony is not unworthy of any office or function,beit ever so excellent; for St. Paul himself is witness, that they did not only keep their wives, but also carried them about with them."

The fourth article.

"That all those heresies commonly called the heresies of England, or at the least, the greater or most part of them, are to be now presently understood and known by the Englishmen, to be of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all faithful Christians as most true and conformable unto the law of God; and that he had persuaded many persons to embrace the said heresies."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"St. John, in his eleventh chapter, declareth how Caiaphas, high bishop of Jerusalem, did prophesy that Jesus should die for the people; which thing he spake, being utterly ignorant. The like image of blindness we have now presently in our luxurious cardinal of St. Andrews, and his adherents, which accused religion of heresy, which, in the year of our Lord 1540, was had in estimation in England, at which time they proclaimed me an arch-heretic, although they esteem the same religion for most Christian; for what religion at the time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace: in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of antichrist; the others not. Idols were worshipped by both nations; the profaning of the Supper and Baptism was alike unto them both; wicked superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hypocrisy.

"Truly it is most false which they do affirm and say, that I had subscribed unto such kind of heresies, as though they had been conformable unto the law of God, whereas nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God of his goodness and mercy had opened my dazzling eyes, and had drawn me out of the filthy slough of idolatry and superstition, in the which, amongst others, I have so long time wallowed and tumbled. Neither is it any less absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same; except peradventure they do understand that I have oftentimes wished that the yoke of antichrist should be shaken and cast off from the necks of the Scots, as it is from the English men; which thing, with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest mind, I do now also wish and desire."

The fifth article.

"That the Scottish nation and their clergy be altogether blinded; of whom he did also say and affirm, that they had not the true cathOLic faith. And this he did so openly teach and preached also, that his faith was much better and more excellent, than the faith of all the clergy in the realm of Scotland."

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Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"No man will deny that people to be blinded, which neither hear Christ nor his apostles. Such are the people of Scotland; I speak of those unto whom the verity and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested itself. There is no cause, therefore, why they should accuse me of heresy. Furthermore, how far off the nation and the people of Scotland be from the hearing of Christ, (albeit the premises do sufficiently declare,) in that they do. challenge unto the Romish antichrist the authority which Christ and his apostles do declare Christ himself to be endued withal, and that, contrary to the word of God, they forbid priests to marry, I will add something more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Christ calleth himself the door whereby all men ought to enter in: see John x. Contrariwise, the Scots do say and affirm, that we must enter in by the Virgin Mary and St. Peter. Christ, in John iv., saith, The time shall come, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: the Scots build themselves high temples and chapels for idols, in which, even as Israel in times past, they commit fornication. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. x., saith that Christ, by one only oblation, hath made perfect all those for evermore, which are sanctified: which saying confirmeth also the words of Christ hanging upon the cross, saying, It is finished; signifying that by his death there was a final end set to all sacrifices, which are offered up for sins. But the Scottish churchmen, as they are blasphemers indeed, so do they brag and boast, that they daily offer up Christ for the sins both of the quick and of the dead! God commandeth us that we shall not worship any graven image: the Scots do not only fall down flat before images, but also offer up incense unto them! St. Paul teacheth us that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: the Scots, being wise men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace traditions feigned and invented out by man's head, before the law of God; they stablish righteousness in their own works; sanctification in holy water and other external things; redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great antichrist. Who then will quarrel with me, that I do allege that the people of Scotland are blind, and that my faith, Which doth only behold the word of God, is much better and more excellent than theirs?"

The sixth article.

"Agreeably to the ancient errors of John Wickliff and John Huss, arch-heretics condemned in the council of Constance, he hath affirmed and preached, that the clergy ought not to possess or have any temporal possessions; neither to have any jurisdiction or authority in temporalities, even over their own subjects; but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"The Lord, in the book of Numbers, chap. xviii., said thus unto Aaron, Thou shalt possess nothing in. their land; neither shalt thou have any portion and inheritance amongst them, I am thy portion and inheritance amongst the children of Israel. For unto the sons of Levi I have given all the tithes of Israel, that they should possess them for their ministry which they do execute in the tent of ordinaries. Albeit I do not doubt but that the order of the Levites, and of our clergy, is far different and variable: for the administration of their sacred and holy things, after their death,

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passed unto their posterity as it were by right of inheritance; which happeneth not unto the posterity of our clergy in these days.

"Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or gotten for them, I do not gainsay but that they shall possess it: but still I do affirm, that all temporal jurisdiction should be taken from them. For when twice there rose a contention amongst the disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest, Christ answered, The kings of nations have dominion over them, and such as have power over them are called beneficial: you shall not do so; for he which is greatest amongst you shall be made equal unto the youngest or least; and he which is the prince or ruler amongst you, shall be made equal unto him that doth minister: minding thereby, and willing utterly to debar the ministers of his word from all terrene and civil dominion and empire. For by these points he doth not only declare that the office of a pastor is distinct and divided from the office of a prince and ruler, but that they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or join together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordain a harder law than he himself before did take upon him: forasmuch as in Luke iii., certain of the company said unto him, Master, command my brother that he divide his inheritance with me: he answered; Man, who made me a judge or divider amongst you? We see therefore that Christ even simply did reject and refuse the office of a judge; the which thing he would not have done, if it had been agreeable unto his office or duty. The like thing also he did in John viii., when he refused to give judgment upon the woman taken in adultery, which was brought before him.

Whereas they do allege that Moses did supply both offices at once, I answer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time, until things were brought unto a better state. Besides that, there was a certain form and rule prescribed, him of the Lord, when he took upon him the civil governance; and the priesthood he was commanded to resign unto his brother; and that not without good cause, for it is against nature, that one man should suffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseen and provided for in all ages; neither was there any bishop, so long as any true face or show of the church did continue, who once thought to usurp the right and title of the sword. Whereupon, in the time of St. Ambrose this proverb took its original, that emperors did rather wish or desire the office of priesthood, than priests any empire. For it was all men's opinion at that time, that sumptuous palaces did pertain unto emperors, and churches unto priests. St. Bernard, also, writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our opinion; as is this his saying: 'Peter could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his successors that which he had, that is to say, carefulness over the congregation; for when the Lord and Master saith, that He is not constitute or ordained judge between two, the servant or disciple ought not to take it scornfully if that he may not judge all men.' And, lest that he might seem in that place to speak of the spiritual judgment, he straightway annexeth, 'Therefore,' saith he, 'your power and authority shall be in offence and transgression; not in possessions. For this purpose, and not for the other, have you received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Why then do you invade other men's bounds or borders?' The rest I pass over for brevity's sake."

The seventh article.

"Falsely, and against the honour, estate, and reverence of the sacred Majesty of the king of Scots, he hath said, holden, and affirmed, that our most noble king of Scots, defender of the

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Christian faith, would appropriate unto himself all the possessions, lands, and rents of the church, given and granted by his predecessors, and also by himself, and convert them unto his own private use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath many times written unto him, so hath he with his whole endeavour persuaded our said noble lord and king thereunto."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"It is no marvel though these mad dogs do so bark against me, whom they think to have counselled the king's Majesty, (I would to God I had also thoroughly persuaded him,) that he should take away from these unjust, sacrilegious possessors the riches wherewithal they are fatted and engreased like swine. For this is the nature dogs, that if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatch at him, and tear him with their teeth. It is out of all controversy unto such as have any wit at all, that such were very childish, that is to say, ignorant of all learning and judgment, which did so fat and feed with their possessions these belly-beasts. For who would not judge it more than childish, to bestow the king's victuals or meat upon the bellies of the prophets of Baal and Jezebel? But all they that, at this present, do endure such filthy sinks (I will not call them dens of thieves) with such revenues, they do follow the steps of Jezebel; for what other thing do they, when daily they are bleating and bowing before their images, burning of incense, and falling flat down before their altars, but that which in times past the prophets of Baal did, when they transported the worship of God unto an idol? Wherefore, if Daniel and Elias were spotted with heresy, when they would have destroyed the priests of Baal, I grant that I also must be a heretic.

"But forasmuch as he then did nothing but that which was commanded him of the Lord, who was able to kill the prophets that had allured the people to follow strange gods, he could not truly and justly be accused of heresy: so neither can my adversaries spot me therewithal, except, peradventure, they will condemn in me, that whereas Elias dealt more rigorously with the prophets of Baal, for he cast them into the brook Kedron, I required or desired no more, but that the riches which were wickedly bestowed upon them, and their possessions, might be taken from them."

The eighth article.

"He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed, that the church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruin, as the church of England was already come unto."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"If the church of Israel decayed, when in the time of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and other holy men, it was released and set at liberty out of Babylon; I grant also, that it was a ruin unto the Englishmen, to have departed and gone away out of Babylon, the mother of all whoredom; upon whose rotten and filthy paps and breasts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunk with the wine of her whoredom and unshamefacedness. They had rather cause to give me thanks, who, with so sincere and good a heart, wished unto them so happy a fall. But these unthankful persons thought it not enough with slander and reproach to tear me asunder, but now

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also, as blind rage and madness have taken away all sincerity and uprightness of mind and judgment, they lie in wait, and snares for my life."

The ninth article.

"He hath openly holden, said and affirmed, preached and taught; that the laws of the church, that is to say, the sacred canons, approved and allowed by the holy catholic and apostolic church, are of no force, strength, or effect; alleging, therefore, and affirming, that they are made and invented contrary to the law of God."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"God forbid that I should say, that those things which are approved and allowed by the holy catholic church, should be of no effect or value. For well I know, that the holy apostolic church hath never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which she hath not learned of the Lord. The apostles are witnesses thereof, Peter and Paul, whereof the one of them dareth not freely utter or speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by himself for the obedience of the Gentiles. The other exhorteth, that if any man speak, he should speak the praises of God. But I condemn those laws which the bishops of Rome have made according to their own will and mind, and which they say are spiritual, pertaining unto the soul, and necessary unto everlasting life; forasmuch as the writings of the apostles do evidently declare, that there was no authority known amongst them to make or ordain any ordinances or laws.

"Furthermore, the Scriptures do manifestly show the same, how oftentimes, even by the Lord's own mouth, this aforesaid authority is taken from the ministers of the church; so that no excuse for them remaineth, but that they be plain rebels against the word of God, how many soever do presume or take upon them to appoint or set any new laws upon the people of God: which thing is more manifest and evident than the light itself, in many places of the Scripture; for in Joshua xxiii., it is written, You shall observe and do all that is written in the law of Moses, neither shall you swerve from that, either to the right hand or to the left hand. But that which is written in Deuteronomy xii., ought to move them somewhat more. Whatsoever I command, saith the Lord, that shall ye observe and do: thereunto you shall add nothing, neither shall you take any thing from it. The like he had said before in chapter iv. of the same book. And again Moses, in chapter xiii. of the same book, doth witness, that he did put forth life and blessing unto Israel, when he gave them that law which he had received of the Lord. How can they then excuse themselves of perjury, who ordain new laws to live by?

"But let us proceed further, and see what authority the priests of Levi's stock had to make laws. I do not deny but that God, in Deut. xvii., ordained, under a great penalty, that the authority of the priests should not be contemned, but had in reverence. But in Malachi ii. he also declareth under what condition they are to be heard, where he saith, He hath made a covenant with Levi, that the law of truth should be in his mouth. And, by and by after, he addeth, The lips of the priest shall keep and maintain wisdom; and the law they shall require at his mouth, who is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. Therefore it is fit and necessary, if a priest will be heard, that he doth show himself the messenger of God, that is to say, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For where Malachi speaketh of hearing of

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them, he putteth this specially, that they do answer according to the law of the Lord. Therefore, like as the Levitical priests did break their covenant made with God, if they did teach any other law than that which they had received of him, so, likewise, these men must either acknowledge themselves to be covenant-breakers, or else they may not bind the consciences of men with any new law.

"Furthermore, what power the prophets had universally, it is very lively described in Ezekiel, chapter xxxiii. Thou son of man, saith the Lord, I have made thee a guide unto the house of Israel: thou shalt hear the word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me. He then who is commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearse or speak any thing of himself? for what other thing is it to speak from the Lord, but so to speak that he may boldly affirm and say, that it is not his word, but the word of the Lord, which he speaketh?

"Further, God, by his prophet Jeremy, calleth it chaff, whatsoever doth not proceed from himself. Wherefore none of the prophets have opened their mouths at any time to speak, but being premonished by the word of God. Whereupon it happeneth, that these words are so often pronounced by them, The word of the Lord; the charge or burden of the Lord; the vision of the Lord; thus saith the Lord; the month of the Lord hath spoken it.

"Now, that we may also confirm that which is before spoken, by the examples of the apostles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the law which Christ prescribed unto them, when he endowed them with the dignity and honour of the apostleship, is somewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In Matthew xxviii. he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not such things as they themselves did rashly invent or devise, but those things which be bad commanded them.

Furthermore, Paul, in 1 Corinthians ii., denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the faith of the Corinthians, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their apostle. If you require and desire a further reason of the moderation of St. Paul, read chap. x. of his Epistle to the Romans, where he teacheth, that faith cometh by hearing. It cometh not by the dreams of the bishop of Rome, or of any other bishop, but only by the word of God.

"Neither ought any man to think it strange, that Christ restrained his apostles by the law, that they should not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord: he set the same law upon himself, because it should not be lawful for any man to refuse it. My doctrine, saith Christ, is not mine, but his which sent me; my Father's. He who hath been the only and eternal counsellor of the Father, who also is ordained by the Father the Lord and Master over all, yet, for so much as he hath the office and part of a minister, he doth by his example prescribe unto all ministers, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching. Wherefore the power of the church is not such, that she may, at her own will and discretion, teach new doctrines, or, as they term it, frame new articles of faith, or establish new laws; but is subject unto the word of the Lord, and as it were included in the same.

"But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their constitutions. The apostles, say they, and the elders of the primitive church, established a decree, besides the commandment

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of Christ, whereby they did command all people to abstain from all things offered unto idols, suffocation, and blood: If that were lawful for them so to do, why is it not lawful for their successors, as often as necessity shall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

"But I deny that the apostles, in that behalf, did make any new decree or ordinance, forasmuch as Peter, in the same council, pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the disciples. Even he himself doth subvert and overthrow his own sentence, if they consent to lay any yoke upon them. But a yoke is laid upon them, if the apostles, by their own authority, do decree to prohibit the Gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto idols or strangled. But, you will say, they do write that they should abstain from these things. I grant that they do so write: but what doth St. James declare? that the Gentiles which are converted unto God, are not to be troubled and vexed in such extern decrees and outward elements as these be. And the apostle sufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing less, than to restrain the liberty of the Gentiles, but only to admonish and warn them, how they should moderate and rule themselves among their brethren, lest they should abuse their liberty to the offence of the others.

"They allege furthermore, that which is written in Matthew xxiii., The scribes and Pharisees have sitten in the chair of Moses; therefore, all things whatsoever they command you to observe and keep, the same observe and do; but do you not as they do.

"I answer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh against the manners of the Pharisees, simply instructing his hearers whom before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or see nothing in their life which they should follow, yet, for all that, they should not refuse to do these things which they did teach by the word: I say, by the word, and not of their own head."

The tenth article.

"Divers and many ways he hath said, holden, and also affirmed, and openly taught, that there is no religion to be observed or kept, but simply to be abolished and destroyed, as it is now in England; and, despising all religion, affirming that it is but an abusion of the people, he hath taught that their habits and ventures are deformed and very monstrous, having in them no manner of utility or holiness; inducing and alluring, as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all religion in the kingdom of Scotland should be subverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the catholic church, and the diminishing and detriment of the Christian religion."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"The prophet Isaiah, in his fifth chapter, crieth out, saying, Woe be unto you which call evil good, and good evil, darkness light, and light darkness, sour sweet, and sweet sour. And it followeth in the same place in the said prophet, Woe, saith he, to you that be wise and sapient in your own eyes, and prudent in your own estimation. No man can deny but that the cardinal of Scotland and his adherents be under this most heavy and grievous curse, when they do so generally confound the Christian religion and their wicked monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of holiness. I trust I will make it appear more manifest than the day, that they

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do it by a sacrilegious audacity or boldness, unto such as, setting apart all preposterous affection, will embrace the truth, when she doth manifestly show herself.

"But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to understand, that I do not touch that kind of monkery, which St. Augustine and others do so often make mention of; as in which the monks, being gathered together, utterly contemning and despising the vanities of this world, did lead a most chaste and godly life, living in prayers, reading, and disputations; not puffed up with pride; nor contentious with frowardness, neither full of envy: no man possessed any things of his own; no man was chargeable or burdenous unto others. They wrought with their hands, to get that which might sustain the body, the spirit and mind not let and hindered from God. Whatsoever did superabound more than was necessary for their sustentation, (as, by the restraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their hands,) it was with such diligence distributed unto the poor and needy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them that did give the same. For they by no means went about to have abundance lying by them, but sought all means possible, that nothing should remain by them more than sufficient. Besides this, no man was forced to any extremity, which he could not bear or suffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refused, neither was he condemned of the rest, which confessed himself unable to imitate or follow. They had always in their mind how commendable a thing love and charity was; they remembered that all things are clean to them which are clean: therefore they did not refuse or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole industry and labour was applied to subdue lust and concupiscence, and to retain love amongst brethren. Many of them did drink no wine, yet, notwithstanding, they thought not themselves defiled therewithal: for unto such as were sick and diseased, who could not recover the health of their body without the same, they did most gently permit it. And whereas many foolishly refused the same, they brotherly admonished them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker than the holier, through their vain superstition.

"Hitherto I have repeated that which St. Augustine writeth of the monks of his time, whereby I would, as it were, paint out in a table, what manner of monkery there was in the old time, that all men might understand how great difference there is between that, and the monkery in these our later days. For he would have all extreme compulsion to be taken away in such things as, by the word of God, are left to us at liberty. But, now-a-days, there is nothing more severely and cruelly exacted for they say it is a remediless offence if any do, but ever so little, swerve from their prescript order, in colour or kind of garment, or in any kind of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremony.

"St. Augustine doth straightly affirm, that it is not lawful for monks to live idle upon other men's labour. He plainly denieth that in his time there was any such example of any well-ordered monastery. But our monks do constitute the principal part of holiness in idleness, which they call a contemplative life; wherefore the state or monkery of the old time, and of these our days, is in all points so diverse, that scarce can any thing be more unlike (I will not say, utterly contrary); for our monks, not content with that godliness to the study and desire whereof Christ commandeth all his continually to be attentive, imagine a new kind of godliness, I know not what, by the meditation whereof they are more perfect than all others. But it is a most pestilent error, (which all godly men ought to abhor,) to feign any other rule of perfection, than that

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common rule delivered unto the whole universal church, which we suppose to be sufficiently approved in the refutation of the article before passed.

"Now I also pass over with silence the great blasphemy, whereby they compare their monastical confession unto baptism. I also hold my peace, that they do dissipate and divide the communion of the church, when they do separate themselves from the lawful society and fellowship of the faithful, and claim unto themselves a peculiar ministry and private administration of the sacraments: but, as St. Augustine witnesseth, it was so far off, that the monks, in times past, had any several church or administration of the sacraments from others, that they were a part and portion of the common people, albeit they dwelt asunder.

"But if a man may touch the manner of these our monks, what shall I call the cloisters in these our days, otherwise than brothel-houses, swine styes, and dens of discord. Besides that, I will pass over their fairs and markets, which, in these later days they do make of their relics of martyrs, to build up Sodom again. Wherefore, I conclude that this their kind of life which they claim unto themselves, is utterly wicked and naught, the which is not established or grounded upon any certain calling of God, neither allowed by him; wherefore I may be bold to say that it is unlawful, because their conscience hath nothing whereby to sustain itself before God; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

"And furthermore, so long as they do entangle and bind themselves with so many and so perverse and wicked kinds of worshipping as the monkery now-a-days doth contain in it, I may well say that they are not consecrated unto God, but unto the devil. For why? was it lawful for the prophets to say, that the Israelites did offer their children unto wicked spirits, and not unto God, because they did corrupt and violate the true worshipping of God with profane ceremonies – is it not lawful then to speak the like of our monks, who, together with their cowls, have put on a thousand snares of most wicked superstitions? Let every man now weigh and consider with himself, if I have done wickedly to wish such religions as is this our monkery, to be utterly extinguished and rooted out. Moreover, all Christian princes should rightly and truly do their office, if, as in times past Josias pulled down and overthrew the high places which his elders, the kings of Judah, had budded, so they would abolish and drive away this kind of monks."

The eleventh article.

"It is plainly manifest by lawful proofs, that the said John Borthwike had, and presently hath, divers books suspected of heresy, condemned as well by the papal, as also regal and ordinary, authorities, and prohibited by the law: that is to say, especially the New Testament, commonly printed, in English; Ecolampadius, Melancthon; and divers treatises of Erasmus and other condemned heretics; also a book entitled Unio Dissidentium, the which containeth most manifest and great errors and heretical assumptions; and hath read and studied the same as well openly as privately, and hath presented and communicated them unto others; and, also, hath instructed and taught many Christians in the same, to the end and purpose to divert and turn them away from the true Christian and catholic faith."

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Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"O good God! who can suffer so great a blasphemy! with what a filthy cankered stomach do these boorish swine note the New Testament with heresy! Who would not judge it a most venomous tongue, which dare pronounce and utter such contumelious words against the holy gospel of our Saviour Christ? Truly these men (howsoever they do pronounce me an arch-heretic) do fill up the measure of all other heretics, (I will not say blasphemers,) as the Jews, which put Christ to death, did of all other murderers. How then shall these serpents and stock of vipers escape and flee the judgment of everlasting fire? I do not greatly stand or stay, that they do suspect Ecolampadius, Melancthon, or Erasmus, neither am I so mad to plead their cause, who, as they are men of singular learning and eloquence, so do their writings manifestly declare, how falsely and wickedly these sycophants impute this crime and slander of heresy unto them.

The twelfth article.

"It is manifest, that the said John Borthwike was so obstinate in all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and so maintained and taught them, with such an obdurate heart and mind, that he would not by any means be persuaded from them by his friends, and divers other persons which did dearly love and favour him, but chose rather obstinately to persevere in his said errors."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"I am willingly contented to be reduced to the catholic faith, but if Satan raise up any storms or tempests against that, those I do something resist. Wherefore they most shamefully lie, which do otherwise jest or talk of me; for I know not by what reason they call them my friends, who so greatly laboured to convert me, neither will more esteem them than the Midianites, which, in times past, called the children of Israel to do sacrifice unto their idols. And furthermore, I desire the most high and mighty God, that he will never suffer me to swerve or turn away from this holy, godly, and Christian obstinacy and stubbornness. The man is blest, that path set his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud, or those which follow after lies."

The sentence of condemnation against Sir John Borthwike, knight, by the cardinal, bishops, and abbots in Scotland, A.D. 1540.

"Of all which the premises and many other errors by him holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught, the common fame and report is, that the said Sir John Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many, as a heretic, and principal heretic, which holdeth evil opinions of the catholic faith.

"Wherefore we, David, by the title of St. Stephen in Mount Celo, prelate and cardinal of the holy Church of Borne, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and born legate of the apostolic see, sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy Gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice; having only God, and the verity and truth of the catholic faith, before our eyes; his holy name being first called

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upon; having, as is before said, hereupon holden a council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwike, called Captain Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errors and heresies before said, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned as is aforesaid and by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be a heretic, and is, and hath been, convict as a heretic; and as a convict heretic and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterwards to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit, all and singular his goods, movables and unmovables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices, whatsoever he hath hitherto had: reserving, notwithstanding, the dowry, and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm, unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the picture of the said John Borthwike, being formed, made, and painted to his likeness, be carried through this our city to our cathedral church, and afterwards to the market-cross of the same city, and there, in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the Said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such punishment as is due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenor of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of what dignity, state, degree, order, condition, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignity or honour ecclesiastical or temporal they be honoured withal, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the said Sir John Borthwike, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, convict, and declared a heretic and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatsoever they be; or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing, whatsoever it be; they show unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation, and forfeitures: and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefor as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abettors of heretics, and shall be punished there-for, according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf."

218. Thomas Forret And His Followers

And now, to prosecute such others as followed, beginning first in order with Thomas Forret and his fellows: their story is this.

The story of Thomas Forret, priest, and his fellows.

Thomas Forret, priest; Friar John Kelow, Friar Beverage, Duncan Symson, priest; Robert Foster, a gentleman, with three or four other men of Stirling; martyrs.

Their persecutors: David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews; George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld.

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Master Gurlay above-mentioned, in the days of David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews, and George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld, a canon of St. Colm's Inche, and vicar of Dolor, called Dean Thomas Forret, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a Black Friar or a Grey Friar: and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld, (in whose diocese he remained,) as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the friars' instigation, called the said Dean Thomas, and said to him, "My joy Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself." To whom Thomas said, "I thank your Lordship heartily." Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner:

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

The martyr.—Thomas answered, "My Lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my Lord, we agree right well, and there is nodiscord among us. And whereas your Lordship saith, It is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your Lordship did the like."

Bishop.—"Nay, nay, Dean Thomas," saith my Lord, "let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

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Martyr.— Then said Thomas, "Whereas your Lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my Lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel: but, if your Lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil."

Bishop.— Then spake my Lord stoutly and said, "I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; [and of these words rose a proverb which is common in Scotland, Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeldene, that know neither new nor old law:] therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuese and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it, when you may not mend it."

Martyr.—"I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon."

And so my Lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrews and the said bishop of Dunkeld, upon the said Dean Thomas Forret, upon two Black Friars, one called Friar John Kelow, and another called Beverage, and upon one priest of Stirling, called Duncan Sympson, and one gentleman, called Robert Foster, in Stirling, with other three or four with them, of the town of Stirling; who, at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, because (as was alleged) they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies; and, especially, because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Tulibothy beside Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal. And so they were all together burned upon the castle hill at Edinburgh, where they that were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously did comfort them that came behind.

219. Martyrs in St. John's-Town, or Perth

The manner of persecution used by the cardinal of Scotland against certain persons in St. John's-town, or Perth.

Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, lichen Stirke, his wife; martyrs.

Persecutor: David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews.

First, there was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the Lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue and language; secluding nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by public proclamation, lacked not its own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations; amongst whom were certain persons in St. John's-town, as after is declared.

At this time there was a sermon made by Friar Spence, in St. John's-town, otherwise called Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. Which blasphemous doctrine a burges of the said town, called Robert Lamb, could not abide, but accused him, in open audience, of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him, in God's name, to utter the truth. This the friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so, that the friar could have no audience, and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, namely, of the women, who, contrary to nature, addressed them to extreme cruelty against him.

At this time, A.D. 1543, the enemies of the truth procured John Charterhouse, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the said city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the said governor's authority, and a papist, called Master Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that they might bring the more easily their wicked enterprise to an end.

After the deposing of the former provost, and election of the other, in the month of January the year aforesaid, on St. Paul's day, came to St. John's-town, the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice Sir John Campbell of Lundie, knight, and Justice Defort, the Lord Borthwike, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, with certain other of the nobility. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresy, (as they term it,) yet these persons only were apprehended upon the said St. Paul's day: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, and Hellen Stirke, his wife, and were cast that night in the Spay Tower of the said city, the morrow after to abide judgment.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to judgment in the town, were laid in general to all their charge, the violating of the act of parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture against the tenor of

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the said act. Robert Lamb was accused, in special, for interrupting of the friar in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, which understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence, for consenting to the same.

The said Robert also, with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused for hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing of ram's horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on Allhallow-even.

James Hunter, being a simple man, and without learning, and a flesher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet, because he often used that suspected company of the rest, he was accused.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accused, for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said, in like manner, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ: thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour, to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but that only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate: which words were counted most execrable in the face of the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth stair, the three-crowned diadem of Peter carved out of a tree, which the cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinal's hat; and this procured no favour to the said James, at their hands.

These aforesaid persons, upon the morrow after St. Paul's day, were condemned and judged to death, and that by an assize, for violating (as was alleged) the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon Scripture, for eating flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit, for dishonouring of images. and for blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alleged.

After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated: which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the town in the mean season for the life of these persons aforesaid, to the governor, who of himself was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered: but the governor was so subject to the appetite of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to assist his enemies and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

There were certain priests in the city, who did eat and drink before in these honest men's houses, to whom the priests were much bounden. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat

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for their hostess at the cardinals hands: but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death, than preservation. So cruel are these beasts, from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town except they had their men of war) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lamb, at the gallows' foot, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations, and manifestly there prophesied of the ruin and plague which came upon the cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sop together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet, following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and, parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." The woman, after that, was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a child sucking on her breast, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the enemies. So, after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking bairn was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death.

220. George Wisehart

The condemnation of Master George Wisehart, gentleman, who suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ Jesus at St. Andrew's in Scotland, A.D. 1546, March the first; with the articles objected against him, and his answers to the same.

With most tender affection and unfeigned heart consider, gentle reader, the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wisehart, made by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his meek answers so far as he had leave and leisure to speak. Finally, ponder with no dissembling spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelty of the malignant church, in persecuting of this blessed man of God; and, on the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them suddenly without all fear, not having respect to their glorious menacings and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his visage, as in his accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appear.

But before I enter into his articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and certified in writing by a certain scholar of his, some time named Emery Tylney, whose words of testimonial, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

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

"He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvass sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet; he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him, and, in one light night, discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! for in his religion he was as you see here, in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he

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was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

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

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

Τελος [GREEK:Telos]

"EMERY TYLNEY."

To the said Master George, being in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, the dean of the same town was sent by the commandment of the cardinal, and his wicked counsel, and there summoned the said Master George, that he should, upon the morning following, appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. To whom Master George thus answered:

Wisehart.—"What needeth," said he, "my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer of his extort power? or believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? To manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men."

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, more seeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, incontinently they sent for Master George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the castle, accompanied with a hundred men, addressed in manner aforesaid. Like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey-church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called Dean .John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of Matthew xiii.

Brief account of the sermon of Dean John Winryme.

The sermon was divided into four principal parts. The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist. The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known; which he defined on this manner: "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God."

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The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms. "The cause of heresy," quoth he, "is the ignorance of them that have the cures of men's souls: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul: A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but harbourous; one that loveth goodness; sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine; that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to disprove that which they say against him."

The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. "Heresy," quoth he, "be known after this manner: as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect, by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone; that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God." At last he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life: to which proposition the gospel appeared to repugn, which he treated of. Let them grow unto the harvest. The harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law.

And when he ended his sermon, incontinently they caused Master George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. And right against him stood by one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written in paper. Of which he took out a roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and hitting him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding Master George stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When that this fed sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate! traitor! thief! which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee!" Master George, hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner:

Master George Wisehart.—"Many and horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken here this day, which not only to receive, but also once to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine.

"This my petition, my Lords, I desire to be heard for three causes. The first is, because, through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

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"The second reason is, because that your health springeth of the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word. It were, therefore, an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

"The third reason is, because your doctrine uttereth many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable, that your discretions should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and, in the mean time, I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

"First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover in Dundee, I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall show your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attent[ive]."

Suddenly then, with a high voice cried the accuser, the fed sow, "Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief! it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher too long."

Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, said these words; "If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Master George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder aforesaid, with hoggish voice answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Mirepois, commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus a latere?*" And so, reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass, "Is not he," quoth John Lauder, "an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom else desirest thou to be thy judge?"

To whom this humble man, answering, said thus:

Wisehart.—"I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your Lordships mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner."

Hereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge!" speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor and other the nobles; meaning them, also, to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Master George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

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And shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak: for when he intended to mitigate their leasings, and to show the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

First article. "Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people! thou despisest the holy church's, and in like case contemnest my lord governor's, authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. Yet, notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, We shall rather obey God than man. I have also read in Malachi, I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord: believing firmly, that he will turn your cursings into blessings."

II. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that the priest, standing at the altar, saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I said not so. These were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of men's hearts: therefore, who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him."

Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

III. "Thou, false heretic! preachedst against the sacraments, saying, that there were not seven sacraments."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and are showed to us by the evangely, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing."

IV. "Thou, false heretic! hast openly taught, that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And thou sayest, that we should only confess us to God and to no priest."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I say that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the evangely, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when David saith, I thought I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin. Here confession signifieth the secret acknowledging of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprov'd no manner of confession. And further St. James saith, Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed."

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When he had said these words, the bishops and their complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, "See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion?"

V. "Thou, heretic! didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was: contrary to general councils and the estate of the holy church."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger. So likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism. For this cause I believe ye have confirmation."

Then said Master Blecker, chaplain, that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child, saying, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak."

VI. "Thou heretic, traitor, and thief! thou saidst, that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and that all that is there done, is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God."

Wisehart.—"O Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my Lords! I never taught any thing against the Scripture; which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being therefore ready to suffer death.

"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly show your Lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing on the water of Rhine. I did inquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover, by the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the Scripture, I vanquished him, and proved that Messiah was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, When Messiah cometh, he shall restore all things: and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but, amongst us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found.

"Secondly, it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth; but one God only is to be honoured: but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols.

"Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say that it is your God."

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– I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not hear."

VII. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that extreme unction was not a sacrament."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! forsooth, I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or no."

VIII. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, that holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou condemnest conjuring, and saidst, holy church's cursings avail not."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! as for holy water what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurings, and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God I would commend them; but, insomuch as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

IX. "Thou, false heretic and runagate! hast said, that every layman is a priest, and such like. Thou saidst, that the pope hath no more power than any other man."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of the which the one saith, He hath made us kings and priests; the other saith, He hath made us a kingly priesthood. Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man, being cunning in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesu Christ, hath his power given him of God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called the power of God, as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, and not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say, he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument, by which he bindeth or looseth; that is to say, the word of God."

After he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye," saith he, "my Lords? Though that these sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your Lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God." In the mean time many godly men, beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, did greatly mourn and lament.

X. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, that a man hath no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, which say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I said not so, truly. I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformably to the saying of St. John, If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free. On the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bondservants of sin; He that sinneth, is bound to sin."

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XI. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, it is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday, as on Sunday."

Wisehart.—"Pleaseth it your Lordships, I have read in the Epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God: but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man: but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer."

After these sayings of Master George, then said all the bishops with their complices, "What needeth us any witness against him? hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy?"

XII. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this, or no; say shortly!"

Wisehart.—"For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers," he said, "without doubt plainly – saints should not be honoured. My Lords," said he, "there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plain and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart. But, as for praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear, or not, invocation made unto them: therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by the which we must enter in. He that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer. He [Christ] is the verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your Lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing."

These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

XIII. "Thou, false heretic! hast preached plainly, saying that there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man after this life to be punished in purgatory."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of the Scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture."

Then said he to Master John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the Scripture, by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." But this dolt had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

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XIV. "Thou, false heretic! hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying, that whosoever was bound to do such-like vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live sole."

Wisehart." Of sooth, my Lords, I have read in the evangely, that there are three kinds of chaste men; some are eunuchs from their mothers' womb; some are made such by men; and some have made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Verily, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the evangely have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten concubines, than one wife.

XV. "Thou, false heretic and runagate! sayest, thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! what your general councils are, I know not; I was never exercised in them: but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree."

Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness and said, "Wherefore do we let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them." Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John "Grey-fiend" Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named."

XVI. "Thou, heretic! sayest, that it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in the churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the priests hands."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! Solomon saith, If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have builded? And Job consenteth to the same sentence: Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea. So that God cannot be comprehended into one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together: God cannot he comprehended in any place; and, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them."

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Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, show forth your reasons before this auditory." Then he, without all reason being dumb, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles.

XVII. "Thou, false heretic! contemnest fasting, and sayest, Thou shouldst not fast."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast."

XVIII. "Thou, false heretic! hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day."

Wisehart.—"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me! I wot and know surely by the word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life: which life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented: nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but shall live ever immortal with Christ. To the which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen."

When the bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burned as a heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformably to the saying of Christ, They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall think that he hath done to God good service.

The prayer of Master George Wisehart.

"O Immortal God! how long shalt thou suffer the madness and great crudelity of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to do the contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast showed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name. O Lord! we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast showed to us by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Then, by and by, they caused the common people to void away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man to speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the castle, then there came two grey fiends, Friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, ye must make your confession unto us." He answered and

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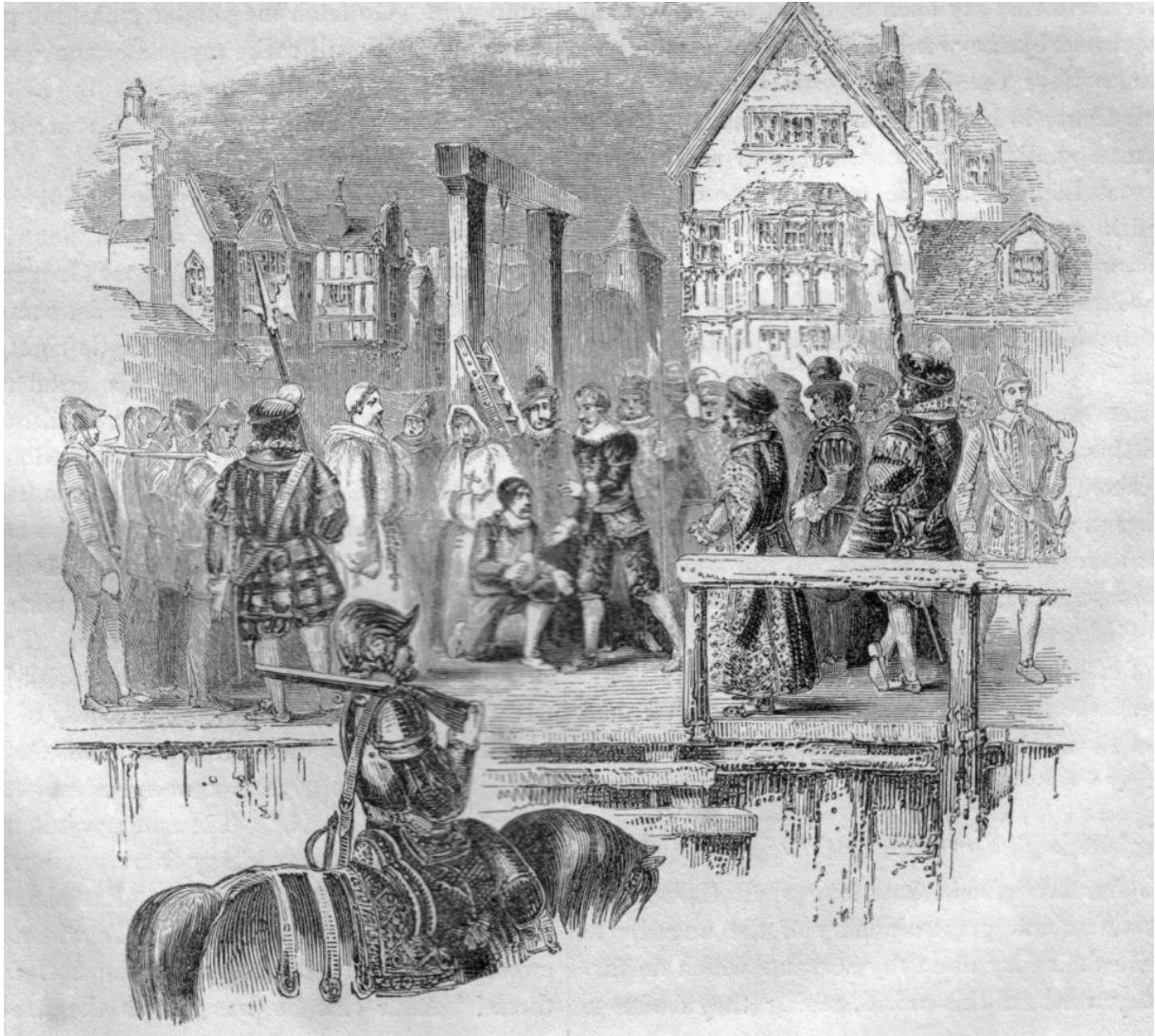
said, "I will make no confession unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confession, I cannot show.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal, dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against that part, and commanded all his gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle, to the place of their wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle-gate, there met him certain beggars, asking his alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, "I want my hands, wherewith I should give you alms; but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries, both unto your bodies and souls." Then afterwards met him two false fiends, I should say friars, saying, "Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." To whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren!" After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again, and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me. Father of heaven! I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words:

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters! that ye be not offended in the word of God, for the affliction and torments, which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you, that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which lasteth not; and show unto them, that my doctrine was no old wives' fable, after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men: but, for the word's sake and true evangely, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire, for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, (ere it be six hours,) for whom I suffer this."



Wisehart at the gallows

Then he prayed for them that accused him, saying:

"I beseech thee, Father of heaven! to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have, of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he said to the people on this manner:

"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew;"

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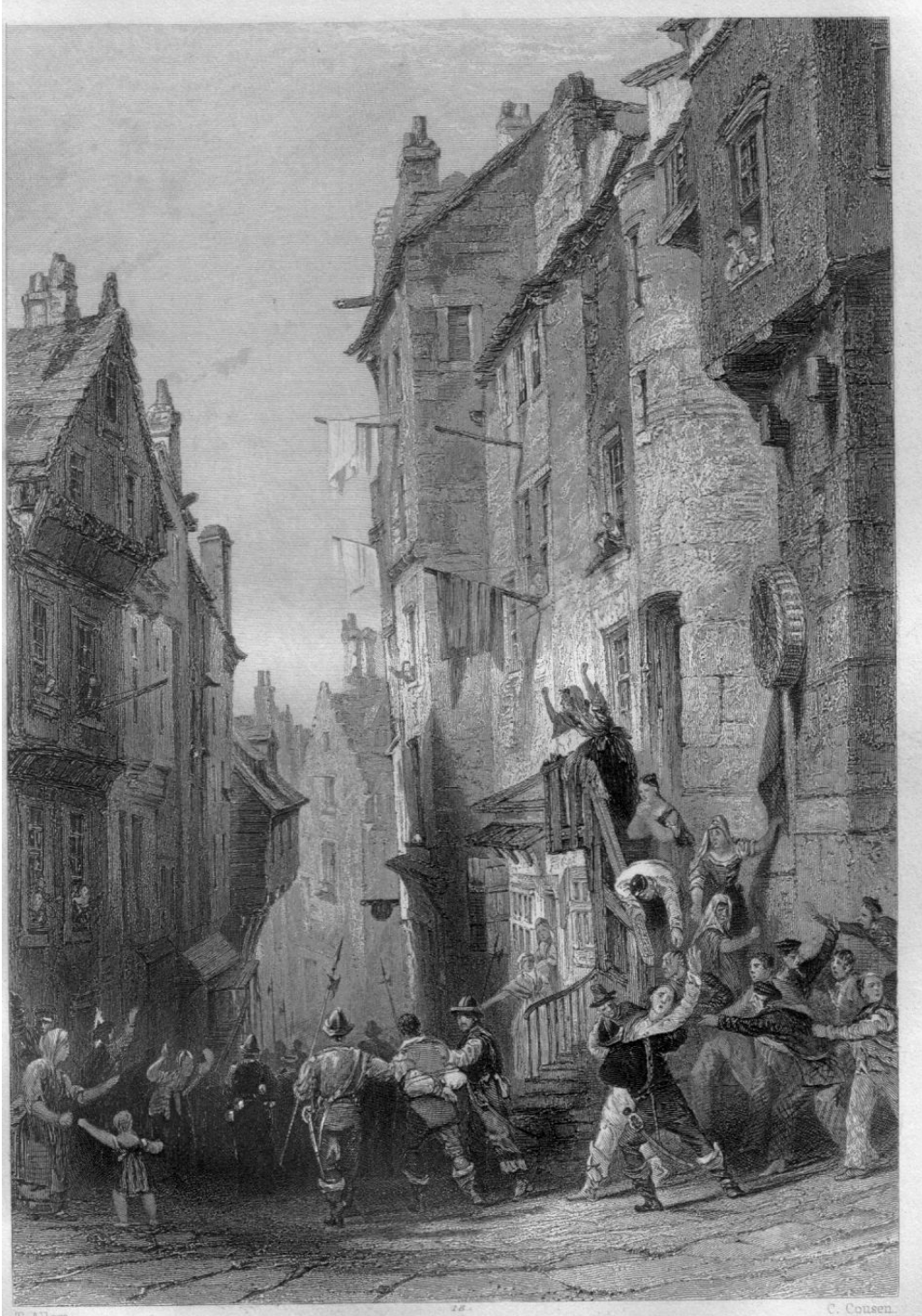
Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments, which were then prepared for him. And, last of all, the hangman, that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you, forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

A note of the just punishment of God upon the cruel cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, named David Beaton.

It was not long after the martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master George Wisehart aforesaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody archbishop and cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, A.D. 1546, the first day of March, but the said David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, by the just revenge of God's mighty judgment, was slain within his own castle of St. Andrews, by the hands of one Leslie and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, a Alas! alas! slay me not! I am a priest!" And so, like a butcher he lived, and like a butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a carrion was buried in a dunghill, A.D. 1546, the last day of May.

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, A.D. 1549, who, to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his predecessor, in augmenting the number of the holy martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whose story here followeth.

221. Adam Wallace



West Bow, Edinburgh

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There was set, upon a scaffold made hard to the chancelary wall of the Black Friars' church in Edinburgh, on seats made thereupon, the lord governor. Above him, at his back, sat Master Gawin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrews. At his back, and aside somewhat, stood the official of Lothian. Next to the bishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Moray, the abbot of Dunfermline, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of lower estimation, as the official of St. Andrews, and other doctors of that nest and city; and at the other end of the seat sat Master Uchiltry. On his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy Sir John Campbell of Lundie under his feet. Next him the earl of Huntley. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrews, the bishop of Orkney, the Lord Forbes, Dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews; and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, &c.

At the further end of the chancelary wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbotle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the whole people, in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After that, Sir John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles's church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a sentence of divorce, (whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful wife,) in the name of the dean of Restalrig, and certain other judges appointed by the holy father the pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant or moved by the aforesaid judges, and was agreed to be banished the realms of Scotland and England for his lifetime, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to leave his benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cumnock, servant to the bishop of St. Andrews, and set in the midst of the scaffold, who was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what was his name. He answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said, that he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Fean. Then asked he where he was born? "Within two miles of Fayle," said he, "in Kyle." Then said the accuser, "I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great encumbrance this day by your vain speaking." "And I must speak," said he, "as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body." "Would God," said the accuser, "ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined in this country before, and that shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be heard for hurting of weak consciences. Now I will yea thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of."

Accuser.—"Adam Wallace, alias Fean: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under written. In the first, thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

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He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforesaid, saying thus:

Wallace.—"I never said nor taught any thing but that I found in this book, and writ, (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English,) which is the word of God: and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is; and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me: for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writ."

"What didst thou say?" said the accuser.

Wallace.—"I said that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his latter supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take ye, eat ye: this is my body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the cup he blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance."

Then said the bishop of St. Andrews and the official of Lothian, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, "We know this well enough." The earl of Huntley said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto."

Wallace.—"If ye will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said: for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world."

"Why," quoth the earl of Huntley, "hast thou not a judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to that is spoken to thee." And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again. "Thou sayest," quoth the accuser, "and hast taught, that the bread and the wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Wallace.—"I never said more than the writ saith, nor yet more than I have said before. For I know well by St. Paul, when he saith, Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation. And therefore, when I taught, (which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me,) I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his divine power, by the which he is over all."

The bishop of Orkney asked him, "Believest thou not," said he, "that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, is the very body of God; flesh, blood, and bone"

Wallace.—"I wot not what that word consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and

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hath a natural body with hands, feet, and other members; and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he suffered death under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried; and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day: and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead.

"And that this body is a natural body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he showeth well himself; for which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear. When the woman brake that ointment on him, answering to some of his disciples which grudged thereat, he said, The poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always: meaning of his natural body. And likewise at his ascension, said he to the same disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally, It is needful for you that I pass away, for if I pass not away, the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, shall not come to you (meaning that his natural body behoved to be taken away from them): but be stout and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the world's end.

"And that the eating of his very flesh profited not, may well be known by his words which he spake in John vi., where, after he had said, Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you; they murmuring thereat, he reproveth them for their gross and flesh taking of his words, and said, What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickened:, the flesh profiteth nothing (to be eaten as they took it, and even so take ye it)"

"It is a horrible heresy," said the bishop of Orkney. When Wallace began to speak again, and bade the lord governor judge if he had right by the writ, the accuser cried, *Ad secundam*. *Nunc ad secundam*, answered the archbishop of St. Andrews.

Then was he bidden to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, "Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God."

Wallace.—"I have read the Bible and the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word mass in it all: but I found," said he, "that the thing that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say, the mass is holden greatly in estimation, and high amongst men, and is not founded in the word; therefore, I said, it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by God's word, I will grant mine error, and that I have failed: otherwise not. And in that case I will submit me to all lawful correction and punishment."

Ad tertiam, said the archbishop. Then said the accuser, "Thou hast said and openly taught, that the God which we worship, is but bread sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else."

Wallace.—"I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein, of nought: but I

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know not which God you worship; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is, as I can, by my judgment."

"Believest thou not," said the accuser, "that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?"

Wallace.—"What the body of God is, and what kind of body he hath, I have showed you, so far as I have found in the Scripture."

Then said the accuser, "Thou hast preached, said, and openly taught, divers and sundry other great errors and abominable heresies against all the seven sacraments, which, for shortness of time, I premit and overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy aforesaid articles that thou art accused of, or no? and thou shalt hear them shortly." And then repeated the accuser the three articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

Wallace answered that which before he had said of his answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood; so God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him: and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death. And he said thus to the lord governor and other lords:

Wallace.—"If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause; before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance as it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward."

Then gave they forth sentence, and condemned him by the laws, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice-deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle Hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost house in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keep the key of the said house, an ignorant minister and imp of Satan and of the bishops, who, by direction, sent to the poor man two Grey Friars to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two Black Friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophister, called Arbuthnot, with the which English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures; who answered, he had no commission to enter into disputation with him: and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a wordly wise man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the dean of Restalrig, who gave him Christian consolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration. But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the Holy Scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God, to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without book, to his consolation: for they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him, wherever he went. After that Sir Hugh Terry knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took the same from him, leaving him desolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by

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his devilish venom, to have perverted him, a poor innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour: but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

So all the next morning abode this poor man in irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day; which day the lord governor, and all the principal both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, came the dean of Restalrig to him again, and reasoned with him after his wit; who answered as before, He would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same; saying that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said dean in other behalf, as becometh a Christian.

Then after came in Sir Hugh Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar devils to come forth of him ere even. To whom he answered, "You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. 'When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do: therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace.'" Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, "Is your fire making ready?" Who told him, it was. He answered, "As it pleaseth God; I am ready soon or late, as it shall please him." And then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time, to his forthcoming to the fire, spake no man with him.

At his forthcoming, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him; as belike he had commandment of his superiors. Coming from the town to the Castle Hill, the common people said, "God have mercy upon him." "And on you too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his Master." Then was the provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, "They will not let me speak." The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance, to our sights.

222. The Schism that Arose in Scotland for the Pater-Noster

After that Richard Marshall, doctor of divinity, and prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrews in Scotland, that the Lord's Prayer (commonly called the Pater-noster) should be done only to God, and not to saints, neither to any other creature; the doctors of the university of St. Andrews, together with the Grey Friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater-noster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be repugned, and stirred up a Grey Friar, called Friar Tottis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Pater-noster to saints; who, finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the pulpit the first of November, being the feast of All-hallows, A.D. 1551, and took the text of the gospel for that day read in their mass, written in Matthew v., containing these words: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for to them pertaineth the kingdom of heaven."

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition thereof appertaineth to them. "For if we meet an old man in the street," said he, "we will say to him, 'Good-day, father!' and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers; and because we grant also that they be in heaven, we may say to every one of them, Our Father which art in heaven: further, God hath made their names holy, and therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holy; and so we may say to any of the saints, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. And for the same cause," said the friar, "as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; and so, praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, Thy kingdom come. And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdom. And therefore, seeing their will is God's will, we may say with every one of them, Thy will be done."

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him, (not finding such a colour for that part, as for the other which went before,) and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and conscience: and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, "that we," said he, "may obtain our daily bread by their intercession:" and so glossed he the rest to the end. Not standing yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed, most blasphemously, that St. Paul's napkin, and St. Peter's shadow, did miracles, and that the virtue of Elijah's cloak divided the waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other errors of the papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this followed, incontinent, a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland: for not only the clergy, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry; in such sort that there rose a proverb, "To whom say you your Pater-noster?" And although the papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holden for law, (so great was the blindness of that age,) yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could get the understanding of the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English, (which was then said in Latin,) utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no

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wise be said to saints: so that the craftsmen and their servants in their booths, when the friar came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, "Friar Pater-noster!" "Friar Pater-noster!" who at the last being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrews.

In the mean time of this bruit, there were two pasquils set on the abbey church, the one in Latin, bearing these words:

"Doctores nostri de collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo;
Et se tuuntur gravatorio
De mandato officialis,
Ad instantiam fiscalis
Gaw et Harvey, non varii
In præmissis connotarii."

The other in English, bearing these words:

"Doctors of Theology, of fourscore of years,
And old jolly Lupoys, the bald Grey Friars;
They would be called Rabbi and Magister noster!
And wot not to whom they say their Pater-noster! "

Shortly, the Christians were so hotly offended, and the papists on the other side so proud and wilful, that necessary it was, to eschew greater inconveniences, that the clergy, at least, should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the university agreed, whosoever had been present might have heard much subtle sophistry; for some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God formally, and to saints materially. Others, ultimately, and not ultimately. Others said it should be said to God chiefly, and to saints less chiefly. Others, that it should be said to God primarily, and to saints secondarily. Others, that it should be said to God taking it strictly, and to saints taking it largely. Which vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than they were in before; so that a well-aged man, and a servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, called the sub-prior's Thome, being demanded to whom he said his Pater-noster, answered, "To God only." Then they asked again, "What should be said to the saints .?" He answered, "Give them Aves and Creeds enough in the devil's name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do spoil God of his right." Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, that because Christ (who made the Pater-noster) never came into the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.

This perturbation and open slander yet depending, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter; which being assembled at Edinburgh, the papists, being destitute of reason, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded, that the Lord's Prayer should be said to saints. But, because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, and sometimes despicable and injurious talk: as Friar Scot, being asked of one to whom he should say the Pater-noster, he

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answered, saying, "Say it to the devil, knave." So the council, perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, were compelled to pass to voting.

But then, incontinent, they that were called churchmen were found divided and repugnant among themselves: for some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Pater-noster should be said to saints; but the bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness and Athens, with other learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally, with consent of both the parties, commission was given by the holy church to Dean John Winryme, then sub-prior of St. Andrews, to declare to the people how, and after what manner, they should pray the Lord's Prayer: who, accepting of the commission, declared that it should be said to God; with some other restrictions, which are not necessary to be put in memory. And so, by little and little, the bruit and tumult ceased.

223. Walter Mille.

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence; out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die, than to be any longer overtrodden by the tyranny of the aforesaid cruel, ignorant, and brutal bishops, abbots, monks, and friars. And so began the congregation of Scotland, to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists, who sought always to depress and keep down the same; for it began soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille, of which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord 1558, in the time of Mary duchess of Longueville, queen regent of Scotland, and the said John Hamilton being bishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille, (who in his youth had been a papist,) after that he had been in Almain, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, he returned again into Scotland; and setting aside all papistry and compelled chastity, married a wife; which thing made him unto the bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresy; and, after long watching of him, he was taken by two popish priests, one called Sir George Strachen, and the other, Sir Hugh Terry, servants to the said bishop for the time, within the town of Dysart in Fife, and brought to St. Andrews and imprisoned in the castle thereof. He, being in prison, the papists earnestly travailed and laboured to have seduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a monk's portion, for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermling, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy; but he, continuing in the truth even unto the end, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Brechin, Caithness, &c., the abbots of Dunfermling, Lindores, Balindrinot, with doctors of theology of St. Andrews; as John Grison, Black Friar, and Dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews, William Cranston, provost of the old college, with divers others, as sundry friars Black and Grey. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused, April the twentieth. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, they, seeing him so weak and feeble of person, partly by age and travail, and partly by evil treatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him, for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church to ring and sound again with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present were no less rejoiced, than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He, being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the archbishop's priests, commanded him to arise, and to answer to his articles, saying on this manner, "Sir Walter Mille, arise, and answer to the articles; for you hold my Lord here over-long." To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, "We ought to obey God more than men: I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. And whereas you call me Sir Walter, call me Walter, and not Sir Walter; I have been over-long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say."

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The articles whereof Walter Mille was accused, with his answers.

Oliphant.—"What think you of priests' marriage?"

Mille.—"I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men. But you think it not free to you; ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters; and will not keep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were."

Oliphant.—"Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments."

Mille.—"Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?"

Oliphant.—"Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest, that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry."

Mille.—"A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring the bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the Lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them:—so do ye."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood."

Mille.—"The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only. And as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the office of a bishop."

Mille.—"I affirm that they whom ye call bishops, do no bishop's works, nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called 'my Lords.'"

Oliphant.—"Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it a pilgrimage to whoredom."

Mille.—"I affirm that and say, that it is not commanded in the Scripture; and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels."

Oliphant.—"Thou preachest secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields."

Mille.—"Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship."

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Oliphant.—"Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee."

Mille.—"I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, what thou doest, do quickly. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff: I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both."

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other light trifles, to augment their final accusation; and then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic; which was, to be burned. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, called Patrick Lermond, refused to be his temporal judge; to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just: also the bishop's chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him; but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion, to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Somervaile, enterprising the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and he innocently put down.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake. And he said, "Nay! wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death? thou shalt see me pass up gladly: for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself." Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, I will go to the altar of God; and desired that he might have space to speak to the people, which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, saying, that he had spoken over-much; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops their masters, to the devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day; and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said on this wise:

"Dear friends! the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament unto us; for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God, that he hath called me of his mercy, among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life: which, as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests,

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monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation."

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; for they, perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for the religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord, have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!" and so he constantly departed.

After this, by the just judgment of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which passed both in number and costliness, were burned in the time of reformation.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such martyrs as suffered, in the realm of Scotland, for the faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his truth.

224. Persecution in Kent.



IN revolving the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find, moreover, besides these above comprehended, in the time and reign of King Henry; the names of divers others, whereof some suffered martyrdom for the like testimony of God's word, and some recanted; which, albeit here they do come a little out of order, and should have been placed before, in the beginning of King Henry's reign, yet, rather than they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I trust, without fruit unto the reader; being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others of their fellows before them.

A table of certain true servants of God and martyrs omitted, which were burned in the diocese of Canterbury, under William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; with the names of their persecutors and accusers, A. D. 1511.

Martyrs:— William Carder, of Tenterden, weaver. Agnes Grebil, of Tenterden, wife of John Grebil the elder, and mother to John and Christopher Grebil, who, with her own husband, accused her to death, being threescore years of age; Robert Harrison, of Halden, of the age of sixty years; John Browne, of Ashford; Edward Walker, of Maidstone, cutler.

Accusers and witnesses:— William Rich, of Benenden; Agnes Ive, of Canterbury; Robert Hills, of Tenterden; Stephen Castelin, of Tenterden; John Grebil, of Tenterden, husband to Agnes Grebil the martyr; Christopher Grebil, the natural son of Agnes Grebil the martyr; John Grebil the younger, the natural son of Agnes Grebil the martyr; William Olbert, of Godmersham; Lawrence Chyterden; Thomas Harwood, of Rolvenden; Joan Harwood, his wife; Philip Harwood; William Baker, of Cranbrook; Edward Walker; Robert Reynold, of Benenden.

Persecutors and judges:— William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Cuthbert Tonstal, doctor of both laws, and chancellor of the archbishop; Dr. Sylvester, lawyer; Dr. Wells; Dr. Clement; Dr. Brown; Dr. John Collet, dean of Paul's; Dr. Wodington.

The articles whereupon these five blessed martyrs were accused and condemned by the aforesaid judges and witnesses were these:

"First, For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the true and very body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.

"II. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.

"III. That no power is given of God to priests, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other Divine service, more than to laymen.

"IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to salvation of soul, neither was instituted of God; for a sacrament, they meant.

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"V. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available, nor necessary to soul's health.

"VI. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that those who worship them do commit idolatry.

"VII. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, be not necessary, nor meritorious to soul's health.

"VIII. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their prayers.

"IX. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration, than before.

"X. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present.

"XI. That whereas they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done, but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them, or else but for fear to be convicted by them: they would never have confessed the same of their own accord.

"XII. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore, with divers other persons, and have had books concerning the same."

The order and form of process used against these martyrs aforesaid: and first of William Carder, A. D. 1511.

William Carder, being convented before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor Cuthbert Tonsal, Doctors Sylvester, Wells, Clement, Brown, with others more, the notaries being William Potking, and David Cooper, the articles and interrogatories above specified were laid unto him. Which articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did nor doth hold any such opinions, otherwise than becometh that every Christian man should do, ready to conform himself in all points to their doctrine; and therefore, to clear himself the better against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of the same. The like also did every of the other four martyrs after him.

All which notwithstanding, the uncharitable archbishop, seeking all advantages against him that he might, and more than right law would give, brought in against him such witnesses as before were abjured, who, he knew, for fear of relapse, durst do none other but disclose whatsoever they knew; to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hills, and Stephen Castelin: whose depositions being taken, and the said Carder being asked what he could say for himself, he had nothing, he said, to produce against their attestations, but submitted him unto their mercy: saying, moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the catholics, he now was sorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the archbishop, this his submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the register maketh no mention of any relapse, contrary to good law, at

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least contrary to all Christian charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind sentence; and so condemned him, who neither stood stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any thing contrary to the mind of Holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called forth Agnes Grebil, and examined of the said twelve articles above recited, which she, in like manner, denied, as the other had done before, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop, calling for John Grebil her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil her two sons, (who before had been abjured,) caused them, upon their oath, to depose against their own natural mother; and so they did.

First John Grebil the elder, her husband, examined, by virtue of his oath, to say how Agnes, his wife, hath and doth believe of the sacrament of the altar, of going in pilgrimage, offerings and worshipping of saints, images, &c., and how long she hath thus holden, deposed thus:

"That first, about the end of King Edward the Fourth's days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she [Agnes, his wife] was brought to that belief; and so forth from thence daily, until the time of detection, she hath continued.

"And besides that," said he, "when my children Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught of me in my house the said error of the sacrament of the altar, and by the said Agnes my wife divers times, she was always of one mind in the said misbelief against the sacrament of the altar, that it was not Christ's body, flesh and blood, but only bread." Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was stedfast in the said error, he said, "that she always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said, the said opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforesaid were of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar," &c.

The bishop, with his catholic doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the husband against the wife, proceeding further in their catholic zeal, caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced, one of the age of two-and-twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own natural mother; who likewise, being pressed with their oath, witnessed and said:

"That the aforesaid Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended, that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ's flesh and blood: that baptism was no better in the font, than out of the font: that confirmation was of no effect: that the solemnization of matrimony was no sacrament: that confession to God alone was sufficient: also that going in pilgrimage and worshipping of saints and images was of none effect," &c.

"Item, That their father and the said Agnes their mother, held, taught, and communed of the said errors within their houses divers times, by the space of those three years past, as well on holy-days as working days, affirming and teaching that the said opinions were good and lawful, and to be holden and maintained; and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or bewray either of these beliefs in any wise.

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"Finally, That they never heard their said father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions, than be the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, as far as they could remember," &c.

Here hast thou, Christian reader, before thine eyes a horrid spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impiety; first of an unnatural husband, witnessing against his own wife; and of as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own natural mother: which although they had so done, the cause being of itself just and true, (as it was not,) yet had they done more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such as which, by God's word, standeth firm, sound, and perfect, what impiety were it for men to accuse a poor innocent in case of heresy, which is no heresy! Now, besides all this, the husband to come in against his own wife, and the children to bring the knife wherewith to cut the throat of their own natural mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this, but impiety upon impiety, prodigious and horrible for all Christian ears to hear! And yet the greatest impiety of all resteth in these pretended catholics and clergy. men, which were the authors and causers of all this mischief.

The cause why this good woman so stood, as she did, in the denial of these aforesaid articles objected, was this; for that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who only were privy to her religion, would testify against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose thus against her, denying still (as she did before) that she did ever hold such manner of errors, and being now destitute of all friends and comfort, burst out in these words openly, (as the register reporteth,) "that she repented the time that ever she bare those children of her body." And thus the archbishop with his doctors having now the thing that they sought for, albeit she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet, notwithstanding, they, refusing her readiness and conformity, proceeded to their sentence, and so condemned her to death.

After whose condemnation, next was brought to examination Robert Harrison, whom, in like manner, because he stood in his denial, contrary witnesses against him were produced, to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, William Olbert, Agnes Ive, who, a little before, had been abjured, and therefore were so much the more apt and applicable to serve the bishop's humour, for danger of relapse. After the deposition and conviction of which witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet, notwithstanding, it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforesaid to the fire.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and certificate given up of them together to the king, from Warham the archbishop, upon the same, A. D. 1511, May 2.

Over and besides these three godly martyrs above recited, I find in the aforesaid registers of William Warham, two other like godly martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them, to wit, Thomas Harwood, Philip Harwood, Stephen Castelin, William Baker, Robert Reynold, John Bampton, Robert Bright, William Rich, &c.; whereupon they were adjudged likewise for heretics to be burned, the year aforesaid, 1511. The names of which two martyrs were John Brown and Edward Walker.

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Moreover, besides these five blessed saints of God, whom they so cruelly by their sentence did condemn to death, we find also, in the same registers of William Warham, a great number of others whom they, for the same doctrine and like articles, caused to be apprehended and put to open recantation; the names of which persons in the catalogue here following be these.

A table containing the names of them that were abjured in the diocese of Canterbury, at the same time, under William Warham, archbishop.

A. D. 1511.— John Grebil the elder; also Christopher Grebil and John Grebil, sons of John Grebil the elder; all of Benenden. William Rich, of Benenden. W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Agnes Ive, and Agnes Chytenden, both of Canterbury. Thomas Manning, of Benenden. Joan Colin; Robert Hills; and Alice Hills, his wife; all of Tenterden. Thomas Harwood, Joan Harwood, his wife, and Philip Harwood, all of Rolvenden. Stephen Castelin, of Tenterden. W. Baker, of Cranbrook; Margaret Baker, his wife. William Olbert the younger, and Robert Reynold, both of Godmersham. Agnes Reynold, of Cranbrook. Thomas Field, of Bexley. Joan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Elizabeth White, of Canterbury. Thomas Church, of Great Chart. Vincent Lynch, of Holden. John Rich, of Wittersham. John Lynch, of Tenterden. Thomas Browne, of Cranbrook. John Frank, of Tenterden. Joyce Bampton, wife of John Baropton, of Berstead. Richard Bampton, of Bexley. Robert Bright, of Maidstone. William Lorkin, of East Farleigh.

A. D. 1512.—John Bannes, of Bexley. John Buckherst, of Staplehurst. Joan Dod, wife of John Dod. John Benet, of Staplehurst; Rebecca Benet, his wife. Joan Lewes, wife of Thomas Lowes of Cranbrook. Julian Hills, wife of Robert Hills, of Tenterden. Robert Franke, of Tenterden.

The articles laid to these abjurers appear in the registers to be the same which before were objected to the other five martyrs aforesaid. Which were for believing and defending,

"First, That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but material bread.

"II. That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest.

"III. That there is no more power given of God to a priest, than to a layman.

"IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary for the weal of man's soul.

"V. That the sacrament of extreme unction, called anointing, is not profitable nor necessary for man's soul.

"VI. That pilgrimages to holy and devout places, be not necessary nor meritorious for man's soul.

"VII. That images of saints, or of the crucifix, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.

"VIII. That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God.

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"IX. That holy water, and holy bread, are not better after the benediction made by the priest."

By these articles and abjurations of the before-named persons, thou hast to understand, Christian reader, what doctrine of religion was here stirring in this our realm of England, before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here amongst us.

225. Three Divers sorts of Judgments amongst the Papists, against Heretics as they Call Them.

As touching the penance and penalty enjoined to these aforesaid, as also to all other such like, first here is to be noted, that the catholic fathers, in their processes of heretical pravity, have three divers and distinct kinds of judgments and proceedings. For some they judge to be burned, to the intent that others being brought into terror by them, they might therefore more quietly hold up their kingdom, and reign as they list. And thus condemned they these five aforesaid; and notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselves to the bosom of the mother church, yet could they not be received; as by the words of the register, and by the tenor of their sentence above specified, may well appear.

And this sort of persons, thus by them condemned, consisteth either of such as have been before abjured, and have fallen again into relapse; or else such as stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terror and example to all others, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of this last sort were these five martyrs last named. So was also John Lambert, who, submitting himself to the king, could not be accepted. So was likewise Richard Mekins the silly lad, and the three women of Guernsey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives; with many others in like case. Against this sort of persons, the process which the papists use is this. First, after they begin once to be suspected by some promoter, they are denounced and cited; then, by virtue of inquisition they are taken and clapped fast in irons in prison; from thence they are brought forth at last to examination, if they be not before killed by famine, cold, or straitness of the prison. Then be articles drawn, or rather wrested, out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them: which articles if they seem to deny, or to salve by true expounding, then are witnesses called in and admitted, what witnesses soever they are, be they never so much infamous; usurers, ribalds, women, yea, and common harlots. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then is the husband brought in, and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the natural mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebil. Or, if no such witness at all can be found, then are they strained upon the rack, or by other bitter torments forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Neither must any be suffered to come to them, what need soever they have; neither must any public or quiet audience be given them to speak for themselves, till at last sentence be read against them, to give up to the secular arm, or to degrade them, if they be priests, and so to burn them.

And yet the malignity of these adversaries doth not here cease; for after the fire hath consumed their bodies, then they fall upon their books, and condemn them, in like manner, to be burned; and no man must be so hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have abolished these books, first they gather articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversely wrest and wring them after their own purpose, falsely and contrary to the right meaning of the author; as may seem, after their putting down, to be most heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the books then abolished, that no man may confer them with their articles, to espy their falsehood; then they divulge and set abroad those articles, in such

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sort as princes and people may see what heretics they were. And this is the rigour of their process and proceeding against these persons whom thus they purpose to condemn and burn.

To the second order belong that sort of heretics whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assign them unto monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, with bread of sorrow, and water of affliction: and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the said monastery so long as they live, without they were otherwise, by the archbishop himself or his successors, dispensed withal. Albeit many times the said persons were so dispensed withal, that their penance of bread and water was turned for them to go to woolward Wednesdays and Fridays every week, or some other like punishment, &c.

The third kind of heretics were those whom these prelates did not judge to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them penance, either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a faggot about the market, or in procession, or else to wear the picture of a faggot bordered on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown upon the same; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses; or to say so many Pater-nosters, Aves, and Creeds, to such or such a saint; or to go in pilgrimage to such or such a place; or else to bear a faggot to the burning of some heretic; or else to fast certain Fridays bread and water; or, if it were a woman, to wear no smock on Fridays, but to go woolward, &c.

And thus much by the way out of the register of William Warham aforesaid; like as also out of other bishops' registers many more such like matters and examples might be collected, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of these volumes would suffer all to be inserted that might be found. Howbeit, amongst many other things omitted, the story and martyrdom of Launcelot and his fellows is not to be forgotten; the story of whom (with their names) is this:

About the year of our Lord 1539, one John a painter, and Giles Germane, were accused of heresy; and while they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came in one of the king's servants named Launcelot, a very tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition, than strong and tall of body.

This man, standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause, and the poor men his friends; whereupon he, being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, was carried with them into St. Giles in the fields, and there burned; being but a small concourse or company of people at their death.

In the company and fellowship of these blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within the time of King Henry's reign, for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man also cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppressed, and was burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the time of Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of London. His name was called Stile, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient knight, named Sir Robert Outred, who was the same time present himself at his burning, and witness of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which belike he was wont to read upon. This book when he saw fastened unto the

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stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, "O blessed Apocalypse," said he, "how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee!" And so this good man, and the blessed Apocalypse, were both together in the fire consumed.

And thus, through the gracious supportation of Christ our Lord, we have run over these seven-and-thirty laborious years of King Henry's reign; under whose time and governance, such acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, and reformations as then happened in the church, we have here discoursed, with such statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as by him were set forth in causes and matters to the said church appertaining: albeit not comprehending all things so fully as might be, yet pretermittting so few things as we could, of such matters as came to our hands; save only that certain instruments, with a few other occurrents somewhat pertaining to the course of this king's history, have past our hands, as the false lying bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, against Martin Luther, with the form also of the said Martin Luther's appeal from the pope unto a general council. All which, with other matters more besides omitted, we have deferred by themselves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the sequel of this present story, as in his due place shall appear.

226. The Death of King Henry the Eighth



and thus closing up this eighth book with the death of King Henry the Eighth, I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his grace) proceed next to the time and reign of King Edward his son, after that first I shall intermit a few words touching the death of the said King Henry his father, and the manner of the same; who, after long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, lay from St. Stephen's day (as is above mentioned) to the latter end of January. His physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the act passed before in parliament, that none should speak any thing of the king's death, (the act being made only for soothsayers, and talkers of prophecies,) moved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity; which when the rest were in dread to do, Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him what case he was in, to man's judgment not like to live; and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betimes for grace and mercy, as becometh every good Christian man to do.

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

After an hour or two the king, awaking, and feeling feebleness to increase upon him, commanded Dr. Cranmer to be sent for; but before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Dr. Cranmer to be come, he, reaching his hand to Dr. Cranmer, did hold him fast, but could utter no word unto him, and scarce was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop, exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could; and so, shortly after, departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Moreover, forasmuch as mention is inserted in this place of the good inclination of King Henry, in his latter days, to the reformation of religion, by the occasion hereof it cometh to mind also, somewhat likewise to add, by way of appendix, touching the talk between the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, the Duke of Suffolk, and Charles Brandon, as concerning the king's purpose and intent conceived against the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, in that he could never allow any reformation in religion in this realm, and especially being offended with this, that men should use in their talk, "the Lord," as well as "our Lord." The said duke said

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unto the said archbishop, "We of the council had him once at a good lift, and should well have despatched him from his authority, - if the king's Majesty our master had stayed himself from admitting him to his presence; as then his Highness was content that we should thoroughly have sifted and tried him. "It was, my Lord," quoth the duke to the archbishop, "at that time when Gardiner's secretary was attached and suffered for defending the pope's authority. For then I, and certain of the council, having conference with the king's Majesty for that matter, his Highness was fully persuaded, that the bishop's secretary, being in such special favour with his master, would never stand so stiff in defence of the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority without his said master's both advice, knowledge, and persuasion. 'For already, (quoth the king,) he played but a homely part with me, when he was ambassador to the pope concerning my cause of divorce. And therefore, (quoth the king to me,) send for him, my Lord, incontinently; and, by assistance of two or three more of the council, whom you think good, let him be committed to the Tower, to answer to such things as may be objected against him.'

"This communication was in the evening, so that we purposed to have executed the king's pleasure and commandment the next morning. Howbeit our talk was not so secret, but that some of his friends of the privy chamber, (where he had many friends then,) suspecting the matter, sent him word thereof; who incontinently repaired to the king's presence, and finding some matter to minister unto the king, his Highness said to the bishop, 'We do marvel that your secretary hath thus notoriously offended against us and our laws. It is surely thought that you are not all clear in this offence, but that you are of the same opinion with him; and, therefore, my Lord, be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault; but if you halt or dissemble with me, look for no favour at my hand.'

"With this monition Winchester fell down upon his knees, and besought his Majesty for mercy and pardon, manifestly confessing that he had long time been of that opinion with his said secretary; and there bewailing himself, promised from that day forward to reform his opinion, and become a new man. 'Well, (quoth the king,) this way you have of me that which otherwise you should never have obtained. I am content to remit all things past, and pardon you upon your amendment.'

"The next morning I had word how the matter was handled; whereupon I came to his Highness and said, 'Your Majesty hath prevented our commission, which I and others had from your Grace, concerning my Lord of Winchester's committing to the Tower.' 'Wot you what (quoth the king); he hath confessed himself as guilty in this matter as his man, and hath, with much sorrow and pensiveness, sued for my pardon; and you know what my nature and custom hath been in such matters, evermore to pardon them that will not dissemble, but confess their fault."

"Thus wilily and politicly Gardiner got himself out of our hands. But, if I had suspected this, I would have had him in the Tower over-night, and have stopped his journey to the court."

"Well," said my Lord of Canterbury, "he was evermore too good for you all."

Moreover, as touching this aforesaid bishop of Winchester, forasmuch as he, in King Edward's time, bragged so much of his old master of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, to

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the intent that the glorious vanity of this bishop, and of all others like unto him, may appear more notoriously to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of Master Denny, as also of Sir Henry Nevil, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record was this: that King Henry, before the time of his sickness, taking his horse upon the terrace at Windsor to ride out on hawking, saw standing before him the Lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, with divers other councillors; and, amongst them, the bishop of Winchester. Whereupon he called the lord chancellor, and said, "Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you?" (meaning the bishop.) Whereupon the lord chancellor answered, that his coming was to bring his Majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the clergy: whereat the king said, "Ah! let him come hither;" and so he did his message, and the king went straight away.

Item, another time the king, immediately after his repair to London, fell sick, and caused divers times his whole council to come unto him about his will, and other his grave affairs. At that time the bishop also would come up with them into the outer privy chamber, and there remain until the council came from the king, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the world withal.

Furthermore, as the king grew more in sickness, he, considering upon his will and testament made before, at his going over to Boulogne, willed the same to be drawn out again, with leaving out and excluding the bishop of Winchester by name from amongst his executors: which being to him no small slight, and a cutting off all their purposes, a way was found, that Sir Anthony Brown, a principal pillar of Winchester's side, pretending unto the king, as though by the negligence of the writer the bishop's name had been left out of the king's will, kneeled down to the king's Majesty, lying in his bed, and said, "My Lord of Winchester, I think, by negligence is left out of your Majesty's will; who hath done your Highness most painful, long, and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them."

"Hold your peace," quoth the king, "I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out: for surely, if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marry," quoth the king, "I myself could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me; but so shall you never do; and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf." Sir Anthony Brown, perceiving the king somewhat stiff herein, gave place to the king's words at that time: howbeit, seeking further occasion upon more persuasions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the king to have the bishop one of his executors. When the king perceived that this instant suit would not cease, "Have you not yet done," quoth the king, "to molest me in this matter? If you will not yet cease to trouble me, by the faith I owe unto God, I will surely despatch thee out of my will also; and therefore let us hear no more of this matter." All this Sir Anthony Denny was heard to report to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, by the said archbishop's secretary, who is yet alive, and witness unto the same.

And thus much touching the end of King Henry, who, if he had continued a few months longer, (all those obits and masses, which appear in his will made before he went to Boulogne, notwithstanding,) most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he

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would not have left one mass in all England. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me: the one is, the assured report and testimony of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, hearing the king declare the same out of his own mouth, both to himself and to Monsieur d'Annebault, lord admiral of the French, ambassador, in the month of August, a little before his death, as above may appear more at large. The other cause which leadeth me thereunto is also of equal credit, grounded upon the declaration of the king's own mouth after that time, more near unto his death, unto Bruno, ambassador of John Frederic, duke of Saxony: unto the which ambassador of Saxony the king gave this answer openly, that if the quarrel of the duke of Saxony were nothing else against the emperor, but for religion, he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt or fear. And so with this answer he dismissed the ambassador unto the duke, openly in the hearing of these four sufficient witnesses, as the Lord Seymour, earl of Hereford, Lord Lisle, then admiral, the earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, the Lord Paget. But the secret working of God's holy providence, who disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather, by taking the king away, to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his church to the peaceable time of his son Edward and Elizabeth his daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any blood, and life unspotted with any violence or cruelty.

And thus, to finish this book, I thought here to close up King Henry's reign: but because a little vacant space of empty paper remaineth behind needful to be filled up, to employ therefore and to replenish the same with some matter or other, I thought to annex hereunto one story which happened in this King Henry's reign; which albeit it serveth not to the purpose of this our matter now in hand, yet, nevertheless, to supply the room it may stand in some place, either to refresh the travailed mind of the reader, wearied with other stories, or else, to disclose the detestable impiety of these counterfeit sects of monks and friars, who, under the hypocritical visor of pretended religion, have so long seduced and deceived the world. Although the deceitful parts and practices of these fantastical orders be so many, and in all places so notorious, that they are not able to be expressed; yet, amongst many, one you shall hear that chanced in this king's days, in the city of Orleans in France, by the Grey Friars, about A. D. 1534. The story is this:

"The mayor's wife of the city of Orleans provided in her will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when any departeth there, in some places the bellmen are hired to go about the city, and in places most frequented to assemble the people with the sound of the bell, and there to declare the names and the titles of those parties deceased; also where and when they shall be buried; exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the corpse is carried forth, the most part of the Begging Friars go withal to the church, with many torches and tapers carried before them; and the more pomp and solemnity is used, the more is the concourse of people. But this woman, as I said, would have none of all this gear done for her: wherefore her husband, who loved her well, followed her mind herein, and gave unto these greedy cormorants the friars, who waited for their prey, (in whose church she was buried besides her father and her grandfather,) six crowns for a reward, whereas they gaped for a great deal more. And afterwards, when he cut down a wood, and sold it, the friars, craving to have part thereof freely and without money, he denied them. This took they wonderful grievously, and whereas they loved him not before, they devised now a way to be revenged, saying, that his wife was damned everlastingly.

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"The workers of this tragedy were Colyman and Stephen of Arras, both doctors of divinity; and the first indeed was a conjurer, and had all his trinkets and his furniture concerning such matters in readiness; and they used the matter thus:

"They set a young man who was a novice, above, over the vault of the church, and when they came to mumble up their matins at midnight, after their accustomed manner, he made a wonderful noise and shrieking aloft. Then went this Colyman to crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. Being charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb spirit, he rustled and made a noise again, and that was the sign and token.

"When they had laid this foundation, they went to certain of the chiefest in all the city, and such as favoured them most, and told them what a heavy case was chanced; yet did they not utter what it was, but entreated them to take the pains to come to their service at night. When they were come, and the service was begun, he that was aloft made a great noise. Being demanded what he would, and what he was, he signified that he might not speak. Then was he commanded to answer to their interrogatories by signs and tokens. Now there was a hole made for the purpose, whereby, laying to his ear, he might hear and understand what the conjurer said unto them. There was also a table at hand, and when any question was asked, he struck and beat upon the table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then first the conjurer demanded whether he were any of them that had been buried there. After that, reckoning up many of their names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, at the last he named the mayor's wife. Here he made a sign that he was the spirit of that woman. Then he asked whether she were damned, and for what desert or offence: whether it were for covetousness, pride, or lechery, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new sprung up heresy and Lutheranism. Moreover, what was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet: whether it were that the body being buried within holy ground should be digged up again, and carried to some other place. To all these things he answered by signs in like case as he was commanded; whereby he affirmed, or denied every thing, striking twice or thrice upon the table.

"When he had thus signified that Luther's heresy was the cause of her damnation, and that her body must be taken up, the friars desired the citizens that were there present, to bear witness of such things as they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they, taking advisement lest they should both offend the mayor, and bring themselves into trouble, refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the friars took the pix with the host and the Lord's body, (as they call it,) and all their saints' relics, and carried them to another place, and there they said their masses; which they are wont to do by the pope's law, when a church is suspended and must be hallowed again. And when the bishop's official heard of this, he came thither to understand the matter better, and associating to him certain honest men, he commanded the friar to conjure in his presence; and would have appointed certain to go up to the vault, to see if any spirit did there appear. But Stephen of Arras was sore against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying, that the spirit ought not to be molested. And albeit the official did earnestly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the mean time the mayor, making his friends privy what he would do, went to the king, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the friars, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come in judgment, the king chose certain out of the court of parliament at Paris, to examine the matter,

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and gave them full authority so to do: whereupon they were carried to Paris, and constrained to make answer; but they would confess nothing.

"Then they were sent again to prison, and kept apart one from another; and the novice was kept in the house of Fremeus, a senator; and being oftentimes examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he should afterwards be murdered of them, for slandering their order. But, when the judges promised him that he should have no harm, and should come no more in the friars' hands, he declared to them the whole matter in order; and being brought before the others, he avouched the same. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken in the deed, yet refused they their judges, and bragged of their privileges: but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried again to Orleans, and committed to prison, and afterwards brought openly to the cathedral church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed; and there should make open confession of their wickedness.

"But even at the same time chanced a persecution against the Lutherans, which was the cause that this sentence, albeit it was too gentle for so great offence, was not put in execution. For because the name of the Lutherans was most odious, they feared lest the punishment of these men should not have been so much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the order; and many thought that whatsoever should be done to them, it would be to the Lutherans a pleasant spectacle, and cause them much to rejoice.

"This order of the Franciscans was esteemed of the common people very holy; so that what time they were carried out of Paris, certain women, moved with pity, followed them unto the gate of the university, with many tears and sighs.

"After they came to Orleans, and were bestowed in several prisons, they began to boast again of their liberties and privileges; and at length, after long imprisonment, they were discharged and set at liberty without any further punishment. Had not these persecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the king had determined, as it was certainly reported, to pluck down their house, and make it even with the ground."

But to leave the memory of this idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let us occupy the time with some better matter.

Amongst other injunctions and letters of King Henry the Eighth, written and set forth for reformation of religion, he wrote one letter to Thomas Cranmer, for abolishing of images, pilgrimages, shrines, and other monuments of idolatry; which letter being before expressed, we should also have annexed to the same the letter or mandate of Bonner, directed in Latin to Richard Cloney his sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof: which letter because we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here, in this vacant space, to supply. The letter written to Cloney is this:

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Bonner's letter to Clancy, keeper of the Coalhouse: for the abolishing of images.

"Forasmuch as the thirteenth day of this present month, we have received the letters of our sovereign lord, by the grace of God king of England, &c., to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his Majesty, by us to be executed in tenor of words which here I send unto you. We therefore will and desire, according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenor hereof, in the king's behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you assuredly approved, that you, incontinent upon the receipt hereof, do effectually warn all and singular parsons and vicars of this city of London, and of all our diocese, that they, immediately upon the sight and intimation of these present articles and interrogatories hereunder written, do cause diligent and effectual inquisition thereof to be made: to wit,

"Whether there be used and continued any superstition, hypocrisy, or abuse within any their parishes or cures, contrary to any ordinance, injunction, or commandment given and set forth by the king's Majesty, or by his authority.

"Item, Whether they have in their churches, or within their parishes, any shrines, covering of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and hones, resorted and offered unto, and other monuments and things wherewith the people have been illuded, or any offering or setting up of lights or candles, other than be permitted by the king's Majesty's injunctions; or whether the said injunctions be duly observed and kept in their parishes or cures, or else transgressed and broken; and in what part.

"And further, after the said inquisition thus by them and every of them respectively being made, that you do certify us, or our vicar-general, what is done in the premises, upon the eve of Simon and Jude, or thereabouts, under the peril thereof following.

"Dated the 14th day of October, A. D. 1541, and the second of our translation."