

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

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 8

The Reign Of King Edward VII.

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Portrait of Edward VI

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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**THE NINTH BOOK,
CONTAINING
THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING
EDWARD THE SIXTH.**

226. Character of Edward VI.

NEXT after the death of King Henry, succeeded King Edward his son, being of the age of nine years. He began his reign the twenty-eighth day of January, A. D. 1547; and reigned six years, five months, and nine days; and deceased A. D. 1553, the sixth day of July.

Of the excellent virtues and singular graces of King Edward, wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet, because the renowned fame of such a worthy prince shall not utterly pass our story without some grateful remembrance, I thought, in few words, to touch some little portion of his praise, taken out of the great heaps of matter which might be inferred. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long; and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkind. If kings and princes, who have wisely and virtuously governed, have found in all ages writers to solemnize and celebrate their acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we Englishmen bound not to forget our duty to King Edward: a prince, although but tender in years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in wit and all princely ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so, again, I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here, to use the example of Plutarch, in comparing kings and rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble Edward, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good Josias: for, as the one began his reign at eight years of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in God's cause much discrepant: for as mild Josias plucked down the hill altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry in the temple, the like corruptions, dross, and deformities of popish idolatry, (crept into the church of Christ of long time,) this evangelical Josias, King Edward, removed and purged out of the true temple of the Lord. Josias restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the idolatrous priests! King Edward likewise, in England, abolishing idolatrous masses and false invocation, reduced again religion to a right sincerity; and more would have brought to perfection, if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josias did, the idolatrous sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

Moreover, in King Josias's days the Holy Scripture and book of God's word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King Edward the like, with the selfsame book of God's blessed word, and with other wholesome books of Christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's days, by sharp laws and severe punishments, here in England? Briefly, in all points and respects, between him and this our godly king no odds are to be found, but only in length of time and reign; who, if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josias's reign, proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have ensued to his church and realm. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague, as after fell amongst us; as in sequel of the story hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

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In the mean time, to proceed in the excellent virtues of this Christian young Josias, (as we have begun,) although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full description of, all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of the noble nature and princely qualities of this king, whereby the reader may esteem with himself, what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

And first, to begin with that which is the chiefest property of all other extern things in a prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his subjects: such were the hearts of all English people toward this king inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came prince in this realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his subjects; but especially of the good and the learned sort: and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable, by reason of his rare towardness and hope both of virtue and learning, which in him appeared above the capacity of his years. And as he was entirely of his subjects beloved, so with no less good-will he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favoured the life of man; as once appeared in a certain dissertation of his had with Master Cheek, in favouring the life of heretics; insomuch that when Joan Butcher should be burned, all the council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade with him, and yet neither could he, with much labour, induce the king so to do; saying, "What, my Lord? will ye have me to send her quick to the devil in her error?" So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to put to his hand, saying that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of religion was in him from his childhood. Such an organ, given of God to the church of England, he was, as England had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies and other great virtues in him, add, moreover, skill and knowledge of tongues, and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born, than brought up.

Moreover, there wanted not in him, to this felicity of wit and dexterity of nature, like happiness of institution of good instructors; neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him; insomuch that in the midst of all his play and recreation, he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study, using the same with much attention, till time called him again from his book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his hours, he did so profit, that Dr. Cranmer, the archbishop then of Canterbury, beholding his towardness, his readiness in both tongues, in translating from Greek to Latin, from Latin to Greek again; in declaiming with his school-fellows without help of his teachers, and that extempore; would weep for joy, declaring to Dr. Cox, his schoolmaster, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his council, add thereunto, of his own, more reasons and causes, touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seem notorious and admirable, that he, in these immature years, could tell and recite all the ports, havens, and creeks, not within his own realm only, but also in

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Scotland, and likewise in France; what coming in there was; how the tide served in every haven or creek; moreover, what burden, and what wind, served the coming into the haven.

Also, of all his justices, magistrates, gentlemen that bare any authority within his realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation, what it was. Few sermons, or none, in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would excerpt them, or note them with his own hand.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all men, for the maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarrel of Christ's holy gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancy therein, by this one example following, amongst many others, may notably appear.

In the days of this King Edward the Sixth, Charles the emperor made request to the said king and his council, to permit Lady Mary (who after succeeded in the crown) to have mass in her house without prejudice of the law. And the council, on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, then bishop of London, to entreat the king for the same; who, coming to his Grace, alleged their reasons, and persuasions for the accomplishing thereof. So the king, hearing what they could say, replied his answer again out of the Scriptures so groundedly, gravely, and fully, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his Majesty, laboured politicly in another sort, and alleged what dangers the denying thereof might bring to his Grace; what breach of amity on the emperor's part; what troubles, what unkindness, and what occasions sundry ways it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the king answered, willing them to content themselves; for he would (he said) spend his life, and all he had, rather than agree and grant to what he knew certainly to be against the truth: the which when the bishops heard, notwithstanding, they urged him still to grant, and would by no means have his nay. Then the good king, seeing their importunate suit, that needs they would have his Majesty to consent thereto, in the end, his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, he desired them to be content; whereat the bishops themselves, seeing the king's zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his Grace. And coming from him, the archbishop took Master Cheek, his schoolmaster, by the hand, and said, "All! Master Cheek, you may be glad all the days of your life, that you have such a scholar, for he hath more divinity in his little finger, than all we have in all our bodies." Thus the Lady Mary's mass, for that time, was stayed.

Over and besides these heavenly graces and virtues, most chiefly to be required in all faithful and Christian magistrates which have governance of Christ's flock, neither was he also unprovided with such outwards gifts and knowledge as appertain to the governance of his realm politic; insomuch that he was neither inexpert nor ignorant of the exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the sea: but was as skilful in the practices, and could say as much thereof, as the chiefest doers in his affairs. Likewise, in the entertaining of ambassadors; to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender years by himself, which many princes, at

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their mature age, seldom are wont to do but by others. And as he was a great notes of things that pertained to princely affairs, so had he a chest severally to himself, for every year, for the keeping of such records and matters as passed, and were concluded by the council; of whom also he would require a reason and cause of every thing that should pass their judgments: and of this chest he would evermore keep the key about him. His notes also he ciphered in Greek letters, to the end that those that waited upon him should not read nor know what he had written.

He had, moreover, great respect to justice, and to the despatch of poor men's suits, and would appoint hours and times with Master Cox, then master of his requests, how, and by what order, they might be sped in their causes without long delays and attendance; and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What Jerome Cardan saith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberal sciences, I thought here to express in his own words, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his own experiment, and upon the present talk which he had with the king himself.

"There was in him a towardly disposition and pregnancy, apt to all human literature; as who, being yet a child, had the knowledge of divers tongues, first of the English, his own natural tongue, of the Latin also, and of the French; neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and of other languages, peradventure, more in his own, in the French, and in the Latin tongue, singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all others. Neither was he ignorant in logic, in the principles of natural philosophy, or in music. There was in him lacking neither humanity, (the image of our mortality,) a princely gravity and majesty, nor any kind of towardness beseeming a noble king. Briefly, it might seem a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardness that appeared in him, being yet but a child. This I speak not rhetorically, to amplify things, or to make them more than truth is; yea, the truth is more than I do utter.

"Being yet but fifteen years of age, he asked of me, in Latin, (in which tongue he uttered his mind no less readily and eloquently than I could do myself,) what my books which I had dedicated unto him, *De Verietate Rerum*, did contain. I said, that in the first chapter was showed the cause of comets, or blazing stars, which hath been long sought for, and yet hitherto scarce fully found.' 'What cause,' said he, is that? 'The concourse or meeting,' said I, 'of the light of the wandering planets and stars.' To this the king thus replied again: 'Forasmuch,' said he, 'as the motion of the stars keepeth not one course, but is divers and variable, by continued alteration, how is it, then, that the cause of these comets either doth not quickly evade and vanish, or that the comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course and motion with the said stars and planets?' Whereunto I answered, that the comet hath his course and moving, but much more swift than they, because of the diversity of aspect; as we see in crystal, and in the sun, when the form of the rainbow reboundeth on the wall: for a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then said the king, 'And how can that be, having no subject; for of the rainbow the wall is the subject?' 'Like,' said I, 'as in *lactea via*, or in reflection of lights; as, where many candles be lighted and set near together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white lightsomeness to appear,' &c.

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"And so, by this little trial, a great guess may be given, what was in this king: in whom, no doubt, was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and learned men, both for the ingenuous forwardness, and amiable sweetness, which in his conditions appeared. First, he began to love and favour liberal arts and sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them; whose mortal condition and sudden decease and decay, in those tender and unripe years, not only England, but all the world, hath cause to lament. Oh how truly is it said of the poet,

'Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.'

"A show or sight only of excellency he could give us: example he could not give. Where a kingly majesty required gravity, there you should have seen him a sage and an old man; and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well upon the lute; he had, also, to do in handling of weighty affairs of the realm. He was liberal and bountiful in heart; and therein he imitated his father," &c.

Thus, after the godly disposition and properties of this king briefly in this wise declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle something to describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the states, as well politic, as especially ecclesiastic; who, after the decease of his father coming unto the crown, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sixteen governors. Amongst them, especially the Lord Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, his uncle, was assigned and joined to him, as protector and overseer of him and of the commonwealth; a man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity, as also for his noble virtues; and, especially for his favour to God's word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the endeavour and industry of this man, first that monstrous hydra with six heads, (the six articles, I mean,) which devoured up so many men before, was abolished and taken away: by reason whereof the counsels and proceedings of Winchester began to decay, who, storming at the same matter, wrote to the lord protector in the cause thereof, as by his letters is to be seen.

The Holy Scriptures he restored to the mother tongue. Masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore, after softer beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the churches. Then such as before were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their country. To be short, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a stage, new players coming in, the old being thrust out; for the most part the bishops of churches and dioceses were changed: such as had been dumb prelates before, were then compelled to give place to others that would preach and take pains.

Besides others also, out of foreign countries, men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and received, among whom was Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius; of whom the first taught at Oxford, the other two professed at Cambridge, and that with no small commendation of the whole university. Of the old bishops some were committed to one ward, some to another. Bonner, bishop of London, was committed to the Marshalsea, and eftsoons, for his contempt and misdemeanour, deposed from his bishopric, as in further process followeth to be seen. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas five years together; more worthy of

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some other place without the Tower, if it had not otherwise pleased God to have meant a further plague to this realm, by that man.

But these meek and gentle times of King Edward, under the government of this noble protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, for that amongst the whole number of the popish sort, of whom some privily did steal out of the realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries; yet, of all that multitude, there was not one man that lost his life. In sum, during the whole time of the six years of this king, much tranquillity, and, as it were, a breathing-time, was granted to the whole church of England: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries' hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting men's minds, than any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor any other quarter of this realm, were any heard to suffer for any matter of religion,, either papist or protestant, either for one opinion or another, except only two, one an Englishwoman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George, who died for certain articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

Besides these two, there was none else in all King Edward's reign, that died in any manner or cause of religion, but one Thomas Dobbe, who, in the beginning of this king's reign, was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the mass, and in the same prison died; as in the story here ensueth to be seen.

This Thomas Dobbe, being a student and a master of arts in Cambridge, was brought up in the college called St. John's College, and fellow of the same; where he increased in the study of good letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeal toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to no man; of much like sort and condition as in doves, which, without all bitterness of gall, are more apt to receive injury than to work wrong to any. At length this godly man, intending with himself and addicting his mind to the Christian state of matrimony, resorted to a certain maiden not far off where he dwelt: for the which cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused, by three of that college, whose names were Hutchinson, Pindare, and Tayler, who with their malicious handling, scornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the virtuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the college: who there having no rest or quietness, by reason of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place, wherein to settle himself. Upon the occasion whereof coming up unto London, it chanced him to pass through Paul's church, where it happened that at the south side of the church, at the same time, there was a priest at mass, (more busy than well occupied,) being at the elevation as he passed by. The young man, replete with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring that so devoutly which the priest lifted up, was not able to forbear, but, opening his mouth, and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c.; with such other words more of Christian information. For which cause, straightway, he was apprehended by the mayor, and afterwards accused to the archbishop of Canterbury, and committed to the Compter, then in Bread Street, where he not long continued, but, falling into a sickness, how or whereupon I cannot tell, shortly upon the same changed this

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mortal life: whose pardon, notwithstanding, was obtained of the lord protector, and should have been brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and others.

Over and besides, I find that in the first year of the reign of King Edward, which was A. D. 1547, there was one John Hume, servant to Master Lewnax, of Wressel, apprehended, accused, and sent up to the archbishop of Canterbury, by the said Master Lewnax, his master, and Margaret Lewnax, his mistress, for these articles.

"I. First, for denying the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar, to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.

"II. For saying that he would never veil his bonnet unto it, to be burned there-for.

"III. For saying that if he should hear mass, he should be damned."

For this was he sent up by his master and mistress aforesaid, with special letters unto the archbishop, requiring him severely to be punished by the law for the same. But, because I find no execution following thereupon, I therefore pass over this story of him.

227. Religious Reforms under King Edward

These things premised, when this virtuous and godly young prince (endued as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably established in his kingdom, and had a council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in God's cause, especially his uncle the duke of Somerset, he then most earnestly likewise desired, as well the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his sincere religion, as also the utter suppression and extirpation of all idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realms and dominions: and therefore following, as is before expressed, the good example of King Josias, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of religion in the church of England. And, forasmuch as at his first entry, (notwithstanding his father's good beginning, in abolishing the usurped power of antichrist,) he yet found most of his laws greatly repugning against this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed, by the advice of his said wise and honourable council, and of his own regal power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by consent of the whole estate of parliament, he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Whereupon, intending first a general visitation over all the bishoprics within his realm, (thereby as well to understand, as also to redress, the abuses in the same,) he chose out certain wise, learned, discreet, and worshipful personages, to be his commissioners in that behalf; and so, dividing them into several companies, assigned unto them several dioceses to be visited; appointing, likewise, unto every company, one or two godly learned preachers, which, at every session, should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to the same; and, also, earnestly dehorted them from their old superstition and wonted idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their commission, there were delivered unto them certain injunctions and ecclesiastical orders drawn out by the king's learned council, the which they should both inquire of, and also command in his Majesty's behalf, to be thenceforth observed of every person, to whom they did severally appertain within their sundry circuits.

Certain ecclesiastical laws, or general injunctions, given by King Edward to the Church of England.

"The king's most royal Majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the duke of Somerset, lord protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and governor of his most royal person, and the residue of his most honourable council, (intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses, as to his duty appertaineth,) doth minister unto his loving subjects these godly injunctions hereafter following, whereof part were given unto them heretofore by the authority of his most dearly beloved father King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, and part are now ministered and given by his Majesty: all which injunctions his Highness willeth and commandeth

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his said loving subjects, by his supreme authority, obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid his displeasure, and the pains in the same injunctions hereafter expressed.

The first, that all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lay, shall cause to be observed and kept of others, all and singular the laws and statutes made as well for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction, as for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy of the Church of England and Ireland.

"And, furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment or ground by the law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished: and that, therefore, no manner of obedience or subjection within his realms or dominions is due unto him: and that the king's power, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God, to whom all men within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth. Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre; nor allure the people, by any enticements, to the pilgrimage of any saint or image; but, reproving the same, they shall teach, that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author and giver of the same, and of none other.

"Item, That they, the persons above rehearsed, shall make, or cause to be made, in their churches and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God, and in the same exhort the hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works devised by man's fantasies, beside Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to relics or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, and such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them; but, contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, for that they do things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor; for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

"Item, That such images as they know, in any of their cures, to be, or to have been, so abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any thing made thereunto, or that shall be hereafter incensed unto, they, and none other private persons, shall, for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down and destroy the same; and shall suffer from henceforth no torches, nor candles, tapers, nor images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still; admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent;

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which images, if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls.

"Item, That every holy-day throughout the year, where they have no sermon, they shall, immediately after the gospel, plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the Pater-noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God, and in consequence, to do.

"Item, That they shall charge fathers and mothers, masters and governors, to bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either in learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting and counselling, and by all their ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations as others, persuading their said fathers and mothers, masters, and other governors, diligently to provide and foresee, that the youth be in no manner of wise brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward, for lack of some craft, occupation, or other honest mean to live by, they be driven to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness: forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall some to begging, and some to theft and murder, which after, brought to calamity and misery, do blame their parents, friends, and governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth: whereas, if they had been well brought up in good learning, some occupation, or craft, they should, being rulers of their own household, have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

"Also, That the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide, that the sacraments be reverently and duly ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special licence given by the king's Majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert curate, that can, by his ability, teach the rude and unlearned of their cure, wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and which will also execute their injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, as they are bound to do in every behalf; and accordingly may and will profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with the declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and default shall be imputed unto them, who shall straitly answer for the same, if they do otherwise. And always let them see, that neither they, nor their curates, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of thesouls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

"Also, That they shall provide, within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and within one twelvemonth next after the said visitation, the paraphrase of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, where their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto, and read the same; the charges of which books shall be rateably well borne, between the person or proprietary, and the parishes aforesaid; that is to say, the one half by the person or proprietary, and the other half by the parishioners. And they shall discourage no man, authorized and licensed thereunto, from the reading of any part of the Bible either in Latin or English, but shall rather conform and exhort every person to read the same as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul, that all Christian persons are

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bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved, whereby they may the better know their duties to God; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in his Majesty's name straitly charging and commanding them, that, in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

"Also, the said ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner or supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at dice, cards, tables-playing, or any other unlawful game: but, at all times as they shall have leisure, they shall hear or read somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest exercise; and that they always do the things which appertain to honesty with endeavour to profit the common weal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and Christianly.

"Item, That they shall, in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession, whether they can recite the Articles of their faith, the Pater-noster, and the Ten Commandments in English; and hear them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare, then, that every Christian person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar; and monish them to learn the said necessary things more perfectly; or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge and will to observe the same; and if they do, it is at the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Also, that they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the king's Majesty, his Grace the lord protector, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York in his province, or the bishop in his diocese and such as shall be so licensed they shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

"Also, if they have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now, openly, before the same, recant and reprove the same; showing them, as the truth is, that they did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but were led and seduced by a common error or abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

"Also, if they do or shall know any man, within their parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the king's Majesty's injunctions, or a favourer of the bishop of Rome's pretended power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirped, and taken away, utterly they shall detect and present the same to the king, or his council, or to the justice of the peace next adjoining.

"Also, that the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book or register, wherein they shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, made within their parish for their time; and so every man succeeding them likewise; and also therein shall write every person's name, that

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shall be so wedded, christened, or buried; and, for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one big coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish, church, or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up: which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and, in the presence of the said wardens or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and burials, made the whole week before; and, that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer, as before; and, for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in fault thereof, shall be forfeit to the said church 3s. 9d., to be employed to the poor men's box of that parish.

"Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and, at these days, nothing is less seen, than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, pensioners, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may dispend yearly £20, and above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter among their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be men worthily noted of ingratitude, who, reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable to them.

"And, to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend, in benefices and other promotions of the church, a £100, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which, after they have profited in good learning, may be pertainers of their patrons cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the common weal, with their counsel and wisdom.

"Also, that all proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions, within this deanery, shall bestow yearly, hereafter, upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices, till they be fully repaired; and the same, so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

"Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and clerks, shall, once every quarter of the year, read these injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately, before all their parishioners; to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

"Also, forasmuch as, by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by the curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble and requite one wrong with another, or be his own judge; but shall truly pay the same as he hath been accustomed, to the parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or diminution. And such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for the reformation thereof, at their ordinary's, and other superiors' hands; who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

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"Also, that no parson, from henceforth, alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is so commanded, nor of Common Prayer, or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered and transposed by the king's authority.

"Also, that the parson, vicar, curate, chantry-priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the New Testament, both in Latin and English, with paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus; and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and ordinaries, by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitation, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons, how they have profited in the study of Scripture. Also, in the time of high mass, within every church, he that sayeth or singeth the same, shall read, or cause to be read, the epistle and gospel of that mass, in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And also every Sunday and holy-day, they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in English, in the said place at matins, immediately after the lessons; and at evensong, after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament. And, to the intent the premises may be more conveniently done, the king's Majesty's pleasure is, that when nine lessons should be read in the church, three of them should be omitted and left out, with their responds; and at evensong-time, the responds, with all the memories, shall be left out, for that purpose.

"Also, because those persons which be sick and in peril of death, be oftentimes put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the devil, who is then most busy, and specially with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and stedfast belief, that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy which Almighty God, of his bountiful goodness and mere liberality, without our deserving, hath offered freely to all persons that put their full trust and confidence in him; therefore, that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and stedfast hope surely conceived by all their parishioners being in any danger, they shall learn, and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons; that they may, at all times when necessity shall require, comfort promptly their flock with the lively word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience.

"Also, to avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen amongst the king's Majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and changing of places in procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung, to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church, at any time use any procession about the church or church-yard, or other place; but immediately before high mass, the priests, with others of the choir, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly or distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the king's Grace shall hereafter appoint; and, in cathedral or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries in our visitation shall appoint. And in the time of the Litany, of the high mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church; and all ringing and knolling of bells, shall be utterly forborne for that time, except one bell, in convenient time, to be rung and knelled before the sermon.

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"Also, like as the people be commonly occupied on the work-day with bodily labour, for their bodily sustenance, so was the holy-day, at the first beginning, godly instituted and ordained, that the people should that day give themselves wholly to God and whereas, in our time, God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured upon the holy-day, because of idleness, pride, drunkenness, quarrelling, and brawling, which are most used on such days (people, nevertheless, persuading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that day, if they hear mass and service, though they understand nothing to their edifying); therefore, all the king's faithful and loving subjects shall, from henceforth, celebrate and keep their holy-day according to God's holy will and pleasure; that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers; in acknowledging their offences to God; in amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours, where displeasure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ; in visiting the poor and sick; in using all soberness and godly conversation. Yet, notwithstanding, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save the thing which God hath sent. And if, for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

"Also, forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, curates shall in no case admit to the receiving thereof, any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them. And, nevertheless, their just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute before such as have authority to hear the same.

"Also, that every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, master of hospital, and prebendary, being priest, shall preach by himself personally, twice every year at the least, either in the place where he is entitled, or in some church where he hath jurisdiction, or else which is to the said place appropriate or united.

"Also, that they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the church, by the king commanded to be observed, as yet not abrogated. And, on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril of his soul's health; as in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and other dead things; or bearing about him holy bread, or St. John's Gospel; or making crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion; or keeping of private holy-days, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such others do; or ringing of the holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or drive away devils, or to put away dreams and fantasies; or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ. And if any use them for any other purpose, he grievously offendeth God.

"Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy, all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindles, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other

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monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same on walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere, within their churches or houses; and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.

"Also, that the churchwardens, at the common charge of the parishioners, in every church shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, for the preaching of God's word.

"Also, they shall provide and have, within three months after this visitation, a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keys, whereof one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the churchwardens, or any other two honest men, to be appointed by the parish from year to year; which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblations and alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate, shall diligently from time to time, and especially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours, to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest; declaring unto them that whereas, heretofore, they have been diligent to bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to the friars, and upon other like blind devotions, they ought, at this time, to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation; and that also whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himself, and so is accepted of him; that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life, the which alms and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keys shall, at all times convenient, take out of the church, and distribute the same in the presence of the whole parish, or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours; and if they be provided for, then to the reparations of the highways next adjoining. And also, the money which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church, except by the king's Majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed, shall be put into the said chest, and converted to the said use; and also the rents of lands, the profit of cattle, and money given and bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lamps, shall be converted to the said use; saving that it shall be lawful for them to bestow part of the said profits upon the reparations of the church, if great need require, and where the parish is very poor, and not able otherwise to repair the same.

"And forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the church, and upon the holy-days ought to apply themselves to the common ministration of the whole parish, they shall not be bound to go to women lying in childbed, except in time of dangerous sickness; and not to fetch any corpse before it be brought to the church-yard: and if the woman be sick, or the corpse brought to the church, the priest shall do his duty accordingly in visiting the woman, and burying the dead person.

"Also, to avoid the detestable sin of simony, because the buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God, therefore all such as buy any benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spiritual promotions: and such as do sell them, or by any colour do bestow them for their

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own gain and profit, shall lose the right and title of patronage and presentment for that time; and the gift thereof for that vacation shall appertain to the king's Majesty.

"Also because, through lack of preachers, in many places of the king's realms and dominions, the people continued in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall read in their churches every Sunday, one of the homilies which are and shall be set forth, for the same purpose, by the king's authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to do, in the preface of the same.

"Also, whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church, because some of them (having small learning) have of long time favoured phantasies, rather than God's truth; yet, forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God, the king's Majesty willeth and chargeth all his loving subjects, that, from henceforth, they shall use them charitably and reverently, for their office and ministration's sake; and, especially, all such as labour in the setting-forth of God's holy word.

"Also, that all manner of persons, who understand not the Latin tongue, shall pray on no other Primer but upon that which was lately set forth in English by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory; and that no teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said Primer. And all those who have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin Primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority. And that all graces to be said at dinner and supper, shall be always said in the English tongue. And that none other grammar shall be taught in any school or other place within the king's realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority.

"Item, That all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners, and other virtuous exercises.

"Item, When any sermon or homily shall be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted."

Besides these general injunctions and laws ecclesiastical, set out by the godly prince, King Edward, with the consent of his uncle, for the whole estate of the realm, there were also certain others particularly appointed for the bishops only, which, being delivered unto the commissioners, were likewise at their visitations committed unto the said bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and kept, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure; the copies whereof here ensue in tenor and effect following:-

Injunctions given by the most excellent prince, Edward the Sixth, to the reverend father in God, Thomas, bishop of Westminster, in his Highness's visitation.

"First, you shall, to your uttermost wit and understanding, see, and cause all, every, and singular the king's injunctions heretofore given, or hereafter to be given, from time to time, in and through your diocese duly, faithfully, and truly, to be kept, observed, and accomplished.

"Item, you shall personally preach in your diocese, every quarter of a year, once, at the least; that is to say, once in your cathedral church, and thrice in the year in other several places of

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your diocese, where to you shall seem most convenient and necessary; except you have a reasonable excuse to the contrary.

"Item, You shall not retain into your service or household, any chaplain or chaplains but such as be learned, or able to preach the word of God; and these you shall cause to exercise the same.

"Item, you shall not give orders to any person or persons, not being learned in Holy Scripture, nor deny them that be learned in the same, and of honest conversation and living.

"Item, you shall not, at any time or place, preach or set forth unto the people, any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and content contained and set forth in the king's Highness's homilies; neither yet admit, or give licence to preach to, any within your diocese, but to such as you shall know, or, at least, assuredly trust, will do the same. And if, at any time, by hearing or by report proved, you shall perceive the contrary, you shall, incontinent, inhibit that person so offending, and punish him, and revoke your licences. All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

"Given, the twenty-ninth day of August, in the chapter-house of the cathedral church of St. Peter's of Westminster, the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lord, King Edward the Sixth

"Anthony Cook; John Godsalue; John Gosnold; Christopher Nevinson; John Madew."

Injunctions given by the king's Majesty's visitation, by us, Sir Anthony Cook, knight; Sir John Godsalue, knight; John Gosnold, esquire; Christopher Nevinson, doctor of law; and John Madew, doctor of divinity; commissioners specially appointed by the king's Majesty to visit the churches of Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely: to the right reverend Father in God, Thomas, bishop of Westminster.

"In primis: In consideration, that above and before all other things, such ways and means are to be sought for, whereby the people may learn to know their duties to God, their sovereign lord, and one another: you shall cause, every Sunday, divine service to be done and ended in every parish church within this city of Westminster, before nine of the clock the same days; to the intent that the priests and the laity of the city may resort to the sermon to be made in your cathedral church, except they have a sermon made and preached in your own parish churches.

"Item, Whereas, by the ignorance of the clergy, not only God's glory is greatly obscured, but, also, the same clergy much disdained and evil spoken of by some of the laity, you shall cause that every parson, vicar, chantry-priest, and other stipendiary within this city of Westminster, be present at every lecture of divinity to be made within the college of St. Stephen, except they or any of them have some reasonable let, to be allowed and admitted by your chancellor, commissary, or other officer for that purpose, or the reader of the said lecture.

"Also you, your chancellor, commissary, and others, exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical under you, shall proceed in all kinds of causes summarily, and *de plano, sine figura et strepitu*

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judicii; and shall give sentence in every cause within four assignations after the term *ad audiendum sententiam finalem*. All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

"Given at Westminster the third day of September, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and, in earth, of the Church of England, and also in Ireland, the supreme head.

"Anthony Cook; John Godsalve; John Gosnold; Christopher Nevinson; John Madew."

Now, during the time that the commissioners were occupied abroad in their circuits about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous orders and decrees of the king and his council, his Majesty, (with the advice of the same,) yet still desiring a further reformation as well in this case of religion, as also in some others of his civil government, appointed a parliament of the three estates of his realm to be summoned against the fourth day of November, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1547, which continued unto the twenty-fourth day of December then next following; in which session, forasmuch as his Highness minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true faith and religion of God, and therewithal also duly weighed the great danger that his loving subjects were in, for professing the gospel of Christ, through many and divers cruel statutes made by sundry his predecessors against the same, (which being still left in force, might both cause the obstinate to contemn his Grace's godly proceedings, and also the weak to be fearful of their Christianlike profession,) he therefore caused it among other things, by the authority of the same parliament, to be enacted, "that all acts of parliament and statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, religion or opinions; that is to say, as well the statute made in the first year of the reign of King Richard the Second, and the statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, and the statute made in the 25th year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards, and every provision therein contained; and the statutes made for the abolishment of diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion, commonly called the six articles, made in the 31st year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and also the statute made in the parliament begun the 16th day of January, in the 33d year of the reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, and, after, prorogued unto the 22d day of January, in the 34th year of his said reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, books of the Old and New Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of books or writings, and retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the Scriptures, or in any wise touching, mentioning, or concerning, any of the said matters; and also one other statute, made in the 35th year of the reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the statute of the six articles, and all and every other act or acts of parliament, concerning doctrine or matters of religion; and all and every branch, article, sentence, matter, pains, or forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wise declared, in any of the same acts and statutes, should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect."

By occasion hereof, as well all such his godly subjects as were then still abiding within this realm, had free liberty publicly to profess the gospel; as also many learned and zealous

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preachers, before banished, were now both licensed freely to return home again, and also encouraged boldly and faithfully to travail in their function and calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people, in many places, greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same session his Majesty, with the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same parliament assembled, thoroughly understanding by the judgment of the best learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice both of the apostles, and of the primitive church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension, that the said holy sacrament should be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only; and also that it was more agreeable unto the said first institution of Christ, and the usage of the apostles and primitive church, that the people, being present, should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone; did, by their authority, moreover enact:

"That the said holy sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and ministered unto the people, throughout the churches of England and Ireland, and other the king's dominions, under both the kinds of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise required; and, also, that the priest that should minister the same, should, at least one day before, exhort all persons who should be present, likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly exhortation made by the minister, wherein should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them that worthily receive this holy sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God, threatened to them which presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come thereto; the said minister should not, without a lawful cause, deny the same to any person that would devoutly and humbly desire it: any law, statute, ordinance, or custom contrary thereunto in any wise notwithstanding."

After which most godly consent of the parliament, the king, being no less desirous to have the form of administration of the sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the Scriptures, and first use of the primitive church, than he was to establish the same by the authority of his own regal laws, appointed certain of the most grave and best learned bishops, and others of his realm, to assemble together at his castle of Windsor, there to argue and treat upon this matter, and to conclude upon, and set forth, one perfect and uniform order, according to the rule and use aforesaid.

And, in the mean time, while that the learned were thus occupied about their conferences, the lord protector and the rest of the king's council, further remembering that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practised many superstitious abuses and blasphemous ceremonies against the glory of God and truth of his word, (determining the utter abolishing thereof,) directed their letters unto the godly and reverend father, Thomas Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, requiring him that, upon the receipt thereof, he should will every bishop within his province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the curates of their dioceses, that neither candles should be any more borne upon Candlemas-day, nor yet ashes used in Lent, nor palms upon Palm-Sunday.

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Whereupon the archbishop, zealously favouring the good and Christian-like purpose of the king and his council, did immediately, in that behalf, write unto all the rest of the bishops of that province, and, amongst them, unto Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London; of whose rebellious and obstinate contumacy, for that we have hereafter more to say, I thought not to stand now long thereupon, but only by the way somewhat to note his former dissimulation and cloaked hypocrisy, in that he outwardly, at the first, consented as well unto this, as also unto all other the king's proceedings; but whether for fear or for any other subtle fetch I know not; howbeit most like it is rather for one of them, or both, than for any true love. And therefore, receiving the archbishop's letters, as one of them seeming to allow the contents thereof, he did presently write unto the bishop of Westminster, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give such knowledge thereof in their dioceses, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by these his own letters here inserted, which here do follow.

A letter missive of Edmund Bonner, sent to the bishop of Westminster, with the tenor of the archbishop's letter for abolishing of candles, ashes, palms, and other ceremonies.

"My very good lord, after most hearty commendations, these be to advertise your good Lordship, that my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, this present twenty-eighth day of January, sent unto me his letters missive, containing this, in effect: that my lord protector's Grace, with the advice of other the king's Majesty's most honourable council, for certain considerations them moving, are fully resolved that no candles shall be borne upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth ashes or palms used any longer: requiring me thereupon, by his said letters, to cause admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordship, and other bishops, with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof, I do send at this present these letters unto your said Lordship, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your diocese, as appertaineth. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can best desire.

"Written in haste, at my house in London, the said twenty-eighth day of January, 1548.
"Your good Lordship's to command,
"EDMUND LONDON."

Now, about that present time, credible and certain report was made unto the lords of the council, that great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people, in divers parts of this realm, for the pulling down and taking away of such images out of the churches, as had been idolatrously abused by pilgrimage, offerings, or otherwise, (according to the tenor of one of the injunctions given by the king in his late visitation,) some affirming that that image was abused, others that this, and, most, that neither of them both; so that, if speedy remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one advice, thinking it best, (of good experience,) for avoiding of all discord and tumult, that all manner of images should be clean taken out of all churches, and none suffered to remain, did thereupon again write their letters unto the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his ready aid therein, in manner following.

Another letter of the council, sent to the archbishop of Canterbury for the abolishing of images.

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"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship: whereas now of late, in the king's Majesty's visitations, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his Highness's realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings, albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of this realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet, in many other places, much strife and contention hath risen and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same (some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would, by their good will, retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused); and in some places also the images, which by the said injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not: and while these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parts have, in some places, been taken in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm, for this matter, may be clearly taken away, and that the lively image of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years; we have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the lord protector and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order, that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also, by your letters, signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, his Highness's pleasure, for the like order to be given by them and every of them, within their several dioceses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said bishops, to use such foresight that the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship heartily well.

"From Somerset-place, the 11th of February, 1547.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

Edward Somerset,

John Russell,

Henry Arundel,

Thomas Seymour,

Anthony Wingfield,

William Paget."

When the archbishop had received these letters, he forthwith directed his precept unto Bonner, bishop of London, requiring, and in the king's Majesty's name commanding him, that, with all speed, he should as well give in charge unto the rest of the bishops within the province of Canterbury, to look immediately, without delay, unto the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the said letter through all places of their diocese; as also, that he himself should do the like within his own city and diocese of London. Whereupon he, seeming then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by virtue of the said precept) did send out his mandate as well unto the rest of the bishops, as also again unto the bishop of Westminster.

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Now, by the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men whom the king had appointed (as ye have heard before) to assemble together for the true and right manner of administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first usage of the primitive church, after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate advices, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniform order of receiving the same, not much differing from the manner at this present used and authorized within this realm and Church of England, commonly called, The Communion. Which agreement, being by them exhibited unto the king, and of him most gladly accepted, was thereupon publicly imprinted, and, by his Majesty's council, particularly divided and sent unto every bishop of the realm, requiring and commanding them, by their letters on the king's Majesty's behalf, that both they, in their own persons, should forthwith have diligent and careful respect to the due execution thereof, and also should, with all diligence, cause the books which they then sent them, to be delivered unto every parson, vicar, and curate within their diocese; that they, likewise, might well and sufficiently advise themselves for the better distribution of the same communion, (according to the tenor of the said book,) against the feast of Easter then next ensuing, as more fully appeareth by these their letters here following.

Letters missive from the council, to the bishops of the realm, concerning the communion to be ministered in both kinds.

"After our most hearty commendations unto your Lordship: Whereas in the parliament late holden at Westminster, it was, amongst other things, most godly established, that, according to the first institution and use of the primitive church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine: according to the effect whereof, the king's Majesty, minding, with the advice and consent of the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the council, to have the said statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God, (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving subjects, to their comforts and wealth,) hath caused sundry of his Majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter; who, after long conference together, have, with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the king's Majesty's dominions, in the distribution of the said most holy sacrament, as may appear to you by the book thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Albeit, knowing your Lordship's knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good will and zeal to the setting forth of all things according to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will, of your own good will, and upon respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authority of the king's Majesty: yet, remembering the crafty practice of the devil, who ceases not, by his members, to work by all ways and means the hinderance of all godliness; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the curates of the realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not, be so ready to set forth the same, as

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we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties require—we have thought good to pray and require your Lordship, and nevertheless, in the king's Majesty's, our most dread sovereign lord's name, to command you, to have an earnest diligence, and careful respect, both in your own person, and by all your officers and ministers also, to cause these books to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within your diocese, with such diligence as they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy communion, according to the order of this book, before this Easter time; and that they may, by your good means, be well directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be; praying you to consider, that this order is set forth, to the intent there should be, in all parts of the realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation, so do we eftsoons require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the king's Majesty's pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell.

"From Westminster the 13th of March, 1548.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,

Thomas Canterbury,

Henry Arundel,

Richard Rich,

Anthony Wingfield,

William St. John,

William Peter,

John Russell,

Edward North,

Edward Wooton."

By means as well of this letter, and the godly order of the learned, as also of the statute and act of parliament before mentioned, made for the establishing thereof, all private blasphemous masses were now, by just authority, fully abolished throughout this realm of England, and the right use of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ truly restored instead of the same. But nevertheless, as at no time any thing can be so well done by the godly, but that the wicked will find some means subtly to deface the same, so likewise, at this present, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling frowardness of many of the inferior priests and ministers of the cathedrals, and other churches of this realm, there did arise a marvellous schism, and variety of fashions, in celebrating the common service and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church. For some, zealously allowing the king's proceedings, did gladly follow the order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their old wonted popery.

Whereof the king and his council having good intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therewithal loth, at first, to use any great severity towards his subjects, but rather desirous, by some quiet and godly order, to bring them to some conformity, did, by their prudent advices, again appoint the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premises; and thereupon, having as well an eye and

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respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Holy Scriptures, as also to the usages of the primitive church, to draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, to be had and used within this his realm of England, and the dominions of the same; who, after most godly and learned conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement did conclude, set forth, and deliver unto the king's Highness, a book in English, entitled, A Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England. Which his Highness receiving, with great comfort and quietness of mind, did forthwith exhibit unto the lords and commons of the parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the fourth of November, in the second year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1548, and continuing unto the fourteenth day of March, then next ensuing.

Whereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the said parliament assembled, well and thoroughly considering, as well the most godly travail of the king's Highness, of the lord protector, and others of his Majesty's council, in gathering together the said archbishop, bishops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the same book; as also the honour of God, and great quietness, which, by the grace of God, should ensue upon that one and uniform rite and order in such common prayer, rites, and extern ceremonies, to be used throughout England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, did first give unto his Highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his Majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as followeth:

"That not only all and singular person and persons that had hitherto offended concerning the premises (other than such as were then remaining in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet) might be pardoned thereof; but also, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish churches, or other places, within the realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, should, from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as were mentioned in the said book, and none other or otherwise.

"And, albeit that they were so godly and good that they gave occasion unto every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them, yet, lest any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturb so godly an order and quiet in this realm, should go unpunished, they further requested, that it might be ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any manner of parson, vicar, or whatsoever other minister that ought or should say or sing Common Prayer, (mentioned in the said book,) or minister the sacraments, should, after the said feast of Pentecost then next coming, refuse to use the said Common Prayer, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the said book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or matins, evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer than was mentioned and set forth in the said book; or should preach, declare, or speak,

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any thing in derogation or depraving of the said book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, should lose and forfeit unto the king's Highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offence, one whole year's profit of such one of his benefices or spiritual promotions, as it should please the king's Highness to assign and appoint; and also, for the same offence, should suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize. But, if any such person, after his first conviction, should afterwards offend again, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year; and should also be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions for ever, so that it should be lawful to the patrons and donors thereof, to give the same again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the said party so offending were dead. And if any the said person or persons should again the third time offend, and he thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for the same third offence, suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any benefice,

For spiritual promotion, that then he should, for his first offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail or mainprize, and, for his second offence, imprisonment during his life."

Which request, or rather actual agreement, of the lords and commons of the parliament, being once understood by the king, was also soon ratified and confirmed by his regal consent and authority; and thereupon the said book of Common Prayer was presently printed, and commanded to be exercised throughout the whole realm and dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute. Moreover, in the same session of the said parliament it was enacted and established by the authority thereof, as followeth:

"That forasmuch as great, horrible, and not to be rehearsed, inconveniences had, from time to time, risen amongst the priests, ministers, and other officers of the clergy, through their compelled chastity, and by such laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful use of marriage; that therefore all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances theretofore made by the authority of man only, which did prohibit or forbid marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they were, or by what name or names they were called, who, by God's law, may lawfully marry; in all and every article, branch and sentence, concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, pains, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the said laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition of the marriage of the said ecclesiastical persons, should also be thenceforth clearly and utterly void, frustrate, and of none effect."

By occasion hereof, it was, thence after, right lawful for any ecclesiastical person, not having the gift of chastity, most godly to live in the pure and holy estate of matrimony, according to the laws and word of God.

But, if the first injunctions, statutes, and decrees of the prince were, by many, but slenderly regarded, with much less good affection were these, especially the book of Common

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Prayer, by divers now received; yea, and that by some of them, who had always before, in outward show, willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth most plainly, amongst others, by Bonner the bishop of London; who, although, by his former letters and other mandates, he seemed hitherto to favour all the king's proceedings, yet did lie, at that present, (notwithstanding both the first statute for the establishing of the communion and the abolishing of all private masses, and also this statute of the ratifying and confirming of the book of Common Prayer,) still suffer sundry idolatrous private masses of peculiar names, as the Apostles' Mass, the Lady's Mass, and such-like, to be daily solemnly sang within certain peculiar chapels of the cathedral church of Paul's, cloaking them with the names of the Apostles' Communion, and our Lady's Communion; not once finding any fault therewith, until such time as the lords of the council, having intelligence thereof, were fain, by their letters, to command and charge him to look better thereunto. And then, being therewith somewhat pricked forwards, (perhaps by fear,) he was content to direct his letters unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, thereby requesting them forthwith to take such order therein, as the tenor of the council's said letters, therewithal sent unto them, did import; both which letters I have, for the more credit, here following inserted.

A letter directed from the King's council to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, for abrogating of private masses; especially the Apostles' Mass, within the church of St. Paul, used under the name of the Apostles' Communion.

"After hearty commendations; having very credible notice that within that your cathedral church there be as yet the Apostles' Mass, and our Lady's Mass, and other masses of such peculiar names, under the defence and nomination of our Lady's Communion, and the Apostles' Communion, used in private chapels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel: contrary unto the king's Majesty's proceedings, the same being, for the misuse, displeasing to God; for the place, Paul's, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood: we, for the augmentation of God's honour and glory, and the consonance of his Majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that, from henceforth, no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used; but that the holy blessed communion, according to the act of parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same; and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used, except some number of people desire, for their necessary business, to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be executed in the chancel, at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautel or digression from the common order. And herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry that be therewith justly offended. And so we bid your Lordship heartily farewell.

"From Richmond, the 24th of June, anno 1519.

"Your loving friends,
Edward Somerset,
R. Rich, Chancellor,
William Saint John,
Francis Shrewsbury,
Edmund Montague,
William Cecil."

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A letter of Edmund Bonner to the dean and chapter of Paul's, sent with the order in council.

"To my right worshipful friends, and most loving good brethren, master dean of Paul's, with all the canons, residentiaries, prebendaries, sub-deans, and ministers of the same, and every of them, with speed:

"Right worshipful, with most hearty commendations. So it is, this Wednesday, the 26th of June, going to dinner, I received letters from the king's council by a pursuivant, and the same I do send now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruse them well, and proceed accordingly; praying you, in case all be not present, yet those that be now resident, and supplying the places, may, in their absence, call the company together of the church, and make declaration hereof unto them. Thus committing you to God, right well to fare.

"Written with speed this 26th of June, at one of the clock.

"Your loving brother,
EDMUND LONDON."

What zealous care was in this young king, and in the lord protector his uncle, concerning reformation of Christ's church, and sincere religion, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations, as well to the bishops, as to the justices of the realm above premised, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned council; as the lingering slackness, and drawing back, on the other side, of divers of the said justices and lawyers, but especially of bishops, and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilful winking, and stubborn disobedience, the book of the Common Prayer was, long after the publishing thereof, either not known at all, or else very irreverently used, throughout many places of the realm. Which, when the king, by complaint of divers, perfectly understood, being not a little aggrieved to see the godly agreement of the learned, the willing consent of the parliament, and his Grace's own zealous desire, to take so small effect among his subjects, he decreed presently, with the advice of his whole council, again to write unto all the bishops of his realm, for speedy and diligent redress therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should, thenceforth, have a more special regard to the due execution of the premises, as also that all others, within their several precincts and jurisdictions, should, by their good instructions and willing example, be the more often and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same: as further appeareth by the contents of this letter here ensuing.

Another letter, directed by the king and his council to Bonner, bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting-out of the Service-Book within his diocese.

"Right reverend father in God! right trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well: and whereas, after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops and other grave and well learned men in the Holy Scriptures, one uniform order for Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, hath been, and is, most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late parliament, but also, by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our realm, in their synods and convocations provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken for the true

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opening of things mentioned in the said book, whereby the true service and honour of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the primitive church, much idolatry, vain superstition, and great and slanderous abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand, by the complaints of many, that our said book, so much travailed for, and also sincerely set forth, (as is aforesaid,) remaineth, in many places of this our realm, either not known at all, or not used; or at least, if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, that the people, in many places, either have heard nothing, or, if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to have due respect to this and such-like matters; so, considering that, by these and such-like occasions, our loving subjects remain yet still in their blindness and superstitious errors, and, in some places, in an irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembering withal, that amongst other cures committed to our princely charge, we think this the greatest, to see the glory and true service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we acknowledge ourselves to have all that we have; we could not but, by advice and consent of our dearest uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realm, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your diocese, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straitly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the restoration of these things, so as the curates may do their duties more often, and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned, by the good advices and examples of yourself, your chancellor, archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come with oftener and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be partakers of the most holy communion. Wherein showing yourself diligent, and giving good example in your own person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good service: and, on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our letters and commandment notwithstanding) have eftsoons complaint, and find the like faults in your diocese, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that ensueth thereof, unto you; and, consequently, be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we would be sorry. And, therefore, we do eftsoons charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleasure.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Richmond, the 23rd day of July, the third year of our reign, 1549."

The bishop of London, amongst the rest of the bishops, receiving these letters, did (as always before) in outward show willingly accept the same; and, therefore, immediately with the said letters directed this his precept unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

"Edmund, by the grace of God, &c.: to my well-beloved brethren the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, and to the other ministers there, and every of them, do send greeting. And whereas it is so, that of late I have received the said sovereign lord the king's Majesty's letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and, according to my most bounden

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duty, am right well willing and desiring, that the said letters should be in all points duly executed and observed, according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: these therefore are to require, and also straitly to charge you, and every of you, on his Majesty's behalf, &c., that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular parsons, vicars, and curates of your jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly: furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you, to make certificate herein to me, my chancellor, or others, my officers in this behalf, with such convenient celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such as, from henceforth, shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

"Given at my house at Fulham, the twenty-sixth of July, A. D. 1549, and in the third year of our said sovereign lord the king's Majesty's reign."

Moreover, forasmuch as the king, at that instant, hearing the muttering of certain rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said, the Lord willing, hereafter,) and also being credibly informed by divers, that, through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administering the sacraments, and careless contempt of Bonner, bishop of London, not only many of the people within the city of London, and other places of his diocese, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the divine service then established and set forth by the authority of parliament, but also, that divers others, utterly despising the same, did, in secret places of his diocese, often frequent the popish mass, and other foreign rites not allowed by the laws of this realm, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doubleness) to appoint the lord protector and the rest of his privy council to call the said bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet judgments, to deal with him for the same.

Whereupon, the eleventh day of August, A. D. 1549, they sent a messenger for him, and, upon his appearance, made first declaration of such informations and complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp admonitions and reproofs for his evil demeanours in the premises, they delivered unto him from the king (for his better reformation and amendment) certain private injunctions, to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at Paul's Cross the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing, (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour, so required,) they further delivered unto him, in writing, such articles to treat upon in his sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid.

All the aforesaid injunctions and articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth:

"Forasmuch as we are advertised that, amongst other disorders of our subjects at this present, there be divers of our city of London, and other places within your diocese, which, being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto Common Prayer, and to the Holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful, with heart and mind, to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour;

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whereof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that, through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For whereas heretofore, upon all principal feasts, and such as were called *majus duplex*, you yourself were wont to execute in person, now, since the time that we, by the advice of our whole parliament, have set a most godly and devout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days; to the contempt of our proceedings and evil example of others. And, forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers, as well in London, as in other places of your diocese, do frequent and haunt foreign rites and masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our realm, and contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray unto his Majesty, after such rites and ceremonies as, in this realm, are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication are maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said city of London and other places of your diocese, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of the which things you, being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority, and cure of a bishop doth appertain: we, therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle the lord protector, and the rest of our privy council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and eftsoons peremptorily, to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straitly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf; upon such pain as, by our laws ecclesiastical and temporal, we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us, for quality of the offence, reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these injunctions following:

"First, ye shall preach at Paul's Cross in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three weeks, and in the same sermon declare and set forth the articles hereunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting, in your sermon, the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living; and ye shall be present at every sermon hereafter made at Paul's Cross, if sickness, or some other reasonable cause, do not let you.

"Secondly, You yourself, in person, shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England a principal feast, or *majus duplex*, and at all such times as the bishops of London, your predecessors, were wont to celebrate and sing high mass, now celebrate and execute the communion at the high altar in Paul's for the better example of all others; except sickness do let.

"Thirdly, Ye shall yourself, according to your duty and the office of a bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the common prayer and service in the church, or do not come unto God's board, and receive the communion at least once a year; or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other rite or service than is appointed by our book, either of matins, evensong, or mass, in any church, chapel, or other private places within your diocese; and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you, and punished according unto the ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strait punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your diocese, according to our said book, and none other.

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"Fourthly, Ye shall, both by yourself and all your officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the ecclesiastical laws, and to the authority given you in that behalf.

"Fifthly, We have heard also complaints, that the church of Paul's and other churches of London, are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the glass, as other buildings and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont; and that divers and many persons in the city, of malice deny the payment of their due tithes to their curates, whereby the curates are both injured, and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged, to do their duties: the which thing also, our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

"Sixthly, And forasmuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently, to the reformation of them, our pleasure is, that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the city, see, and principal place, of your diocese, and none other where, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us."

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And thus, having brought Bishop Bonner home to his own house, there to leave him awhile, to take his ease in his own lodging till we return to him again, we will, in the mean time, make a little intercourse into Cornwall and Devonshire, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meek and excellent a prince, having no cause ministered thereunto; yea, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable prince in his mercy given unto them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace: and where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well. Again, some be so crooked and so perversely given, that the more courteously they be treated, the worse they are; and when, by honest diligence, they list not to get their living, by public disturbance of commonwealths they think to thrive. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of Cornwall and Devonshire, who, having so good and virtuous a king, that if they should have sought him, as Diogenes, they say, did seek for a man with a candle, a meeker and better sovereign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but, contrary to all order, reason, nature, and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings, through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certain popish priests, who, grudging and disdainng against the injunctions and godly order of reformation set forward by the king, and especially mourning to see their old popish Church of Rome to decay, ceased not, by all sinister and subtle means, first under God's name and the king's, and under colour of religion, to persuade the people; then, to gather sides, to assemble in companies, and to gather captains; and at last to burst out in rank rebellion.

Neither lacked there among the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischief and madness, as well gentlemen as others. Of whom the chief gentlemen captains were, Humfrey Arundel, esquire, governor of the Mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Pain, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar. Of priests who were principal stirrers, and some of them governors of the camps, and afterwards executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Bochim, John Tompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcock, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barrow, Richard Benet, besides a multitude of other popish priests, which to the same faction was adjoined. The number of the whole rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout traitors.

These, hearing first of the commotions which began about the same time in other parts to broil, as in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk and Suffolk, began to take therein some courage, hoping that they should have well fortified the same quarrel. But afterwards, they, perceiving how the mischievous mutterings and enterprises of their conspiracy did suddenly fail, either being prevented by time, or repressed by power; or that their cause, being but only about plucking down of enclosures, and enlarging of commons, was divided from theirs, so that either they would not or could not join their aid together, then began they again to quail, and their courage to abate. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they had gone so far that they thought there was

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no shrinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the best furtherance of their desperate purposes.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own country most miserably, to invade the city of Exeter, and so, consequently, all other parts of the realm. But first, for Exeter, they gaped, the gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing saving only gunshot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from Exeter, they fell on spoiling and robbing, where or whatsoever they might catch. At length, laying their traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain articles to be sent up. But herein such diversity of heads and wits was amongst them, that for every kind of brain there was one manner of article; so that there neither appeared any consent in their diversity, nor yet any constancy in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable: others altogether unreasonable: some would have no justice: some would have no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one string, to ring in the bishop of Rome into England again, and to halloo home Cardinal Pole their countryman.

After much ado, and little to the purpose, at last a few sorry articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the king, with the names of certain set thereunto, the copy whereof here ensueth.

The articles of the commons of Devonshire and Cornwall, sent to the king.

"First, Forasmuch as man, except he be born of water and the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of heaven be not opened without his blessed sacrament of baptism, therefore we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the week-days, as on the holy-days.

"Item, We will have our children confirmed of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocese resort unto him.

"Item, Forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption; therefore, we will have mass celebrated, as it hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the priests; forasmuch as many, rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it; with many other abused terms.

"Item, We will have in our churches reservation.

"Item, We will have holy bread and holy water, in remembrance of Christ's precious body and blood.

"Item, We will that our priests shall sing or say, with an audible voice, God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

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"Item, Forasmuch as priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments and preaching of God's word, we will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saying unto all honest priests, Be ye followers of me.

"Item, We will that the six articles which our sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth, set forth in his latter days, shall be used, and so taken as they were at that time.

"Item, We pray God save King Edward, for we be his, both body and goods."

A message or answer sent by the king's Majesty to certain of his people assembled in Devonshire.

"Although knowledge hath been given to us and our dearest uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and to the rest of our privy council, of divers assemblies made by you, which ought of duty to be our loving subjects, against all order, law, and otherwise than ever any loving and kind subjects have attempted against their natural and liege sovereign lord: yet we have thought it meet, at this very first time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to use you as our subjects; thinking that the devil hath not that power in you, to make you, of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly to become enemies to your own native country, or, of our subjects to make you traitors, or, under pretence to relieve yourselves, to destroy yourselves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities of this your life. This we say: we trust that, although ye be by ignorance seduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obstinate: and though some amongst you (as ever there is some cockle amongst good corn) forget God, neglect their prince, esteem not the state of the realm, but, as careless desperate men, delight in sedition, tumult, and wars; yet, nevertheless, the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural prince, and will, by wisdom and counsel, be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be, even by Almighty God's order, your own destruction. Wherefore, as to you our subjects, by ignorance seduced, we speak, and be content to use our princely authority like a father to his children, for this time, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulness.

"First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble yourselves against others our loving subjects, to array yourselves to the war: who amongst you all can answer for the same to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful subjects, who, indeed, by their obedience, make our honour, estate, and degree?"

"Ye use our name in your writings, and abuse the same against ourself. What injury herein do you us, to call those which love us to your evil purposes by the authority of our name! God hath made us your king by his ordinance and providence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawful succession and our coronation; but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural sovereign lord and king, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well ministered, every man to have his own, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, and such like, yea, to

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keep our realms from foreign princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus, good subjects! our name is written; thus it is honoured and obeyed; this majesty it hath by God's ordinance, not by man's. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a king to all kind-hearted and loving subjects, from a puissant king of England to every natural Englishman.

"Your pretences which you say move you to do this, and wherewith you seek to excuse this disorder, we assure you, be either all false, or so vain, that we doubt not but, after ye shall hereby understand the truth thereof, ye will all, with one voice, acknowledge yourselves ignorantly led, and by error seduced: and if there be any that will not, assure you the same be rank traitors, enemies of our crown, seditious people, heretics, papists, or such as care not for what cause they seek to provoke an insurrection, so they may do it; nor indeed can wax so rich with their own labours, and with peace, as they can do with spoils, with wars, with robberies, and such like; yea, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, with the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own households, wives, and children. Such they be, as for a time use pleasant persuasions to you, and, in the end, will cut your throats, for your own goods.

"You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessity chance, shall not be christened but upon the holy-days. How false this is, learn you of us: our book which we have set forth by the free consent of our whole parliament, in the English tongue, teacheth you the contrary, even in the first leaf, yea, the first side of the first leaf of that part which treateth of baptism. Good subjects! (for to others we speak not,) look and be not deceived. They which have put this false opinion into your ears, they mean not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subjects. Be this known unto you, our honour is so much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it; if by our laws ye may not christen your children, upon necessity, every day or hour in the week, then might you be offended; but, seeing you may do it, how can you believe them which teach to the contrary? What think you they mean in the rest, which move you to break your obedience against us your king and sovereign, upon these so false tales and persuasions in so evident a matter? Therefore you all which will acknowledge us your sovereign lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural king, may easily perceive how ye be deceived, and how subtlety traitors and papists, with their falsehood, seek to achieve and bring their purpose to pass with your help. Every traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretly; every papist his popery, and nourish it inwardly; and, in the end, make you, our subjects, partakers of treason and popery, which, in the beginning, was pretended a commonwealth and holiness.

"And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, That the blessed sacrament of Christ's body should not differ from other common bread! If our laws, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrary, why shall any private man persuade you against them? We do, ourself in our own heart, our council in all their profession, our laws and statutes in all purposes, our good subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that sacrament, and use the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we think no profit of other bread, but to maintain our bodies; but of this blessed bread we take the very food of our souls to everlasting life. How think you, good subjects! shall not we, being your prince, your lord, your king by God's appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil persons with open falsehood? Shall any seditious person persuade you, that the

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sacrament is despised, which is by our laws, by ourself, by our council, by all our good subjects, esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were seduced, if ever deceived, if ever traitors were believed, if ever papists poisoned good subjects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reverence of the sacrament, not the health of your souls that they shoot at, good subjects! It is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seek; how craftily, how piteously, how cunningly soever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes. Almighty God forbiddeth, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us your king; and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God err? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is God's judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

"Likewise are ye evil informed in divers other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the mass, for the manner of your service of matins and even-song. Whatsoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and consulted by many learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning in this realm concluded: in nothing were so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fully ended.

"As for the service in the English tongue, it hath manifest reasons for it. And yet, perchance, it seemeth to you a new service, and indeed is none other but the old. The selfsame words in English, which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all they can judge which list to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you, our subjects, should understand in English, being our natural country tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin; then, serving only for them which understood Latin, and now, for all you which be born English. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other saith, and so consent with the speaker? If the service in the church was good in Latin, it remaineth good in English; for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge, that which was spoken with ignorance, and to let you understand what is said for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion: an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoever hath moved you to mislike this order, can give you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understood it.

"Wherefore, you our subjects! remember, we speak to you, being ordained your prince and king by Almighty God: if anywise we could advance God's honour more than we do, we would do it. And see that ye become subject to God's ordinances, obeying us your prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulness, disobedience, obstinacy, dissimulation, and destruction of the realm.

"For the mass, we assure you, no small study nor travail hath been spent by all the learned clergy therein; and, to avoid all contention; it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holy fathers delivered it: indeed somewhat altered from that the popes of Rome, for their lucre, brought it to. And although ye may hear the contrary of some popish evil men, yet our majesty, which, for our honour, may not be blemished or stained, assureth you, that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your head, to finish their own purposes.

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"And so, likewise, judge you of confirmation of children; and let them answer you this one question: Think they, that a child christened is damned, because it dieth before bishoping? They be confirmed at the time of discretion, to learn that which they professed, in the lack thereof by baptism; taught in age, that which they received in infancy: and yet, no doubt but they be saved by baptism, not by confirmation; and made Christ's by christening, and taught how to continue by confirmation. Wherefore, in the whole, mark, good subjects! how our doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon shameless errors.

"To conclude; besides our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our book, either for baptism, sacrament, mass, confirmation, and service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the bishops of the realm devised; and, further, by God's word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, yea, how dare ye give ear without trembling, to any singular person to disallow a parliament, a subject to persuade against our majesty, a man of his singular arrogancy against the determination of the bishops and all the clergy, any invented argument against the word of God?

"But now you, our subjects! we resort to a greater matter of your blindness, of your unkindness and great unnaturalness; and such an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by persuasion of certain traitors amongst you, which we think few in number, but in their doings busy; we could not be persuaded but to use our sword, and do justice, and as we be ordained by God; that is, to redress your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcome our just anger; but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your own causes, being our christened subjects, we would ye were rather persuaded than vanquished, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously persecuted.

"Ye require to have the statute of the six articles revived, and know ye what ye require? or know ye what ease ye have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented; too bloody they were to be borne of our people, and yet at the first, indeed, made of some necessity. O subjects, how are ye trapped by subtle persons! We of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now of ignorance, will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our sword very often; they were as a whetstone to our sword, and for your causes we left to use them. And since our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in blood!

"But, leaving this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the same hath been annulled by our parliament, with great rejoicing of our subjects, and is not now to be called by subjects in question. Dare then any of you, with the name of a subject, stand against an act of parliament, a law of the whole realm? What is our power, if laws should be thus neglected? Yea, what is your surety, if laws be not kept? Assure yourselves most surely, that we of no earthly thing under the heaven make such a reputation, as we do of this one thing: to have our law obeyed, and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained: from the which we will never remove a hair's breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much less to any subject; but therein will spend our own royal person, our crown, treasure, realm, and all our state; whereof we assure you of our high honour. For herein indeed

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resteth our honour, herein standeth our kingdom, herein do all kings acknowledge us a king. And shall any of you dare breathe or think against our honour, our kingdom, or crown?

"In the end of this your request (as we be given to understand) ye would have them stand in force until our full age. To this, we think, if ye knew what ye spake, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever have given breath to such a thought. For what think you of our kingdom? Be we of less authority for our age? Be we not your king now, as we shall be? or shall ye be subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we shall have? If we would suspend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye must first know, that as a king, we have no difference of years or time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and, by his sufferance, shall have age. We are your rightful king, your liege lord, your king anointed, your king crowned, the sovereign king of England, not by our age, but by God's ordinance; not only when we shall be of twenty-one years, but when we are of ten years. We possess our crown, not by years, but by the blood and descent from our father King Henry the Eighth. You are our subjects, because we be your king; and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a subject not to obey.

"If it be considered, they which move this matter, if they durst utter themselves, would deny our kingdom. But our good subjects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish, his honour; enlarge, not abate, his power; acknowledge, not defer, his kingdom to certain years. All is one, to speak against our crown, and to deny our kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken unto twenty-one years. Be we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein, then, be we of less majesty, of less authority, or less state, than were our progenitors, kings of this realm, except your unkindness, your unnaturalness, will diminish our estimation? We have hitherto, since the death of our father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved uncle, kept our state, maintained our realm, preserved our honour, defended our people from our enemies; we have hitherto been feared and dreaded of our enemies, yea, of princes, kings, and nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferior to any our progenitors, (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God,) and how else, but by good obedience of our people, good counsel of our magistrates, due execution of our laws? By authority of our kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour; during our reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not lost.

"It hath been marvelled, that we, of so young years, have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chanceth it that you, our subjects of that our country of Devonshire, will give the first occasion to slander this our realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to note our realm of the evil of rebellion? to make it a prey to our old enemies? to diminish our honour, which God hath given, our father left, our good uncle and council preserved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland, and upon the sea, seeketh to invade us, to rise in this manner against our law? to provoke so justly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies? to begin to slay you with that sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies? to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland?

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"Thus far, ye see, we have descended from our high majesty for love, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and have been content to send you an instruction like a fatherly prince, who, of justice, might have sent you your destruction like a king to rebels. And now we let you know, that as ye see our mercy abundant, so, if ye provoke us further, we swear to you by the living God, by whom we reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your lord and prince, your only king and master, we say to you, Repent yourselves, and take our mercy without delay; or else, we will forthwith extend our princely power, and execute our sharp sword against you, as against very infidels and Turks, and rather adventure our own royal person, state, and power, than the same shall not be executed.

"And, if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did arise, pretending some griefs, and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not only received most humbly their pardon, but feel also, by our order, to whom all public order only pertaineth, redress devised for their griefs. In the end we admonish you of your duties to God, whom ye shall answer in the day of the Lord; and of your duties towards us, whom ye shall answer by our order; and take our mercy whilst God so inclineth us; lest, when ye shall be constrained to ask, we shall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and whereas ye shall now hear of mercy—mercy and life!—ye shall then hear of justice—justice and death!

"Given at Richmond, the 8th day of July, the third year of our reign."

Besides the articles of these Devonshire men above mentioned, the said rebels sent up also, not long after, a supplication to the king, whereunto answer again was made by the king's learned council, which here, to make short, leisure serveth not to rehearse.

Over and besides, to behold the malicious working of those popish priests, to kindle more the spark of sedition in the people's hearts, what bruits and rumours did they raise up against the king and his council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they should be made to pay, first for their sheep, then for their geese and pigs also, and other like things; and whatsoever they had in store, or should put in their mouths, they must fine, there-for to the king! of all which matter never a word was either thought or meant. But this seemed matter fit for such priests, whereby to set the prince and his subjects together by the ears.

Against this seditious company of rebels, was appointed and sent by the king and his council, Sir John Russell, knight, lord privy seal, as lieutenant-general of the king's army, on whom chiefly depended the charge and achievement of that voyage in the west parts. To him also were adjoined, as in part of ordinary council in those affairs under him, Sir William Herbert, Sir Johan Pawlet, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir Thomas Speck, with the Lord Gray, and others beside.

Thus the said lord privy seal, accompanied with the Lord Gray, advancing his power against the rebels, although in number of soldiers not equally furnished like to the others, yet, through the gracious assistance of the Lord's help, fighting in his cause, and giving the adventure against the enemy, about the latter end of July, A. D. 1599, gave them the repulse; who, notwithstanding, recovering themselves again with such stomachs as they had, encountered the second time with the aforesaid lord privy seal, about the beginning of August following, by

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whom, through the Lord's mighty power, they, with their whole cause of false religion, were utterly vanquished and overthrown.

In the which victory a great work of God's mighty power undoubtedly did appear; for, although the number of the rebels did surmount, in great quantity, the power and strength of the lord privy seal, and their stomachs were so fiercely set upon all desperate adventures; and though the power of Sir William Herbert (being the same time at Bristol) was not yet presently come, which should have joined with the lord privy seal; yet, all this notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord so wrought on the king's behalf, more than any industry of man, (which in all respects in handling that matter was very raw, and far behind,) that the victory fell to the king's part, under the valiant guiding of the aforesaid lord privy seal; so that the popish rebels not only lost the field, but a great part of them also lost their lives, lying there slain miserably in the chase, to the compass of two miles' space. Where also were taken and apprehended the chieftains and ringleaders of that mischievous dance, whereof the principal were Humfrey Arundel, Berry, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar; Tempson and Barret, two priests; Henry Bray and Henry Lee, two mayors; with divers others more above specified; all which, accordingly, afterwards were executed.

These rebels, to make their part more sure by the help and presence of their consecrated god and maker, brought with them, into the battle, the pix under his canopy; and instead of an altar, where he was hanging before, set him now riding in a cart. Neither were there lacking masses, crosses, banners, candlesticks, with holy bread also, and holy water plenty, to defend them from devils, and all adversary power; which, in the end, neither could help their friends, nor yet could save themselves from the hands of their enemies, but, eftsoons, both the consecrated god, and all the trumpery about him, were taken in the cart, and there lay all in the dust, leaving to them a notable lesson of bitter experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no such vain idols, but only in the true living God and immortal Maker, to be served according to his prescribed word; and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantasies.

The story whereof putteth me also in remembrance of another like popish field called Musselborough field, fought in Scotland the year before this, where the Scots likewise encamping themselves against the lord protector, and the king's power sent into Scotland, did, in semblable wise, bring with them to the battle the consecrated gods of their altars, with masses, crosses, banners, and all their popish stuff of idolatry; having great affiance, by virtue thereof, to have a great day against the English army, as indeed, in man's judgment, it might seem not unlike. For the number of the Scots' army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their pikes in the first front against our horsemen, (which gave the first onset,) that our men were fain to recule, not without the loss of divers gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty arm of the Lord so turned the victory, that the Scots, in the end, with all their masses, pixes, and idolatrous trinkets, were put to the worse: of whom in that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not passing a hundred Englishmen. The cause of this was the promise of the said Scots, made before to King Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottish queen to King Edward, which promise the said Scots afterwards brake, and paid thereafter.

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In the which victory this is also to be noted, that the same day and hour when the images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flight in Musselborough, as is credibly noted in records.

During this hurly-burly amongst the popish rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, the like commotion at the same time, by such like popish priests as Holmes and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of Oxford and Buckingham; but that was soon appeased by the Lord Gray, who, coming down that way into Devonshire, chased the rebels to their houses; of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.

In Norfolk and parts thereabout, albeit the original of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet the obstinate hearts of that unruly multitude seemed no less bent upon mischief, to disturb public peace, which was also in the month of July, the year abovesaid. For repression of which rebellion, first was sent the lord marquis of Northampton, with special instruction to avoid the fight; and so, by order, was appointed with a number of horse to keep the field and passages, whereby they, being stopped from victual, might the sooner he brought to acknowledge their folly, and to seek their pardon; who then, following other policy than by order was given, came and pinned himself within the city of Norwich, which afterwards they were fain to abandon, the rebels pressing upon the city so on every side, that at length they obtained the same. Nevertheless, in all that conflict there were but a hundred on both sides slain, and otherwise no great loss, but only the loss of the Lord Sheffield.

Then was sent down against them the earl of Warwick, with sufficient force and number of soldiers, besides the convoy of two thousand Almaines, by whom the rude and confused rabble were there overthrown and slain, to the number, as is supposed, of four thousand at the least: and, in fine, both the Kets, chief stirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in chains.

Moreover, besides these inordinate uproars and insurrections above mentioned, about the latter end of the said month of July the same year, which was 1549, another like stir or commotion began at Seamer, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and continued in the East Riding of the same, and there ended. The principal doers and raisers up of this insurrection were one William Ombler of East Allerton, yeoman; and Thomas Dale, parish clerk of Seamer; with one Stevenson of Seamer, neighbour to Dale, and nephew to Ombler. Which Stevenson was a mean or messenger between the said Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted together, and dwelling seven miles one from the other; who at last, by the travail of the said Stevenson and their own evil disposition, inclined to ungraciousness and mischief, knowing before one the other's mind by secret conference, were brought to talk together on St. James's day, A. D. 1549.

The causes moving them to raise this rebellion, were these: First and principally, their traitorous hearts, grudging at the king's most honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his religion. Another cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantastical prophecy, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecy should shortly come to pass, by hearing the rebellions of Norfolk, Devonshire, and other places. The tenor of which prophecy, and purpose together of the traitors, was, "That there should no

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king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed, and the realm should be ruled by four governors, to be elected and appointed by the commons holding a parliament; in a commotion to begin at the south and north seas of England," &c.: supposing that this their rebellion in the north, and the other of the Devonshire men in the west, meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the mean how to compass this their traitorous devilish device. And therefore, laying their studies together, how they might find out more company to join with them in that detestable purpose, and so set forward this device they framed, as to stir in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other; and, at the first rush, to kill and destroy such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were favourers of the king's proceedings, or which would resist them. But, first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they devised to burn beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the sea-coasts; and, having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their poison; first, beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoil of rich men's goods, blowing into their heads that God's service was laid aside, and new inventions, neither good nor godly, put in place; and so, feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the church again their old ignorance and idolatry, they thought, by that means soonest, to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the gentlemen at their first rising, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in serving the king in commission, and others as they could be caught; and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of service on the holy-days. And thus was the platform cast of their device, according as afterwards, by the confession at their examinations, it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

Thus they being together agreed, Omblor and Dale, and others by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the parishes of Seamer and Wintringham, and in the towns about, that they were infected with the poison of this confederacy in such sort, that it was easy to understand whereunto they would incline, if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment thereof did shortly follow; for, although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracy, named Calvered, at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the lord president and gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at Seamer, by the sea-coast; and there, by night, rode to the beacon at Saxton, and set it on fire. And so, gathering together a rude rout of rascals out of the towns near about, being in a stir, Omblor, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, hasted forthwith with the rebels to Master White's house, to take him, who notwithstanding, being on horseback, minding to have escaped their hands, Dale, Omblor, and the rest of the rebels, took him, and Clopton his wife's brother, one Savage, a merchant of York, and one Bury, servant to Sir Walter Mildmay; which four, without cause or quarrel, saving to fulfil their seditious prophecy in some part, and to give a terror to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had carried them one mile from Seamer, towards the Wold; and there, after they had stripped them of their clothes and purses, left them naked behind them in the plain field, for crows to feed on, until White's wife and Savage's wife, then at Seamer, caused them to be buried.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite what revel these rebels kept in their raging madness, who, ranging about the country from town to town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious

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band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that, in short time, they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts; and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lord's goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For, first, came the king's gracious and free pardon, discharging and pardoning them, and the rest of the rebels, of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Majesty, before the twenty-first of August, A. D. 1549; which pardon, although Ombler contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilful obstinacy, dissuading also the rest from the humble accepting the king's so loving and liberal pardon, yet, notwithstanding, with some it did good.

To make short, it was not long after this, but Ombler, as he was riding from town to town, twelve miles from Hunmanby, to charge all the constables and inhabitants where he came, in the king's name, to resort to Hunmanby, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of John Wood the younger, James Aslabe, Ralph Twinge, and Thomas Constable, gentleman, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custody unto the city of York, to answer to his demerits. After whom, within a short time, Thomas Dale and Henry Barton, the first chieftains and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Peacock, Wetherel, and Edmund Buttry, busy stirrers in this sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly, executed at York the twenty-first of September, A. D. 1549.

To these pestiferous commotions, raised up against King Edward by his own subjects in this year aforesaid, within the realm, I might also adjoin the busy stirring and raging of the French king, against our young and innocent prince, without the realm: who, hearing of these tumults and violent insurrections of the king's subjects in divers and sundry quarters of the realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought, likewise, for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who, after he had by his ambassador made open breach with the king, immediately after the revocation of the said ambassador from hence, intending to annoy the king, and make his first invasion against the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, thought to have surprised our ships and the said isles with a certain number of his ships and galleys; in the which his assault he was so hotly saluted by the king's ships and the island, that, by the confession of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the lord protector, the Frenchmen lost at least a thousand men. Their ships and galleys were so spoiled, that being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out again.

Furthermore, out of France credible word was brought to the lord protector, (which yet in letters appeareth,) that into one town, in one vessel, were brought, at least, threescore gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the king, not to speak of the success in that journey. This was about the beginning of August, 1549, The like also might be noted of the losses of the said French king at Boulogne, the eighth day of August, the same year, as by the Lord Clinton's letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the French king was in these voyages, or how he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty arm of God mercifully fought for King

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Edward his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions, stirred up in so many quarters within this realm, and also without the realm, and all within the compass of one year; and yet the Lord above, fighting for his true servant, despatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

230. Trial and Imprisonment of Edmund Bonner.

And thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King Edward by his unkind and unnatural subjects, and yet, notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the victory; now let us return again to Bonner, bishop of London, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now, forasmuch as we have to enter into the story of the said Bonner, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter, with the circumstances and occasions thereof, from the first beginning of King Edward's time. Where is to be understood, that King Edward, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1547, the first day of September, for the order of his visitations, directed out certain commissioners, as Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir John Godsalue, knights, John Godsalue and Christopher Nevinson, doctors of the law, and John Madew, doctor of divinity; who, sitting in Paul's church upon their commission, the day and year aforesaid, there being present at the same time, Edmund, bishop of London, John Royston, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others of the said cathedral church, after the sermon made, and the commission being read, ministered an oath unto the said bishop of London, to renounce and deny the bishop of Rome with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the king, according to the effect and form of the statute made in the thirty-first year of King Henry the Eighth; also, that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said church to be reformed.

Whereupon the said bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their commission, only for this purpose and intent, (as he said,) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their commission: unto whom the commissioners, answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter. And so they called the other ministers of the said church before them, and ministered the like oath unto them, as they did to the bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then, certain interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the public notary. Which done, after their oaths taken, the said commissioners delivered unto the bishop aforesaid, certain injunctions, as well in print as written, and homilies set forth by the king; all which things the said bishop received, under the words of this protestation, as followeth

"I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law and the statutes and ordinances of the church."

And immediately he added, with an oath, that he never read the said homilies and injunctions. The which protestation being made in manner and form aforesaid, the said Edmund Bonner bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lilly, the registrar aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said commissioners, delivering the

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injunctions and homilies to Master Bellasere, archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn, archdeacon of London, Essex, and Middlesex; and enjoining them, in most effectuous manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reserving other new injunctions to be ministered afterwards, as well to the bishop, as to the archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, &c., did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

At the which hour and place assigned, the commissioners being set, and the canons and priests of the said church appearing before them, and being examined upon virtue of their oath, for their doctrine and conversation of life, first one John Painter, one of the canons of the said cathedral church, there and then openly confessed, that he, viciously and carnally, had often the company of a certain married man's wife, whose name he denied to declare: in the which crime divers other canons and priests of the aforesaid church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And then, after the commissioners aforesaid had delivered to Master Royston, prebendary, and to the proctor of the dean and of the chapter of the said cathedral church of St. Paul, the king's injunctions, and the book of homilies, enjoining them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

By this visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle reader, first how Bonner made his protestation after the receiving of the king's injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in public record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaste life and conversation of these popish votaries and priests of Paul's. Now, what followed after this protestation of the bishop made, remaineth further, in the sequel of the story, to be declared; wherein, first thou shalt understand that the said bishop, shortly after his protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went unto the king, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former protestation, craved pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanour toward his Grace's commissioners, in the former visitation: which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the king for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the council's letter sent to the commissioners may appear; which, together with the form also of the bishop's protestation and of his recantation, here under followeth.

"To our very loving friends, Sir Anthony Cook, knight, and the rest of the commissioners for the visitation at London, in haste.

"After our hearty commendation: This shall be to signify unto you, that we have received your letters, and in the same enclosed the copy of the protestation made by the bishop of London in the time of your visitation at Paul's: your wise proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And because the said bishop, who, being here before us, hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time, at Paul's, require the registrar of your visitation to make record and entry of his protestation, and now, upon better consideration of his duty, maketh means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true copy of his writings enclosed, the original whereof, remaining with us, he hath

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subscribed; we pray you to cause the registrar to make entry of this his revocation, according to the tenor of this his said writing: further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil ensample that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the Fleet, whither he hath been conveyed by Master Vice-chamberlain. And whereas sundry things for the king's Majesty's service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you, Sir John Godsalue, as well for your office of the signet, as of the prothonotaryship, we pray you that, leaving the execution of the visitation to the rest of your colleagues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well.

"From Hampton Court, the 12th of September 1547.

"Your assured loving friends,

Thomas Canterbury,

William Paget,

William Saint John,

Anthony Brown,

John Russell

William Peter,

Thomas Seymour,

Anthony Dennie,

Edward North."

The form of Bonner's recantation.

"Whereas I, Edmund, bishop of London, at such time as I received the king's Majesty's injunctions and homilies of my most dread sovereign lord, at the hands of his Highness's visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject: forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then, by the registrar of that visitation, enacted and put in record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your Lordships, that I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation; but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same records, for a perpetual memory of the truth; most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings may be, by your good mediations, pardoned by the king's Majesty.

"EDMUND LONDON."

The registers of these affairs of Bonner's remain in the hands of Peter Lilly, then being registrar to the aforesaid commissioners.

Thus far thou hast heard, loving reader, first the popish protestation of Bonner; then how he, calling himself home again, solemnly recanted the same, requiring further the said his revocation to be committed to public record, for a perpetual remembrance. Also, how he, upon his humble submission, received his pardon of the king, and yet, for example's sake, was commanded to the Fleet; where he nevertheless did not long continue, but, according to the effect of the king's pardon before granted, was restored both to house and living again; which was in the first year of the king, A. D. 1547.

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After this ye have heard also, in the story above, in the second year, and a great part of the third year of the king, how he demeaned himself, although not most forward in advancing the king's proceedings, yet in such sort, as no great advantage by any law could be taken against him, both in swearing his obedience to the king, and so receiving his injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consent touching the state of religion then; and, furthermore, in directing out his letters, according to the archbishop of Canterbury's precepts, to Cloney his sumner, to the bishop of Westminster, and to other bishops, for abolishing of images, for abrogation of the mass, for Bibles to be set up, and for ministering in both kinds, with such other like matters of reformation; till at length he, hearing of the death of the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother, and after that of the stirring and rising of the king's subjects in sundry tumults against the king, began somewhat, as he durst, to draw back and slack his pastoral diligence, so that in many places of his diocese, and in London, the people not only were negligent in resorting to Divine service, but also did frequent and haunt foreign rites of masses, and other orders than in this realm were appointed; and he also himself, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal feasts refused in his own person to execute. Whereupon he, being suspected and complained of, and convented before the king's council, (as ye heard before,) after sharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private injunctions to him enjoined.

"1. That he should personally preach within three weeks after at Paul's Cross.

"2. That according as his predecessors were wont to celebrate mass, he at such wonted times should execute and administer the communion.

"3. That he should call before him and correct more diligently such transgressors as absented themselves from the order of service, and ministration of the Lord's board, appointed then in churches by the king's ordinance.

"4. That he should see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of adulterers and fornicators.

"5. That he, in the mean while, should be resident within his own house during the time while he should make his sermon at Paul's above mentioned, which was A. D. 1549."

In the which sermon certain special points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he should treat; which here in order follow, and are these:

Special points and articles to be treated of by Bonner, bishop of London, in his sermon.

"1. That all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that resist the higher power, resist the ordinances of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul. And therefore those rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their king and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and go about to subvert the state and order of the commonwealth, not only do deserve therefore death as traitors and rebels, but do accumulate to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion, what pretences

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soever they have, and what masses or holy water soever they pretend, or go about to make among themselves; as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, for rebellion against Moses, were swallowed down alive into hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God.

"2. Likewise, in the order of the church, and extern rites and ceremonies of Divine service, forasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love towards our neighbours, and obedience to his word and to his ministers and superior powers, these we must bring to all our prayers, to all our service; and this is that sacrifice which Christ requireth, and these be those that make all things pleasant unto God. The extern rites and ceremonies be but exercises of our religion, and appointable by superior powers; in choosing whereof we must obey the magistrates; which things also we do see ever have been and shall be (as the time and place is) diverse, and yet all hath pleased God so long as these before spoken inward things be there. If any man shall use the old rites, and thereby disobey the superior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made naught by his disobedience: so that which else (so long as the law did so stand) might be good, by pride and disobedience now is made naught: as Saul's sacrifice, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and Aaron's two children were. But whoso joineth to devotion obedience, he winneth the garland. For else it is a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*; a will, desire, zeal, and devotion, but not after wisdom; that is, a foolish devotion, which can require no thanks or praise. And yet again, where ye obey, ye must have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings; and, therefore, he that taketh the communion, or saith or heareth the service appointed by the king's Majesty, must bring devotion and inward prayers with him, or else his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him.

"3. Further, ye shall, for example, on Sunday come seventh night, after the aforesaid date, celebrate the communion at Paul's church.

"4. Ye shall also set forth in your sermon, that. our authority of royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than is or was that of any our predecessors, though the same were much older, as may appear by example of Josias, and other young kings, in Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age."

The delivery of these injunctions and articles unto the bishop, (with the time of his appointed preaching,) was soon after known abroad among the citizens, and other the commons within the city of London, so that every man expected the time thereof, wishing to hear the same; which time being once come, the bishop, according to the tenor of the injunctions, publicly preached at the Cross of Paul's the first day of Septemiber. Howbeit, as hypocrisy never lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that, at one time or other, God, in his most righteous judgment, maketh it open unto the world; so, at this present, was that long, coloured, perverse obstinacy, and the infestered hatred of this double-faced dissembler against the king's godly proceedings, most plainly manifested by his disobedient demeanour in this his sermon. For, whereas he was commanded to treat only upon such special points as were mentioned in his articles, he yet, both besides the council's commandment, and to the withdrawing of the minds of the common people, as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy sacrament, ministered in the holy communion then set forth by the authority of the king's

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Majesty, (according to the true sense of the Holy Scripture,) did spend most part of his sermon about the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and also, contrary thereunto, did not only slenderly touch the rest of his articles, but, of a rebellious and wilful carelessness, did utterly leave out unspoken the whole last article, concerning the as effectual and as lawful authority of the king's Highness during his young age, as if he were thirty or forty years old; notwithstanding the same (because it was the traitorous opinion of the popish rebels) was, by special commandment, chiefly appointed him to treat upon.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing, as it greatly offended most of the king's faithful and loving subjects there present, so did it much mislike the minds, and was far from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly preacher Master John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and lastly, a most constant martyr for the gospel of Christ, and also of Master Hugh Latimer, bachelor of divinity: and therefore they, well weighing the foulness of the fact, and their bounden allegiances unto their prince, did thereupon exhibit unto the king's Highness, under both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the said bishop, in form following:

"In most humble wise show unto your Majesty Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, that whereas of late, as we be certainly informed from your Majesty, by the hand of the right high and noble Prince Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of your royal person, and protector of all your Highness's realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of your privy council, there were certain injunctions given to the bishop of London that now is, with articles to be insinuated and preached unto your subjects at a certain day limited, the which injunctions and articles did only tend to the honour of God, and the better instruction of your Highness's people to obedience, and hatred of rebellion and mutiny, wherewith of late this your Majesty's realm hath been marvellously vexed, to the danger of your Highness's person, and the state of the whole realm; and, therefore, a thing at this time most necessary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your Majesty, and unto Almighty God; and especially to acknowledge your Majesty in these years and age to be a perfect high and sovereign lord and king, and supreme head, whose laws, proclamations, and commandments we are bound to obey, as well as any prince's subjects are bound to obey the laws, proclamations, and commandments of their natural and sovereign lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet given unto your person such age as, we trust, she shall, nor so many years, which we wish to be so many as any prince ever had, the which years do not make you king or prince, but the right of your birth, and lawful succession whatsoever it be, so that we all must as well acknowledge your Majesty to be our king and prince, at these years, as if you were at the age of thirty or forty years, and your laws and statutes no less to be feared and obeyed, than if your Highness were fifty or a hundred years old (the which thing not only is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when divers rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your Highness's laws, nor acknowledge the statutes made by your Majesty to be available, till you come to the age of twenty years): and this not only being so, but the same thing being commanded by your said Majesty, amongst other injunctions and articles given in writing to the said Edmund Bonner, to be preached in his last sermon, as by the same injunctions may appear, of the which the true copy we have, when need is, to be showed: yet all this notwithstanding, the said Bonner, of what zeal or mind we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the said rebels, or contemning your Highness's commandment declared unto him, hath not only left out to declare the said article, which we

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most and chiefly expected and looked for, but also, in all the rest of his sermon, did not so fully and apertly declare the said injunctions and articles, as to our judgment did appear they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, entreating of others far distant and diverse from the articles upon the which he was commanded to entreat, and such as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension; willingly leaving out those things which should have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore, not moved of any malice, grudge, envy, or evil will to the person of the bishop, but constrained by the love and zeal which we bear towards your Highness, and of our duty and allegiance to your Majesty, whose honour and safety, with tranquillity, quietness, and good governance of this your realm, we do most desire, and for the discharge of our most bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might ensue of the concealment thereof, we most humbly do declare the same to your Highness, to the intent that your Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, may, if it please your Highness, at this our humble denunciation, call the said bishop to answer to the premises, the which we are ready to avow and prove; and then your Highness may take further order herein, as to your princely wisdom shall seem most convenient, whose long life and most prosperous government God Almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our lives."

The king's Majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this bishop, in not accomplishing his Highness's commandment given him by injunction, thought it most necessary, with all convenient speed, (for the avoiding of further inconveniences,) to look more severely unto the due punishment of such dangerous, rebellious obstinacy; and, therefore, by the advice of the lord protector, and the rest of his honourable council, immediately he directed forth his commission under his broad seal unto the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and to other grave and trusty personages and councillors, appointing and authorizing all them, or certain of them, by virtue of the same, to call before them, as well the bishop of London, as also the aforesaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proof of the premises, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, further to proceed against him summarily *et de plano*, according to law and justice, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation (if the quality of the offence so required): or otherwise, to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of that cause, might to their wisdoms seem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenor of the commission here ensuing.

"Edward the Sixth, &c. To the most reverend father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England, the right reverend father in God, Nicholas bishop of Rochester, our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, Sir William Peter and Sir Thomas Smith, knights, our two principal secretaries, and William May, doctor of the law civil, and dean of Paul's, greeting: It is come to our knowledge, that where we, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, did give to the right reverend father in God Edmund, bishop of London, upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great considerations, certain injunctions to be followed, done, and executed; and, in a sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain articles, and for the more sure knowledge, keeping, and observing, did exhibit the same in writing unto him by the hands of our said uncle, in the fulfilling of our council: all this notwithstanding, the said bishop hath, in contempt of us, (as it may appear,) overslipped and not observed certain of the said things so by

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us enjoined, and others so perversely and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our subjects and our whole realm, be converted, by the wilful negligence or perversity of him, to a great occasion of slander, tumult, and grudge amongst our people, as it hath been denounced to us in writing by certain honest and discreet persons, and otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we, tendering the health, quietness, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let past unpunished and unreformed, and therefore, by the advice aforesaid, have appointed you five, four, or three, upon whose fidelities, wisdoms, dexterities, and circumspections, we have full confidence, to call before you as well the denouncers of the said faults, as also the said bishop; and, with due examinations and process, according to the law and justice, to hear the said matter, and all other matters, of what kind, nature, or condition soever they shall be, that shall be objected against the said bishop, summarily, *et de plano* or otherwise, as to your discretions shall be thought most meet, with full power and authority to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or deprive the said bishop, if the offence shall so appear to merit, or to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of the cause shall he requisite and appertain: any law, statute, or act to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents.

"Witness ourself at Westminster, the eighth of September, in the third year of our reign.

The commission, being sealed with the king's broad seal, was by his Highness's council forthwith delivered at the court unto Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the commissioners mentioned in the same, being there all together present; who, upon the receipt thereof, determined, by virtue of the same, to sit at the archbishop's house at Lambeth, the Wednesday then next ensuing, which was the tenth day of that present month of September, and therefore appointed the bishop of London to be summoned to appear before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whose behaviour at his appearance, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what estimation and authority he thought the commissioners to be of, I thought it not unmeet first, before I enter into the process, somewhat to note and describe unto you.

At his first entry into the place within the archbishop's house at Lambeth, where the archbishop and others of the commissioners sat, he passed forth directly by them with his cap upon his head, (making as though he saw them not,) until one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the commissioners: whereat he laughingly turned himself, and spake unto the archbishop on this wise: "What, my Lord! are you here? by my troth I saw you not." "No," said the archbishop, "you would not see." "Well," quoth he, "you sent for me: have you any thing to say to me?" "Yea," said the commissioners, "we have here authority from the king's Highness to call you to an account for your sermon you made lately at Paul's Cross, for that you did not there publish to the people the article which you were commanded then to preach upon." At which words the bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or else because he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in religion, (as afterwards in the sequel of this process it more plainly appeareth,) began to turn his talk unto other matters, and said unto the archbishop, "In good faith, my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is." "What is it?" said the archbishop. "The blessed mass," quoth he: "you have written very well of the sacrament; I marvel you do no more honour it." The archbishop of Canterbury, therewith perceiving his subtlety, and seeing his gross blindness, to

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commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again: "If you think it well, it is because you understand it not." The other then, adding unto his former gross ignorance an obstinate impudency, answered, "I think I understand it better than you that wrote it." Unto which words the archbishop replied, "Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old to understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?"

Moreover, at what time as they began to enter the judicial prosecuting of their commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they had to object against him, he, hearing them speak, fell to scorning and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake like a goose; and to the other, that he spake like a woodcock; utterly denying their accusations to be true. Whereupon the archbishop seeing his peevish malice against the denouncers, asked him, if he would not believe them, whether he would credit the people there present? and therewithal (because many of them were also at the bishop's sermon at Paul's) he stood up and read the article of the king's authority during his young age; saying unto them, "How say you, my Masters! did my Lord of London preach this article?" whereunto they answered, "No, no." At which words the bishop turning himself about, deriding said, "Will you believe this fond people?"

Besides this, at all his appearings he used many irreverent, uncomely, obstinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the commissioners and others, (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretended commissioners, pretended witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and pretended proceedings, with recusation of some, and terming others daws, woodcocks, fools, and such like,) which I will here omit, for they do more manifestly appear in the sequel of the story in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although such stoutness of heart and will, if it had been in a cause true and rightful, might have perchance seemed, in some men's judgment, to be somewhat sufferable, yet, to say the truth, in what case soever it be, being immoderate, as this shall appear, it beseemed no wise man, and therefore much less one of his calling. For, if his cause had been good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true canon law of the gospel doth teach him? If it were (as it was indeed) naught and wrong, whereto served so bold sturdy stoutness, but to show the impudency of the person, and to make the case worse, which was bad enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if need were, what he was able to do in the law, in shifting off the matter by subtle dilatories, and frivolous cavilling about the law. And if that would not help, yet with facing and bracing, and railing upon the denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the king's commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seem yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For to conclude, for all his crafty cautels and tergiversations alleged out of the law, yet neither his cause could be so defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was therefore both justly imprisoned, and also, in the end, most lawfully deprived; as by the sequel of this process may well appear, the manner whereof is as followeth.

The first action or session against Bonner, before the king's commissioners.

Upon Wednesday, the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the third year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, associated with Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of

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Rochester, Sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's two principal secretaries, and Master William May, doctor of the civil law, and dean of Paul's, by virtue of the king's commission, sat judicially upon the examination of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, within the archbishop's chamber of presence, at his house in Lambeth, before whom there then also personally appeared the said bishop. At which time the commissioners, first showing forth their commission, requested Sir William Peter, that he would openly publish and read the same. That done, the archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared unto the bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, unto the king's Majesty and his most honourable council, and that therefore his Highness, with their advice, had committed the examination thereof unto him, and other his colleagues there present; as also, unto Sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of his Majesty's two principal secretaries, though then absent: and therewithal showed also forth a bill of complaint, exhibited unto the king by Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, ministers; which they likewise requested Sir William Peter to read.

These things ended, the bishop, like a subtle lawyer, having most like some secret intelligence before of these matters, (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary,) pulled out of his bosom a solemn protestation ready written, which he then exhibited unto the commissioners, requesting that the same might he there openly read.

This protestation being read, he requested the commissioners that he might have the bill of complaint delivered him; which when he had well perused, he said, that the same was very general, and so general as that he could not directly answer thereunto. Whereunto the archbishop answered, that the special cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the king's commandment, given unto him by his council, in that he, in his late sermon made at Paul's Cross, did not set forth unto the people the king's Highness's royal power in his minority, according to the tenor of the article delivered unto him by them for that purpose; and for proof thereof called forth Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, preachers, who before that time had put up the bill of complaint unto the king against him.

Upon whom when the bishop had earnestly looked, and well beheld them, he said, "As for this merchant Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant Hooper, I have not seen him before, howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching." And then, turning himself again unto the archbishop, (of purpose, most like, to make his friends think that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion,) said unto him, "Ah, my lord! now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach and set forth in my late sermon the true presence of the most blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. For as for these my accusers, as they be evil, infamed, notorious, and criminous persons, so are they manifest and notable heretics and seducers of the people, especially touching the sacrament of the altar; and most of all this Hooper. For whereas, in my late sermon at Paul's Cross, I preached, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is the true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, the same day at afternoon, having a great rabblement with him of his damnable sect, openly in the pulpit, within my diocese, did preach erroneously to the people against it; and maliciously inveighing against my sermon, denied the

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verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be in the same sacrament, and also falsely and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the said sacrament, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, like an ass, (as he is an ass indeed,) falsely changed and turned the word 'that' into 'as,' like an ass, saying, that I had said as it hanged, as it was shed upon the cross."

The archbishop hereupon, perceiving the bishop's drift, and hearing him talk so much of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, said unto him, "My Lord of London! ye speak much of a presence in the sacrament; what presence is there, and of what presence do you mean?" Wherewith the bishop, being somewhat stirred and moved in his mind, (as appeared by his choleric countenance,) spake again to the archbishop very earnestly, and said, "What presence, my Lord? I say and believe that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What believe you, and how do you believe, my Lord?" Upon which words the archbishop, because he saw his answer dark and subtle, and minding somewhat to nip the gross absurdities of the papists, asked him further, whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body? Whereat the bishop shaking his head, said, "Oh! I am right sorry to hear your Grace speak these words;" and therewith boldly urged the archbishop to show his mind therein; who wisely weighing the fond presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused then so to do, saying, that their being there at that time was, not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their commission committed to them by their prince; and therefore willed him to answer them unto such things as were objected against him.

Whereupon, under his protestation, he required to have a copy both of the commission, and also of the denunciation given unto him, with time to answer thereto; which the commissioners willingly granted, assigning him there to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight o'clock before noon; and then to answer the tenor of the denunciation. And so, for that day, (he complaining somewhat of the shortness of his time to answer,) they all together departed.

The second appearance of Bonner in the chapel of Lambeth, before the archbishop and other four commissioners, the bishop of Rochester, secretary Peter, secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's.

Upon Friday, the thirteenth of September afore-named, four commissioners, associated then also with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of the king's two principal secretaries, and joint commissioner with them, sat judicially in the archbishop's chapel, within his house at Lambeth; before whom (according to their former assignment) there and then appeared the bishop of London. To whom the archbishop, in the name of the rest, first said, "My Lord of London! the last time you were before us, we laid certain articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the kings Majesty, and you have this day to make your answer thereunto: wherefore now show us what you have to say for your defence."

Whereto the bishop, first asking the archbishop if he had all said and done, and he again saying "Yea," made this answer: "My Lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember

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there sat in the kings Majesty's commission, your Grace, you my Lord of Rochester, you Master Secretary Peter, and you Master Dean of Paul's; hut now, I perceive, there sitteth also Master Secretary Smith, who, because he sat not at the beginning, nor took there the commission upon him, ought not so to do: for by the law, they that begin, must continue the commission." Whereupon the archbishop first answered, that he was no lawyer, and therefore could not certainly show what the law willeth in that case; "But," saith he, "if the law be so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable law." "Well," said the bishop, "there be here that know the law, and yet I say not this to the intent to stand or stick much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way; for I have here mine answer ready."

Then said Master Secretary Peter to the bishop, "My Lord! in good sooth I must say unto you, that although I have professed the law, yet, by discontinuance and disuse thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters from study of the law, I have perhaps forgotten what the law will do precisely in this point. But, admit the law were so as you say, yet yourself know, my Lord, that this is our certain rule in law, *quad consuetudo eat juris interpret optimus*: and I am sure you will not, and cannot deny, but that the custom is commonly in this realm in all judgments and commissions used to the contrary; and, in very deed, we all together at the court, having the commission presented unto us, took it upon us; and therefore, for you to stick in such trifling matters, you shall rather in my judgment hurt yourself and your matter, than otherwise."

"Truly, Master Secretary!" said the bishop, "I have also of long while been disused in the study of law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter, to turn my books, I find the law to be as I say; and yet, as I said, I tell you hereof but by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point."

At which words, Master Secretary Smith said also unto the bishop, "Well, my Lord of London! as cunning as you make yourself in the law, there be here that know the law as well as you: and for my part I have studied the law too, and I promise you these be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our commission is to proceed summarily, and straitforwardly, and to cut off such frivolous allegations."

"Well," said the bishop again, "look well on your commission, and you shall find therein these words, 'To proceed according to the law and justice;' and I ask both law and justice at your hands."

Then Master Secretary Peter willed him to stand no more thereupon, but to proceed unto his answer: whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and delivering it unto the archbishop, said, that it was of his own hand-writing, and for lack of sufficient time written so hastily and coarsely, that it could scarcely be read by any other, and therefore he desired to read it himself; and so taking it again, read it openly, the copy whereof here followeth:

"I Edmund, bishop of London, concerning Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, the pretended denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for answer unto the unlawful, untrue, and uncharitable, pretended denunciation of them, lately indeed, contrary to justice and

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good reason, exhibited here and read before you, under protestation heretofore made by me, and read unto you, remaining in the acts of this court, unto which I refer me, and have the same here again for repeated and rehearsed to all purposes agreeable to the law, do, for my necessary defence and help, allege and say as followeth:

"I. First, I do allege and say, that the said Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, or either of them, were not, nor now are, to be admitted in any wise, by virtue of this or any other commission, as denunciators against me their bishop; especially, for that they and either of them have, as well before the time of their pretended denunciation, and also then and since, been and be, vile and infamed, notorious, criminous persons, and also open and manifest notable heretics, especially concerning the sacrament of the catholic church, and namely concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar; by reason of which their heresies, they were and be, by the order of the said catholic church, here in this realm of England, justly and duly excommunicated and accursed, and have divided themselves thereby from the unity and integrity of Christ's catholic church; and for such persons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriously, and commonly, amongst the catholic people of this realm of England, and especially of this city of London; familiarly haunting and conversant with sacramentaries, and openly known condemned heretics, and favourers and abettors of the same, and their detestable and pestilent doctrine and heresy.

"II. Item, That the said John Hooper, amongst other his poisoned and venomous doctrine, and amongst other his erroneous, detestable, and abominable errors and heresies taught and spread abroad here within this realm, infecting and poisoning the king's subjects therewith, hath, before the time of the said pretended denunciation, damnably and detestably made divers erroneous and heretical books, especially one, entitled, A Declaration of Christ, and of his Office, printed (as he falsely surmiseth) in Zurich, by Augustine Friars, wherein he, in many places, heretically and damnably denieth the true presence of Christ's body in the blessed sacrament of the altar, and also, in effect, denieth the verity of Christ's blessed body upon the cross, calling it 'mathematical,' and excluding thereby the true and very substance thereof.

"III. Item, The said John Hooper doth persevere, and continueth still, in his said poisoned and wicked venomous doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the same, and every part thereof, all the ways he can, especially against the presence of Christ's blessed body in the sacrament of the altar; and his said books, especially the said Declaration of Christ and of his Office, he doth yet allow and maintain as good and catholic, whereas indeed it is heretical, wicked, and damnable: the contents of which doctrine and book so entitled, the said Latimer, especially touching the heresy against the verity of Christ's body, and his true presence in the sacrament of the altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, believed, holden, maintained, and kept; and so, at this present, doth yet believe, hold, maintain, and keep; contrary to the faith of Christ's catholic church, and the unity of the same observed amongst all true Christian people; incurring thereby heresy, excommunication, and schism, to the loss both of their souls, and of their believers'.

"IV. Item, That the said Latimer and Hooper, and either of them, being of these vile and detestable qualities, and consequently, by the ordinance of the catholic church of Christ, as well of this realm, as also throughout all Christendom, being so excommunicated and cast out thereby

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from the said church, are not to this pretended denunciation against me their bishop, nor to any judicial act, to be admitted, nor yet to be accompanied withal, or answered unto; but are, by Scripture, and the order of Christ's catholic church here in this realm, utterly and truly to be excluded, avoided, detested, eschewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wise, of all faithful and true Christian people, fearing God, and desiring the advancement of the truth.

"V. Item, That whereas the said Latimer and Hooper, in their said pretended denunciation, amongst other things, do untruly deduce that they have made their said pretended denunciation, not moved of any malice or evil will, but for the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, which, as they pretend in their gay and glorious proem, they would seem to have a great care and sollicitude of, whereas in very deed they, and such as they are, by sundry ways, and especially by their corrupt doctrine, and heretical, naughty preaching, and infecting of the king's Majesty's people, have disturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, as evidently and notoriously it is well known; the truth is, that this their saying is evidently and plainly false; for notorious it is, and lawfully shall be proved, that the said Hooper, conspiring with the said Latimer, and other heretics of their factious sect and damnable opinion, did, the first day of September last past, after that I, the said bishop of London, had made the sermon at Paul's Cross, assemble maliciously, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himself is, within my diocese and jurisdiction, and, under the colour of reading, did openly and manifestly rail and inveigh against me the said bishop, for my said sermon; not for such matter, pretence, or cause, as is falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretended denunciation, but only and chiefly for that I, the said bishop, as became a Christian man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truly to teach them, did, taking occasion of the communion not frequented nor revered, but neglected and contemned, confess and declare my faith and belief openly before my audience, touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, ministered in the same communion, affirming, as the catholic church affirmeth and teacheth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that hanged upon the cross, and the very true blood of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that was shed upon the cross. Against which affirmation and assertion, being catholic and true, the said John Hooper (albeit now colourably, and falsely, and foolishly, he pretendeth another matter more plausible in his opinion and judgment in sundry places of the city and suburbs of London) hath since that time maliciously inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routs) to reprove, contemn, and despise the said blessed sacrament of the altar, and not to have a true and faithful belief of it, as hitherto always the catholic church hath ever had, the said William Latimer, and the rabblement of his complices, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing others to do the same; not making any such pretence at all (as they, in their said pretended denunciation, do falsely surmise and deduce); but only and chiefly offended for my said assertion, and affirmation of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, in their said pretended denunciation, do further deduce, and falsely surmise, that I, the said bishop of London, had delivered to me from the king's Majesty, by the hands of the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the king's Majesty's council, certain injunctions with articles to be insinuated and preached to the king's Majesty's subjects, at a certain day limited, and after such sort, form, and manner, as is

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in the said pretended denunciation surmised untruly and deduced: it is notorious and evident, as well by the tenor and continue of that writing which was to me, the said bishop of London, delivered by the hands of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's Majesty, as otherwise, that the said surmise, in such sort and fashion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalf, referring me to the tenor of the said writing, which neither was signed with the king's Majesty's hand, nor sealed with any his Majesty's seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of the said council, or delivered after such sort as is alleged and pretended, as more evidently hereafter shall appear, and sufficiently be proved, for my lawful necessary defence in this behalf.

"VI. Item, That in case any such injunctions, with articles after such form and fashion, had been so delivered unto me as is surmised and pretended, yet false and untrue it is that I, the said bishop, either left out, or refused to declare the same for any such cause or causes falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretended denunciation, or else so perversely and negligently did, as likewise in the said pretended denunciation is deduced; which thing may well appear in the discourse of my said sermon, where, in substance and effect, I declared faithfully and truly these points specially following; that is to wit, that all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that refuse the higher power resist the ordinance of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, is by the word of God utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul, alleging for this purpose the 13th chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, and it at large declaring unto the audience. Furthermore, speaking of the rebels in Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere within this realm; standing in doubt whether I might put them in the place of those that put trust in themselves and despised all others, or in the place of both, doing as they did; forgetting God, not duly considering the king's Majesty, their supreme head next and immediately under God; forgetting their wives, their children, their kinsfolk, their alliance, acquaintance, and friends, yea, themselves, and their native country, and most unnaturally rebelling against their sovereign lord and king, whom, by God's law they were bound to love, serve, and faithfully obey; I did, to the best of my power, dissuade rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded: And all rebellion being, in like manner, forbidden, under pain of eternal damnation, all these rebels in Cornwall, Devonshire, Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power or force against their king and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and went about to subvert the order of the commonwealth, did not only deserve therefore death, as rebels and traitors, but also did accumulate unto themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion.

"And here I did ask, who had induced the said rebels thus to do? To which I answered by another question, demanding who moved and induced Eve to take the apple and break her obedience against God's commandment? who moved also and induced Cain to kill his brother Abel? yea, who moved Judas the apostle to betray his Master, Christ? Was it not the devil? Yes truly, and he it is (said I) that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced these rebels to do this unnatural rebellion against their prince and sovereign lord. Whereupon I asked, what pretences they had, and, answering thereto, said, that amongst others they had masses and holy water; upon which I, exclaiming against them, said, Good Lord! is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate, colour, excuse, and maintain rebellion and inobedience, to pretend mass or holy water? as who saith that these things had been instituted and ordained to

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defend, maintain, and excuse rebellion, treason, and inobedience; which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four texts of Scripture to prove this thing that I said, alleging Numbers xvi.; 1 Kings xx.; Leviticus x., and the fourth, that myself added also, St. Luke xiii., setting them forth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatsoever pretences these rebels had of masses, holy water, or such other, it could not in any wise excuse or defend their rebellion and inobedience, referring myself herein to the indifferent hearers in the said audience.

"And here, pulling out a writing, sent from the king's Majesty's privy council unto me, touching the victory against the said rebels, which for brevity of time my memory would not serve to declare without book, I did rehearse it in writing word by word; in doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the said rebels, or maintain their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better than sacrifice; and that in disobedience and rebellion nothing could or did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud Pharisee and the humble Publican ascending into the temple to pray, and noting the outward and extern doing of them both, with the success thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine service, that forasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his word, to his ministers, and to the superior powers, we must bring all these things to all our prayers, to all our service; and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requireth, and that these be the things that make all other things pleasant to Almighty God: further saying, that the extern rites are but exercises of religion, and appointed by superior powers, and that in the choosing thereof we must obey the magistrates, and that we also do see that those things ever have been, and shall be, diverse, as the time and place is; and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humility of heart, innocency of living, knowing of God, charity and love to our neighbour, with obedience to God's word, God's ministers, and the superior powers, are concurrent and present therewith.

"VII. Moreover, I then said, that if any man should use rites, and disobey thereby the superior powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evil by his disobedience; insomuch that that which (standing the law) might be good, was, by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made evil and unprofitable; putting example in the fact of Saul, reserving the fat sheep for sacrifice; and in Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and also in Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's two children, and in the Galileans, whose blood Pilate did mix with their sacrifices. And thereupon I told the audience that they must do herein especially two things: the first, they must join to and with their devotion faithful obedience, and then they shall win the garland, and otherwise have a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*, deserving no thank or praise of God; and also they must, with and to their obedience, join devotion, knowing that God more doth require and consider the heart, than the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the communion, or to hear or say the service, appointed by the king's Majesty, they must bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or else their prayers shall be but vain, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him. And herein, because I marvelled that the communion was no more frequented now-a-days, and lamenting the irreverent coming to it and using of it; fearing that it proceeded of an evil opinion and belief touching the sacrament of the altar, ministered and distributed at the same communion; and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it than they seemed to have, I did faithfully,

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truly, and plainly declare my belief of the said sacrament, wherewith the said Latimer and Hooper, with their complices, were so much offended and aggrieved.

"VIII. Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do further, in the said pretended denunciation, untruly and uncharitably deduce and alleage, that I, in my said sermon, did treat of such things as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension, it doth hereby evidently and clearly appear, that either the said pretended denunciators do take and esteeme a declaration faithfully made of the loyal obedience of subjects to the king's Majesty, the supreme and sovereign lord, and the great peril and danger of rebellion committed by subjects against their king and prince and sovereign lord, to be a moving, provoking, and stirring-up of people to discord and dissension: or else that the affirmation and assertion catholic of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the blessed sacrament of the altar, set forth by me as afore, doth effect and work such disorder and dissension. For evident it is to all those which indifferently heard my said sermon, that I (grounding myself upon Scripture, and taking occasion of the Sunday then occurrent) did speak specially and earnestly of these two things, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumstance, to slander them thereby; and I did both set forth the obedience and duty of all subjects generally to their king, and specially, of subjects of this realm to the king's Majesty that now is, whose minority to all people of this realm is more than manifest, and is also apparent or evidently known to all the whole world beside. And also, I did then declare and lay open the imminent danger and great peril of rebellion in subjects against the high powers and authority, and also specially of the rebellion late committed by them of Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere, against the king's Majesty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed that all the king's subjects without exception were bound to obey the king's Majesty, even as he now is, was, and shall be, during his life, which our Lord long preserve to all our comforts and wealth! and also that the rebellion of late so committed against his Majesty was damnable, and utterly detestable and condemned by God's law: and herein I refer me to the indifferent hearers of this my sermon, wishing that this Latimer and Hooper, with all the rest of these new preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently, and catholicly, as I always have done, towards the king's Majesty, his honour, authority, royal power, and surety of his person and realm; and did not more move, encourage, and stir the king's Majesty's subjects to sedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than I did at any time encourage, move, or stir any of them in any wise, or give occasion to any of the same.

"IX. Item, Whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do falsely surmise in their pretended denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I, the said bishop of London, should more apertly have declared the injunctions and articles aforesaid, and that it did so appear unto their judgments; I do say, that their judgments are corrupted and only set to slander and picking of quarrels in this behalf, being well assured and so credibly informed, that all the worshipful and honest catholic persons of my said audience were fully satisfied, both as touching obedience to the king's Majesty in his tender age and minority, and also touching the penalty and great peril of punishments of the rebellion so lately committed against the said Majesty by the aforesaid rebels. And, moreover, I do say, that before my lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the king's Majesty's most honourable council then present, I made my excuse, and alleged many impediments for my not preaching at the Cross; and did not further promise but to do the best I could, which of my fidelity and conscience I did; not omitting any thing of purpose

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or evil will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people, both good and bad, in every condition and point; specially, in this behalf, collecting and gathering together, with all diligent study, all that might make, in my judgment and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same."

Thus have you Bonner's answer to the denunciation aforesaid: wherein first he alleged, or rather shamelessly and slanderously cavilled:

"That those his denouncers were vile, infamed, and notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest heretics, as well against the rest of the sacraments of the church, as chiefly against the sacrament of the altar; and were for the same, by the orders of the church, excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the catholics of this realm, and especially by Hooper; who, besides other his poisoned doctrine and heresy amongst the people, had also, before the time of the denunciation, made divers erroneous and heretical books against the true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and did also continue in the same, allowing and maintaining it as good and catholic: which books and doctrine (chiefly against the sacrament of the altar) Hugh Latimer had, and then likewise. did allow, believe, and teach, to the loss of both their own souls, and also of their believers'; and therefore were not now, nor ought at any time, to be admitted either in this their denunciation against him, or in any other judicial act; and that the rather also, because that although they pretend, in their denunciation, that they made not the same of any malice or evil will towards him, but for the good tranquillity and quiet governance of this realm, yet was it notoriously known, that as well the same day at afternoon in which he the said bishop preached at the Cross of Paul's, as also at sundry other times, they two, conspiring with others of their faction, did maliciously and unlawfully within his diocese assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselves were, and there, under the colour of reading, did openly rail and inveigh against him, not for any the causes pretended in their denunciation, but because he had in his sermon declared, (as the catholic church taught,) that in the sacrament of the altar there was the very true body and blood of Christ, the same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross."

Then, after these vain and frivolous allegations against the denouncers, he cometh and answereth to the substance of their denunciation, and saith:

"That where they, in the same, do falsely surmise, that there were delivered unto him from the king's Majesty, by the hands of the lord protector and the rest of his Highness's council, certain injunctions and articles to be published and declared unto the people at a day limited in the same, their information, in such sort as it was deduced, was most false and untrue, for that the articles delivered unto him by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the king's secretaries, were neither signed with the king's own hand, nor sealed with his Highness's seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of his council," &c.

Where mark, I beseech you, the subtlety of a disloyal papist, who, because the articles were not sealed by the king and his council, would make them therefore not to be of any such force as that the breach thereof should cause him to incur the danger of contemptuous disobedience. But admit they were not signed nor sealed, (of which thing, by the way, in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay,) yet it is manifest by the second bill of articles ministered unto him by the commissioners, in the fourth act of his process, that, at such time as

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he was before the council, those articles were, by the commandment of the lord protector, openly there read unto him by one of the secretaries, and, after addition of the article concerning the king's lawful power and authority during his young years, were also delivered unto him by the hands of the lord protector, in the presence of the rest of the council; who, thus receiving them, promised there faithfully to accomplish all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto secretary Smith, to amend such things therein as the lord protector and the rest of the council had there appointed: which being accordingly done, (as the bishop himself at the last receipt thereof confessed,) they were finally delivered unto him by the secretary; and therefore was this but a poor shift. Now after this, he maketh a supposition:

"That in case it were true, that the injunctions were delivered him according to their information, yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuse to declare the same for any such causes as they had alleged against him; and that did well appear in the discourse of his sermon, which tended principally (as he said) to the disallowing and condemnation of all rebels, and chiefly of the rebels in Norfolk, Suffolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, or elsewhere within this realm of England, who, forgetting their allegiance and duty unto their prince, assigned to them by God's word as their supreme head, their natural love and care for their country, wives, children, and kinsfolk, did both deserve death bodily as traitors, and also accumulate unto themselves damnation of body and soul eternally, with Satan the father and first mover of all rebellion and disobedience. And herewithal further exclaiming against the pretences of those rebels, who, amongst other things, pretended the mass and holy water, with such like, which were never ordained for the purpose, to colour and maintain rebellion, (as, he said, he then proved out of Numbers xvi., 1 Kings xx., Leviticus x., Luke xiii., and Acts vi., in the best manner that he could, as one not exercised greatly in preaching, but restrained therefrom,) but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our neighbours, with obedience to God's word, ministers, and superior powers concurrent with them, they, being external rites and ceremonies of the church, were exercises of religion, and appointable by superior powers; and yet that which (standing the law) might be good, was by pride and disobedience made evil and unprofitable."

And here he further said:

"Because he saw the people slack in coming to the communion and divine service, set forth by the king's Majesty, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion of the sacrament than he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced, in their pretended denunciation, that in his sermon he did treat of such things as most should stir up unto dissension and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his denouncers either took his catholic assertion of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, or else his faithful declaration made of the obedience of subjects unto the king's Majesty their supreme and sovereign lord, with the peril and danger of rebellion committed against him, to be the cause of disorder and dissension; for that (saith he) of these two points he chiefly spake, and especially of obedience to the king, whose minority was more than manifestly known, as well amongst the people of this realm, as elsewhere, throughout the world besides: which he would not have done except he had believed that both all his subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and should be during his life; and also that the rebellion of late committed against him was

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detestable, and condemned by God's word: and therefore he wished that his two denouncers, with all the rest of the new preachers, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and catholicly, towards the king's honour, royal power, and surety of person, as he did; and had not more moved the people to tumults and disobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than he had at any time given any occasion thereunto."

Then finally he concluded and said thus:

"That where his denouncers surmise, that it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgments, that he should more apertly have declared the contents of the injunctions and articles than he did, that their judgments were in that behalf corrupted, and set to slander and picking of quarrels; for he was well assured, and credibly informed, that all his honest and catholic audience were fully satisfied, both touching their obedience to the king's Majesty in his tender age, and also concerning the great penalty and peril that the late rebels incurred by their disobedience. And besides that, when he was before the lord protector and the rest of the council, after he had made his excuse, and alleged many impediments for his not preaching at the Cross, he did not then further promise but to do the best he could; which he hath of his fidelity and conscience accomplished, not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might satisfy the people in any point concerning the premises."

Whilst he was thus reading these answers, objecting against his denouncers such causes and quarrels as he before alleged, for which he would have earnestly had the denouncers to be repelled of the commissioners, the archbishop of Canterbury replied, that if there were any such law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the bishop of Rome. "For," said he, "if my matter and cause be good, what should I care who accuse me, yea, although he were the devil of hell?"

"No, sir," said the bishop of London, "it is the king's law used in the realm?"

"Well, my Lord," said the archbishop, "ye be too full of your law: I would wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God's law, and of your duty."

"Well," answered the bishop again, "seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person."

Then spake secretary Peter to the bishop, as touching these denouncers: "We are not so straited in this matter, but that we may proceed against you, either at their promotion or without them, at our pleasure."

"A God's name, then," said Bonner, "put them by, and then do as your pleasure shall be, so you do me right, for I ask but right."

"Nay," said secretary Smith, "you ask you wot not what: you would have us follow your mind in these quiddities and quirks; and all is nothing else but to delay justice. And you do herein as thieves, murderers, and traitors, not to have the truth known."

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"Say you so to me," quoth the bishop? "I thank you. Well, I could say somewhat to you also, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it pass. As for my matter, I fear it not, it is not so evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my discharge, which when I shall see time, I shall show forth."

"My hand," quoth the secretary. "Let me see it, and let it be read openly." "So it shall," said the bishop, "when I shall see time."

Then said Master Smith, "You do use us thus, to be seen a cunning lawyer."

"Indeed," quoth the bishop, "I knew the law, ere you could read it."

With that, secretary Peter willed the bishop to proceed in reading of his answers; who so did, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered up a writing in paper unto the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners; who then said unto the bishop of London, "Here be certain articles which we intend to minister unto you."

The bishop therewith said, "Do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men, (pointing to Latimer and Hooper,) for I perceive they gave them unto you?"

"Nay," said secretary Peter, "we will minister them unto you, officially only."

The copy of which articles here followeth.

Articles ministered to Bonner, bishop of London, the first time, for him jointly and severally to answer unto.

"I. It is reported that you have received from the king's Majesty, by the hands of my lord protector's Grace, sitting in the council chamber at council with the rest of the lords of the council, the eleventh of August, certain injunctions to be done and followed by you, and articles to be preached there by you; that you did there and then accept the said injunctions, and promise to observe and follow the same.

"II. Item, That you have not truly, sincerely, and wholly, declared all the articles enjoined to you, in your last sermon, as they were put unto you.

"III. Item, Whether ye have written your sermon or no? and if ye have written it, whether of your own counsel only, or by whose help; and who hath seen the same written before and since ye did preach it?

"IV. Item, That ye have not declared in your sermon, that the old rite of prayers, as matins and mass, said after that sort in this realm, by reason of disobedience is naught, although a man have devotion unto it; according as it is in your articles.

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"V. Item, That you have not, in your sermon, declared the articles of the king's Majesty's power in his minority, as it was commanded you, to the refutation of the evil opinion and error of the rebels; and, if you have declared it, how and after what sort ye have declared it?

"VI. Item, Whether ye will take upon you to defend the said rebels' opinion or no?

"VII. Item, That ye know, or have heard say, that certain persons within your diocese, since the time that the said injunctions were given unto you, have heard, been at, or celebrated, mass or evensong in the Latin tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other than according to the king's Majesty's book.

"VIII. Item, That ye have not convented them before you, nor inflicted punishment unto them.

"IX. Item, That ye know or have heard say, that there be notable adulterers, fornicators, or incestuous parsons in your diocese; and you cited none of them, or have seen them punished.

"X. Item, That ye were at Master Dr. Cox's, the king's almoner's sermon at Paul's Cross, about Midsummer was twelve months, wherein he declared the great contempt of the bishop of Winchester in not observing the injunction given unto him. And, especially, in that he did not treat as he ought to have done, and was commanded, of the king's Majesty's authority in his minority, additionally.

"XI. Item, That the rites of the common service of the church, now set forth, be, in some parts of your diocese, diversely used; and you, knowing or hearing of the same, have not called any ministers of the service before you for a redress of such diversity, nor corrected the misusers thereof."

Hereupon, after an oath given unto the bishop *de fideliter respondendo*, he desired a copy of the articles, requiring also a competent time to be given unto him to make answer thereunto.

To whom secretary Peter replied, saying, "My Lord, here be certain of the articles touching your own fact, which you may answer unto forthwith; as whether you wrote your sermon or not before you preached it."

Whereunto the bishop answered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

"Then whose counsel," said he, "and advice, used you in making your sermon?"

To which he also answered, that he had therein used his own counsel and books; "and yet my chaplains," quoth he, "be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why."

These words ended, the commissioners assigned him Monday, the sixteenth of September then next, to appear before them, and to make his full answers unto all the articles ministered unto him by them this day; the contents whereof are as followeth.

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The form and tenor of the articles ministered unto the bishop of London, by the king's commissioners.

Monday, the sixteenth of September, the archbishop, associated with the bishop of Rochester, secretary Smith, and Dr. May, dean of Paul's, sat judicially within his chapel at Lambeth; before whom there and then appeared the bishop of London, according as he was assigned in the last session; at which time he exhibited unto the commissioners in writing his answers unto the last former articles. But before the same were there read, the archbishop said unto him, that his late answer, made the thirteenth of September, unto the denunciation, was very obscure, and therewith also contained much matter of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth; and therefore they desired there to purge themselves. Whereupon Latimer, first obtaining leave to speak, said:

"That the bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many feigned and untrue matters in his former answers to the denunciation, and such as he should never be able to prove. For where in his said answer he alleged, that Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, with other heretics conspiring against him, did the first day of September, after the bishop's sermon, assemble themselves together unlawfully against the said bishop, that saying of his was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, he ever knew or spoke with Hooper. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accused by the bishop, he said, he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed sacrament, otherwise than he ought to do, nor otherwise than according to the Scriptures, and true catholic faith of Christ's church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the king's Majesty, or the said commissioners, to appoint; and further to suffer, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, if the bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge."

Then Master Hooper, upon like licence obtained, said to this effect:

"This ungodly man," pointing to the bishop, "hath most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your Grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge, that I am a heretic: whereas, I take God to record, I never spake, read, taught, or preached any heresy, but only the most true and pure word of God. And where he saith, I frequent the company of heretics, I do much marvel of his so saying; for it hath pleased my lord protector's Grace, my singular good lord and master, and my Lady's Grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with divers other worshipful persons; and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical books against the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it mathematical, I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word 'mathematical' there meaneth, and therefore understandeth not my book, which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word; and by the same his holy word and Scriptures, I am always (and shall be) ready to submit myself to your Grace's judgment, and the superior powers, to be tried:" with many such more words of like importance.

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Which ended, the archbishop, to shorten this matter, asked the bishop how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him the first of September, as he had alleged, seeing they now denied it; and therefore willed him to answer forthwith thereunto.

The bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, so that he might be admitted to do it according to law: and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain books, saying, "I have this varlet's books which he made against the blessed sacrament, which you shall hear." Then, as he was turning certain leaves thereof, Hooper began again to speak; but the bishop turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, "Put up your pipes; you have spoken for your part; I will meddle no more with you:" and therewith read a certain sentence upon the book. This done, he said, "Lo! here you may see his opinion, and what it is." At which words the people standing behind, and seeing his irreverent and unseemly demeanour and railing, fell suddenly into great laughing; whereat the bishop being moved, and not perceiving the cause wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, "Ah woodcocks! woodcocks!"

Then said one of the commissioners, "Why say you so, my Lord?" "Marry," quoth he, "I may well call them woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat; nor yet heard what I said or read."

"Well, my Lord of London," said the archbishop, "then I perceive you would persuade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the sacrament of the altar, and therefore you lay to these men's charge, [meaning Hooper and Latimer,] that they have accused you of that: howbeit, there was no such thing laid to your charge; and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein." And therewithal he said unto the people, "My Lord of London would make you believe that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar: but, to the intent you may perceive how he goeth about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him read unto you:" and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto Sir John Mason, knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the archbishop said again unto the audience, "Lo! here you hear how the bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would persuade you."

With this the bishop, being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, "Well now hear what the bishop of London saith for his part." But the commissioners, seeing his inordinate contumacy, denied him to speak any more, saying, that he used himself very disobediently; with more like words of reproach.

Notwithstanding he, still persisting in his unreverent manner of dealing with the commissioners, pulled out of his sleeve another book, and then said unto the archbishop, "My Lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your books that you made touching the blessed sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity of the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament, and I have another book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvellous matter."

To this the archbishop answered, that he made no books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his books, howbeit he thought the bishop understood them not: "For I promise

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you," quoth he, "I will find a boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you my Lord of London be."

Thus, after much multiplying of like words, the commissioners, thinking not good to spend any more waste time with him, willed him to show forth his answers unto the articles objected the last day against him: whereupon he, having them ready, did read the same openly to them; wherein, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretics, should be used after such strange sort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience unto the king's Majesty for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebels, and also for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the sacrament of the altar, for which only the malicious denouncers with their complices had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the articles, and saith, that to the first, second, and fourth, he hath already, in his former answers to the denunciation, sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by law to answer any further. As to the third and fifth, he said,

"That he began to write his sermon, but being soon weary, did only make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he showed them to his chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the king's Majesty's power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of histories, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of divers young kings, who, notwithstanding their minority, were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful kings: as Henry the Third, being but nine years old; Edward the Third, being but thirteen years; Richard the Second, being but eleven years; Henry the Sixth, being not fully one year; Edward the Fifth, being but eleven years; Henry the Eighth, being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, Osias and Ahas, who were but sixteen years old; Solomon and Manasseh, being but twelve years; Josias, Joachim, and Joash, being but eight years of age when they entered their reigns. All which notes, with many others, he had purposed to declare, if they had come into his memory, as indeed they did not, because the same was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a bill that was delivered to him from the king's council, to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire, which being of some good length, confounded his memory; and partly also for that his book in his sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: so that he could not remember what he would, but yet, in generality, he persuaded the people to obedience to the king's Majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all others.

"Then, as to the sixth, (he said,) he knew not the rebels' opinion, and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh articles, which touched his pastoral office, he said that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his family's sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his officers straitly to look unto such matters; and such as he hath known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the laws." All which answers, with others written with his own hand, hereunder follow.

The answers of Bonner unto the articles objected to him by the king's commissioners the first time.

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"I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited, and repeated before you, which, in all my sayings and doings, I intend to have repeated and rehearsed again, to all lawful effects and purposes, for my honest and necessary defence; with protestation also of the nullity and iniquity of your process I had made in this behalf; and likewise of the generality, uncertainty, obscurity, contrariety, repugnancy, variety, insufficiency, and invalidity of the things alleged and deduced before you against me, as well in the commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the articles and interrogatories so ministered unto me: lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile, heretical, and detestable persons, should be used after this strange sort; having done the best I could to declare mine obedience unto the king's most excellent Majesty, for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the most blessed sacrament of the altar: for which only the malicious denunciators with their complices have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquillity of this realm, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the same; corrupting and infecting with their poisoned and false doctrine, and teaching the king's subjects in this realm, to the great peril and danger thereof many ways: do answer unto certain pretended articles and interrogatories ministered by you indeed unto me the said bishop, the thirteenth day of September, 1549, as followeth

"To the first article objected against me, beginning thus, 'First it is reported,' &c., and ending thus, 'to observe and follow the same,' I do say, and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofore, that is to wit, the thirteenth of September, made and exhibited by me before you unto the said pretended denunciation, touching this matter: alleging withal, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily infer, things to be in very deed true after such a sort, fashion, manner, and form as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

"To the second, beginning thus, 'Item, whether that you,' &c., and ending thus, 'as they were put unto you,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the first article next before, which, after such sort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was justly by me, in my answer made unto the same, denied; and I therefore now am not bounden by the law eftsoons to make other answer thereunto.

"To the third, being an interrogatory, and beginning thus, 'Item, whether,' &c., and ending, 'thus ye did preach,' I do answer and say, that I began to write a piece of my sermon, and being soon weary thereof, I did leave off, and did make only certain notes of my said sermon, and put the same notes in writing of mine own hand, without help or counsel of any other; and the same notes did show unto my chaplains, Master Gilbert Bourn and Master John Harpsfield, both before and also since my said sermon, only desiring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes and process to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such kings as were in their minority when they began to reign.

"To the fourth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have not declared,' &c., and ending thus, 'as it is in your article,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend upon the first and second articles here before denied, deduced in such sort, manner, and form as is expressed in the

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same; and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretended denunciation.

"To the fifth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have not,' &c., and ending thus, 'declared it,' I do answer and say, that this article also doth depend upon the first and second articles; and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the said pretended denunciation. And moreover I do say, that for the better advancement and setting forth of the king's Majesty's royal power and authority, even in his minority, and for the due obedience of his Majesty's subjects unto his Highness, even during the said minority, I had collected together, as well out of histories as also out of the scripture of the Old Testament, the names of divers kings being in minority, who, notwithstanding their said minority, were faithfully, duly, and reverently obeyed, honoured, served, taken, and reputed, for very true and lawful kings: as Henry the Third, being but nine years old when he entered to reign and govern as king; Edward the Third, being but thirteen years of age; Richard the Second, being but eleven years old; Henry the Sixth, being not fully one year of age; Edward the Fifth, being but eleven years old; Henry the Eighth, being about eighteen years old; and so all these kings, being in their minority as the king's Majesty that now is, and yet having authority and power regal, as appertaineth: and in the Old Testament, Osias and Achaz were very true kings in their minority, being but sixteen years of age; Solomon and Manasses, being but twelve years of age; Josias and Joachim, being but eight years of age; and Joash, being but eight years old: all which things, I say, I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my said two chaplains; and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbering of them, or in setting forth in my other notes, at the time of my sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wise. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said sermon, if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memory not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certain writing that was sent to me from the king's Majesty's privy council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory against the rebels, especially in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, confounding my memory in things which before I had set in good order; and partly also for the falling away of my book in the time of my said sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the king's Majesty's minority, as is aforesaid: having yet nevertheless otherwise, in generality and speciality, persuaded the people to obedience unto the king's said Majesty, whose minority to them and all others is notoriously and manifestly known; and his Majesty, saving of these late rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the rest of his subjects.

To the sixth, which beginneth, 'Whether ye will,' &c., and ending thus, 'the opinion or no,' I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which rebels the article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect answer therein, though I would.

"To the seventh article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's Majesty's book,' I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks last past and more, been in manner continually in business and trouble, as well in providing for my said sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my family, much vexed with sickness, to my great disquietness and charge, and also by reason that I have been so much troubled and encumbered by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over

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and besides the having of divers and sundry persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and business, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to send forth to my archdeacons and other my officers, to inquire and search diligently in this behalf, and to certify me accordingly; and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated masses or evensongs in the Latin tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Lady Mary's Grace, or in the houses of the ambassadors, nor yet there, nor in any of them, but by flying and not assured report; and without knowing the names and persons that so have heard, been at, or celebrate the same: and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed, and after what sort, I do refer me unto the statute late made in that behalf.

"To the eighth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have,' &c., and ending thus, 'punishment unto them,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the next article going before; and so consequently answer is already thereunto made.

"To the ninth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'nor see them punished,' I do answer and say, that touching such as either have been denounced or detected for such criminous and culpable persons to me or my officers, there hath been process already made before my said officers, as it appeareth in my register, and the acts of my court; and moreover, I have given express commandment to my said officers, to inquire and search for more such offenders, and to certify me thereof, that I may proceed against them accordingly.

"To the tenth article, beginning thus, 'Item, ye were,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's Majesty's authority in his minority,' I do answer and say, that as touching the time mentioned in the article, and the declaration to be made by Dr. Cox, I do not well remember either the same time, or yet the special points and substance, of the said Dr. Cox's declaration. Truth it is, I was at a sermon made at Paul's Cross by the said Dr. Cox, wherein he inveighed against my Lord of Winchester; and, as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience wherewith my Lord of Winchester by the said Dr. Cox seemed to be charged; and for a sermon also that my Lord of Winchester was seeming to have made before the king's Majesty in the court of Westminster.

"To the eleventh article, being by itself delivered unto me the fourteenth of this present September, 1549, in the night, at my house of London, beginning thus, 'Item, that the rites,' &c., and ending thus, 'the misuses thereof,' I do answer and say, that I have already given commandment to my officers to make diligent search and inquire herein, and do certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth; and would before this time myself have also inquired and proceeded, had I not so been of all sides oppressed and pestered with multitude of other necessary business, as I have been, to my great disquietness and trouble."

When he had ended the reading of these answers, the commissioners said unto him, that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth article, ministered the thirteenth of September; wherefore they willed him there expressly to answer by mouth, whether he had, according to the injunctions delivered unto him, declared the article beginning thus, "You shall also set forth in your sermon that our authority," &c.: whereunto he again answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

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The judges then replied, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and insufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same injunction or not; and therefore they eftsoons willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the bishop still answering as before.

The judges again demanded of him whether he would otherwise answer or no? To the which he said, No, unless the law should compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the law did compel him to answer more fully or no? He answered, No; adding further, that he was not bound to make answer to such positions.

The commissioners then, seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardness, and would not otherwise answer, they would, according to law, take him *pro confesso*, and, *ex abundanti*, receive witness against him; and therewithal did recite again to him six of the first and principal articles, demanding his final answer thereunto: who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but whereas they requested to have his notes, which he said he had made of his sermon, they should have them if they would send for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth article, he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the judges declared unto him that their opinion was, "that the king's Majesty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not so full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he came to further years; and that his subjects were not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in his young age."

Whereunto the bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that article, as did well appear by his answers, as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the fifth article objected against him.

Which ended, they, perceiving his scornful carelessness, presently did admit for witness, upon the articles objected against him, Master John Cheek, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers, whom also they operated with a corporal oath upon the holy evangelists, truly to answer and depose upon the same articles in the presence of the bishop, who, under his former protestation, like a wily lawyer, protested of the nullity of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with protestation also to object against the persons and sayings of the witnesses in time and place convenient; demanding also a competent and lawful time to minister interrogatories against them, with a copy of all the acts to that day: wherewith the delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to minister his interrogatories against Master Cheek on that present day, and against the rest, on the next day before noon.

After this the judge's delegate assigned the bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday then next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the clock before noon, in the hall of the archbishop's manor of Lambeth, there to show the cause why he should not be declared as having confessed, upon all the articles whereunto he had not then fully answered, and to see further process done in the matter.

And so Bonner, still protesting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings, they did, for that present, depart.

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In this mean while the commissioners certified the king's Majesty and his council, of the bishop's demeanour towards them, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether, by the tenor of his Majesty's commission, the commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their mere office; and also whether they might as well determine as hear the cause. Whereupon his Majesty, by advice aforesaid, for the better understanding thereof, did, the seventeenth of September, send unto the commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his will and pleasure in the aforesaid commission, giving them hereby full authority to proceed at their own discretions.

The fourth session against Bonner, bishop of London, before the king's commissioners, in the great hall at Lambeth, the eighteenth of September.

After this declaration being sent down and received from the king, the bishop of London (according to the commissioners' assignment the Monday before) appeared again before then upon Wednesday the eighteenth of September, in the great hall at Lambeth; where, under his wonted protestation, first he declared, that although he had already sufficiently answered all things, yet, further to satisfy the term assigned unto him, to show cause why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the articles theretofore ministered against him, and to the which he had not fully answered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not so to be declared, which he read there openly; the copy and words whereof be as follow.

Matter exhibited up to the commissioners by Bonner, why he ought not to be declared for cast and convicted.

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made before you, which I have heretofore repeated; and, especially, under protestation of the nullity and invalidity, injustice and iniquity, of your pretended and unlawful process made by you against me; and especially, against your pretended assignation made by you the last session unto me appearing in your pretended acts: do say, that your said assignation is unavailable, nothing worth in law, unlawful, unjust, and unreasonable; and I, therefore, not bound by the law to obey unto it, for just and reasonable causes hereafter following. First, it is true, notorious, and manifest, that the said pretended assignation, in words and pronounciation, was made by you, Sir Thomas Smith, one of the pretended commissioners in this matter, without express consent given unto you by your pretended colleagues in the commission; or, at least, he, as a commissioner, did proceed herein with the rest of the said colleagues, and did induce the acts, prescribing to the actuary or scribe, what he therein should write.

"Item, It is likewise notorious and manifest, that the said colleagues did, in your absence, begin to sit as commissioners and judges, by virtue of the said commission pretended to be sent unto you, and began to make process against me, as appeareth in the acts of the first session in this matter; by reason whereof ye ought not by the law to have intermeddled therein otherwise than the law doth suffer you to do; which ye have done indeed naughtily and unlawfully, contrary to justice and good reason, and are unmet to be commissioner against me in this behalf.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that the answers being already given by me fully, lawfully, and sufficiently, so far as the law bindeth me, as well to the pretended

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denunciation in that matter, as also to all and singular articles, that in any wise against me have been objected in this behalf; and nothing in the least wise sufficient and good in law to be alleged, declared, specified, or apparent to the contrary in any specialty or particularity; by reason whereof I ought not further, without special allegation, declaration, specification, and appearance, to make other or more special answer therein, no cause in law sufficient and reasonable compelling and enforcing me thereunto. I am not by law bound to do further than I have done, referring me as well to my answers given to the said pretended denunciation and articles, as, also, unto the king's ecclesiastical laws, used and observed here commonly within this realm.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that in all proceedings hitherto, ye have proceeded so extraordinarily and unduly in this matter, that ye have confounded all kind of lawful process; sometimes proceeding to denounce; sometimes officially; sometimes otherwise; contrary to the king's ecclesiastical laws, and contrary also to the commission directed in this behalf; referring me to all the same. And it may be said herein, that hitherto ye have proceeded against me summarily, against the true sense of the word, and proceeded also *cum strepitu*, but *sine figura iudicii*.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that divers of the articles pretended are superfluous and impertinent, not relevant, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsity; some also be obscure, general, and uncertain, nor can have certain answers made unto them. And also others be depending of articles being denied, or at the least way qualified; some also captious and deceitful, to bring the answer into a snare; some also containing matter of divers sorts, part whereof is not true, but false; and some also being articles of the law, and such sort that, by the king's ecclesiastical laws, a subject of this realm is not bound to make answer unto them, but lawfully may refuse and deny to do it, by reason of the said just and reasonable causes being in this behalf.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that you, Sir Thomas Smith, when I, Edmund, bishop of London, was last with the council in the council-chamber, at Whitehall: ye, the said Sir Thomas, after the departure of the lord protector from the said council, and after the departure of the rest of the lords from the said council, did write yourself certain articles and injunctions, amongst which was that of the king's Majesty's minority and his authority in the same, which articles or injunctions ye writ yourself; and afterwards, also, ye copied them upon an altar or table within the said council-chamber; and you yourself, and none other, did then write the same, and deliver it to me. By reason whereof it cannot be, nor is, true, that which in the commission, denunciation, articles, and other things is deduced and objected against me in this behalf; referring me as well to the tenor of the said commission, denunciation, injunctions, and articles, as also unto my allegations and answers herein made unto the same, remaining in the acts of this cause and matter."

When these fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the archbishop, seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharply, saying thus:

"My Lord of London, if I had sitten here only as archbishop of Canterbury, it had been your part to have used yourself more lowly, obediently, and reverently towards me than you

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have; but, seeing that I, with my colleagues, sit here now as delegates from the king's Majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved yourself too, too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the servants and chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them fools and daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I assure you, my Lord, there is you, and one other bishop whom I could name, that have used yourselves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harm."

At which words the gross bishop (a beast, a man might justly term him) said scornfully to the archbishop, "You show yourself to be a meet judge."

The archbishop, then proceeding, laid to his charge, how indiscreetly, the last day in the chapel, he had called all the people woodcocks.

Whereunto he answered, that the last session Hugh Latimer, one of the denouncers, being there present, had practised with the audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as it were by a token given them) say as he said, and do as he did; as, at one time, upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, "Nay, nay;" and at another time, "Yea, yea," and laughed they could not tell whereat; with such-like fashions.

Unto which words Latimer, seeing his vain suspicion, replied, saying, that he lifted not up his hand at any time but only to cause them to hold their peace.

Then secretary Smith said to the bishop, that in all his writings and answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the king's commissioners, but used always protestations, with divers ink-horn and naughty terms, calling them pretended commissioners, pretended delegates, pretended commission, pretended articles, pretended proceedings; so that all things were pretended with him.

"Indeed," said secretary Smith, "such terms the proctors of churches use, to delay matters for their clients, when they will not have the truth known. But you, my Lord, to use us, the king's Majesty's commissioners, with such terms, you do therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the rebels? For when letters or pardons were brought them from the king and his council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the king's or his council's, but gentlemen's doings, and made under a bush; with such-like terms. But now, my Lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confess whether, in your sermon that you preached, ye omitted the article touching the king's Majesty's authority in his tender age or not, but still have said that ye will not otherwise answer than ye have done, and that ye have already sufficiently answered, (with many such delays,) so as we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did, yea or nay; therefore, I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other articles whereunto you shall be sworn; and then, I trust, you will dally with us no more as you have done: for, although ye make your answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us, and make your answers by mouth to the same articles; or else you shall do worse. Indeed I do not, as I said, discommend your

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protestations and terms of law, if it were in a young proctor that would help his client's cause: but in you, it may not be suffered so to use the king's commissioners."

Then did the delegates minister unto him certain new articles and injunctions, and did there operate him with a corporal oath in form of law, to make a full and true answer thereunto. The bishop, notwithstanding, still (according to his wonted manner) under his former protestation, protested of the nullity and invalidity of these articles, injunctions, and process, desiring also a copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereunto. To whom the judges decreed a copy, commanding him to come to his examination to the archbishop the next day at eight of the clock before noon.

Then the commissioners did receive for witness upon these new articles now ministered unto the bishop, Sir John Mason, knight, Sir Thomas Chalenor, knight, Master William Cecil, Armigel Wade, and William Hunnings, clerks to the king's Majesty's council, whom they operated with a corporal oath in the presence of the bishop, who, still protesting of the nullity of their receiving and swearing, objected against them and their sayings; and therewith, repeating his interrogatories already ministered, said, he had more to minister by to-morrow at eight of the clock.

The same day and time likewise the bishop exhibited unto the commissioners an information, or rather cavillation, against Hugh Latimer, which also I thought to impart unto the reader.

The information given against Hugh Latimer, priest, of St. Laurence Poultney, by Edmund, bishop of London, the eighteenth day of September, A.D. 1549.

"In the said act and session, Edmund, bishop of London, giveth information and saith: that that said Hugh Latimer, priest—pretending the good and tranquillity of this realm of England, as he saith, and that the same is very greatly and manifestly hindered and impeached, when any of the king's Majesty's people and subjects do believe or say, that the king's Majesty, our sovereign lord, in his minority, hath not full power and authority royal, as fully and justly as when his Majesty doth come to full and perfect age: and, likewise, that it is also hindered and impeached, when any of the king's Majesty's said people and subjects do declare or say, that the king's said people and subjects are not bound to obey the king's Majesty in his said minority—hath, of late, in open audience reported and said, that the said Hugh Latimer hath, with his ears, heard divers persons of this realm, at sundry and divers times, unreverently, unobediently, and not faithfully, speak of the king's Majesty—that now is, words in effect and substance as followeth: 'Tush! the king,' meaning the king of England that now is, 'is but a babe or child: what laws can he make? or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a toast and butter, or bread and milk; and that is more meet for him, than to make laws or statutes to bind us to obey them. We are not bound to obey, till he be past his minority, and come to his full and perfect age.'

"And those words were spoken before you, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Rochester, Master Thomas Smith, and Master William May, by the mouth of the said Hugh Latimer at your last session; and the said Hugh Latimer was neither controlled by any of you for these words nor any of them, nor yet commanded to bring in such persons as had uttered and

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spoken the said words, but passed in silence: saving that I, the said Edmund, did speak against the said Hugh Latimer in this behalf, telling them that I would detect and denounce hereof. By all which it appeareth that the said Hugh Latimer hath long concealed, and not opened the words aforesaid, in such places, and to such persons, as of bounden duty he ought and should; but kept the persons and sayings secret, either not taking this matter of such importance as he pretended, either else unfaithfully and untruly behaving himself towards the king's Majesty and his council; worthy, therefore, to be convented and punished, with his aiders and abettors, favourers and councillors."

These vain cavillations ended, the commissioners for that day finished their session, assigning the bishop to appear in that same place again upon Monday then next following, between the hours of six and nine, in the forenoon, then and there to show a final cause why he should not be declared pro confesso. And so delivering him a copy of the articles, they departed; the contents whereof ensue:

"I. That ye were sent for to the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the council, and came thither into the court at Westminster the tenth of August, or some other day of the same month.

"II. Item, That at the same time the lord protector and divers other of the king's Majesty's privy council sitting in council, ye were called in; and there the said lord protector did, on the king's Majesty's behalf, declare unto you divers faults and abuses which were found in you, and gave you strait charge to amend them; adding threatening, that else you should be otherwise looked unto.

"III. Item, That the said lord protector's Grace did declare unto you, for better, admonition and amendment of you, that you should have, from the king's Majesty, by his advice and the rest of the privy council, certain articles and injunctions, to observe and follow, given you in writing.

"IV. Item, That there and then the said lord protector commanded Sir Thomas Smith, knight, secretary to the king's Majesty, to read a certain proper book of injunctions and articles unto you, the said secretary standing at the council-table's end, and you standing by and hearing the same.

"V. Item, That the said lord protector there and then willed certain things in the said book of injunctions to be reformed, as whereas ye were appointed to preach sooner, at your request it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weeks after the date of the said writing.

"VI. Item, That in the said articles the lord protector's Grace found fault, because an article or commandment unto you set forth and declared of the king's Majesty's authority now in his young age and of his laws and statutes in the same time, was omitted; and therefore, either immediately before you came into the council chamber, or you being present and standing by, commanded the said secretary Smith to put it in writing, and annex it to the rest of the articles.

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"VII. Item, That the said secretary Smith, then and there did, immediately upon commandment, write into the said book or paper, wherein the rest of the articles were written, the said article, namely, You shall also set forth in your sermon, that the authority of our royal power is (as truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than was that of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of Josias and other young kings in the Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

"VIII. Item, That the lord protector did so deliver you the book or paper, willing, first, the said secretary Smith to amend all things as be had appointed.

"IX. Item, That ye then and there did promise to the lord protector's Grace, that ye would observe and fulfil all in the said injunctions and articles contained.

"X. Item, That all things in the said book, put in and mentioned by the said secretary Smith, and the same so read to you by him, and you first agreeing that all that was by him so written was by the lord protector's appointment, the said book was so delivered unto you then and there, by the said secretary Smith in the council chamber.

"XI. Item, That you have the said book in your possession, or else know where it is, the true copy whereof in effect is annexed to these articles.

"XII. Item, That ye were commanded in the same injunctions to preach the Sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at Paul's, and there to treat upon certain articles, as is specified in the said book of injunctions, and especially the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth,' and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

"XIII. Item, That for the accomplishment of part of the said injunctions and commandment, you did preach the first day of September last past at Paul's Cross.

"XIV. Item, That at the said sermon, contrary to your injunctions, ye omitted and left out the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth in your sermon,' &c., and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

"XV. Ye shall also answer whether ye think and believe that the king's Majesty's subjects be bound to obey as well the laws, statutes, proclamations, and other ordinances made now in this youngage of the king's Majesty, as the laws, statutes, proclamations, and ordinances made by his Highness's progenitors."

These articles being thus ministered to the said bishop of London, the next day being Thursday and the nineteenth of September, the forenamed commissioners sat in the archbishop's chamber of presence at Lambeth, attending the coming of the bishop of London; before whom there appeared Robert Johnson, the bishop's registrar, and there did declare unto the commissioners, that the bishop his master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much over-watching himself the last night before, whereby he was

compelled to keep his bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same day at afternoon. This excuse the judges were content to take in good part. Yet, said Master Secretary Smith, if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed; "but," quoth he, "I promise you my Lord hath so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delays, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse: howbeit, upon your faithful declaration, we are content to tarry until one of the clock at afternoon." And so they did, willing Master Johnson to signify then unto them, whether the bishop could appear or not.



Bonner refusing to come before the commisioners

At which hour Robert Johnson and Richard Rogers, gentlemen of the bishop's chamber, appeared again before the commissioners, declaring that (for the causes afore alleged) their master could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon Master Secretary Smith said unto them,

"My Lord of London your master hath used us very homely, and sought delays hitherto; and now, perhaps, perceiving these last articles to touch the quick, and therefore loath to come to his answer, he feigneth himself sick. But, because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the knight marshal unto him, willing him, if he be sick indeed, to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse; but, if he be not sick, then to bring him forthwith to us: for I promise you he shall not use us as he hath done; we will not take it at his hands. And, therefore, Master Johnson, (said he,) you do the part of a trusty servant as becometh you; but it is also your part to show my Lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What!

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thinketh he to stand with a king in his own realm? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I ween we shall have a new Thomas a Becket. Let him take heed; for if he play these parts, he may fortune to be made shorter by the head. He may appeal if he think good; but whither? To the bishop of Rome? So he may help himself forwards, I say, he cannot appeal but to the same king, who hath made us his judges, and to the bench of his council; and how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make men believe, that he were called before us for preaching his opinion of the sacrament, wherein I assure you he did both falsely and naughtily; yea, and lewdly; and more than became him; and more than he had in commandment to do; for he was not willed to speak of that matter, and perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter: but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth."

Which ended, the delegates notwithstanding decreed to tarry again for him until two of the clock at afternoon the next day, being Friday, and the 20th of September.

The fifth action or process, the twentieth of September, against Bonner, bishop of London, before the king's commissioners.

At which day and time the bishop appeared himself personally before them in the same chamber of presence; where first he did exhibit his answers unto the last articles ministered unto him the eighteenth of September; the contents whereof hereunder follow:

"The answers of me, Edmund, bishop of London, under mine accustomed protestation given unto the articles of late ministered and exhibited against me here in this court; with special protestation also, that I do not intend in any wise to make answer to any of the said articles otherwise than the law of this realm doth bind me to do, nor to speak or say contrary to any thing that in my former answers I have said or done; and that if it so chance me to do, it is not, nor shall it be, with my good will or full consent; and that so soon as I shall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and so now as then, and then as now, do so in that case revoke, to all honest and lawful purposes.

"To the first article I do answer and say, that there was a messenger, whose name I know not, that came unto me to Fulham, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof; and he said that my lord protector's Grace required me to come by and by to speak with him. And thereupon, having made the said messenger to break his fast, I repaired to the court at Westminster; but not upon the tenth day of August, but some other day of the said month.

"To the second article I do say, that it is obscure, uncertain, and over general, especially in those words 'at the same time,' which may be referred to the tenth of August, and then answer already is made thereunto; and it may be referred to some other day of the said month of August, either before the tenth of August. or after. And because it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in law to answer unto it, neither yet to these words and sentences in the said article, to wit, 'then, and there,' for they, without declaration, are uncertain, obscure, and general; and I, before the specification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an answer, especially having already made full and sufficient answer in this matter, according to the commission, as I do take it, and according unto the law; which also willeth, that if a certain answer be looked for, the position and article must before be certain.

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"To the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles, he answereth all after one manner and sort, as thus: That it doth depend on the articles, to which for causes aforesaid, he saith, he is not hound in law to make answer, especially having already made. Saving that in the sixth he addeth thereunto, that he at no time heard the lord protector find fault, nor commanded, as is deduced in the said article, so far as he doth find. Also saving the seventh article, where he addeth, Nevertheless confessing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the king's Majesty's authority and regal power and minority, as well and full as in his majority:

"Also saving the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles, where he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true; as appeareth in conferring one with another.'

"To the twelfth and fourteenth articles, he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true;' confessing, nevertheless, the king's Majesty's authority and power regal, as before is expressed.

"To the fifteenth article he answereth and saith, that it is a position in law, and that yet both now and heretofore be hath made answer thereunto in effect and substance, as appeareth in his former answers, and so shall do always according to the law and his bounden duty, acknowledging, as he hath already done, the king's Majesty's regal power in his minority to be no less than in his majority; and the subjects bound to obey unto his Grace, his laws, statutes, and ordinances, and his said authority, as well in his minority as in his majority; not allowing, but expressly condemning, the opinion of all rebels holding the contrary."

After this, perceiving that Master Secretary Smith was somewhat more quick with him than others of the commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and subtleties in law, but ever earnestly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithal sometimes sharply rebuking him for his evil and stubborn behaviour towards them; Bonner, to deface his authority, (as he thought,) did also then exhibit in writing a recusation of the secretary's judgment against him: the form and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the judges, I thought here also to exhibit unto the reader as hereunder followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as equity, natural reason, and all good laws, do require that judges shall be of that integrity, wisdom, circumspection, learning, and indifferency, that, exercising the office and room of a judge, they may and shall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge against any person convented or called before them; uprightly, sincerely, and duly executing and doing their office unto them in any wise committed: and forasmuch also as all judgments and process ought to have their due course, and proceed without suspicion or corruption in any wise: and finally, forasmuch as very dangerous it is to appear and make defence before an incompetent judge, who commonly and accustomedly, of private and unlawful corrupt affection to the one side, and for malice, hatred, and envy borne against the other side, rather serveth his carnal, corrupt, and wilful appetite, than by any thing else is moved to obedience and keeping of good order, law, or reason, touching him that is convented and compelled to make answer against his will: I therefore, Edmund, bishop of London, having perceived and felt by all the sayings, proceedings, and doings of you Sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's Majesty, in this matter attempted and moved against me, that ye have been, and yet continually are, a notorious and manifest enemy of me the

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said Edmund, and much offended that I should in any wise allege and say, or use any such things for my most defence, as the law giveth me licence and liberty to do; yea, hearing most favourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies with both ears in any thing that they shall allege, purpose, attempt, or do against me, though their persons in law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, nor yet their sayings true; and not hearing me so much as with one ear in my lawful sayings and doings in this behalf; but, contrariwise, opening your mouth at large, ye have sundry times, against good wisdom and reason, outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, saying, among other words, 'that I did as thieves, murderers, and traitors are wont to do, being myself, (as ye untruly did say,) inwardly indeed culpable; and yet outwardly otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but only by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my judges and commissioners; and that I have been and am as sturdy, wilful, and disobedient, as may be in your judgment and opinion, maintaining and upholding the rebels and their opinions; and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and do worse; or else ye will send me to the Tower, there to sit and be joined with Ket and Humphrey Arundel the rebels:' over and besides divers other threatenings and comminatory words by you pronounced and uttered unseemly, and far unmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you, that are in such room and place as ye be in.

"And moreover, increasing your malice, evil will, and grudge borne against me, ye have, amongst other things, untruly surmised, written, alleged, and said, that a certain book of articles and injunctions by the lord's protector's Grace in the full council, after a certain prescribed fashion and form in the denunciation, commission, and articles which, were actually induced, brought in, and objected against me, was delivered unto me: and, moreover, of an evil will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawn, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise than they were spoken and done; and yet ye are not ashamed to allege, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other, whereas indeed it is not so. And yet have further, against the law, and against the commission to you directed, and against my just and lawful allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I do refer me so far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alleged and referred unto yourself also unlawfully and unjustly, *de facto*, with your colleagues; the which, without you had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the law ye so ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alleged, appearing in the acts of this court: I do, upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the king's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, refuse, decline, and recuse you the said Sir Thomas Smith, as an incompetent, unmeet, and suspect judge, against me in this behalf; and decline your pretended jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but justice, and offering myself prompt and ready to prove them as far as I am bound, and according to the order of the king's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws of this realm, in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwise shall require."

This recusation ended, the secretary told him plain, that, notwithstanding, he would proceed in his commission, and would be still his judge until he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, "My Lord! whereas you say in your recusation, that I said that you did like thieves, murderers, and traitors; indeed I said it, and may and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings."

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Whereupon the bishop in a great and stout rage replied, saying, "Well, sir! because you sit here by virtue of the king's commission, and for that ye be secretary to his Majesty, and also one of his Highness's council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but as you be but Sir Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, that I do like thieves, murderers, and traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defy you; and do what ye can to me, I fear you not, and therefore, what you do, do quickly."

Whereat the archbishop with the other commissioners said unto him, that for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy imprisonment.

Then the bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again unto him, "A God's name ye may do *de facto*: send me whither you will, and I must obey you; and so will, except ye send me to the devil; for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have; to wit, a small portion of goods, a poor carcass, and mine own soul: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you, but as for my soul, ye get not."

"Well," said the secretary, "then ye shall know that there is a king."

"Yea, sir," saith the bishop, "but that is not you; neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you."

"No, sir," said again the secretary, "but we will make you know who it is." And with that the commissioners commanded the bishop and all the rest to depart the chamber, until they called for him again.

Now, in the mean while that the commissioners were in consultation, the bishop, with Gilbert Bourn his chaplain, Robert Warrington his commissary, and Robert Johnson his registrar, were tarrying in a void quadrant-place before the door of the same chamber; where the bishop, leaning on a cupboard, and seeing his chaplains very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth:

"Sirs, what mean you? Why show you yourselves to be so sad and heavy in mind, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you, to be as merry as I am (laying therewith his hand upon his breast); for, afore God, I am not sad or heavy, but merry and of good comfort; and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for God's cause; and it grieveth me nothing at all. But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this Hooper and such other vile heretics and beasts, be suffered and licensed to preach at Paul's Cross, and in other places within my diocese and cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed sacrament of the altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there: and so infect and betray my flock. But, I say, it is there in very deed, and in that opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore ye, being Christian men, I do require you, and also charge and command you, in the name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the mayor of London, and to his brethren the aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly, in God's name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable preachers, and especially those who hold

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opinion against the blessed sacrament of the altar, do come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them; lest that they, tarrying with such preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, who thereby might take an occasion to think and believe, that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftsoons I require and command you to do."

And then turning himself about, and beholding two of the archbishop's gentlemen, who in the same place kept the chamber-door where the commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said:

"And, sirs, ye be my Lord of Canterbury's gentlemen; I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you, in God's behalf, and in his name, that ye do the like, for your parts, in places where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous preachers; and also advertise my Lord your master of the same, and of these my sayings, that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary."

With this the commissioners called for the bishop again, who did read unto them an instrument, containing a provocation to the king, which he made in manner and form here following:

"In the name of God, Amen. It shall appear to all men by this public instrument that A.D. 1549, the twentieth day of September, the third year of the reign of our most high and renowned Prince Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the palace of the said bishop, situated in London, and in the presence of me the public notary, and of the witnesses hereafter named, the aforesaid bishop did personally appear, and there did show forth in writing a certain protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof ensueth:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Edmund, bishop of London, say, allege, and propound, before you being a public notary, and these credible witnesses here present, that although I, the aforesaid Edmund, have attained the bishopric aforesaid by the benevolence of the prince of famous memory King Henry the Eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, and have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently do possess, being taken as bishop and lawful possessor of the said bishopric, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publicly; and, moreover, do keep residence and hospitality in the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignity, and as the revenues of the same would permit; and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastoral office, as the laws do require, as hereafter I trust by God's grace to do and observe; a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicated, nor interdicted, neither convicted of any notable crime or fact, always obeying readily the commandment of the church, and other my superiors in all lawful causes; nevertheless, fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatenings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great damage may come to me hereafter about the premises or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said

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dignity, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoiling, vexing, and perturbing by any manner of means; do appeal unto the most high and mighty prince our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, &c., and in these my writings do provoke and appeal to his regal Majesty. I do also require the apostles, so much as in this case they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my aforesaid most dread sovereign lord, for the safeguard of me, my dignity and title, and possession in the premises, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalf. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reform, and amend this my protestation, and to the same to add, to take away, and to bring the same into the best form and state that may be devised by the counsel of learned men, or as the case shall require; and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the law, and still shall require.

"Upon all the which premises the aforesaid Edmund, bishop of London, did require the public notary hereunder written to make unto him, and the witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.

"These things were done the year, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourn, bachelor of divinity, John Harpsfield and Robert Colen, masters of arts, John Wakeling and Richard Rogers, learned men; being of the diocese of Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Lichfield, and Gloucester, and especially requested to be witnesses of the same. And I, France Harward, of the diocese of Worcester, and public notary by the king's regal authority, forasmuch as I was present when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premises were done, the year of our Lord, the year of the reign of the king, the day of the month and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forasmuch as I did enact the same, therefore to this present public instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same."

Which thing after he had read, he did, under his protestation, first intimate unto the archbishop, the bishop of Rochester, and Dr. May, and then, protesting also not to recede from his recusation, did likewise intimate the same unto Master Secretary Smith, requiring the registrar to make an instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his recusation, with witness to testify the same.

Then the delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him, (according to the first article,) what special day of August he was sent for by the lord protector? To whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer than he had already made, unless they did put their articles more certain: neither would he otherwise answer as long as Master Secretary Smith was there present, whom he had before recused, and therefore would not recede from his recusation.

The secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply unto him, "My Lord! come off, and make a full and perfect answer unto these articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain."

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"In faith, sir," then said the bishop again, "I have thought ye had been learned; but now, before God, I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so often showed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled, (you showing nothing to the contrary, but sensuality and will,) that I must needs judge that you are ignorant herein."

"Well," said Master Secretary, "ye will not then otherwise answer?"

"No," said the bishop, "except the law compel me."

Then said the secretary, "Call for the knight-marshal, that he may be had to ward."

With that all the rest of the commissioners charged the bishop, that he had at that time sundry ways very outrageously and irreverently behaved himself towards them sitting on the king's Majesty's commission, and especially towards Sir Thomas Smith, his Grace's secretary; and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsea.

By this time the marshal's deputy came before them, whom Master Secretary commanded to take the bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him, that no man might come unto him; for if he did, he should sit by him himself.

When the secretary had ended his talk, the bishop said unto him, "Well, sir, it might have become you right well, that my Lord's Grace here present, being first in commission, and your better, should have done it."

Then the commissioners, assigning him to be brought before them on Monday next before noon, between seven and nine of the clock in the hall of that place, there to make full answer to these last articles, or else to show cause why he should not be declared as having confessed, did, for that present, break up that session.

Now as the bishop was departing with the under-marshal, he in a great fury turned himself again toward the commissioners, and said to Sir Thomas Smith, "Sir, whereas ye have committed me to prison, ye shall understand that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, iron about my middle, or where ye will."

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and foaming out his poison, said unto the archbishop; "Well, my Lord! I am sorry that I, being a bishop, am thus handled at your Grace's hand; but more sorry that ye suffer abominable heretics to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the king's liege people. And therefore I do require you, as you will answer to God and the king, that ye will henceforth abstain thus to do: for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the king's Majesty; answer to it as well as ye can." And so he departed, using many reproachful words against sundry of the common people, who stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

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The sixth action or process, upon Monday the twenty-third of September, had against Banner, bishop of London, before the commissioners, in the great hall at Lambeth.

It was assigned, as ye have heard, in the fourth act, prosecuted the eighteenth day of September, that upon Monday then next following, being the twenty-third of the same month, the bishop should again appear before the commissioners within the great hall at Lambeth, then to show a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignment, the same twenty-third day of September, the bishop was brought before them by the under-marshal, (to whom for his disobedient and obstinate behaviour he was before that time committed,) and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coacted; for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalsea; and therewithal also, under his former protestation, recusation, and appeal, did then again intimate a general recusation of all the commissioners, alleging in the same, that because the archbishop, with all his colleagues, had neither observed the order of their commission, nor yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgment, but, contrariwise, had sundry times, as well in his absence as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity, and state, especially in committing him to strait prison, and yet commanding him to make answer: and further, because that he, with the rest, had proceeded in commission with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings, (notwithstanding that he the said bishop had before justly recused and declined from him,) he, therefore, did also there refuse and decline from the judgment of the said archbishop and his colleagues, and did except against their jurisdiction as suspect, and they, thereby, unmeet persons to proceed against him. Therefore, according to his former appeal, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the king's Majesty; for whose honour and reverence' sake (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recusations, provocations, and other lawful remedies before alleged, with other superfluous words, at large to be read and seen, as followeth.

The second recusation made by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London.

"In the name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as both natural reason and all good policies of laws, especially of this realm of England, do admit and suffer him that is convented before an incompetent and suspect judge, to refuse him and to decline his jurisdiction, inasmuch as the law and reason on the one side will process to run uprightly and justly, and that on the other side corruption and malice earnestly labour to the contrary, and need therefore to be bridled; and because you, my Lord of Canterbury, with your colleagues in this behalf, (deputed, as ye say, commissioners against me,) neither have observed your said commission, neither yet proceed hitherto against me after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of judgment; but, contrariwise, contrary to your commission, and against the law, good reason, and order, have, at sundry times and in sundry acts, attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by others, not reforming and amending the same, as appeareth in divers and sundry things remaining in your acts:

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"And moreover, because you, my said Lord, with your said colleagues, have, (both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which, according to the laws of this realm, I have fully alleged, and very sufficiently and justly proved, according to the order of the king's ecclesiastical laws,) injuriously, and much to the hinderance of my name, person, title, dignity, and state, and also otherwise, especially in my presence; against all laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground, attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment; sending me to strait ward, and yet commanding me to make answer, as appeareth in your unlawful acts:

"I, for these causes, and also for that ye my said Lord and your said colleagues, proceeding with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, (whom upon just and lawful cause I have refused, recused, and declined,) have favoured, yea maintained, supported, and borne him in his unlawful and evil doings, do also refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, with the rest of your said colleagues agreeing and joining with you; and do except against your proceedings, doings, and jurisdiction, as suspect, and thereby unmeet persons to proceed herein against me.

"And further, I do allege, that having been provoked to the king's most excellent Majesty, as appeareth by the tenor of my provocation remaining in your acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and cleave, submitting myself unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said Majesty in this behalf, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authority of his Grace's royal power, as ye ought to do) to proceed herein against me; especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majesty in this behalf. And because it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumspectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that not considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recusation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and mentioned in your said acts; and also do, by these presents, refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, and your said colleagues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid, offering myself prompt and ready to prove all the same, before an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our said sovereign Lord, and his laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, nor yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice; but suffer me to use and enjoy the benefit of my said former, and this, recusation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your said acts. And in case ye do in fact, where ye ought not by right, attempt, or suffer any thing to be attempted or done against me in any wise herein, I protest herewith, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf; and that not only I do intend to appeal from you, but also, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as justly and truly I both may and ought to do."

Notwithstanding these recusations, and former appellations, the archbishop with the rest told him plain, that they would be still his judges, and proceed against him according to the king's commission, until they did receive a *supersedeas*, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Then the bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the king's Majesty, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but such as is already alleged in the two former recusations and appeals; saving that he requireth

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that letters dimissory or appellatory might be given him according to the law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himself under the protection of the king.

The commissioners for all this stuck still unto their commission, and would not in any case defer; but urged him straitly to make a more full answer to his articles than he had done.

To whom the bishop said, that he would stand unto his recusations and appellations before made, and would not make other answer.

Then the delegates demanded of him what cause he had to allege, why he ought not to be declared as having confessed, upon the articles whereunto he had not fully answered; the bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and recusation.

Whereupon the archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacy, pronounced him contumacious, and in pain thereof declared him as having confessed, upon the articles whereunto he had not answered.

This done, Master Secretary Smith showed forth a letter which the bishop of London had before that time sent unto the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city of London, the tenor whereof ensueth as followeth.

"To the right honourable and my very good Lord, the lord mayor of London, with all his worshipful brethren; my very dear and worshipshipful friends; with speed.

"Right honourable! with my very humble recommendations:—Whereas I have perceived of late, and heard with mine ears, what vile beasts and heretics have preached unto you, or rather, like themselves, prated and railed against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list; teaching you detestably, that faith in this behalf must not be coacted, but that every man may believe as he will! by reason whereof, lest my presence and silence might unto some have been seen to have allowed their heretical doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my flock of the catholic sort, ye know I departed yesterday from the heretic prater's uncharitable charity, and so could have wished that you, and all other that be catholic, should have done, leaving those there with him that be already cast away, and will not be recovered. For your tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt yourselves in receiving his poisoned doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their doctrine is tolerable, by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good, for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again, in God's behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not yourselves to be abused with such naughty preachers and teachers, in hearing their evil doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all, with this noble city, in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the sixteenth of September, 1549.

"Your faithful beadsman and poor bishop,
EDMUND BONNER."

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This letter being read, the secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not; to whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former recusations and appeals; which the commissioners seeing, determined to continue this case in state as it was until Friday then next following, between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before noon, assigning the bishop to be there at the same time and place, then to hear a final decree of this matter, he still protesting as before.

The seventh session or appearance of Bonner, on Tuesday the first of October, before the king's commissioners at Lambeth.

Upon Friday the commissioners, for divers urgent causes letting them, did not sit in commission according to their appointment, but deferred it until Tuesday the first of October then next following. Upon which day the bishop appearing before them, the archbishop made this declaration unto him:

That although as upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their final decree and sentence in this matter, yet forasmuch as they thought that that sentence (although they had just cause to give it) should have been very sore against him, they had not only deferred the same until this day, but, minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himself, and to use more easy and gentle reformation towards him, had also made such suit and means for him, that although he had grievously offended the king's Majesty, and very disobediently behaved himself, yet, if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and have been contented to make some part of amends in submitting himself according to his bounden duty, he should have found much favour; so the sentence should not have been so sore and extreme against him as it was like now to be; for which they were very sorry; especially to see the continuance of such stubborn disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him.

The bishop, nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but persisting still in his wonted contumacy, drew forth a paper, whereon he read these words following:

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in as a prisoner by his keeper, out of the Marshalsea, here before you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretended colleagues, do, under my former protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your act, declare that this my presence here at this time is not voluntary, nor of mine own free will and consent, but utterly coerced and against my will; and that being otherwise sent for or brought before you than I am, (that is, as a prisoner,) I would not, being at liberty, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refused to make any appearance at all, and would have absented himself from you, as lawfully and well I might have done; standing to, using, and enjoying all and singular my lawful remedies and defences heretofore used, exercised, and enjoyed, especially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interponed and made unto the king's most excellent Majesty, to whom eftsoons, sufficiently, I have both provoked and appealed, and also made supplication, as appeareth in these writings, which, under protestation aforesaid, I do exhibit and leave here with the actuary of this cause; requiring him to make an instrument thereupon, and the persons here present to bear record in that behalf; especially to the

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intent it may appear, I do better acknowledge the king's Majesty's authority even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his Majesty as my most gracious sovereign and supreme head, with submission to his Highness (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, than some other, (I do mean you, my Lord of Canterbury, and your said pretended colleagues,) who, by law and good reason, ought to have deferred and given place unto such provocation, appellation, and supplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interponed and made unto his Majesty's most royal person and authority in this behalf."

As soon as the bishop had read these words, he did deliver as well that paper, as also two other, unto the actuary, the one containing an appellation, and the other a supplication unto the king's Majesty; which appellation beginneth thus:

"In the name of God, Amen."—Wherein first he showed "how naturally every creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it; and also seeketh help and remedy to withstand such hurts and injuries."

Further, he showed "that it is found by experience to be hurtful and dangerous to trust him that once hath hurt and beguiled, lest he might add more, rather than to take aught from."

Moreover he showed, "that he had found heretofore, at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the colleagues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, losses, and griefs, contrary to God's law, and the laws and statutes of this realm, and against justice, charity, and good order; being well assured, if they were not stayed, but proceeded, they would add more evil to evil, loss to loss, displeasure to displeasure; as (said he) their servants have reported, and they agreeably do show the same."

Again in the said appeal he showed, "that the bishop of Canterbury, and the other commissioners, ought to have considered and done better in that matter for honour and obedience to the king's Majesty, which hitherto they have not done, (said he,) in that they have not given place to his provocations and appellations heretofore made unto his Grace justly and lawfully, and upon good and just causes; namely, for the unjust griefs they did against him, which (he said) do appear in the acts of that matter; as in pronouncing him contumacious unreasonably, without good cause; and further in assigning the term to hear the final sentence, and in committing him to strait prison, as appeareth in their acts. Therefore he did not only decline and refuse their pretended jurisdiction as before, but also, by these presents here showed, he did appeal from the said archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest, unto the king's Majesty, asking also those letters of appeal which the law doth admit; saying, he did not intend to go from his former provocations and appellations, but to join and cleave unto them in every part and parcel, submitting himself to the protection and defence of the king's Majesty: and he therein made intimation to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to his said colleagues, to all intents and purposes that might come thereof."

Furthermore, as touching the supplication above mentioned, which Bonner, as we said, put up in writing to the commissioners, the copy thereof hereunder likewise ensueth.

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The supplication of Bonner to the chancellor of England, with all the rest of the king's Majesty's most honourable privy council.

"Please it your most honourable good Lordships, with my most humble recommendations, to understand, that albeit I have, according to the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm, made supplication, provocation, and appellation unto the king's most excellent Majesty, from the unlawful and wicked process of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, Master Secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's; as also as well from their unjust interlocutory, as also their definitive sentence, whereby in law I ought to have liberty to come abroad and prosecute the same, yet, such is the malignity of the judges against me, with bearing and maintenance of others, which sundry and many ways have sought my ruin and destruction, that I am here penned and locked up, used very extremely at their pleasure, and, for the contentation of the said Master Smith, not suffered to find sureties, or to go abroad to prosecute and sue my said appellation.

"In consideration whereof, it may please your said good Lordship to take some order and redress herein, especially for that it is now the time that the king's subsidy, now due, ought to be called upon, and justice also ministered unto his Majesty's subjects; which, being as I now am, I cannot be suffered to do. And thus, without further extending my letter therein, considering that your great wisdoms, experience, and goodness, can gather of a little what is expedient and necessary for the whole, I do beseech Almighty God to preserve and keep well all your honourable good Lordships.

"Written in haste this seventh of October, 1549, in the Marshalsea.

"Your honourable Lordship's poor orator, and most bounden beadsman,
EDMUND LONDON."

These things ended, the archbishop said unto him, "My Lord! where you say that you come coacted, or else you would not have appeared, I do much marvel of you: for you would thereby make us and this audience here believe, that because you are a prisoner, ye ought not therefore to answer; which, if it were true, it were enough to confound the whole state of this realm. For I dare say, that of the greatest prisoners and rebels that ever your keeper there" (meaning the under marshal) "hath had under him, he cannot show me one that hath used such defence as you here have done."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if my keeper were learned in the laws, I could show him my mind therein."

"Well," said the archbishop, "I have read over all the laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did; and yet I can find no such privilege in this matter."

Then Master Secretary Smith did very sore burden and charge him, how disobediently and rebelliously he had always behaved himself towards the king's Majesty and his authority. Whereupon the bishop, under his protestation, answered again, that he was the king's Majesty's lawful and true subject, and did acknowledge his Highness to be his gracious sovereign lord, or else he would not have appealed unto him as he had; yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his

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neck also under his Grace's feet; and therefore he desired that his Highness's laws and justice might be ministered unto him.

"Yea," quoth Master Secretary, "you say well, my Lord: but I pray you what other have all these rebels both in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not said thus? We be the king's true subjects; we acknowledge him for our king, and we will obey his laws, with such like: and yet, when either commandment, letter, or pardon, was brought unto them from his Majesty, they believed it not, but said it was forged and made under a hedge, and was gentlemen's doings; so that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing."

"Ah, sir," said the bishop, "I perceive your meaning; as who should say that the bishop of London is a rebel like them." "Yea, by my troth," quoth the secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Then the dean of Paul's said unto him, that he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so untractable, that he would not suffer the judges to speak. To whom the bishop disdainfully answered, "Well, Master dean! you must say somewhat." And likewise at another time as the dean was speaking, he interrupted and said, "You may speak when your turn cometh."

Then said the Secretary Smith, "I would you knew your duty." "I would," quoth he again, "you knew it as well as I:" with an infinite deal more of other such stubborn and contemptuous talk and behaviour towards them; which the commissioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reason in him, they determined that the archbishop, with their whole consent, should at that present there openly read and publish their final decree or sentence definitive against him; which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the bishopric of London; which ended, the bishop immediately did therefrom appeal by word of mouth, alleging that the same sentence there given against him, was no law; the tenor of whose words I thought here to express, according as they were by him uttered, in this wise as followeth:

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do, under my former protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appear that I have not, being so here in this place, consented or agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, allege and say that this sentence given here against me, is *lex nulla*; and so far forth as it shall appear to be *aliqua*; I do say it is *iniqua et injusta*, and that therefore I do from it, as *iniqua et injusta*, appeal to the most excellent and noble King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England and also Ireland (next and immediately under God here on earth) supreme head, and unto his court of chancery or parliament, as the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm will suffer and bear in this behalf; desiring instantly, first, second, and third, according to the laws, letters reverential, or dimissories, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any wise."

And thereupon also the said bishop required the public notary or actuary, William Say, to make an instrument, and the witness aforesaid and others present to record the same: to whom so appealing, and requiring as before, the said judge's delegate said, that they would declare and

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signify to the king's Majesty what was done in this matter; and thereupon would defer or not defer to his said appellation, according as his Grace's pleasure and commandment should be given to them in that behalf.

And after all this, the said bishop of London said to them, "You have now discharged your office. What will your Grace do with me now, touching my imprisonment? will ye keep me still in prison? shall I not now be at liberty to prosecute mine appeal?" To whom the archbishop answering, said, that they perceived now more in that matter than they did at first, and that this matter was greater rebellion than he was aware of; and therefore they said that as yet they would not discharge him. And thereupon they committed him again to his keeper in prison.

This talk finished, the archbishop, considering that most of the audience there present did not understand the meaning of the sentence, being read in the Latin tongue, said to them, "Because there be many of you here that understand not the Latin tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment hath been here given, I shall therefore show you the effect thereof:" and therewith he did declare in English the causes expressed in the sentence, adding thereunto these words:

"Because my Lord of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here, by our sentence, deprived him of our bishopric of London; and this we show unto you, to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteem him any more as bishop of London."

Then Bonner desired the archbishop to declare likewise what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, You may do it yourself. Whereupon very disdainfully again he said, "you have now done your duty. What will your Grace do with me touching my imprisonment? will you keep me still in prison?"

To whom the commissioners answered, that they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater rebellion than he was aware of. And therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his keeper to be kept in prison; where he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly prince King Edward the Sixth; after which time he wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole reign of Queen Mary. From the executing of the which like tyranny, the Lord of his great mercy keep all other such. Amen!

Now, immediately after his deprivation he writeth out of the Marshalsea other letters supplicatory unto the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity which the duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Smith bare unto him, his often and earnest suits unto the king and his council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their Lordships, for the causes aforesaid, to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute his matter before them; and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their Honours, as appeareth by the words of his own supplication hereunder following.

Thus after the commissioners had finished with Bonner, he, being now prisoner in the Marshalsea, leaving no shift of the law unsought how to work for himself as well as he might,

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drew out a certain supplication, conceived and directed to the king's Majesty, out of the said prison of the Marshalsea.

"To the right honourable, my lord chancellor of England, with all the rest of the most honourable privy council:

"Please it your most honourable good Lordships, with my most humble commendations, to understand, that albeit heretofore I have made such suit, and to such persons, as I cannot devise to make more, or to more higher; this is to wit, to the king's most excellent Majesty, and his most gracious person in divers sorts, and also unto your most honourable good Lordships being of his privy council, for redress of such notable and manifest injuries and extremities as have been, contrary to all law, honesty, and good reason, inflicted upon me by my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Rochester, Dr. Smith, and Dr. May: yet, because the said Dr. Smith, being a minister to the duke of Somerset, and they both my deadly enemies, hath sundry ways studied and laboured my ruin and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawful remedies and suits, having therein help and furtherance of these two other aforesaid persons, being ready at foot and hand to accomplish all their desires and pleasures, I shall at this present (having for a time forborne to trouble, for good respects, your most honourable good Lordships with any my suits, and especially for your other manifold great affairs in the king's Majesty's business, myself yet, the mean while, neither wanting good will, nor yet just cause, being where I am, to make such suit) renew my suit, and most humbly beseech your most honourable good Lordships to give me leave to make most humble supplication again to your said Lordships, for honest and lawful liberty to prosecute my appellation and supplication heretofore made to the king's most excellent Majesty; and, according to the law, to make my suit for redress of the said great and manifest injuries, extremities, and wrongs, done against me by the said persons. And your said Lordships, over and besides the furtherance of justice many ways herein to me and others, and the collection of the king's Majesty's subsidy now to be levied of the clergy in my diocese, which hitherto hath been and is stayed by reason of the premises, shall also bind me most greatly and entirely to pray daily for the good preservation of your said most honourable good Lordships; in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and endure unto God's pleasure.

"Written in the Marshalsea, the 26th of October, 1549.

"Your Lordships' most faithful and assured beadsman,
EDMUND LONDON."

A supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, late bishop of London, to the king's Majesty, out of the prison of the Marshalsea.

In the which supplication, first, after the used form of style, he prayed for the prosperous estate of the king long to reign. Then he showed that his faithful heart and service to him hath, is, and shall be, as it was to his father before.

Then he declared how he had been belied of evil men, and misreported not to bear a true heart to his Grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his royal power in his minority; whereas indeed, he saith, his Grace should find him always, during life, both in heart, word, and deed, to do and acknowledge otherwise, and to be most willing to show, &c., and to do all other things

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for his Grace, as willingly as any other subject, or as those that were his denouncers, who, he thought, were not sent of his Grace, but pretended commissioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certain commissioners, (who said they were sent by his Grace,) alleging the same not to be lawful; and of his long and sharp imprisonment; and that the commissioners observed neither law nor reasonable order, but extremity. And whereas he had made appeal to his Grace, and he could not have it; he desired to have law to prosecute and sue his appeal for his remedy, and that he (considering his vocation) might not be shut up and put from liberty, which his meanest subjects have.

Then he desired his Grace's letters of *supersedeas* against the commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the council; and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithful man, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, that this, (prostrating himself even to the very ground, and humbly kissing his Grace's feet,) was the only thing which he humbly desired, &c.

This done, and the supplication perused, the king eftsoons giveth in charge and commandment to certain men of honour and worship, and persons skilful in the law, as to the Lord Rich, high chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord marquis Dorset, the bishop of Ely, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir William Herbert, knights, Dr. Richard Wootton, Edward Montague, lord chief justice, Sir John Baker, knight, with Judge Hales, John Gosnold, Dr. Oliver, and also Dr. Leyson, that they, scanning and perusing all such acts, matters, and muniments of the said Bonner by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alleged, with all and singular his protestations, recusations, and appellations, should, upon mature consideration thereof, give their direct answer upon the same, whether the appellation of the said Bonner were to be deferred unto; whether the sentence defined against him stood by the law sufficient and effectual, or not: who, eftsoons, after diligent discussion, and considerate advisement had of all and singular the premises, gave their resolute answer, that the pretended appellation of Edmund Bonner aforesaid was naught and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred unto; and that the sentence by the commissioners against him, was rightly and justly pronounced. And this was the conclusion of Bonner's whole matter and deprivation for that time.

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Thus then, leaving Dr. Bonner awhile in the Marshalsea with his keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the course of our story, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the lord protector falleth here jointly with the deprivation of Dr. Bonner, yet, because he was shortly again delivered out of the same through the Lord's mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his second trouble, which was two years after; and so, in the mean time returning again into our discourse, intend, by the Lord's leave, to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the king's godly proceedings for reformation of religion in the aforesaid year of our Lord concurring—the year 1549.

And here first a note would be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned travails and disputation in the university of Oxford the said present year with Dr. Chedsey and others, about the matter of the sacrament; which was, that the substance of bread and wine was not changed in the sacrament, and that the body and blood of Christ were not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to the same sacramentally.

In like manner, some touch or mention here also would be made of the ecclesiastical laws, for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty-two persons were assigned by act of parliament the said present year, 1549. But because these be rather matters of tractation, than historical, I mean (God willing) to defer the further consideration thereof unto the end of the history of this king's days, and so to pass forward to other matters in the mean while.

Books in the Latin service abolished.



T followeth now in the story, that certain of the vulgar multitude hearing of the apprehension of the lord protector, and supposing the alteration of the public service into English, and administration of the sacrament and other rites lately appointed in the church, had been the act, chiefly or only, of the said lord protector, began upon the same to noise and bruit abroad, that they should now have their old Latin service, with holy bread and holy water, and their other like superstitious ceremonies again: whereupon the king, with the body and state of the privy council then being, directed out his letters of request and strait commandment to the bishops, in their dioceses, touching the same, in form and manner as followeth.

A certain precept or decree of King Edmard, directed to the bishops in their dioceses, for the abolishing of books of the Latin service, and of certain other ceremonies.

"Right reverend father in God, right truly and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas the book, entitled The Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments

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and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England, was agreed upon and set forth by act of parliament, and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm, yet, nevertheless, we are informed that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, since the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such-like vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting-forth of the said book had been the only act of the aforementioned duke: We, therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy council, not only considering the said book to be our own act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in the parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the edifying of our subjects,—to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies, again in the Latin tongue (which were but a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again)—have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require and nevertheless straitly command and charge you, that ye, immediately upon the receipt hereof, do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church, the parson, vicar, or curate, and churchwardens of every parish within your diocese, to bring and deliver to you, or your deputy, every of them, for their church and parish, at such convenient place as ye shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grails, processions, manuals, legends, pixes, portueses, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use; and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be let to the using of the said Book of Common Prayers; and that ye take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were first provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order, which, by a consent, is now set forth. And if ye shall find any person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenor of these our letters, that then you commit the same person to ward, to such time as ye have certified us of his misbehaviour: and we will and command you, that ye also search, or cause such search to be made, from time to time, whether any books be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters; and the same books to receive into your hands, and to use, as in these our letters we have appointed.

"And furthermore, whereas it is come to our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday: these are to will and command you, to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the same book. And if any shall refuse so to do, punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail ye not thus to do, as ye will avoid our displeasure.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 25th of December, the third year of our reign.

Thomas Cranmer,
J. Russell,
R. Rich, Cancel.,
H. Dorset,
W. Saint John,
W. North."

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Whereby it may appear to us now, that no wafer-cakes, but common bread, was then, by the king's appointment, ordinarily received and used in churches. This was about the latter end of December, A.D. 1549.

Taking down of altars, and setting up the table instead thereof.

Furthermore, in the year next following, (1550) other letters, likewise, were sent for the taking down of altars in churches, and setting up the table instead of the same, unto Nicholas Ridley, who, being bishop of Rochester before, was then made bishop of London, in Bonner's place. The copy and contents of the king's letters are these, as follow.

The king's letter to Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, &c.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that the altars within the most part of the churches of this realm being already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there do yet remain altars standing in divers other churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that, minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such-like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm; we have thought good, by the advice of our council, to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that, with all diligence, all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down; and instead thereof, a table be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion. And, to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose; the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking-down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the aforesaid considerations in that our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise, by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns, and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of November, the fourth year of our reign.

Edward Somerset,
John Bedford,
Thomas Cranmer,
William North,
William Wiltshire,

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Edward Clinton,
John Warwick,
H. Wentworth,
Thomas Ely."

Reasons why the Lord's board should rather be after the form of a table, than of an altar.

"I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth, Rom. i. 16.

"Certain reasons why the reverend father, Nicholas, bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, did exhort those churches in his diocese, where the altars, as then, did remain, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. And that herein he did not only not any thing contrary unto the Book of Common Prayer, or to the king's Majesty's proceedings, but that he was induced to do the same, partly moved by his office and duty, wherewith he is charged in the same book, and partly, for the advancement and sincere setting-forward of God's holy word, and the king's Majesty's most godly proceedings.

"First Reason.—The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord's supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come unto the Lord's board, what do we come for? to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again, or to feed upon him, that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually drink his blood, (which is the true use of the Lord's supper,) then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's board, than the form of an altar.

"Second Reason.—Whereas it is said, 'The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an altar; wherefore, it is not lawful to abolish that which the book alloweth:' to this it is thus answered: The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lord's supper is ministered, indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board; without prescription of any form thereof, either of a table or of an altar: so that whether the Lord's board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For, as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lord's supper is ministered, a table, and the Lord's board, so it calleth the table, where the holy communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing neither said nor meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

"Third Reason.—The popish opinion of mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or at the least upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters; or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's board after the form of a table, than of an altar.

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"Fourth Reason.—The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and therefore the altar in Greek is called ζυσιαστηριον [Zysiasterion]. But now both the law and the sacrifices thereof do cease: wherefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease withal.

"Fifth Reason.—Christ did institute the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper, at a table, and not at an altar; as it appeareth manifestly by the three evangelists. And St. Paul calleth the coming to the holy communion, the coming unto the Lord's supper. And also it is not read that any of the apostles or the primitive church did ever use any altar in ministration of the holy communion.

"Wherefore, seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles, and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used, than the form of an altar, in the administration of the holy communion.

"Sixth and last Reason.—It is said in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same book, to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that book."

After these letters and reasons received, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, consequently upon the same did hold his visitation, wherein, amongst other his injunctions, the said bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars did then remain, to conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. Upon the occasion whereof there arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the said bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, but to exhort all his diocese unto that which he thought did best agree with Scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, (as is before proved,) but also might highly further the king's most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use, taught by Holy Scripture, of the Lord's supper. And so appointed he the form of a right table to be used in his diocese, and, in the church of Paul, brake down the wall standing then by the high altar's side.

232. The Trial Of Stephen Gardiner.

Here followeth the history of the doings and attempts of Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, with the process of his articles and examinations upon the same.

Now that we have discoursed the process, doings, and examinations of Edmund Bonner, followeth next in order the story of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in process not much unlike to the other; in stoutness alike arrogant and glorious; in craft and subtlety going before him, although the order and time of his examinations came behind him.

This Gardiner, having precept and commandment given unto him by the king to preach upon certain points which they had him in suspicion for, in much like sort as Bonner did before, showed himself, in performing the same, both stubborn and wilful, as was declared of the other before. Whereupon the next day after his sermon ensuing, being arrested by Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, he was committed to the Tower; from whence, at length, he was brought to Lambeth, to his examinations, whereof more shall be said hereafter (Christ permitting) at large. In the mean time to comprehend and collect all things in order, first, we will begin with the beginning of his deserved trouble: how he was committed to keep his house, and afterwards had to the Fleet; and what letters he wrote, as well to others as especially to the lord protector; whose answers again to the said bishop, as many as came to our hands, we have thereto annexed, by the example and copy of which his letters, here being expressed for thee, gentle reader, to peruse, thou mayest easily perceive and understand the proud and glorious spirit of that man, his stubborn contumacy against the king, and malicious rebellion against God and true religion, with sleight and craft enough to defend his peevish purposes.

The examples and copies of certain letters written by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, containing divers matters not unworthy to be known for this present history.

Winchester to the lord protector, in consequence of a sermon of the bishop of St. David's.

"May it please your Grace to understand, that I have noted some points in my Lord of St. David's sermon, which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think, for the whole I cannot express. Somewhat I shall encumber you with my babbling, but he hath encumbered some friends more with his tattling. And alas, my Lord! this is a piteous case, that having so much business as ye have, these inward disorders should be added unto them, to the courage of such as would this realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope thereby to disorder this realm, being now a time rather to repair that which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintain estimation: the contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid.

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"There was never attempt of alteration made in England, but upon comfort of discord at home; and woe be to them that mindeth it! If my Lord of St. David's, or such others, have their head cumbered with any new platform, I would wish they were commanded, between this and the king's Majesty's full age, to draw the plat, diligently to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, in the unseasonable time of building; and, when the king's Majesty cometh to full age, to present their labours to him; and, in the mean time, not to disturb the state of the realm, whereof your Grace is protector; but that you may, in every part of religion, laws, lands, and decrees, (which four contain the state,) deliver the same unto our sovereign lord, according unto the trust you be put in; which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire: to which desired effect there can be nothing so noisome and contrarious as trouble and disquiet. Wherein your Grace shall be specially troubled, as on whose shoulders all the weight lieth; and whatsoever shall happen amiss by the faults of others, shall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that your mind be not faulty in either, yet, if the effect be not to the realm as it were to be wished, the prince, though he were of age, should be excused, and the governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of pre-eminence and authority, and specially in this realm, as stories make mention, which should not discourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reserved at home; and at home, if the beginning be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my brother of St. David's may, like a champion with his sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of licence opened, there shall more by folly thrust in with him than your Grace would wish.

"Thus, as I think, I write homely to your Grace, because you were content I should write, wherein I consider only to have all things well. And because your Grace is the protector and the chief director of the realm, to present unto your wisdom what my folly is, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing over-much, and yet I have had an inkling that they that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring yourself in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other: whereas, in concord, they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lowly fear to do their duty; which, I doubt not, your wisdom can consider, and consider also how noisome any other outward encumber might be, in the time of the minority of our sovereign lord. I told the emperor's council, that our late sovereign lord did much for the emperor, to enter war with him, and to put his realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no; for that is the nature of war. And sometimes the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye administer the realm for another, it were a marvellous question of him that shall enjoy the realm to say, What meant you, in the time of administration to adventure my realm? Why took ye not rather, for the time of my minority, any peace, whatsoever it were? which is better than the best war, as some men have written.

"I know you have authority sufficient, and wisdom plenty, and yet, being entered to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at Brussels with you, devising of the world at large. And if I were sworn to say what I think of the state of the world, I would, for a time, let Scots be Scots, with despair to have them, unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young master, when he cometh to age. And, in the mean time, prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order which it hath need of. And for a stay, if the emperor would offer the daughter of the king of Romans, as he did, do with

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him in our master's minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your estimation shall increase, and our sovereign lord's surety not a little increase and be augmented. For of France it must be taken for a rule, 'They be so wanton, they cannot do well longer than they see how they may be scourged if they do not.' Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will; and, in the mean time, to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can serve only to do hurt, and no good. I had fashioned a letter to Master Ridley, which I send unto your Grace, and encumber you with these melancholy writings, engendered of this fondness, which be not worth the reading. And so it may like you to use them, for having heard that which ye have said unto me, and otherwise heard and seen what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters; and now such as have found enterprises shall see, that I letted not their follies (which they called God's word): but for his time the king our sovereign lord that dead is; and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation; howsoever any shall be here not contented; which miscontentation hath been so fond in some, as they have burst out and wished, that they might, without breach of his laws, kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cause why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best, with preservation of our sovereign lord, and increase of your Grace's honour." At my house in Southwark, the last of February.

"Your Grace's humble bead-man,
S. W."

A letter of Winchester to Captain Vaughan, dated the third of May, 1547.

"Master Vaughan, after my right hearty commendations: In my last letters to my lord protector, signifying, according to the general commandment by letters given to all justices of peace, the state of this shire, I declared (as I supposed true) the shire to be in good order, quiet, and conformity; for I had not then heard of any alteration in this shire, which the said letters of commandment did forbid. Now of late, within these two days, I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the town of Portsmouth, where the images of Christ and his saints have been most contemptuously pulled down, and spitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the mayor, the king's Majesty's chief ministers, as well to know the truth, as to consult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent I may be seen to discharge my duty, and discharging it indeed both to God and to the king's Majesty, under whom I am here appointed to have cure and care to relieve such as be by any ways fallen, and preserve the rest that stand, from like danger.

"Ye are a gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wise, and esteem to have more knowledge, wisdom, and discretion than to allow any such enormities; and therefore I do the more willingly consult with you herein, with request friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter: who be the doers, and the circumstances of it, and whether ye think the matter so far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and disproving of the deed, might, without a further danger, be enterprised in the pulpit or not; minding, if it may so be, to send one thither for that purpose upon Sunday next coming. I would use preaching as it should not be occasion of any further folly where a folly is begun; and to a multitude, persuaded in that opinion of destruction of images, I would never preach: for, as Scripture willeth us, we

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should cast no precious stones before hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be hogs, and worse than hogs, (if there be any grosser beasts than hogs be,) and have been ever so taken; and in England they are called Lollards, who, denying images, thought therewithal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally superfluous and naught, and against God's laws.

"In Germany such as maintained that opinion of destroying of images, were accounted the dregs cast out by Luther after he had tunned all his brewings in Christ's religion, and so taken as hog's meat; for the reproof of whom Luther wrote a book specially: and I have with mine eyes seen the images standing in all churches where Luther was had in estimation. For the destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it, and especially the nobility, who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the pursuivant carrieth not on his breast the king's name, written with such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read be they never so rude, being great known letters in images of three lions, and three fleurs-de-lis, and other beasts holding those arms. And he that cannot read the scripture written about the king's great seal, yet he can read St. George on horseback on the one side, and the king sitting in his majesty on the other side; and readeth so much written in those images, as, if he be an honest man, he will put off his cap. And although, if the seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the seal for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax only, whilst it continueth whole. And if by reviling of stocks and stones, in which matter images be graven, the setting of the truth (to be read of all men) shall be contemned; how shall such writing continue in honour as is comprised in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our books be made, such as few can skill of, and not the hundredth part of the realm? And if we, (a few that can read,) because we can read, in one sort, of letters so privileged as they have many reliefs, shall pull away the books of the rest, and would have our letters only in estimation, and blind all them, shall not they have just cause to mistrust what is meant? And if the cross be a truth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not have a writing thereof such as all can read, that is to say, an image? If this opinion should proceed, when the king's Majesty hereafter should show his person, his lively image, the honour due by God's law among such might continue; but as for the king's standards, his banners, his arms, they should hardly continue in their due reverence for fear of Lollards' idolatry, which they gather upon Scripture beastly—not only untruly. The Scripture reproveth false images made of stocks and stones, and so it doth false men made of flesh and bones.

"When the emperor's money was showed to Christ, wherein was the image of the emperor, Christ contemned not that image, calling it an idol, nor noted that money to be against God's law because it had an image in it, as though it were against the precept of God, Thou shalt have no graven image; but taught them good civility, in calling it the emperor's image, and bade them use the money as it was ordered to be used, in its right use.

"There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth falsehood. False writings, false books, false images, and false men, all be naught; to be contemned and despised. As for paper, ink, parchment, stones, wood, bones, A.B. of the chancery hand, and A. B. of the secretary hand, a letter of German fashion, or of any other form, they be all of one estimation, and may be of man, inclining to the devil, used for falsehood, or, applying to God's gracious calling, used to set forth truth. It is a terrible matter to think that this false opinion conceived

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against images should trouble any man's head; and such as I have known vexed with that devil, (as I have known some,) be nevertheless wondrously obstinate in it; and if they can find one that can spell Latin to help forth their madness, they be more obdurate than ever were the Jews, and slander whatsoever is said to them for their relief. Of this sort I know them to be; and, therefore, if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my lord protector. But if you thought there might be other ways used first to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceed with you and the mayor, with both your helps to do that may lie in me to the redress of the matter, which I take to be such an enterprise against Christ's religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitated with the devil's instigation, and this time much hurtful to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdom consider; whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer, by this bearer, to these my letters, to the intent I may use myself in sending of a preacher thither, or writing to my lord protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.

"From my house at Wolvesey, the 3rd of May, 1547.

STEPH. WINCHESTER."

A letter of the lord protector, answering to the letter above.

"After hearty commendations: receiving of late two letters from your Lordship, the one enclosed in a letter of Master Vaughan's to us, and directed to him, the other directed strait unto us; very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are, that no innovations should be had.

The which mind of yours, as we do highly esteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietness, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much fear of innovation or disturbance do not cause both to be. Many times in a host, he that crieth, 'Enemies! enemies!' when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a mutiny or rebellion to be made; and he that for fear of a sickness to come, taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himself sick indeed. We perceive by the said your letters, that heinous facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cause why; and those facts which were punishable, be already by him redressed.

"For the matter of images, an order was taken in the late king of famous memory our sovereign lord's days. When the abused images (yet lurking in some places, by negligence of them who should ere this time have looked unto the same) be now abolished, let not that be made a matter of the abolishing of all images. Though felons and adulterers be punishished, all men be not slain. Though the images which did adulterate God's glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of images to be destroyed. Yet, after our advice, better it were for a time to abolish them all, than for that the dead images, the king's loving subjects, being faithful and true to the king's Majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietness the magistrates and rulers shall keep them well in order, whom contentious preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it must be provided that the king's Majesty's images, arms, and ensigns, should be honoured and worshipped after the decent order and invention of human laws and ceremonies; and, nevertheless, that other images, contrary to God's ordinances and laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration, and invocation, which (forbidden by God) should derogate his honour, and be occasion to accumulate God's wrath upon us. Where they be

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taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the church or market-stead, following the late king of famous memory's counsel and order; yet more gentleness was showed to those books of images, than to the true and unfeigned books of God's word, both being abused, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certain persons, and almost from all. The images were left still to them who most did abuse them, the thing being yet closed from them which should teach the use. Wherefore it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken, that the abused before be not abused again, the advantage of some priests, simplicity of laymen, and great inclination of man's nature to idolatry, giving cause thereto.

"They that contemn images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as stocks and stones, may likewise despise printing in paper, because the ink hath pitch in it, and the paper is made of old rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more aggrieved, that an image of wood, though it were of St. Anne, or St. Margaret, should be burned, than he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted word of God is comprised, should be torn in pieces, burned, or made paste of. Nor do we now speak of false Bibles, nor false gospels, but of the very true gospel, either in Latin, Greek, or English, which we see every day done, and sometimes commanded, because the translator displeaseth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one image, either for age, and because it is worm-eaten, or because it hath been foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stock or a stone, but a true saint of flesh and bone, should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible sight. We cannot but see that images may be counted marvellous books, to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our beads and handkerchiefs, unto whom we have lighted candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help: which thing hath seldom been seen done to the gospel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kisseth that, but the priest at the mass, at a painted picture, or in such a ceremony? or who kneeleth unto it, or setteth a candle before it? and yet it seeth or heareth, as well as the images or pictures either of St. John, or our Lady, or Christ.

"Indeed images be great letters; yet as big as they be, we have seen many which have read them amiss. And belike they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the Jews to become evil readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your Lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common image. Your Lordship hath found out, in the king's Highness's great seal, St. George on horseback, which the graver never made in it, nor the sealer ever sealed with it; and this inscription is not very little, and if it were, it could not escape your Lordship's eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the king's image is on both the sides; on the one side, as in war, the chief captain; on the other side, as in peace, the liege sovereign in harness, with his sword drawn, to defend his subjects; in his robes, in the seat of justice, with his sceptre rightfully to rule and govern than; as he whom both in peace and war we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest head, ruler, and governor. If it were St. George, my Lord, where is his spear and dragon? And why should the inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the image? Yet it is called sometimes so of the rude and ignorant people; but not, by and by, that what is commonly called so, is always truest. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your Lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the image of Bellerophon or Perseus was turned first and appointed to be St. George, and of Polyphemus, of

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Hercules, or of some other Colossus, to be St. Christopher, because authentical histories have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon some device, or rising of a true fact or history; and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

"It were hardly done indeed, my Lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their books of their images; but it were more hardly done, if that you, or a few which can read in one or two languages (as Greek and Latin) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and privileges, should pull away the English books from the rest which only understand English; and would have only your letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and blind all them which understand not these languages, from the knowledge of God's word. And indeed, my Lord, by your saying they have just occasion to suspect what is meant.

"What you mean by true images and false images, it is not so easy to perceive. If they be only false images, which have nothing that they represent, as St. Paul writeth, An idol is nothing, (because there is no such god,) and therefore the cross can be no false image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon it; then the images of the sun and the moon were no idols, for such things there be as the sun and the moon, and they were in the image then so represented, as painting and carving doth represent them. And the image of Ninus, and Cæsar, and (as some write) the images of all the twelve chosen gods, (as they called them,) were the images of once living men. And it might be said, that the image of God the Father hath no such eyes, nose, lips, and a long grey beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But, if that be a false image and an idol which is otherwise worshipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the brazen serpent, being a true image and representation of Christ, by abuse was made an idol; it may be thought in times past, and, peradventure, now at this time, in some places, the images not only of St. John, or St. Anne, but of our Lady and Christ, be false images and idols, representing to foolish, blind, and ignorant men's hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you, my Lord, to have been removed sooner, and before that the captain there should have need to have done it. But if your Lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false images and idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

"Christ called not the money, having Cæsar's image in it, an idol, when it was used to lawful uses, and to pay the due tribute withal. But, when a man doth not use those images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the commonwealth service, St. Paul, Christ's disciple, called that covetousness, and the serving and bondage to idols. So that even in money may be idolatry, if we make too much of those images which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish, and so fearful one way, and so tender stomached, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterprise against all religion and good order; as there be on the contrary side some too rash, who, having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will set upon every thing. The magistrate's duty is betwixt these, so in a mean to see and provide, that old doting should not take further or deeper rust in the commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the seen and tried truth, nor long abuse, for the age and space of time only, still be suffered; and yet all these with quietness and gentleness, and without all contention, if it were possible, to be reformed. To the which your Lordship, as a man

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to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and persuasion, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the king's Majesty's time (whose Majesty's reign God preserve!) all abuses with wisdom reformed, Christ's religion, with good and politic order of the commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the king's subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And this to your Lordship's letter sent to Master Vaughan of Portsmouth."

Another letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the same to understand, I have seen of late two books set forth in English by Bale, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. And albeit that your Grace needeth not mine advertisement in that matter, yet I am so bold to trouble your Grace with my letters for mine own commodity, wherewith to satisfy mine own conscience, to write and say as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your Grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to see, so soon after my late sovereign lord and master's death, a book spread abroad more to his dishonour (if a prince's honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached) than professed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have suffered under him as a martyr; and the woman therewith to be, by Bale's own elucidation, (as he calleth it,) so set forth and painted as she appeareth to be, and is boasted to be a Sacramentary, and by the laws worthy (as she suffered) the pains of death; such like things have, by stealth, in our late sovereign lord's days, gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in such cases to speak, I keep my wont to write to your Grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the realm to be for the time in government, and to whom, for respects of old acquaintance, I wish all felicity. In these matters of religion I have been long exercised, and have (thanks be to God) lived so long as I have seen them thoroughly tried; and, besides that I have learned in written books of authority, I have perceived by books written without authority, as by Master Bale, Joy, and others, and especially as Bale useth now, that Scripture loth, by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once, insomuch as at one time Bale praiseth Luther, and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a saint; which Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the presence really of Christ's natural body in the sacrament of the altar. And yet Bale, the noble clerk, would have Anne Askew, blasphemously denying the presence of Christ's natural body, to be taken for a saint also. So as Bale's saints may vary in heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might suffice to disprove the man's credit, if thwarting talk were more desired of many, than the truth indeed; which truth was supposed to have been, both in writing and exercise, well established long before our late lord's death; and Bale and his adherents in their madness plainly reprov'd and condemned.

"I cannot forget your Grace told me you would suffer no innovation; and indeed if you deliver this realm to the king at eighteen years of age, as the king his father, whose soul God assoil, left it, as I trust you shall, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation, which were a charge to your Grace more than needed, being already burdened heavily. And albeit in the commonwealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the king's Majesty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you, both here and abroad; you shall shadow men's doings, if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And, for my part, besides my duty to the

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king's Majesty and the realm, I would that your Grace (in whom since your government I have found much gentleness and humanity) had as much honour with good success as ever any had, and pray to God that men would let your Grace alone, and suffer the realm in the time of your government in quiet among ourselves, whereby we may be the more able to resist foreign trouble, which your Grace doth prudently foresee.

"Certain printers, players, and preachers, make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late sovereign lord be of no force in their judgment, what establishment could any new agreement have? and every uncertainty is noisome to any realm. And where every man will be master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous, that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, at the selfsame time almost every man would be believed; and amongst them Bale, when his untruth appeareth evidently in setting forth the examination of Anne Askew, which is utterly misreported.

"I beseech your Grace to pardon my babbling with you; but I see my late sovereign lord and master slandered by such simple persons, religion assaulted, the realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion given to enemies to point and say, that after Wickliff's strange teaching in the sacraments of Christ's church hath vexed others, it is finally turned unto us to molest and scourge us, for other fruit cannot Bale's teaching have, nor the teaching of such others as go about to trouble the agreement established here. In which matter I dare not desire your Grace specially to look earnestly unto it, lest I should seem to note in you that becometh me not. And I know that your Grace being otherwise occupied, these things may creep in, as it hath been heretofore. Sometimes it may be hard for your Grace to find out or pull out the root of this naughtiness: but yet I am so bold to write of these, of mine own stomach, who have ever used, for discharge of myself, to say and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the rest to the disposition of God, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moved, and given me such knowledge and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth; I mean knowledge and experience of them that be chief stirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot speak or report truly in common matters.—The pretence is of the spirit, and all is for the flesh, women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your Grace unto. For it tendeth all to confusion and disorder, which is the effect of untruth.

"Bale hath set forth a prayer for the Duke John of Saxony, wherein the duke remitteth to God's judgment, to be showed here in this world, the justness of his cause concerning religion; and desireth God, if his cause be not good, to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words whereby to tempt God; since which prayer the duke is indeed taken, as all the world saith; and, at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the sun, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but, whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many commonwealths have continued without the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction; but without true religion, and with such opinions as Germany maintained, no estate hath continued in the circuit of the world to us known since Christ came. For the Turks and Tartars' government is, as it were, a continual war, and they

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uphold their rule with subduing of nobility by fire and sword. Germany with their new religion could never have stood, though the emperor had let them alone: for if it be persuaded the understanding of God's law to be at large in women and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, and then God's law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be indeed truth's children; and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of itself, in a right meaning, man's mouth; more eloquent than forged matters can with study bring forth.

"What rhymes be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (saving your Grace's honour) and foolish! and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now in Lent to be so sick as the rhyme purporteth, and like to die indeed, to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year. And thereto shall it come, if the common diet be not certain: for the fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the butcher may with flesh outface him. And fish is the great treasure of this realm, and food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not myself: for such as love not fish should nevertheless commend it to others, to the intent the flesh by them forborne, might be, to such as love it, only the more plenty.

"The public defamation and trifling with Lent is a marvellous matter to them that would say evil of this realm; for there is nothing more commended unto us Christian men in both the churches of the Greeks and Latins, than Lent is, if all men be not liars. In the king our late sovereign lord's days this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would wish we had no Lent. Every country hath its peculiar inclination to naughtiness: England and Germany unto the belly, the one in liquor, the other in meat; France a little beneath the belly; Italy to vanities and pleasures devised; and let an English belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was purveyor for the seas, what an exclamation was there (as your Grace showed me) of the bishops' fasting-day, as they called Wednesday, and 'Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your wine; I beshrew your heart for your water!' Was not that song, although it was in sport, a signification how loth men be to have their licence restrained, or their accustomed fare abated? unless it were in extreme necessity.

"I hear say that the Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tonge, with other new, (whom I know not,) as being one of Christ's miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow; at which teaching all the world will laugh. For Christian men have Christ for an example in all things, both to use the world as he did, only for necessity, and to contemn the world as he did; and in case to refuse it, and choose the vile death, as he did the death of the cross, which things he did like a master most perfect, for he was very God; and we must endeavour ourselves, in the use of his gifts, to follow that he did—not to fast forty days without meat as Christ did, for we be but prentices, and carry about a ruinous carcass, that must have some daily reparation with food—but yet was there never any that said, how therefore we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christ's fast for a miracle only. And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily miracles, in subduing and conforming, by God's grace, their sensual appetites, and humbly obeying to the will of God; which no man can of himself do. And Christ promised that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a

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slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christ's miracles, for so it was, to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught Christian men to follow, because it was a miracle, as they might say. It were more tolerable to forget Lent, as Poggius telleth of a priest in the mountains, that knew not how the year went about; and when the weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards Palm Sunday, he devised an excuse to his parish, and bade them prepare there-for, for indeed the year had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so as they should be as soon at Easter as the rest; and thus did he pass over Lent with much less slander, than to teach it for a doctrine, that Lent was one of Christ's miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great miracle, (as all Christ's doings were,) yet was it not a greater miracle, nor more against man's nature, than to love them that laboured and were busy to take away the natural life of his manhood. For as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth it abhor destruction or hurt. In will and desire men follow Christ in all things; in execution they cannot; for we have brittle vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he seeth expedient for his church; so as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the flock assembled.

"Gregory Nazianzen speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate Christ's fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not disallow, not requiring of all men so to do, for that is an extremity, nor yet assoiling the matter, as our new school-men do, that Christian men should let Christ's fast alone as a miracle; which manner of solution I heard a good fellow make, when it was told him he might not revenge himself, and when he was stricken on the one ear, he should put forth the other. 'I am,' quoth he, 'a man; I am not God. If Christ being God did so, he might,' quoth he, 'if it had pleased him, have done otherwise.' And so when it hath been alleged that Christ fasted forty days, 'He might,' quoth he, 'have eaten if he had list.' These triflings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if Christian men shall refuse to follow Christ in miracles. For all his life was miracles, and his love that is our badge, most miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beseech your Grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the Commons' house, that, when I am in my tale, think I should have liberty to make an end; and specially writing to your Grace, with whom I account I may be bold, assuring you it proceedeth of a zeal towards you to whom I wish well, whose intent although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to show me it was, yet are such things spread abroad whereof the evil willers of the realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on wheels.

"If any man had either fondly or indiscreetly spoken of Lent to engrieve it to be an importable burden, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received. But this I reckon, that no Christian man may contemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his fast; and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year worldly, to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostom speaketh expressly. And for avoiding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the superior serveth. And so I heard the king's Majesty, our sovereign lord, declare, when your Grace was present: and therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of licences. And to declare that himself contemned not the fast, he was at charge to have (as your Grace knoweth) the Lent diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself; and the like hereof I hear say your Grace hath ordered for the king's Majesty that now is; which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, nor the rhymes set abroad. Lent is,

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among Christian men, a godly fast to exercise men to forbear, and in England both godly and politic, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall show, if it he ever attempted; which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rhyme, and Stephen Stockfish bequeathed not to me, though my name be noted; wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations. And if all men be liars, as it is now to my understanding strangely published, methinketh Bale and such new men, as be new liars, should be most abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in Italy and France is a matter of combat, is now found to be improprieate to all men. God grant the truth to be desired of all men truly! But, as one asked, when he saw an old philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on; and it was answered how the old man was discussing what was virtue; it was replied, 'If the old man yet dispute of virtue, when will he use it?' so it may be said in our religion, If we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution?'

"I would make an end of my letters, and cannot; wherein I account myself faulty. And though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I say as I think; forasmuch as I have said, and further think, your Grace hath no trouble troublesome, but this matter of religion unseasonably brought in to the defamation of our late sovereign lord's acts, doings, and laws. I beseech your Grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldness, which groweth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your Grace, which I cannot forget. And thus enforcing myself to an end, I shall pray to Almighty God to preserve your Grace in much felicity, with increase of honour and achieving of your heart's desire.

"At Winchester the 21st of May.

"Your Grace's humble bead-man,
S. W."

The letter of the lord protector, answering to Winchester.

"Your letters dated the twenty-first day of May, as concerning two books new set forth by one Bale, and certain sermons preached here, were with convenient speed delivered unto us. And like as in your letters to Edward Vaughan of Portsmouth, so in those to us, we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order, and continuance of the godly state of this realm; so we do marvel that so soon, so far off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which indeed we, being here, and attendant upon the same, cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet or so united, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, printers, players, and preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their mind; and dare use their extreme licence or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid.

"There have foolish and naughty rhymes and books been made and set forth, of the which, as it appeareth, you have seen more than we; and yet, to our knowledge, too many be bought: but yet, after our mind, it is too sore and too cruelly done, to lay all those to our charge,

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and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, yet Pasquill (as we hear say) writeth his mind, and many times against the bishop's tyranny, and sometimes toucheth other great princes; which thing, for the most part, he doth safely: not that the bishop alloweth Pasquill's rhymes and verses—especially against himself; but because he cannot punish the author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late king's days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politic prince, and a diligent executer of his laws—and when your Lordship was most diligent in the same—yet, as your Lordship yourself writeth, and it is too manifest to be unknown, there were that wrote such lewd rhymes and plays as you speak of, and some against the king's proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that about Jack of Lent's lewd ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly sermons, (which be evil in your letters joined together,) you be so earnest, when against Dr. Smith's book, being a man learned in the doctors and Scripture, which made so plain against the king's Highness's authority, and for the furtherance of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, your Lordship neither wrote nor said any thing. And, as it appeared, you be so angry with his retraction, (which frankly without fear, dread, compulsion, or imprisonment, only with learning and truth overcome, he came unto,) that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture: except, peradventure. you think that the saying of David, *Omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted, Every man is a liar; which, howsoever your Lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeareth unto us then of him, taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtle difference of lying, and telling of a lie, or, as it is Latin called, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*. But if your Lordship be loth to be counted *mendax*, (which belike Dr. Smith hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and you think it a matter of combat, or that he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for clerks to dispute of,) we would have wished your Lordship to have written against his book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the author himself refuseth to aver. Your Lordship writeth earnestly for Lent, which we go not about to put away; no more than, when Dr. Smith wrote so earnestly that every man should be obedient to the bishops, the magistrates by and by went not about to bring kings and princes, and others, under their subjection.

"Writers write their fantasy, my Lord, and preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done, that is spoken. The people buy those foolish ballads of Jack-a-Lent. So bought they in times past pardons, and carols, and Robin Hood's tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet. And peradventure of the sermons there is (and indeed there is, if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the preachers there and then spoken or meant. Lent remaineth still, my Lord, and shall, God willing, till the king's Highness, with our advice and the residue of his Grace's council, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the king's Majesty remaineth head of the church, although through sinister ways, and by subtle means, some traitors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the king's Majesty's supremacy, and bring in the bishop of Rome's tyranny, with other superstition and idolatry.

"On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordship writeth, we are set in a painful room, to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour ourself to the

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best of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would wish, yet not so loosely that there needeth such exclamations or great fear to be. We do study to do all things temperately, and with quiet and good order; and we would wish nothing more than your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither superstition, idolatry, or papacy, should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealousy as negligence, with too much fear or too much patience: no ways worse, than when one is over light-eared the one way, and deaf on the other side. Rumours by space and times increase naturally; and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will wish (and trust you have) your heart faithful to us. Our most hearty desire and continual prayer to God is, to leave this realm to the king's Highness, at his Grace's age, by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and God's religion and doctrine, if it were possible, and God's will, than we found it. And that is our whole intent and esperance, to the which we refuse no man's help, as knoweth God; in whom we bid you heartily farewell."

A letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: upon the return of my servant Massie with your Grace's letters, answering to such my letters wherein I signified the robbing of my secretary, I read the same gladly, as by the contents of the matter I had cause so to do; which was such a comfortative, as I digested easily the rest of the great packet, having been accustomed thereunto in the king my late sovereign lord's days; which fashion of writing, his Highness (God pardon his soul!) called 'whetting:' which was not all the most pleasant unto me at all times; yet when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and sometimes by the occasion thereof the matter amended, I was not so coy as always to reverse my argument; nor, so that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble myself, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such as were privy to his letters directed unto me, were afraid I had been in high displeasure, (for the terms of the letters sounded so,) yet I myself feared it nothing at all. I esteemed him, as he was, a wise prince; and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly disfavour him that had been bold with him; whereof I serve for a proof, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the bishopric of Winchester, he said, he had often squared with me, but he loved me never the worse; and for a token thereof gave me the bishopric. And once, when he had been vehement with me in the presence of the earl of Wiltshire, and saw me dismayed with it, he took me apart into his bed-chamber, and comforted me, and said, that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it; but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me, than to the earl of Wiltshire. And from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasent words passed from him, as they did sometimes, I folded them up in the matter; which hindered me a little. For I was reported unto him that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nature, (as he called it,) that wept at every of his words; and methought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved. But else I know when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life discontent or grudging at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

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"And therefore, being thus brought up, and having first read your Grace's most gentle letters, signifying the device of a proclamation to stay these rumours, and reading the same proclamation, which my servant brought with him, I read with the more quiet your Grace's great letters; and would have laid them up without further answer, were it not that, perchance, my so doing might be mistaken. For glum silence may have another construction than frank speech, where a man may speak, as I reckon I may with your Grace; upon confidence whereof I am bold to write thus much for my declaration touching your Grace's letters of the 27th of May, that how earnest soever my letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly fear it, neither show any demonstration in mine outward deeds to the world here, or in communication, that I do fear it to be done by authority; but in myself resist the rumours and vain enterprises, with confidence in the truth and your Grace's wisdom. For if I feared that indeed, with persuasion, it should come to pass, I should have small lust to write in it; but I fear more indeed the trouble that might arise by light boldness of others, and the cumber of such matters while other outward affairs occupy your Grace's mind, than the effect by your direction that hath been talked of abroad. And yet, in the writing, I do speak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner, to be earnest; which as some men have dispraised, so some have commended it. And therefore, in a good honest matter I follow rather mine own inclination, than to take the pains to speak as butter would not melt in my mouth; wherewith I perceive your Grace is not discontent, for the which I most humbly thank you.

"And first, as concerning Portsmouth, I wrote to the captain and mayor in the thing as I had information, and by men of credence: and yet I suspended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my letters appeareth; and as I was loth to have it so, so was I loth to believe it. And, to show that I feared no innovation by authority, nor regarded any such danger, I went thither myself, and in conclusion was in such familiarity with the captain, that after he had showed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men, as they stood handsomely with their weapons, wherewith they had showed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amity with the captain and soldiers, and all the town; the captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had said in my sermon: nor was there cause why he should. But the very act indeed in defacing the images, had no such ground as Master Captain pretended: for I asked specially for such as had abused those images, and no such could be showed, for that I inquired for openly. And the image of St. John the Evangelist, standing in the chancel by the high altar, was pulled down, and a table of alabaster broken; and in it an image of Christ crucified so contemptuously handled, as was in my heart terrible—to have the one eye bored out, and the side pierced! wherewith men were wondrously offended: for it is a very persecution beyond the sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended. And I take such an act to be very slanderous, and, esteeming the opinion of breaking images to be had as unlawful, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote after my fashion to the captain; which letters I perceive to have come to your Grace's hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me truth goeth out plainly and roundly; and, speaking of the king's seal, uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When, as I conjecture of a good will, the people taking St. George for a patron of the realm under God, and having some confidence of succour by God's strength derived by him, to increase the estimation of their prince and sovereign lord, I called their king on horseback, in the feat of arms, St. George on horseback; my knowledge was not corrupt. I know it representeth the king, and yet my speech came forth after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence. For besides learning, I by experience have

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known the pre-eminence of a king both in war and peace; and yet, if I had wist my letter should have come to your Grace's hands to be answered, then I would have been more precise in my speech, than to give occasion of so long an argument therein. As for St. George himself, I have such opinion of him as becometh me. And have read also of Bellerophon in Homer, as they call him, the father of tales, but I will leave that matter. And as for books, let Latin and Greek continue as long as it shall please God, I am almost past the use of them—what service those letters have done, experience has showed; and religion hath continued in them fifteen hundred years. But as for the English tongue, itself hath not continued in one form of understanding two hundred years; and without God's work and special miracles it shall hardly contain religion long, when it cannot last itself. And whatsoever your Grace's mind is now in the matter, I know well, that having the government of the realm, your Grace will use the gift of policy, which is a gift of God.

"And even as now, at this time, bishops be restrained by a special policy to preach only in their cathedral churches, (the like whereof hath not been known in my time,) so, upon another occasion, your Grace may percuse think expedient to restrain (further than the parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now restrained the bishops' liberty of preaching. As for the brazen serpent, it did not in all men's language represent Christ; and if I had written to another than your Grace, I might have had the like matter of argument that was taken against me, of St. George on horseback. For Gregory Nazianzen, chief divine in the Greek church, calleth the serpent's death the figure of the death of Christ; but not the serpent to be the figure of Christ. And yet, when I had done all my argument, I would resolve (as is resolved with me in the speech of St. George on horseback) that the common speech is otherwise, (and so it is,) in saying the serpent to be a true figure of Christ: and yet Gregory Nazianzen called the serpent itself *αντιτυπον* [Greek: antitypon] of Christ, in these words, *Οδε* [Greek: Ode], &c., in his sermon De Paschate; and yet in Almechorus Domini, we read Aries, Leo, Vermis, spoken of Christ; and some expound the Scripture *sicut Moses*, &c., after that sort. And, as your Grace said when I was last at your house with the French ambassador, ye wished him and me, together disputing, to see when we would make an end; even so it is in these matters, when they come in an argument. For a bye thing, as St. George on horseback, when it escaped me, or speaking of the brazen serpent following a speech not thoroughly discussed, shall be occasion of a digression all out of purpose. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our late sovereign lord (God rest his soul!) set these matters in quiet; who had heard all these reasons touching images which be now rehearsed in your Grace's letters; and, having once my Lord of Canterbury and me present with him alone in his palace, that they call otherwise New-Hall, handled that matter at length, and discussed with my Lord of Canterbury the understanding of God's commandment to the Jews, so as all the clerks in Christendom could not amend it. And whereas one had denied the image of the Trinity to be had, by reasons as he touched in your Grace's letters, I heard his Highness answer to them at another time. And when he had himself specially commanded divers images to be abolished, yet (as your Grace knoweth) he both ordered, and himself put in execution, the kneeling and creeping before the image of the cross, and established agreement in that truth through all this realm, whereby all arguments to the contrary be assoiled at once.

"I would wish images used as the book, of his Highness set forth, doth prescribe, and not otherwise. I know your Grace only tempteth me with such reasons as others make unto you, and I am not fully at liberty, although I am bold enough, (and some will think too bold,) to answer

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some things as I would to another man mine equal, being so much inferior to your Grace as I am: but methinketh St. Paul's solution, during the king's Majesty's minority, should serve instead of all; *Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus*, We have no such custom in the church.

"When our sovereign lord cometh to his perfect age, (which God grant,) I doubt not but God will reveal that which shall be necessary for the governing of his people in religion. And if any thing shall be done in the mean time (as I think there shall not) by your Grace's direction, he may, when he cometh to age, say in the rest, as I hear say he said now of late concerning procession, that in his father's time men were wont to follow procession; upon which the king's Majesty's saying, the procession (as I heard) was well furnished afterwards by your Grace's commandment: which speech hath put me in remembrance, that if the bishops and other of the clergy should agree to any alteration in religion, to the condemnation of any thing set forth by his father, whereby his father might be noted to have wanted knowledge or favour to the truth, what he would say I cannot tell, but he might use a marvellous speech (and, for the excellency of his spirit, it were like he would); and, having so just a cause against bishops as he might have, it were to be feared he would. And when he had spoken, then he might, by his laws, do more than any of our sort would gladly suffer at these days. For as the allegation of his authority represented by your Grace shall be then answered, (as your Grace now writeth unto me, 'That your Grace only desireth truth according to God's Scripture,') and it may be then said, 'We bishops, when we have our sovereign lord and head in minority, we fashion the matter as we lust.' And then some young man that would have a piece of the bishops' lands shall say, 'The beastly bishops have always done so; and when they can no longer maintain one of their pleasures, of rule and superiority, then they take another way, and let that go, and, for the time they be here, spend up what they have, which eat you and drink you what they list, and we together, with *Edamus et bibamus, cras moriemur*. And if we shall allege for our defence the strength of God's truth, and the plainness of Scripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay terms, and say, 'We were convinced by Scriptures,' such an excellent judgment as the king's Majesty is like to have, will never credit us in it, nor be abused by such a vain answer. And this is a worldly politic consideration, and at home: for the noise abroad in the world will be more slanderous, than this is dangerous. And touching the bishop of Rome, the doings in this realm hitherto have never done him so much displeasure, as the alteration in religion during the king's Majesty's minority, should serve for his purpose. For he wanteth not wits to beat into other princes' ears, that where his authority is abolished, there at every change of governors be change in religion; and that which hath been amongst us by a whole consent established, shall, by the pretence of another understanding in Scripture, straight be brought in question; for they will give it no other name but a pretence, how stiffly soever we will affirm otherwise, and call it God's word.

"And here it should be much noted that my Lord of Canterbury, being the high bishop of the realm, highly in favour with his late sovereign lord, and my Lord of Durham, a man of renowned fame in learning and gravity, (both put by him in trust for their counsel in the order of the realm,) should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture set forth by the king's Majesty's book, and advise to inveigh such matter of alteration. All which things be (I know well) by your Grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me incredible, that ever any such thing should be indeed with effect, whatsoever the lightness of talk shall spread abroad, which your Grace hath by proclamation well stayed. But if you had not, and the world talked so fast as

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ever they did, I assure your Grace I would never fear it, as men fear things they like not, unless I saw it in execution; for of this sort I am, that in all things I think should not be done in reason, I fear them not, wherewith to trouble me, otherwise than to take heed, if I can; and to the head governors (as now to your Grace) show my mind: and such experience hath every man of me, that hath communed with me in any such matters. And therefore, albeit your Grace writeth wisely, that overmuch fear doth hurt, and accelerateth sometimes that which was not intended, yet it needs not to me; for I have learned that lesson already, and would a great many more had, which indeed should be great stay. And thus I talk with your Grace homely, with multiplication of speech and not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a packet as I received from you.

"One thing necessary to answer your Grace in, is touching your marvel, how I know sooner things from thence, than your Grace doth there; which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my behalf, (for evil things be over-soon known,) nor upon any slackness of your Grace's behalf there, who is and is noted very vigilant; as your Grace's charge requireth. But thus it is, even as it was when I was in some little authority; they that were the evil doers in such matters, would hide them from me. So, now, they have handled it otherwise; for as for Jack of Lent's English Testament, it was openly sold in Winchester market before I wrote unto your Grace of it. And as for Bale's books, called the Elucidation of Anne Askew's Martyrdom, they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglued, where Master Paget was spoken of; and some with leaves glued. And I called them common, because I saw at the least four of them. As for Bale's book touching the death of Luther, wherein was the duke of Saxony's prayer, (whereof I wrote,) it was brought down into this country by an honest gentlemen, to whom it was (as I remember he told me) given at London for news; and he had it a great while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise than they knew.

"And in the mean time Dr. Smith recanted, which a priest of this town (who to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your Grace's chaplain, but I believed it not) brought down with speed, and made bye means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all the country hereabouts with tales of me. And when I saw Dr. Smith's recantation begin with *Omnis homo mendax*, so Englished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the doctors of the church liars with himself; knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write unto your Grace for the ease of my conscience; giving this judgment of Smith, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his retraction; and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wot, these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities he was so mad to say, 'Bishops in this realm may make laws,' I have witness that I said at that word, we should be then 'daws: 'and was by and by sorry that ever he had written of the sacrament of the altar, which was not, as it was noisome, untouched with that word, All men are liars; which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house, than a liar. And the depraving of man's nature in that sort is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For, albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered, through man's hand, and taught by man's mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men; and that is,

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contrary to liars. And therefore St. Augustine, in his book De Mendacio, saying, *omnis homo mendax*, signifieth, *omnis homo peccans*. If Smith had only written of bishops' laws, and then said loudly, he had (saving your honour) lied, or, to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly: for he that seeketh for much company in lying, as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much as touching Smith, of whom, nor his book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking.

"But to the matter I wrote of; I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over-quickly: and never had any such thought in my life, as I denied to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them (by them, I mean, that may hereafter charge); for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your Grace in that sort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoyce; but where things were otherwise, (as I trust they shall not,) I have nothing to do to ask any account: I trust I shall never forget myself so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late sovereign lord's life. And for my quietness in this estate, I account myself to have a great treasure of your Grace's rule and authority; and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise than to use such manner of presumption to ask any account. And I know your Grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly; and I esteem it a great matter, that things he stayed hitherto thus: but, if things had increased as the rumours purported, your Grace might have been encumbered more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to stay it.

"As for myself, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my diocese. I know but one way of quiet: to keep and follow such laws and orders in religion as our late sovereign lord left with us; which, by his life, as the bishops and clergy said, was the very truth, so I never yet read or heard any thing why to swerve from it, or think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the king's Majesty's minority, whereby to impair the strength of the accord established.

Which I write, not mistrusting your Grace in the contrary, but declaring myself, and wishing the same mind to others about you, as I trust they have, for which I shall pray to God, who prospered our late sovereign lord in that rebellion, as we have seen experience, and, by your Grace's foresight and politic government, shall send the like prosperity to our sovereign lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part, as a subject most bounden many ways thereunto.

"I send unto your Grace herewith, my discussion of my Lord of St. David's purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty than writing to your Grace; and yet I take myself liberty enough, with a reverent mind, nevertheless, to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I trust your Grace will bear with me after your accustomed goodness, for whose prosperity I shall continually pray, with increase of honour.

"At Winchester, the sixth of June [1547.]"

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A letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: upon trust that your Grace would take my letters in good part, and not otherwise than I wrote them, I wrote to your Grace out of this prison, as I was wont to write to our late sovereign lord (whose soul God pardon!) when I was ambassador, refreshing myself sometimes with a merry tale in a sad matter; which his Highness ever passed over without displeasure, as I trust your Grace will do the semblable. For though some account me a papist, yet I cannot play the pope-holy, as the old term was: I dare not use that severity in writing, which my cause requireth, to speak of God and his truth in every second sentence, and become suddenly a prophet to your Grace, with a new phrase of speech, with whom I have been heretofore so familiarly conversant. As I think honour hath not altered your Grace's nature, even so adversity hath not changed mine.

"Of your high place in the commonwealth, no man is more glad than I, nor no man shall do his duty further than I, to acknowledge you, as your Grace is now, protector and governor of the realm. But I have been so traded to speak boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when percase it doth me no good. And although there be an Italian in prison with me, in whom I see a like folly, who, living with a little miserably, will not for his honour take alms, fancying to be still in the state he was some time, which manner I condemn in him, yet I follow him thus far, rather to write after my old manner, which cometh plainly to mind, than to take alms and aid of eloquence, whereof I have, in this, state-need. For your Grace's letters return every word of my letters in my neck, and take my fly as it were a bee, which, I thought, should have stung no man: which matter, in mirth, declareth the necessity of the other matter, as aptly as may be, neither to be necessary. And when I wrote, I forgot, as my fellow prisoner the Italian doth, the state I am in now; and wrote as I had written from Antwerp in the state of ambassador. The Italian, my companion, hath his folly of nature; I have it, of custom in bringing up, which hath the effect of nature, and is called of learned men, another nature. And then the proverb of gentleness hath place, when men say to him that is offended, 'You must bear with the man's nature;' and so I trust you will do with me.

"Two things there be in your Grace's letter, which I trust I may touch without contention: one is, that if your Grace will, in a plain similitude, see the issue of faith only, and whether faith may exclude charity in the office of justifying, or not, it may be well resembled in the making of laws in this parliament, where the acts be passed by three estates, which be all three present, and do somewhat together, and concur to the perfecting of the law; wherein we may not say, that any one estate only made the law, or that any one estate excludeth the other in the office of making the law. This may be said: that these three estates only, in respect of the rest of the realm, make the law; and there need no more of the realm be present but they. But if we speak of these three estates within themselves, there is none estate only, that maketh the law.

"But whereas the law hath as it were a body and a soul, the high house and the low house of the parliament make, as it were, the body of the law; which lieth as it were a dead matter, such as is not apt to take life, till the king's Majesty hath, by the breath of his mouth, (saying, *Le roi le veut*, that is, The king wills it,) breathed a full life into it; besides the life, the assembly of the other estates had, by his authority, to assemble; which had else been a dead assembly, even as faith and hope be dead without charity. And as the king's Majesty, in this similitude of making

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laws, excludeth not in office of the whole the other two estates, no more do the estates, because they devise and frame laws, exclude the king's Majesty in the office of making laws; for without his authority they be nothing, as faith and hope be without charity not effectual. And look, what absurdity and untruth this saying hath in this realm, to say, 'The higher house and the lower house exclude the king in the office of making of laws,' the same absurdity is yet in religion, to say, that faith excludeth charity in the office of justification: and therefore it was never written of ancient writers. And therefore I desired my Lord of Canterbury to show me but one, and yet he cannot. In our time this dream hath been dreamed without Scripture, without authority, against Scripture, and against authority, as I can show. And further I can show, how this imagination extendeth so far by them that open their mind in it thoroughly, as your Grace would not at the first believe, if I did express it. But I can show, that I fain not evidently, as clearly for my discharge as I could wish. Another matter of your Grace's letter is, where your Grace reasoneth with me that I am over-precise in finding of faults in the Paraphrase, seeing every book hath some faults. And then your Grace taketh not Erasmus for a gospel, but as one in whom somewhat may be reprehended or amended. After which manner of sort, if your Grace take the Homilies, (as, for like reason, in my judgment they must; for they be men's compositions, as the Paraphrase is, and not the very gospel itself,) why should I be kept in prison, who offered to receive the Homilies and Erasmus both, so far as they were without fault, either of God's law or of the king's.

"Because I saw the errors before, and spake of them, I have made more speed to prison than others have done, who, percase, for troubling of their conscience, have received the books close, with such reverence as becometh men to receive that are sent from their prince; wherein I would have done as they did, if I had not seen the books before. But I did, as I have seen divers noblemen do, (and among them, as I remember, your Grace,) when they have been sent in service, to have used such diligence, as to see their commission and instructions made; or they went, and finding something doubtful or amiss, (after the commission was sealed, and instructions signed,) worthy to be mended, have, upon declaration of their mind therein, obtained amendment with commendation.

"Now I have a charge in the bishopric of Winchester, to see the people fed with wholesome doctrine; wherein if I be so diligent as to look upon the commission, and, considering what I shall be charged with to do, take this or that for a fault in my judgment, and labour to have it amended, wherein differ I from other men's diligence? and how can it be taken for a fault, to say reverently to the council, 'My Lords! me seemeth, this and this cannot stand together: either instruct me in them, or amend them.' In what nature of crime should this humility be? Am I worthy, for so saying, to be condemned to a perpetual prison? and to be a close prisoner, to speak with no man, to hear from no man, to talk with no man? for my household, which is a great number, [to be] wandering and lamenting for me? My case should be in the nature of praise, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thanks, if none other have said that I can say. If one only man in a realm saith, He knoweth treason to subvert the whole realm, and can show evident proof of his so saying, shall he be prisoned, because of good-will he offereth to say and prove that no man else uttereth but he, and therewith offereth to prove that he saith to be true? It is incredible that a king should set forth a book tending to the subversion of his own estate; and therefore that, I shall say, cannot touch his Majesty, who knoweth not what is done (as reason judgeth) in his tender age. It is also incredible that your Grace, being uncle to him, should be

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content that any book should be set forth, that might tend to the subversion of his estate. And I dare say for your Grace, you would not—if the book be like the horse that the Trojans received into their city, wherein the Trojans knew not what was in it. Let me be heard, that know what is in the book, and so know it, as I can show it as evidently as I can the sun and the moon in bright days and bright nights, when both shine. I do not trifle with my wit to undo myself, but travail with my honesty to preserve my country, to preserve my prince, to preserve religion: and this your Grace shall find to be true, which, knowing my letters to be construed to the extremity, I would not write, unless I were furnished with matter to discharge my writing. Your Grace, I doubt not, remembereth Singleton's conspiracy: and Erasmus hath framed his doctrine, as though Singleton had required him thereunto.

"I have such matter to show, as though I had myself devised it for my justification; and yet I am reasoned with, as though one given to let good doctrine, to find a knot in a rush, to trouble good enterprises; after which sort your Grace is moved to write unto me; and thereupon I remain here still without hearing, having such matter to utter as shall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not assured. For it were a small pleasure to me, writing thus extremely, to be confounded when I had been heard, and then worthily sent hither again for lying so manifestly; which I would think a worthy punishment, as this is unworthy—to be handled as I am for virtue, that I dare say the truth can declare the abomination of this Paraphrase, and of the Homilies also—in both which matters I have showed all I can show. I shall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I have remained these seven weeks, without speaking with any man saving my physician, who, I thank your Grace, hath done me good. And yet, when men see I am thus banished from the world, so as no man may speak with me, it is not pleasant for any man to resort unto me. And this I perceive: If my Lord of Canterbury think I will wax mad, he is deceived; for I wax every day better learned than other, and find every day somewhat to impugn the Paraphrase and Homilies, not by wit or device, or other subtlety, but plain sensible matter, if I may be heard. And if I be not heard, my conscience telleth me I have done my duty, and therewith from travail shall apply myself to prayer, wherein I shall remember the prosperous estate of your Grace,—whom God preserve!

"In the Fleet.

S. W."

To the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: in my third letter I signified unto your Grace my need of the counsel of a physician, as the state of my body then required: whereunto because I had no answer, I have used all other means of relief that I could to avoid that need; as one loth to trouble your Grace with requests not necessary. Master Warden of the Fleet, and my servants, know that I feign not; and I have cause to fear, the effect will show I feign not indeed. In this case I may not desperately forbear to write to your Grace, and think that because I have had no answer to all mine other letters, among which I made mention of this necessity, that I should likewise have none answer to this. As I have determined myself to a truth in the chief matters, so I eschew to use simulation in by-matters. My mind, I thank God, was never so quiet as it hath been since my coming hither, which hath relieved my body much; but the body hath need of other relief, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandment.

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"These seven weeks, saving one day, I have been here under such strait keeping, as I have spoken with no man. And thus me seemeth I see my matter perplexed: Your Grace will meddle with nothing done before your coming home; and those of the council that sent me hither, can by themselves do nothing, now your Grace is coming home; upon which consideration I sue to none of them, and perceive that your Grace, to whom I sue, for some respect forbearth to make me answer: for such a paraphrase I make of your Grace's silence, wherein I go as near as I think the truth, as Erasmus in his Paraphrase sometimes, wherein he taketh upon him to guess the cause of Christ's doings. I thank God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement so-ever these temptations be. But when a certain sect of philosophers, called Stoics, contemned in their learning stoutly the grief and disease of the body, they were fain a little to shrink, when the gout or any disease nipped them: and now my stomach nippeth me, which I have favoured as much as any man in England, and have laden it as light either with meat or drink of many years, and specially since my coming, as any other. And after I saw I could get no answer from your Grace for a physician, I have left off such study as I used, and given myself to continual walking for exercise; and, with hope of relief, have delayed any further suit in that matter till now. And now I sue enforced, which I do most humbly, with request that imprisonment—being to me, that was never in prison before, of itself tedious—be not with special commandment made more grievous, unless I were charged with other offence than I am yet charged with, or in my conscience can be. For me seemeth I have deserved thanks of your Grace and the realm, for the disclosing of the faults of the Paraphrase, wherein I have written some specialties, but not all; and have such to show, as I may term that book at one word, 'abomination,' both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus's pen, and also the arrogant ignorance of the translator into English, considering the book should be authorized by a king, and, by the injunctions, charge the realm for buying rather above twenty thousand pound than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books. The translator showeth himself ignorant, both in Latin and English; a man far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part; whereby your Grace may take an argument, what moved them that counselled your Grace to authorize such a book in the realm. As for my Lord of Canterbury's Homily of Salvation, [it] hath as many faults as I have been weeks in prison, which be seven, besides the general, that the matter maketh a trouble without necessity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the parliament.

"Finally, In the two books the matter I have to show is some part so dangerous, as (after I knew it as I know it) the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterprise to utter it, I know not how to have fashioned it better, than to write to the council in your absence, and on my knees to declare some part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of imprisonment. I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they showed no fashion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the civil law, that the deed of a number is no one man's act; with this also, the authority is to be honoured: which rule I observe in thought, word, and deed. After which sort I remain, with such suits as I have made to your Grace hitherto, and with this also that I add, enforced for the relief of my body (how little soever I do, and have cause to set by it); which I most humbly desire your Grace to consider, and to send me some answer by this bearer. And I shall pray Almighty God for the preservation of your Grace's felicity.

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"Your Grace's humble bead-man,
S. W."

Certain additions after these letters above specified, with notes and solutions answering to the same.

Thus have we set out to thee, gentle and studious reader, an extract of certain letters of Bishop Gardiner: not of all that he wrote, but of such as could come to our hands. Neither of these also that we have, for any good stuff, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did clear him or his cause any thing, for the which he was most worthily condemned. For if there did or might appear any such thing in all his writings, that might clear the ill-favoured doings of that man, be thou sure, such as were then secret about him, and yet his well-willers, (their names I leave untouched,) having his writings, and being able to show them, as I am privy they are, would not so conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occasioned by us, if they had seen any thing in them meet to relieve the person, or to remedy his matter. Wherefore think not for any such effect these his vain-glorious letters to be brought in here of us; but only that thou mightest hereby collect and understand by those his aforesaid epistles and articles following, not only the whole course and story almost of all his proceedings from time to time, but also mightest see the nature and inward condition of the man, how vain-glorious, full-stuff and puft up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit he was; much like to the person, or rather he himself, described in the Latin comedy, Miles Thraso Gloriosus; having nothing in his mouth but emperors, kings, councillors, protectors, advisements, direction: as though all direction of realms and princes did flow out of his brain, like as it is in the poet's fables, that Minerva did spring out of the head of Jupiter. And yet, if this vain-glorious conceit had been alone in him, less matter had been against him.

Now his subtle practices, and pretended purposes, and dissimuling conveyance, did not only augment, but also exceed all his other evils, as in the letters above specified is notorious and evident to be seen; wherein though he durst not apertly gainsay that which he inwardly disliked, yet how covertly doth he insinuate himself to the lord protector, under pretence of giving counsel, to bring that to pass which was for his purpose! that is, that no innovation or alteration might be made of religion during all the king's minority, but that all things might stand as King Henry left them; and that is the chiefest butt, in all letters, whereto be driveth, using commonly this argument, which, as it is easy to recite, so neither is it hard to answer to; although we have answered it already sufficiently.

The sum and conclusion of all Winchester's drift in his epistles before.

"That is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the lord protector, and now specially in the king's minority, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the realm:—

"Innovation of religion, from that state in which King Henry left it, may be, and is like to be, dangerous to himself, and cause trouble to the realm.

"Ergo, Innovation of religion, from the state that the king left it in, is in no wise to be attempted."

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The answer.

To answer first to the vocable Innovation, which he stumbleth so greatly upon—this I say, that innovation is properly used, where a thing is brought in anew, which was not before. Forasmuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new religion brought in, but only the old religion of the primitive church revived; therefore here is to be thought not so much an innovation, as a renovation or reformation rather of religion, which reformation is oft-times so necessary in commonweals, that, without the same, all runneth to confusion.

Secondly, I answer to the argument, which I do deny as a fallacy, for there is *fallacia accidentis* where it is said, that reformation of religion gendereth danger to the protector, and trouble to the realm. First, what will come, that is uncertain: and, God be hallowed! yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of religion. And though there did, yet the cause thereof is not to be imputed to religion reformed: for sincere and true doctrine of its own nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillity, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other causes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adversaries; not by reason of the doctrine of true religion. So, after the preaching of Christ and his apostles, dissension followed in commonweals betwixt father and son, brother and brother, &c.; but that is not to be ascribed to them, but to others.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphrase of Erasmus, this I answer and say, that this bishop belike had overwatched himself in this matter. For if it be true, which he himself affirmeth, that he never read that book before, and now he never slept till he himself read it; it happened, peradventure, that in the over-much watching of himself, and swift reading of the book, his judgment was asleep, whilst his eyes were open in reading the same.

Likewise touching the Book of Homilies, especially the Homily of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himself so much grieved with the archbishop; seeing he bringeth forth no proofs, I have nothing to answer. In the mean season, this I have to think, that if he had been so cunning in the knowledge of his own salvation, as he was in the destruction and vexation of Christ's members, he would never so rage against that homily.

Touching the examination of Anne Askew, if it be misreported by Master Bale, why doth not he note the places, which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able so to do, yet, seeing the examination was of her own penning, which Master Bale did follow, let every Christian reader judge, whether is more to be credited of these two—she that was persecuted, or he that was the persecutor.

And where he speaketh so much of quiet and tranquillity; this I answer, that quiet and tranquillity in weals public, so long as they are joined with right reformed religion, be much to be embraced. But, when it is otherwise; that is, where true religion lacketh his right, there let the second table give place to the first.

He thwarteth, also, and wrangleth much against players, printers, preachers. And no marvel why: for be seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the

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triple crown of the pope, to bring him down; as, God be praised, they have done meetly well already.

As touching the article of free justification by faith, which he cannot abide, forasmuch as we have sufficiently declared it in the notes before, we shall refer the reader now also unto the same.

And moreover, because in one of his letters mention is made of a certain letter sent unto Master Ridley, because we will defraud thee, gentle reader, of nothing that cometh to our hands, here hast thou the copy thereof, in effect as folio weth:

"Master Ridley, after right hearty commendations: It chanced me, upon Wednesday last past, to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion, set forth by our late sovereign lord and master, whose soul God pardon! admonishing your audience that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversy. In the other two ye spake of, touching images and ceremonies, and, as ye touched it, specially for holy water to drive away devils; for that you declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere truth, with great desire of unity, as ye professed; not extending any your asseveration beyond your knowledge, but always adding such-like words, 'as far as ye had read,' and, 'if any man could show you further, ye would hear him,' (wherein you were much to be commended,)—upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of images and holy water; to the intent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained; wherein I have seen others forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith, (which I am sure ye have read,) what Eusebius writeth of images: whereby appeareth that images have been of great antiquity in Christ's church. And to say we may have images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his saints, be over-gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle: for you know the text of the old law, Thou shalt not make to thee any graven thing, forbiddeth no more images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings. Add if all things be clean to the clean to the belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves unclean to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then, when we have images, to call them idols, is a like fault, in fond folly, as if a man would call a king a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove that *tyrannus* signified once a king, like as *idolum* signified once an image: but like as *tyrannus* was by consent of men appropriated to signify a usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king, so hath *idolum* been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation, and a false image: insomuch as there was a solemn anathematization of all those that would call an image an idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the king our master (God save him!)—our true just king, a tyrant; and yet in talk he might show, that a tyrant signified sometimes a king: but speech is regarded in its present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

"I verily think, that for the having of images ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them idols, nor despise them with

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deeds, to mangle them or cut them; but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther (that pulled way all other regard to them) strove stoutly, and obtained, as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation, that they should (as they do) still stand.

"All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the Church of Rome hath been very precise; and especially Gregory, writing to the bishop of Marseilles: which is contained in the chapter, De Consecratione, dist. 3, as followeth:

*"Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus, sanctorum imagines sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeris. Et quidem eas adorari te vetuisse, omnino laudamus: fregisse vero reprehendimus. Dic frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti? * * * * Aliud est enim picturam adorare: aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scripture, hoc idiotis præstat picture cernentibus, quia in ipsa etiam ignorantibus vident, quid sequi debeant: in ipsa legunt, qui literas nesciunt. Unde et præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est."*

"Herein is forbidden adoration, and then, in the Sixth Synod, was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden; that is to say, divine adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the chapter Venerabiles Imagines, in the same distinction, in this wise:

"Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neque serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum iudicium: sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas, et adorant; sed non serviunt eis cultu Divino, nec alicui creaturæ."

"By which doctrine all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words; so as we cannot say, that the worshipping of images had its beginning by popery; for Gregory forbade it, unless we shall call that synod popery, because there were so many bishops. And yet there is forbidden *cultus divinus*: and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which we may creep before the cross on Good Friday; wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which cross nevertheless the sexton, when he goeth for a cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his gown whilst he drinketh a pot of ale; a point of holiness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no divinity in the image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold, at a shift, (if he were also churchwarden,) to sell to the use of the church at length, and his own in the mean time, the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was creaped unto on Good Friday.

"In specialties there have been special abuses; but, generally, images have been taken for images, with an office to signify a holy remembrance of Christ and his saints. And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing, godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound: so doth the object of the image, by the sight, work like effect in man, within and without; wherein is verily worshipped that we understand, and yet reverence and worship also showed to that whereby we attain that understanding; and is to us in

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the place of an instrument; so as it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in its nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold. But when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembrance in us, by representation of the thing signified unto us, then we use it worshipfully and honourably, as many do the priest at mass, whom they little regard all the day after.

"And me thinketh ever, that like as it is an over-gross error to take an image for God, or to worship it with godly honour, so, to grant that we may not have images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not to use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kind of worship, to place them worshipfully: so as if a man place an image in the church, or hang it about his neck, (as all use to do the image of the cross, and the knights of the order of St. George,) this is some piece of worship. And if we may not condemn the images of Christ and his saints, when we have them, (for that were villany,) nor neglect them, (for that were to have them without use, which were inconvenient,) we must have them in estimation and reputation; which is not without some honour and worship; and at the least in the place where we conveniently use them, (as in the church,) as where they serve us, rather than we them. And because their service is worshipful, they be so regarded accordingly for that time of service, and therefore they be called the venerable images, and be worshipfully ordered; before whom we kneel, and bow, and cense, not at that the images be, but at that the images signify, which, in our kneeling, bowing, and censing we knowledge to understand and read in that fashion of contract writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading of them.

"And me seemeth, after the faith of Christ received and known, and thoroughly purged from heresies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retain painting and graving and forbear writing, or, choosing writing, to forbear both the other gifts; it would be a problem, seeing if graving were taken away we could have no printing. And therefore they that press so much the words, Thou shalt not make to thee any graven thing, ever, me thinketh, condemn printed books; the original whereof is of graving to make *matrices literarum*. Thou shalt make no graven images, lest thou worship them: which, I hear, is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not far from the Old Jewry.

"But to the matter of images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I think, if ye consider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the doctrine set forth by our late sovereign lord, ye shall in the matter see the truth set forth by such as had that committed unto them under his Highness, amongst whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it till it was done. And yet the clause in the book, for discussion of 'the Lord,' and 'our Lord,' hath made many think otherwise. But I take our Lord to witness, I was not; and that declaration of 'our Lord' was his Highness's own device. For he saw the fond Englishing of 'the Lord,' dissevered in speech, whom our Lord had congregated. And this I add, lest, giving authority to that book, I should seem to vaunt myself.

"Now will I speak somewhat of holy water, wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth chapter in the ninth book of the History Tripartite, where Marcellus the bishop bade Equitius his deacon to cast abroad water, by him first hallowed, wherewith to drive away the devil. And it is noted how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the history may be true; for we be assured by Scripture, that in the name of God the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel, In my name they shall cast

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out devils, &c.: so as if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God, that mastery may be wrought. And the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of the water may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God's name. And first in Christ, the skirt of his garment had such an office to minister health to the woman, and spittle and clay to the blind; and St. Peter's shadow, and St. Paul's handkerchiefs.

"And, leaving old stories, here at home the special gift of curation, ministered by the kings of this realm, (not of their own strength, but by invocation of the name of God,) hath been used to be distributed in rings of gold and silver. And I think effectually therein the metal hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Eliseus put his staff in like office. And why the whole church might not put water in like office, to convey abroad the invocation of God's name, there is no Scripture to the contrary: but there is Scripture how other inferior creatures have been promoted to like dignity; and much Scripture, how water hath been used in like and greater service. And the story I send unto you showeth how water hath been used in the same service, to drive away devils. In which matter if any shall say, he believeth not the story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no Scripture; that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the king's cramp-rings. And yet, for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have been myself much honoured; and of all sorts entreated to have them, with offer of as much for them as they were double worth.

"Some will say, 'What are rings to holy water?' Marry thus I say, If the metal of gold and silver may do service to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serve to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God, wherewith to drive away devils. Hereto will be said, No inference can be drawn from what may be, to what is: but the story saith, 'The water did that service;' and other strangers say and affirm by experience, 'The king's Majesty's rings have done the service.' And our late master continued all his life the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to do that service, to carry abroad the strength of the invocation of the name of God by him; and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had thoroughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter: and yet he had no Scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, no more than is for the ashes ministered a little before ye last preached. And as our young sovereign lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, not to neglect the grace of God in the gift of these charges, but follow his father therein; also not doubting but God will hear him, as he hath heard his father and other his progenitors kings of this realm; to whose dignity God addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling, percase, that would say, how worldly, wily, witty bishops, have inveigled simple kings heretofore, and, to confirm their blessings, have also devised how kings should bless also, and so have authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine argument ever by a king, as when I reasoned thus: If ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say you to the king's rings? but they be allowed; ergo, somewhat is to be allowed besides Scripture. And another: If images be forbidden, why doth the king wear St. George on his breast? But he weareth St. George on his breast: ergo, images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why keep we St. George's feast? But we keep St. George's feast: ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the invocation of the name of God, to drive away the devils, cannot be distributed by

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water, why can it be distributed in silver to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evil? But the rings hallowed by the holy church may do so: ergo, the water hallowed by the church may do like service.

"These were sore arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet; and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually, when ye said, 'Men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey where God's law repugneth not expressly.' And in this effect to drive away devils, that prayer and invocation of the church may do it, Scripture main taineth evidently; and the same Scripture doth authorize us so to pray, and encourageth us to it—so as if, in discussion of holy water, we attribute all the effect of the holiness which proceedeth from God by invocation of the church, and take water only for a servant to carry abroad holiness; there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which Scripture authorizeth. And if we shall say that the water cannot do such service, we shall be convinced, in that it doth a greater service in our baptism by God's special ordinance—so as we cannot say, that water cannot, or is not apt to do this service; only the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament, to say, 'Use water thus in this service, as we do in holy water;' which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well used by us: and when the whole church agreed upon such a use, or any particular church, or the common minister of it, and by the exorcism ordered for it, the thing to be used, purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custom, wherein God is only honoured, and the power of his name set forth; whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do service, because Scripture appointeth it not, that 'because' driveth away much of the rest which the church useth, and especially our cramp-rings. For if water may not serve to carry abroad the effects of God's grace, obtained by invocation from God, by the common prayer of the church, how can the metal of silver or gold carry abroad the effect of the king's invocation in the cramp-rings? which manner of reasoning *ad hominem*, Christ used with the Jews, when he said, If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? And if by our own principles we should be enforced to say, that our cramp-rings be superstitious, (where truth enforceth us not so to do,) it were a marvellous punishment. If we were blind, as Christ saith, we should not have sin, but we see; and this realm hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof; according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, not in the scales of the people, but of the artificer; I mean, that artificer which teacheth the church our mother, (as ye fully declared it,) and ordered our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point, speaking of the church, although ye touched an unknown church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that church in the permixt church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again; wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself; whereupon followeth the old proverb, Σοι μεν ταυτα δοκουντ εστι, εμοι δε ταδε [Greek: *Soi men tauta dokoynt esti, emoi de tade*]; which is far from the unity ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as me thought) ye said, 'Pride is the let;' as it is undoubtedly. Which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agree with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion! For that is the way to relieve the world.

"And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but, contrariwise, a little disagreement, (which I did not hide from you,) yet, considering the fervent zeal ye professed to

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teach Peter's true doctrine, that is to say, Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images, and holy water to put away devils, agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is; whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and plainly, to open these matters for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it; wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church, rather to show how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, may be well used, than to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever to mock and improve that which is established. And yet again, I come to Marceline, that made a cross in the water, and bade his deacon cast it abroad faithfully and zealously: after which sort if our holy water were used, I doubt not but there be many Marcelluses, and many Elizeuses, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sin, if such as will enjoy that prayer have faith and zeal, as Equitius, and were as desirous to drive the devil out of the temple of their body and soul, as Equitius out of the temple of Jupiter. So as if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of holiness than there is; but, as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as bread and water; fearing lest they should take away sin from us, which we love so dearly well. Christ alone washes away sins, who sprinkleth his blood by his ministers, as he hath taught his spouse the church, in which those ministers be ordered, wherein 'Many ways maketh not many saviours,' as ignorants do jest; whereof I need not speak further unto you, no more I needed not in the rest in respect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all men in your sermon to say what they thought to you,

"Your loving friend,
STEPHEN WINCHESTER."

As I have set forth here, gentle reader, the cavilling letter of Winchester against Master Ridley's sermon, so am I right sorry that I have not likewise the answer of the said Ridley again to join withal. For I understand, that not only Master Ridley, but also Master Barlow, bishop of St. David's, (for Winchester wrote against them both,) had written and sent immediately their answers to the same, refuting the frivolous and unsavoury reasons of this popish prelate, as may well appear by a parcel additional of a letter sent by the lord protector to the said bishop in these words:

"And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain letter or book which you wrote unto us against the bishop of St. David's sermon, and Dr. Ridley's, to the which answer being immediately made, it was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent. Now we both send you that, and also the answer which the bishop of St. David's wrote to the same book of yours."

Nineteen articles and positions ministered and objected, each of them jointly and severally, to the bishop of Winchester; as followeth.

The First Article.

"In primis, That the king's Majesty justly and rightfully is, and by the laws of God ought to be, supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland; and so is by the

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clergy of this realm in their convocation, and by act of parliament, justly, and according to the laws of God, recognised."

This first article the bishop of Winchester granteth.

The Second Article.

"Item, That his Majesty, as supreme head of the said churches, hath full power and authority to make and set forth laws, injunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning religion, and orders of the said churches; for the increase of virtue, and repressing of all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses."

To this second article he answereth affirmatively.

The Third Article.

"Item, That all and every his Grace's subjects are bound, by the law of God, to obey all his Majesty's said laws, injunctions, and proceedings concerning religion, and orders in the said church."

To the third article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fourth Article.

"Item, That you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have sworn obedience unto his Majesty, as supreme head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland."

To the fourth article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fifth Article.

"Item, That all and every his Grace's subjects, that disobey any his Majesty's said laws, injunctions, ordinances, and proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his ecclesiastical law used within this his realm."

To this fifth article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Sixth Article.

"Item, That you the said bishop, as well in the king's Majesty's late visitation within your diocese, as at sundry times, have been complained upon, and sundry informations made against you for your doings, sayings, and preachings, against sundry injunctions, orders, and other proceedings of his Majesty, set forth for reformation of errors, superstitions, and other abuses in religion."

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Winchester.—"This article toucheth other men's acts; who, or how they have complained and informed, I cannot thoroughly tell; for, at the time of the king's Majesty's visitation, I was in the Fleet, and the morrow after Twelfth-day I was delivered at Hampton-court, my Lord of Somerset and my Lord of Canterbury then being in council, with many other councillors; and was delivered by these words: The king's Majesty hath granted a general pardon,—and by the benefit thereof I was discharged. Whereunto I answered, that I was learned never to refuse the king's Majesty's pardon, and in strength as that was; and I would and did humbly thank his Majesty therefore.

"And then they began with me in an article of learning, touching justification, whereunto they willed me to say my mind; adding therewith, that because other learned men had agreed to a form delivered unto me, I should not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repair to my Lord of Somerset's house at Sheen, with my mind written: which I did, and, at that day seven-night following, appearing before him and others of the council, was committed to my house for prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the form of words and sentences that others had agreed unto, as they said. In which time of imprisonment in my house, the bishop of Rochester, then being, was sent to me, and after Master Smith, and then Master Cecil; to which Master Cecil, when I had by learning resolved my mind in the matter, I delivered it; and he, delivering it to my Lord's Grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it. And then it was within the time of Lent, ere I was discharged of that trouble; and so went down to Winchester, as a man clearly out of all travail of business.

"And within fourteen days after that, or thereabouts, began other travail with me, upon a request made by my Lord of Somerset to surrender a college in Cambridge: and divers letters were written between his Grace and me in it; wherein I might perceive the secretary, with his pen, took occasion to prick me more than, I trusted, my Lord's Grace himself would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then, shortly after, I received letters to come to the council, and by reason I alleged my disease, I was respited by other letters; and three days before Whitsuntide received yet other letters to come: by which it might seem unto me, that it was not of all believed that I was diseased. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in a horse-litter; and, according to my duty, presented myself to my Lords of the council, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the same place with them, that I was in our late sovereign lord's days. Afterwards my Lord of Somerset's Grace charged me with these matters following, and in this form, having the articles written in a paper:

"First, with disobedience; that I came not at his sending for. Whereunto I answered, that I had his letters of licence to stay till I might come conveniently. And upon these last letters I came incontinently in a horse-litter.

"Then it was objected, that I bare palms, and crept to the cross. Whereunto I answered, that they were misinformed; and I trusted they would not think I durst deny it, if I had done it, because ceremonies had such circumstances, as I might easily be reproved if it were otherwise.

"Then it was objected, that at Easter I had a solemn sepulchre in the church, and such other ceremonies. I answered, that I had even as many as the king's Majesty's proclamations

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commanded me: declaring plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the king's Majesty's proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

"It was then objected unto me, that I went about to defame two of the king's Majesty's chaplains, sent down to be canons of the church of Winchester. Whereunto I answered, declaring the fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to justify.—After this matter thus oft objected and answered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my Lord of Somerset's Grace, looking upon a bill of articles, said, I had preached how the apostles went from the presence of the council, of the council, of the council; which matter I denied, adding, that it was not my fashion of preaching, so to play in iteration of words.

"After that, it was objected unto me for preaching of the sacrament, to say, The body of Christ was really present; being a fault to use the word really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, that I did not use the word really, which needeth not. For, as I once heard my Lord of Canterbury reason against one Lampert, in the presence of the king's Majesty that dead is; the words of the Scripture, This is my body that shall be betrayed for you, do plainly and lively express the very presence; and so did I set it forth to the people in my diocese.

"And this is the effect of all that was said against me at my being at the council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I esteemed obedience, and told them, I had taught in my diocese how the whole life of a Christian man consisteth in suffering properly; and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we must either suffer the rulers' will, or their power; their will to order us, and their power to punish us. After declaration whereof, my Lord of Somerset said, Ye must tarry in the town. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleasure to tarry; but, seeing I was no offender, I desired them I might not tarry as an offender; and for declaration thereof, that I might have some house in the country about London, to remove unto for a shift; in devising whereof, I stuck much to borrow Esher. My Lord of Somerset said, If he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end, my Lord of Somerset desired me to write what my mind was in ceremonies, and to send it unto him; and with that departed.

"Thus I have truly opened after what sort I have been complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge: truth it is, that one Philpot in Westminster, whom I accounted altered in his wits, (as I have heard,) devised tales of me, the specialties whereof I never was called to answer unto. Players and minstrels also railed on me, and others made ballads and rhymes of me; but never man had just cause to complain of any my sayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwise than afore. And if any man shall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my absence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant so. But well assured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life, by any man of any degree. Once the Lord Cromwell (God pardon his soul and forgive him!) caused one day and a half to be spent in a matter between Sir Francis Bryan and me; which was ended, and I declared an honest man; which the king's Majesty that dead is (God pardon his soul!) set forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, saving the sending to the Fleet, being occasioned by my own letter to the council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not; and finally, this sending

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of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the council, to hear what I could say. I am loth to be forsworn, and therefore I recount all the complaints in my whole life made against me, whereunto I have been made privy.

The Seventh Article.

"Item, That after and upon occasion of those and many other complaints and informations, you have been sundry times admonished, commanded, and enjoined to conform yourself, as to your duty appertaineth."

Winchester.—"To this seventh article I answer, I was never called afore the council by way of outward complaint and information, but only once in all my whole life; which was at my last coming to London. Whereunto I answered as afore, and have told the form and process of speech to serve for furniture of answer to this and that article: for other than I have before written, I remember not to have done or suffered by the higher powers in all my whole life, till my coming into the Tower, (without that I have had any by-admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not,) for the observation of any thing already made or set forth by the king's Majesty that now is; but have kept, and caused to be kept to my power, the king's Majesty's acts, statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, inviolably; having for that purpose such a chancellor, as in orders and ordinances hath been always himself diligent and precise for the time I might have knowledge of his doings."

The Eighth Article.

"Item, That after the premises, and for that, those former admonitions and commandments notwithstanding, you did still show yourself not conformable; and for that also others, by your example, were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietness ministered among the people. You were called before the king's Majesty's council in the month of June, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, and by them, on his Majesty's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his Majesty; and therein to declare the justness and godliness of his Majesty's father, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you delivered in writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof was touching the usurped power and authority of the bishop of Rome, that the same was justly and godly taken away in this realm, and other the king's Majesty's dominions; touching the just suppressing and taking away of monasteries, religious houses, pilgrimages, relics, shrines, and images. The superstitious going about of St. Nicholas, bishop of St. Edmund, St. Katharine, St. Clement, and such-like; and just taking away of chantries, abbeyes, and colleges, hallowing of candles, water, ashes, palms, holy bread, beads, creeping to the cross, and such-like. Also, touching the setting-forth of the king's Majesty's authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highness were of many more years. That auricular confession is indifferent, and of no necessity by the law of God: and touching the procession, and Common Prayer in English."

Winchester.—"This article, being of so many parts as it is, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by division of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwise, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is captious; so as, according to my oath, I may open directly and

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plainly the truth, with sincerity of conscience. The motion of preaching was made unto me in mine own house by Master Cecil, upon the duke of Somerset's behalf, after I had been before the council, as I have before said; from which council I departed (as before is rehearsed) as no offender; and therefore when Master Cecil spake to me of preaching before the king's Majesty, with request to write my sermon before, I denied that manner of preaching, because I said it was to preach like an offender, and I was none, but departed from the council otherwise, as I have before showed. And the said Master Cecil did not say to me that I was moved to preach, because I was not conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the council, but was in all conformity with them, for any thing that I know, as I will answer afore God.

"As for evil example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended law, statute, or proclamation in this realm, nor did ever any act to the impairing of due obedience to the king's Majesty in all my whole life; but by observation of them, and letting innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintain obedience.

"After Master Cecil had spoken to me of preaching, and delivered two papers containing the matters whereupon I should entreat, because I refused to give my sermon in writing, (which was to me like an offender,) or to read those papers of another man's device, as the conception and sincere manner of uttering of mine own conscience: which me thought then and since, and yet, a marvellous unreasonable matter, touching both my conscience and honesty.

"I was then fetched to the duke of Somerset's Grace's chamber, and came in at a back door to himself alone, saving he took to him as witness (he said) the lord now of Wiltshire, then great master; and after many words, he showed me certain articles subscribed by lawyers, what a bishop might command and what the king might command, and what pain to the disobeyer. To whom I said plainly and truly, how those lawyers' subscription could not serve, in this case, to command me to utter to the people for mine own device in words, that which is not indeed so; and if I might speak with these lawyers, (I said,) his Grace should soon perceive them to agree with me. My Lord said, I should speak with no man, and I should do as I was bidden, or do worse; and bade me advise me till dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the lord great master to his chamber, and there left alone to dine, as was indeed honourably prepared. But I took myself to be in the nature of a prisoner, and a restrained man.

"And about two of the clock at afternoon, came unto me Master Thomas Smith, then secretary, unto whom I complained of the unreasonableness of the matter, and showed him certain particularities; who said it was not meant so precisely, but to speak of the matters. To whom I said, I was content to speak of the matters, and then if I spake not according to the truth of them, there should be enough to bear witness to my condemnation; and if I spake the truth, then they had their desire. And I said further, I thought I might with my conscience say, so as men ought and should be content and satisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of those matters I should offend the council, I had rather deny to speak of the thing, and begin the contention secretly with them, than to begin with the pulpit, and so bring myself in further trouble than needed; and therefore, if they would have me preach, I would preach as of myself, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content.

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"Whereupon I was brought up to my Lord of Somerset's chamber, and there the matter ended thus: that my Lord of Somerset said, he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of the matters in the papers delivered me by Master Cecil. I told him I would speak of them, saving for children's toys, of going about of St. Nicholas, and St. Clement. If that be now gone, quoth I, and forgotten, if I be too busy in rehearsal of them, they will say I cumber their heads with ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothing but preach on them; and now they be gone, I babble of them still. I said, I would touch the chief points, adding, that I would speak of other matters also; and with that, being put to my liberty to choose the day, departed: and otherwise I was not spoken with concerning preaching, saving after Master Cecil came unto me, whereof I shall speak anon.

"And concerning the matters to be spoken of, all such things as be here rehearsed, be named in the papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this sort; saving the setting forth of the king's Majesty's authority in his minority, whereof there is no word in those papers, nor was there ever any promise made of me to speak of it. Truth it is, that after I had signified the day when I would preach, Master Cecil came unto me, making the chief message to know the day when I would preach: to whom I had sent word before, that it should be St. Peter's day, because me thought the gospel served well for that purpose. And in process of communication, he told me, that he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another communication: how a king was as much a king at one year of age, as at a hundred years of age; and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him again, every man knew that; and then opened of myself the matter further. And at his next repair unto me, which was the Monday before I preached, the said Master Cecil brought me papers of the king's Majesty's hand, showing me how the king's Highness used to note every notable sentence, and specially if it touched a king; and therefore (quoth he) if ye speak of a king, ye must join counsel withal. Whereunto I made no answer, but shifted to other matter, without making him any promise or denial, because I would neither bind myself, nor trouble myself to discuss that matter: for albeit it is godly and wisely done of every prince to use counsel, yet, speaking of a king's power by Scripture, I cannot by express Scripture limit the king's power by counsel. And hearing blindly by report some secret matter, that I will not speak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the pulpit; and yet, to the effect to have our sovereign lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our sovereign lord there in presence, and said, He was only to be obeyed; and, I would have but one king; and other words to that purpose. But, for any promise to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cause why I spake not otherwise of it. There was also, in the papers delivered unto me, occasion given me to speak of the mass, because of matters satisfactory, as some understand them. And also there was occasion to speak of the sacrament of the altar, because of the proclamation passed of the same; which to be true, I shall justify by the said papers."

The Ninth Article.

"Item, That you, receiving the same, and promising to declare the same in a sermon by you made before his Majesty for that purpose, on the feast of St. Peter, in the said second year of his reign, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters; and of divers other of the said articles you spake and uttered your mind in such doubtful sort, as the justness and godliness of his Majesty's father's, and his proceedings, was not set forth according to the commandment given unto you, and your own promise, to the

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great offence of the hearers, and manifest contempt of his Majesty, and dangerous example of others."

Winchester.—"Touching that promise, I answer as afore; and as touching omission of that I should have spoken of, by contempt or disobedience, I answer by mine oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or disobedience; for I ever minded to satisfy the promise, to speak of all matters in those papers according to my former declaration. And if I did perchance omit any thing, (whereof I can make now no assurance, it being two years and a half past since I preached,) but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travail in the matter, would not marvel, being troubled with a letter sent from the duke of Somerset, whereof I shall speak after; so as from four of the clock on Thursday, till I had done my sermon on the Friday, I did neither drink, eat, nor sleep: so careful was I to pass over the travail of preaching without all slander of the truth, and with satisfaction of my promise, and discharge of my duty to God, and the king's most excellent Majesty. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have answered more precisely than I can now, if, according to my most instant suit, and the suit of my servants, the matter had been heard while it was in fresh memory. But, because omission may be by infirmity of nature, in which oblivion is a pain of our original sin, in which case it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true testimony of mine own conscience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and disobedience, having for my declaration a general sentence spoken in my sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their laws, orders, and commandments, or such-like words, and found fault only in the lower part. By which sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was past hitherto, and only dissented from the doings of them that attempt innovations, of their own presumption. And furthermore I say, that that saying 'omission' here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two ways, one way by infirmity of nature, another way of purpose. Charity of a Christian man permitteth not to determine the worst of that which is doubtful and ambiguous to both parties: as touching doubtfulness objected, I take God to record, I minded to speak simply, and to be on the king's Majesty's side only, and not to go invisible in the world with ambiguities, esteeming him, &c. The worst man of all, is he that will make himself a lock of words and speech, which is known not to be my fashion, nor do I think this life worth that dissimulation; and how can that be a doubtful speech in him, that professeth to agree with the king's laws, injunctions, and statutes, which I did expressly?

"There be that call in doubt whatsoever serveth not their appetite. It is not in the speaker to satisfy the hearer that will doubt, where doubt is not. The sum of my teaching was, that all visible things be ordered to serve us, which we may in convenient service use. And when we serve them, that is an abuse, and may then, at the rulers' pleasure, unless Scripture appointeth a special use of them, be corrected in that use, or taken away for reformation. And this is a plain teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both sides, without a mean to make a doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will resolve him the doubt as I can. And if I promised to speak plainly, or am commanded to speak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to promise only in the nature of folly and ignorance, whereunto I resort not for a shift, whereof indeed I profess the knowledge but to show how sometimes, to my hinderance, I am noted learned, that can speak plainly, and yet speak doubtfully; otherwhiles am rejected, as one that understandeth not the matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifest that proceedeth of a privy promise: if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it, as

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appeareth by my general sentence, to agree with the superiors, and only find fault in the inferior subjects, who daily transgress the king's Majesty's proclamations, and others, whereof I spake then."

The Tenth Article.

"Item, That you, being also commanded and, on his Majesty's behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other great considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in controversy concerning the mass, or the communion, (then commonly called The Sacrament of the Altar,) did, contrary to the said commandment and inhibition, declare divers your judgments and opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of his Highness's said inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and disturbance of the common quiet and unity of the realm."

To the tenth article Winchester answered thus: "The Wednesday at afternoon next before the Friday when I preached, Master Cecil came to me, and having in all his other accesses spoken no word thereof, did then utter and advise me from the duke of Somerset, that I should not speak of the sacrament, or of the mass, whereby, he said, I should avoid trouble. And when he saw me not to take it well, I mean, quoth he, doubtful matters. I asked him what? he said, transubstantiation. I told him, he wist not what transubstantiation meant. I will preach, quoth I, the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament, which is the catholic faith, and no doubtful matter, nor yet in controversy, saving that certain unlearned speak of it they wot not what. And among the matters, quoth I, whereof I have promised to speak, I must by special words speak of the sacrament, and of the mass also. And when I shall so speak of them, I will not forbear to utter my faith and true belief therein, which I think necessary for the king's Majesty to know; and therefore, if I wist to be hanged when I came down, I would speak it. Which plain zeal of my conscience, grounded upon God's commandment to do his message truly, I would not hide, but utter so as my Lord should, if he would not have it spoken of, not let me to come there as he might have done: whereas else, if I had had a deceitful purpose, I might have accepted the advice, and without any colour of trouble, have refused to follow it, as a thing grounded upon wealth only, as it was then uttered.

"With this my answer Master Cecil departed, and upon the Thursday, which was the next day following, and the evening before I preached, between three and four at afternoon, I received a letter signed with the hand of the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof I am ready to exhibit; and took it then, and esteemed it so now, to contain no effectual inhibition, whereunto I might by God's law, or the king's Majesty's laws, with discharge of my conscience and duty obey, although the said letters had been (as they were not) in such terms framed, as had precisely forbidden me (as they did not) but only to speak of matters in controversy of the sacrament; which indeed I did not, but only uttered a truth to my conscience, most certainly persuaded of the most holy sacrament, necessary to be known to the king's Majesty, and to be uttered by me admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commandeth his truth to be uttered; which (in this nature of truth, the undue estimation and use whereof, St. Paul threateneth with temporal death) may in no wise be omitted. So as I was and am persuaded, the right estimation of the sacrament to be, to acknowledge the very presence of the same most precious body and blood present in the sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us. If I showed not my sovereign Lord the truth thereof, I for my part suffer him wittingly to fall into that extreme danger of body,

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which St. Paul threateneth, whose person I am bound by nature, by special oaths, and by God's laws, to preserve to my power; as I will do, and must do, by all ways and means. And if the king's Majesty doth vouchsafe to teach his people not to obey his commandment, where God commandeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of Somerset's letter for an inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to speak, as he doth when the wolf cometh, and not to hide myself in silence, which is the most shameful running away of all. I have much matter to allege against the letter, why I should not credit it, written in his name alone, against a common letter (as I took it) written by him and the council, and published in print the first day of the said month, which maintaineth my preaching of the sacrament and mass, according to the proclamation and injunctions, the violation of which public letters had been a disorder and contempt; whereas I neither offended in the one nor the other.

"And as for tumult, none could reasonably be feared of any thing spoken agreeable to the king's Majesty's laws, as there did follow none; nor the people, nor any man did offer my person any wrong, or make tumult against me, notwithstanding players, jesters, rhymers, ballad-makers, did signify me to be of the true catholic faith, which I, according to my duty, declared to the king's Majesty, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be used of any creature against God, no more can the king's name be used of any subject against his Highness. Wherefore, seeing the abuse of this holy sacrament hath in it a danger assured by Scripture, of body and soul; whosoever is persuaded in the catholic faith, as I am, findeth himself so burdened to utter that unto his Majesty, as no worldly loss can let him to do his duty in that behalf, and much less my Lord's private letters written without other of the council's hands."

The Eleventh Article.

"Item, That after the premises, viz., in the month of May or June, or one of them, in the third year of his Highness's reign, his Majesty sent eftsoons unto you, to know your conformity towards his said reformatiions, and specially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately set forth by his Majesty; whereunto you at the same time refused to show yourself conformable."

To the eleventh article, for answer and declartion thereof, Winchester said, "The next day at afternoon after I had preached, when I looked for no such matter, came to my house the right worshipful Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, and used themselves, for their part, according to their Worships, and, I doubt not, as they were appointed. And Sir Ralph Sadler began thus with me: My Lord, said he, ye preached yesterday obedience, but ye did not obey yourself; and went forth with his message very soberly, as he can, and discreetly. I asked him, wherein I obeyed not. He said, touching my Lord of Somerset's letter. Master Sadler, quoth I, I pray you say unto my Lord's Grace, I would he never made mention of that letter, for the love I bare him. And yet, quoth I, I have not broken that letter; and I was minded, quoth I, to have written to my Lord upon the receipt of it, and lo, quoth I, ye may see how I began:—and showed him (because we were then in my study) the beginning of my letter, and reasoned with him for the declaration of myself, and told him therewith, I will not spend, quoth I, many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my manner to you, and this declaration, may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the prison; and for that purpose, I pray you, make suit on my behalf.

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"Master Wingfield laid his hand on my shoulder, and arrested me in the king's name for disobedience. I asked him, whither I should? They said, to the Tower. Finally, I desired them, that I might be spoken with shortly, and heard what I could say for myself; and prayed them to be suitors in it: and so they said they would. After that I was once in the Tower, until it was within six days of one whole year, I could hear no manner of word, message, comfort, or relief; saving once when I was sick, and me thought some extremity towards me, my chaplain had leave to come to me once: and then denied again, being answered, that my fever was but a tertian; which my said chaplain told me when he came to me at the Easter following; and there being with me from the morning until night on Easter-day, departed, and for no suit could I ever have him since. To Master Lieutenant I made divers suits to provoke the duke of Somerset's Grace to hear me, and, if I might have the liberty of an Englishman, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, statute, act, proclamation, nor his own letter neither: but all would not help. And I shall report me to Master Lieutenant, whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or used any unseemly words; ever demanding justice, and to be heard according to justice.

"When I had been thus in the Tower one whole year within six days or seven, as I remember, came to the Tower the lord chancellor of England, now being the lord treasurer, and Master Secretary Peter, who, calling me unto them, as I remember entered thus: They said they had brought with them a book passed by the parliament, which they would I should look on, and say my mind to it; and upon my conformity in it, my Lord of Somerset would be suitor to the king's Majesty for mercy to be ministered to me. Whereunto I answered that I trusted, if I might be heard, the king's Majesty's justice would relieve me, which I had long sued for, and could not be heard. And to sue for mercy, quoth I, when I have not in my conscience offended, and also to sue out of this place, where asking of mercy implieth a further suspicion than I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient; and therefore, quoth I, 'Not guilty,' is and hath been continually allowed a good plea for a prisoner.

"Then my Lord said, Why, quoth he, were ye not commanded to preach of the king's authority in his young age, and did not? I told him I was not commanded. Is not, quoth he, that article in the papers ye had delivered you? I assured him no.

"And after communication of the king's Majesty's authority, wherein was no disagreement, then my lord chancellor said, I had disobeyed my Lord's Grace's letter.—I told him, I thought not, and if the matter came to judgment, it should appear. And then I said to him, My Lord, how many open injunctions under seal and in open court have been broken in this realm, the punishment whereof hath not been handled after this sort? and yet I would stand in defence, that I have not broken his letter; weighing the words of his letter, wherein I reasoned with Master Secretary Peter what a controversy was, and, some part, what I could say further. But whatsoever I can say, quoth I, you must judge it, and, for the passion of God, do it; and then let me sue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known, if I will have it. But when I am, quoth I, declared an offender, I will with humility of suffering make amends to the king's Majesty, so far as I am able; for I should never offend him, and much less in his young age.

"My lord chancellor then showed me the beginning of the act for Common Prayer, how dangerous it was to break the order of it. I told him that it was true; and therefore, if I came abroad, I would beware of it. But it is, quoth I, after in the act, how no man should be troubled

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for this act, unless he were first indicted; and therefore, quoth I, I may not be kept in prison for this act. Ah, quoth he, I perceive ye know the law well enough.

I told him my chaplain had brought it unto me the afternoon before. Then they required me to look on the book, and to say my mind in it. I answered, that I thought not meet to yield myself a scholar to go to school in prison, and then slander myself, as though I redeemed my faults with my conscience. As touching the law which I know, I will honour it like a subject; and if I keep it not, I will willingly suffer the pain of it. And what more conformity I should show, I cannot tell, for mine offences be past, if there be any. If I have not suffered enough, I will suffer more—if upon examination I be found faulty; and as for this new law, if I keep it not, punish me likewise.

"Then my lord chancellor asked me, whether I would not desire the king's Majesty to be my good lord. At which words I said, Alas, my Lord! quoth I, do ye think that I have so forgotten myself? My duty, quoth I, requireth so; and I will on my knees desire him to be my good lord, and my lord protector also, quoth I. That is well said, quoth my lord chancellor. And what will ye say further, quoth my lord chancellor? In good faith, quoth I, this: that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and think so still; and had it not been for the article of the supremacy, I would have rather feigned myself sick, than be occasion of this that hath followed: but, going to the pulpit, I must needs say as I said. Well, quoth my lord chancellor, let us go to our purpose again. Ye will, quoth he, desire the king's Majesty to be your good lord, and the lord protector also; and ye say, ye thought not to have offended. All this I will say, quoth I. And ye will, quoth my lord chancellor, submit yourself to be ordered by the lord protector. Nay, quoth I, by the law; for my lord protector, quoth I, hath scourged me over-sore this year, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with the lord chancellor, when I would not refer my order to my lord protector, but to the law; and staying at this point they were content to grant me of their gentleness, to make their suit to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me liberty to go in the gallery, and that I should hear of one of them within two days following. I desired them to remember that I refused not the book by way of contempt, nor in any evil manner, but that I was loth to yield myself a scholar in the Tower, and to be seen to redeem my faults, if I had any, with my conscience. My body, I said, should serve my conscience, but not contrariwise. And this is the truth upon my conscience and oath, that was done and said at their coming. There was more said to the purposes aforesaid. And I bind not myself to the precise form of words, but to the substance of the matter and fashion of the entreating. So near as I can remember, I have truly discharged mine oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almost, within fourteen days, notwithstanding two letters written by me to the council, of most humble request to be heard according to justice. And then, at the end of two years almost, came unto me the duke of Somerset, with others of the council; which matter, because it is left out here, I shall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behaviour at all times."

The Twelfth Article.

"Item, That after that, viz., the ninth day of July, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, his Highness sent unto you his Grace's letters, with a certain submission and articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to subscribe. To the which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe."

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To the twelfth article, for answer thereunto, Winchester granted, that about the time mentioned in this article, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, lord great master, Sir William Harbert, and Master Secretary Peter, came to the Tower, and called him before them, and delivered unto him the king's Majesty's letters — "which I have to show," said he, "and received them at the hands of the lord treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and still upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more ease, and go apart with them, and consider them. Which after that I had thoroughly read, I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of myself as was there written, and to say otherwise of myself than my conscience will suffer me, and, where I trust my deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn myself with my tongue. I should sooner, quoth I to them, by commandment, I think, if ye would bid me, tumble myself desperately into the Thames.

"My Lord of Warwick, seeing me in that agony, said, What say ye, my Lord, quoth he, to the other articles? I answered, that I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of myself. Well, quoth my Lord of Warwick, will ye subscribe to the other articles? I told him I would: but then, quoth I, the article that toucheth me must be put out. I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the outside what I would say unto it. And then my Lord of Warwick entertained me very gently, and would needs, whiles I should write, have me sit down by him; and when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said, we had ere this sat together, and trusted we should do so again. And then having pen and ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the article that touched me, these words,—I cannot with my conscience say this of myself,—or such-like words. And there followed an article of the king's Majesty's primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an *I* onward, as may appear by the articles; and they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their articles; which I did. Whereat, because they showed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, that by this means I had placed my subscription above them all; and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort.

"And I was bold to recount unto them merry tales of my misery in prison, which they seemed content to hear. And then I told them also, (desiring them not to be discontent with that I should say,) when I remembered each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good lords; and yet when they met together, I felt no remedy at their hands. I looked, quoth I, when my Lord of Somerset was here, to go out within two days; and made my farewell feast in the Tower and all; since which time there is a month past, or thereabout; and I agreed with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My Lord treasurer said, Nay, I should hear from them the next day. And so by their special commandment I came out of the chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart as my good lords; and so was done. By which process appeareth, how there was in me no contempt, as is said in this article; but such a subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make; which I took in my conscience for a whole satisfaction of the king's Majesty's letters, which I desire [it] may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further: that others would have put in many more articles; but they would have no more but those."

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The Thirteenth Article.

"Item, That you, having eftsoons certain of the king's Majesty's most honourable council sent unto you the twelfth of July, in the said fourth year, with the said submission, and being on his Majesty's behalf required and commanded to consider again, and better, [of] the said submission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of yourself, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto."

To the thirteenth article Winchester said, "The next day after the being in the Tower of the said lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, and others, came unto me Sir William Harbert and Master Secretary Peter, to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my fault, as they said, because the other form liked me not. Whereunto I said, I knew myself innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a device to impair my innocency in any the least point, either by words or writings, it can have no policy in it. For although I did more esteem liberty of body than the defamation of myself, yet, quoth I, when I had so done with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by [my] own pen once made a naughty man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked myself the more surer in; and a small pleasure were it to me to have my body at liberty by your procurement, and to have my conscience in perpetual prison by mine own act. Many more words there were, and persuasions on their parts; which caused me to require of them, for the passion of God, that my matter might take an end by justice. And so they departed, there being no contempt or faction of disobedience showed on my behalf, but only allegation for my defence of mine own innocency in the best manner I could devise, as I trust they will testify."

The Fourteenth Article.

"Item, That after all this, viz. the fourteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, the said king's Majesty sent yet again unto you certain of his Majesty's honourable council, with another submission, and divers other articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your name thereunto: which to do, you utterly refused."

To the fourteenth article Winchester said, "On the Monday in the morning following came the bishop of London, Sir William Harbert, Master Secretary Peter, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, with certain articles written in it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required, that my matter might be tried by justice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more articles, or to trouble myself with the reading of them; and yet they desired me instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and, to show my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of prison to make answer to them all; such as I would abide by, and suffer pain for, if I have deserved it. I would indeed gladly have been in hand with my Lord of London; but he said he came not to dispute, and said, It was the hand of God that I was thus in prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time. Finally, my request was, that they should in this form make my answer to my Lords of the council, as followeth: That I must humbly thank them for their good-will to deliver me by the way of mercy; but, because in respect of mine own innocent conscience I had rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both was in the

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king's Majesty's hands, that I might have it; which if it happened to me more grievous, I will impute it to myself, and evermore thank them for their good-will. And so departed I with them, as I trust they will testify, and no misbehaviour or misdemeanour to have been used on my behalf"

The Fifteenth Article.

"Item, That after all this, viz. the nineteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, you, being personally called before the king's Majesty's privy council, and having the said submission and articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust and fantastical considerations by you alleged, to subscribe the same."

Winchester.—"To the fifteenth article I grant, that upon a Saturday at afternoon, even at such time of the day as they were at even-song in the chapel of the court, I was brought thither; and at my coming the lords of the council said, they were all my judges by special commission, and intended to proceed thus with me: that I should subscribe certain articles which were then read; and I must directly make answer, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise: For the passion of God, my Lords, be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I be faulty or no: and as for these articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make answer to them, whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they having [no] further to say, I answered, These articles are of divers sorts; some be laws, which I may not qualify; some be no laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers understandings; and a subscription to them without telling what I mean, were over-dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their requests, that if they would deliver me the articles into the prison with me, I would shortly make them particular answer; and suffer the pains of the law, that by my answer I might incur into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they sent unto me the lord treasurer and Master Secretary Peter, who communed with me of a mean way, and that liked not the lords. And then I was called forth again, and my absolute subscription required again: and I again made offer to answer particularly; for I could not with my conscience subscribe them as they were, absolutely. And these my considerations I trust to be just, seeing no man for any commandments ought to offend his conscience, as I must have done in that case."

The Sixteenth Article.

"Item, That for your sundry and manifold contempts and disobediences in this behalf used, the fruits of your bishopric were then, by special commission of his Majesty, justly and lawfully sequestered."

Winchester.—"To the sixteenth article I answer, I deny contempts and disobedience of parts, and say, that my doings cannot so be termed, because it is taught in this realm for a doctrine of obedience, that if a king command that which is contrary to the commandment of God, the subject may not do as he is commanded, but humbly stand to his conscience; which is my case, who could not with my conscience do as I was required. And as touching the fact of decree, there was indeed a decree read, having words so placed and framed as though I were such an offender; which matter I deny. And in that decree was mention made of sequestration of

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fruits; but whether the former words were of the present tense, or else to be sequestered, I cannot precisely tell, but do refer that to the tenor of the decree."

The Seventeenth Article.

"Item, That after this, you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication, that you should, within three months next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit yourself, under pain of deprivation."

Winchester.—"To the seventeenth article I answer, that in the same decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the decree to the latter end, I remember there was an intimation, and three months spoken of, and expressed also, how at every month's end I should have pen and ink offered to write, if I would yet subscribe; and, as I understand, it was upon the pain of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word 'deprivation,' but therein I refer me to the acts of the sentence; which when it was read, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those articles particularly, even remaining in prison. And this done, I made suit for some of my servants abroad to resort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessary business; which could not be obtained. And yet, to provoke it, I said to my Lord of Warwick, how for agreeing with my Lord of Somerset, I had some commodity; and for agreeing with him, had nothing; and therefore would needs by intercession press him, that I might by this means have some of my servants resorting unto me. He answered very gently. And then one said, I should within two or three days have somebody come to me. And then I was dismissed, with commandment to the lieutenant, to let me have the same liberty I had, but no more."

The Eighteenth Article.

"Item, That the said three months are now fully expired and run."

Winchester." To the eighteenth article I say, there is almost six months passed in time and number of days, but not one month past to the effect of the law, nor ten days neither, because I have been so kept in prison, that I could not seek for remedy in form abovesaid; nor was there at every month, after the form of the sentence, offered me pen and ink, and liberty given me to consult and deliberate with other learned men and friends, what were best to do, or to send unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the decree given, I protested before my servants, whom I had only commodity to use as witnesses of the nullity of the decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were in law, I appealed to the king's Majesty, because my request was not admitted, to have the copy of the articles to answer them particularly, and because it is excessive correction, to sequester my fruits and keep me in prison: with other cases to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soon as I could come to any presence meet there-for, as I did in this assembly at my last repair; desiring therewith the benefit of complete restitution, because of mine imprisonment; and therefore do answer this matter with protestation of that appeal, and utterly deny all manner of contempt."

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The Nineteenth Article.

"Item, That you have not hitherto, according to the said intimation and monition, submitted, reconciled, nor reformed yourself, but contemptuously yet still remain in your disobedience."

Winchester.—"To the nineteenth article I say, that I have been all this while in prison so kept, as no man could have access to counsel with me, nor any means to write or send to any man, having made continual suit to master lieutenant and master marshal, under whose custody I am here, and to make suit in my name to the lords of the council, that I might come to hearing, or else be bailed upon surety; which I could not obtain, and so have remained, under the benefit of my said appeal to the king's Majesty made, as I might for the time; which I eftsoons desire I may have liberty to prosecute.

"And whereas, answering to these articles for declaration of the integrity of my conscience, I use in the same places general words, I protest I mean not by those words to set forth myself otherwise more arrogantly than as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpose move me to say, and as my conscience beareth witness unto me at this time; and therefore will say therein with St. Paul, *Nihili mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum.* Wherefore if any especially be objected unto me, wherein, by ignorance or oversight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear against the king's Majesty's laws, statutes, and injunctions, I shall desire and protest that it be not prejudicial to mine answer for this present *Credo* (as lawyers in civil matters use that term) to be true; that is to say, such as, without any alteration in my conscience, presently I may of myself say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I spake of commandment to be made to me against God's law, I protest not to touch my sovereign lord's honour therein, which my duty is by all means to preserve, but that the commandment given resolveth to be against God's law on my part, in the obedience to be given; because I may not answer or say otherwise but yea, yea, and nay, nay. So as my words and heart may agree together, or else I should offend God's law; which my sovereign, if he knew my conscience, would not command me."

Now that we have set forth and declared the matters and articles propounded and objected against the bishop, with his answer and purgations unto the same, wherein, though he utter many words to the most advantage of his excuse, yet he could not so excuse himself, but that much fault, and matter of great complaint, and most worthy of accusation, did remain in him: it remaineth, consequently, to set forth the process of his doings, and such complaints and accusations, wherewith he was worthily charged withal, as in the copy here following doth appear.

The copy of a writ or evidence touching the order and manner of the misdemeanour of Winchester, with declaration of the faults wherewith he was justly charged; copied out of the public records.

"Whereas the king's Majesty, by the advice of the lord protector and the rest of his Highness's privy council, thinking requisite, for sundry urgent considerations, to have a general visitation throughout the whole realm, did, about ten months past, address forth commissions;

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and, by the advice of sundry bishops and other the best learned men of the realm, appointed certain orders or injunctions to be generally observed; which, being such as in some part touched the reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the realm, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the bishop of Winchester, who, as well by conference with others as by open protestations and letters also, showed such a wilful disobedience therein, as, if it had not been quickly espied, might have bred much unquietness and trouble:—upon the knowledge thereof he, being sent for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole council so used himself (as well in denying to receive the said orders and injunctions, as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet, considering the place he had been in, he was only sequestered to the Fleet, where, after he had remained a certain time, as much at his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity, he was both set at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his diocese at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance, and contention, in that one small city and shire, than was almost in the whole realm after. Besides that, the lord protector's Grace and the council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from his Grace and their Lordships into those parts, he had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed; and moreover, when such preachers as, being men of godly life and learning, were sent into that diocese by his Grace and their Lordships to preach the word of God, and appointed to preach, the bishop, to disappoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his Majesty's proceedings, did occupy the pulpit himself, not fearing in his sermon to warn the people to beware of such new preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perilous and seditious). Whereupon, being eftsoons sent for, and their Grace and Lordships objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end, upon his second promise, leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his house at London, because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his diocese for a time. And, being come to his house, he began afresh to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither commission nor authority; part whereof touched the king's Majesty. Whereof being yet once again admonished by his Grace and their Lordships, he did not only promise to conform himself in all things like a good subject, but also, because he understood that he was diversely reported of, and many were also offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformity; and promised, in an open sermon so to open his mind in sundry articles agreed upon, that such as had been offended should have no more cause to be offended, but well satisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his own conscience was well satisfied, and liked well the king's proceedings within this realm, so would he utter his conscience abroad, to the satisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet, all this notwithstanding, at the day appointed, he did not only most arrogantly and disobediently, and that in the presence of his Majesty, his Grace, and their Lordships, and of such an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been seen, speak of certain matters contrary to an express commandment given to him on his Majesty's behalf both by mouth and by letters, but also, in the rest of the articles whereunto he had agreed before, used such a manner of utterance as was very like, even there presently, to have stirred a great tumult; and, in certain great matters touching the policy of the realm, handled himself so colourably, as therein he showed himself an open great offender, and a very seditious man. Forasmuch as these his proceedings were of such sort, as, being suffered to escape unpunished, might breed

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innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies showed to him afore, by his Grace and their Lordships, did work in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldness to demean himself more and more disobediently against his Majesty's and his Grace's proceedings; it was determined by his Grace and their Lordships, that he should be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by Sir Anthony Wingfield; and that at the time of his committing, Sir Ralph Sadler, and William Hunnings, clerk of the council, should seal up the doors of such places in his house as they should think meet: all which was done accordingly."

By this evidence above-mentioned, first, here is of the reader to be noted, how lewdly and disobediently the said Stephen Gardiner misused himself in the king's general visitation, in denying to receive such orders and injunctions, as for the which he justly deserved much more severe punishment, albeit the king, with his uncle the lord protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taste the Fleet; in the which house, as his durance was not long, so his entreating and ordering was very easy. Out of the which Fleet, divers and sundry letters he wrote to the lord protector and others of the council; certain also to the archbishop of Canterbury, and some to Master Ridley, bishop of London, as is above specified.

Here follow the circumstances of the council's proceedings with the bishop of Winchester, taken out of the register.

"Greenwich, June 8, 1550

"Considering the long imprisonment that the bishop of Winchester hath sustained, it was now thought time he should be spoken withal; and agreed by the council, that if he repented his former obstinacy, and would henceforth apply himself to advance the king's Majesty's proceedings, his Highness, in this case, would be his good lord to remit all his errors passed. Otherwise his Majesty was resolved to proceed against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For the declaration whereof the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Peter, were appointed the next day to repair unto him."

After these things thus passed, certain of the council, by the king's appointment, had sundry days and times access to him in the Tower, to persuade with him; which were these, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Peter, who repaired to him the tenth day of June.

"Greenwich, June 10, 1550.

"Report was made by the duke of Somerset and the rest, sent to the bishop of Winchester, that he desired of them to see the king's book of proceedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself thereunto, and promising, that in case any thing offended his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. Whereupon it was agreed, the book should be sent him to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon; and that, for the mean time, he should have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower, when the duke of Norfolk were absent."

The king was lying at Greenwich at this time.

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Greenwich, June 13, 1550.

This day the lieutenant of the Tower, who before was appointed to deliver the king's book unto the bishop of Winchester, declared unto the council, that the bishop, having perused it, said unto him, he could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty; and so being, he would say his conscience. Whereupon the lords and others that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct answer, that the council thereupon might determine further order for him."

"At Westminster, July 8, 1550.

"This day the bishop of Winchester's case was renewed upon the report of the lords that had been with him, that his answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in prison to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the king's Majesty's proceedings or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not; and a letter also directed unto him from the king's Highness, with which the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him; the tenor of which letter hereafter ensueth."

A letter sent to the bishop of Winchester, signed by the king, and subscribed by the council.

"It is not, we think, unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour we, by the advice of our council, caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said council of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and many other times ministered unto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, we would not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts, and other inobediences as, after and contrary to our commandment, were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said council committed to ward: where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time, at sundry times, divers of the noblemen, and others of our privy council, and travailing by them with clemency and favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; yet in all this time have you neither acknowledged your faults, nor made any such submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet showed any appearance either of repentance, or of any good conformity to our godly proceedings. Wherewith albeit we both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our laws, cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others; yet, for that we would both the world and yourself also should know that we delight more in clemency, than in the strait administration of justice, we have vouchsafed, not only to address unto you these our letters, but also to send eftsoons unto you four of our privy council with certain articles, which being by us, with the advice of our said council, considered, we think requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by you; and therefore will and command you to subscribe the said articles, upon pain of incurring such punishment and penalties as by our laws may be put upon you for not doing the same.

FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

"Given at our palace of Westminster, the eighth day of July, the fourth year of our reign."

This letter, signed by the king's Majesty, was also subscribed by the whole council.

"At Westminster, July 10.

"The lord treasurer, lord great master, the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, made report unto the council, that they had not only delivered to the bishop of Winchester the king's Majesty's letter, but also the articles appointed unto all; which articles he subscribed with his own hand, saving to the first, whereunto he wrote his answer in the margin, as hereafter appeareth."

With the before-mentioned letter, addressed from the king and his council, these articles, also, were delivered to the bishop of Winchester, here following:

The copy of the articles, six in number.

"I. That by the law of God, and the authority of the Scriptures, the king's Majesty and his successors are supreme heads of the churches of England, and also of Ireland."

The bishop of Winchester's answer to this article, in the margin.—"Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one too much favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, decrees, and ordinances, and, as one that did not approve or allow the king's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, was convented before the king's Highness's council, and admonished thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the king's Majesty's indignation, but also divers of his Highness's subjects have, by my example, taken encouragement (as his Grace's council is certainly informed) to repine at his Majesty's most godly proceedings: I am right sorry there-for, and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished; and do most heartily thank his Majesty, that of his great clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me not according to rigour, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the world, how little I do repine at his Highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm and say freely of mine own will, without any compulsion, as ensueth."

"II. Item, That the appointing of holy-days and fasting-days, as Lent, Ember-days, or any such like, or to dispense therewith, is in the king's Majesty's authority and power: and his Highness, as supreme head of the said churches of England and Ireland, and governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the holy-days and fasting-days, or dispense therewith, as to his wisdom shall seem most convenient for the honour of God, and the wealth of this realm.

"III. Item, That the king's Majesty hath most Christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole parliament, a devout and Christian book of service of the church, to be frequented by the church, which book is to be accepted and allowed of all bishops, pastors, curates, and all ministers ecclesiastical of the realm of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shall fortune to preach or speak to the people of it, that it is a

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godly and Christian book and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and observed of all the king's Majesty's true subjects.

"IV. I do acknowledge the king's Majesty that now is, (whose life God long preserve!) to be my sovereign lord, and supreme head under Christ to me as a bishop of this realm, and natural subject to his Majesty, and now in this his young and tender age to be my full and entire king; and that I, and all other his Highness's subjects, are bound to obey all his Majesty's proclamations, statutes, laws, and commandments, made, promulgated, and set forth in his Highness's young age, as well as though his Highness were at this present thirty or forty years old.

"V. Item, I confess and acknowledge, that the statute commonly called The Statute of the Six Articles, for just causes and grounds, is by authority of parliament repealed and disannulled.

"VI. Item, That his Majesty and his successors have authority in the said churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem from time to time to his Highness and his successors most convenient for the edification of his people; so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and law of God.

"Subscribed by Stephen Winchester, with the testimonial hands of the council to the same."

To these articles afore specified, although Winchester with his own hand did subscribe, granting and consenting to the supremacy of the king as well then being, as of his successors to come; yet because he stuck so much in the first point touching his submission, and would in no case subscribe to the same, but only made his answer in the margin, (as is above noted,) it was therefore thought good to the king, that the master of the horse and Master Secretary Peter should repair unto him again with the same request of submission, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in case the words seemed too sore, then to refer it unto himself, in what sort and with what words he should devise to submit him, that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the king's Highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined: which was the eleventh day of July, the year abovesaid.

When the master of the horse and Secretary Peter had been with him in the Tower according to their commission, returning from him again, they declared unto the king and his council how precisely the said bishop stood in justification of himself, that he had never offended the king's Majesty: wherefore he utterly refused to make any submission at all. For the more surety of which denial, it was agreed, that a new book of articles should be devised, wherewith the said master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him again; and for the more authentic proceeding with him, they should have with them a divine, and a temporal lawyer, which were the bishop of London, and Master Goodrick.

FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

The copy of the last articles sent to the bishop of Winchester.

"Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one that did not approve or allow the king's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented before the king's Highness's council, and admonished thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his Majesty's displeasure, I am right sorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the world how little I do repine at his Highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm as followeth

"I. That the late king, of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, our late sovereign lord, justly, and of good reason and ground, hath taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all monasteries and religious houses, and all conventicles and convents of monks, friars, nuns, canons, bonhommes, and other persons called religious; and that the same being so dissolved, the persons therein bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habit, and other superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the king's Majesty's authority as supreme head of the church, are clearly released and acquitted of those vows and professions, and at their full liberty, as though those unwitty and superstitious vows had never been made.

"II. Item, That any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the bishop of Rome, or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony with, by the law Levitical.

"III. Item, That the vowing and going on pilgrimage to images, or the bones or relics of any saints, hath been superstitiously used, and cause of much wickedness and idolatry, and therefore justly abolished by the late said king, of famous memory; and the images and relics so abused, have been, for great and godly considerations, defaced and destroyed.

"IV. Item, That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Katharine, and St. Edmund, by children heretofore brought into the church, was a mere mockery and foolishness, and therefore justly abolished and taken away.

"V. Item, It is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Testament and New, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published, to be read of every man, and that whosoever doth repel and dehort men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably.

"VI. Item, That the said late king, of just ground and reason, did receive into his hands the authority and disposition of chantries and such livings as were given for the maintenance of private masses, and did well change divers of them to other uses.

"VII. Also, the king's Majesty that now is, by the advice and consent of the parliament, did, upon just ground and reason, suppress, abolish, and take away the said chantries, and such other livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private masses, and masses satisfactory for the souls of them that are dead, or finding of obits, lights, or other like things. The mass that was wont to be said of priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of

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Christ's institution, besides the Epistle, Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and the words of the Lord's supper; the rest, for the more part, were invented and devised by bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore justly taken away by the statutes and laws of this realm; and the communion which is placed instead thereof, is very godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.

"VIII. Item, That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all Christian men should receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in both the kinds, that is, in bread and wine.

"IX. And the mass, wherein only the priest receiveth, and the others do but look on, is but the invention of man, and the ordinance of the bishop of Rome's church, not agreeable to Scripture.

"X. Item, That upon good and godly considerations it is ordered in the said book and order, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and showed to the people to be adored; but to be with godly devotion received, as it was first instituted.

"XI. Item, That it is well, politically, and godly done, that the king's Majesty, by act of parliament, hath commanded all images which have stood in churches and chapels, to be clearly abolished and defaced; lest hereafter, at any time, they should give occasion of idolatry, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with pilgrimages, and such idolatrous worshipping.

"XII. And also that, for like godly and good considerations, by the same authority of parliament, all mass-books, cowchers, grails, and other books of the service in Latin, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid dissension; and that the said service in the church should be, through the whole realm, in one uniform conformity, and no occasion through those old books to the contrary.

"XIII. That bishops, priests, and deacons have no commandment of the law of God, either to vow chastity, or to abstain continually from marriage.

"XIV. Item, That all canons, constitutions, laws positive, and ordinances of man, which do prohibit or forbid marriage to any bishop, priest, or deacon, be justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations, taken away and abolished by authority of parliament.

"XV. The Homilies lately commanded and set forth by the king's Majesty, to be read in the congregations of England, are godly and wholesome, and do teach such doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

"XVI. The book set forth by the king's Majesty, by authority of parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithful members of the Church of England, and, namely, the ministers of God's word, and by them commended to the people.

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"XVII. That the orders of sub-deacon, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called *minores ordines*, be not necessary by the word of God to be reckoned in the church, and be justly left out in the said Book of Orders.

"XVIII. That the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ; and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures.

"XIX. That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the king's Majesty's injunctions, that the Paraphrase of Erasmus in English should be set up in some convenient place in every parish church of this realm, where the parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same.

"XX. And because these articles aforesaid, do contain only such matters as be already published and openly set forth by the king's Majesty's authority, by the advice of his Highness's council, for many great and godly considerations; and amongst others, for the common tranquillity and unity of the realm; his Majesty's pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, is, that you, the bishop of Winchester, shall not only affirm these articles with subscription of your hand, but also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready to publish and preach the same at such times and places, and before such audience, as to his Majesty from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite; upon pain of incurring such penalties and punishments as, for not doing the same, may, by his Majesty's laws, be inflicted upon you.

"These articles were sent the fifteenth of July."

Report was made by the master of the horse and Master Secretary Peter as followeth:

"That they, with the bishop of London and Master Goodrick, had been with the bishop of Winchester, and offered him the foresaid articles according to the council's order: whereupon the said bishop of Winchester made answer, that first to the article of submission, he would in no wise consent; affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the king's Majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought to his trial, wherein he refused the king's mercy, and desired nothing but justice. And for the rest of the articles, he answered, that after he were past his trial in this first point, and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them: not being (as he said) reasonable, that he should subscribe them in prison."

Whereupon it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole council and peremptorily examined once again, whether he would stand at this point or no. Which if he did, then to denounce unto him the sequestration of his benefice and consequently the intimation, in case he were not reformed within three months; as in the day of his appearance shall appear.

"At Westminster, the 19th July, 1550.

"This day the council had access unto the king's Majesty for divers causes, but specially for the bishop of Winchester's matter; who, this day, was therefore appointed to be before the

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council: and then, having declared to his Highness the circumstances of their proceedings with the bishop, his Majesty commanded that if he would this day also stand to his wonted obstinacy, the council should then proceed to the immediate sequestration of his bishopric and consequently to the intimation. Upon this the bishop of Winchester was brought before the council, and there the articles before mentioned read unto him distinctly, and with good deliberation: whereunto he refused to subscribe or consent, and thereupon were both the sequestration and intimation read unto him, in the form following:

"Whereas the king's Majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord, hath at divers times set sundry of us to travail with you, to the intent you, acknowledging your bounden duty, should, as a good and obedient subject, have conformed yourself to that uniformity in matters of religion, which is already openly set forth, both by acts of parliament, and otherwise by his Majesty's authority; and hath also of late, by certain of his Majesty's council, sent unto you certain articles, with express commandment that you should affirm them with subscription of your hand, and also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready, to publish and preach the same to others, at such times and places, and before such audience, as to his Majesty should, from time to time, be seen requisite: because you did at that time expressly refuse to do as you were commanded, to the great contempt of his Highness's most dread commandment, and dangerous example of others; we, having special commission from his Majesty to hear and determine your manifold con-tempts and disobediences, do eftsoons ask and demand of you, whether you will obey and do his Majesty's said commandment or not." Whereunto he answered, that in all things that his Majesty would command him, he was willing and most ready to obey; but forasmuch as there were divers things required of him that his conscience would not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused.—And thereupon Master Secretary Peter by the council's order proceeded with these words.—

The words of the sequestration, with the intimation to the bishop of Winchester.

"Forasmuch as the king's Majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord, understandeth, and it is also manifestly known and notorious unto us, that the clemency and long sufferance of his Majesty worketh not in you that good effect, and humbleness, and conformity, that is requisite in a good subject; and for that your disobediences, contempts, and other misbehaviours, for the which you were by his Majesty's authority justly committed to ward, have, since your said committing, daily more and more increased in you, in such sort as a great slander and offence is thereof risen in many parts of the realm, whereby also much slander, dissension, trouble, and unquietness, is very like more to ensue, if your aforesaid offences, (being, as they be, openly known,) should pass unpunished: we let you wit, that having special and express commission and commandment from his Majesty, as well for your contumacies and contempts so long continued, and yet daily more increasing, as also for the exchange of the slander and offence of the people, which by your said ill demeanours are risen; and for that also the church of Winchester may be in the mean time provided of a good minister, that may and will see all things done and quietly executed according to the laws and common orders of this realm; and for sundry other great and urgent causes: we do, by these presents, sequester all the fruits, revenues, lands, and possessions of your bishopric of Winchester; and discern, deem, and judge the same to be committed to the several receipt, collection, and custody, of such person or persons as his Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. And because your former disobediences and contempts, so long continued, so

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many times doubled, renewed, and aggravated, do manifestly declare you to be a person without all hope of recovery, and plainly incorrigible; we eftsoons admonish and require you to obey his Majesty's said commandment, and that you do declare yourself, by subscription of your hand, both willing and well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others, the said articles, and all such other matters as be or shall be set forth by his Majesty's authority of supreme head of this Church of England, on this side and within the term of three months; whereof we appoint one month for the first monition, one month for the second monition and warning, and one month for the third and peremptory monition.

"Within which time as you may yet declare your conformity, and shall have paper, pen, and ink, when you shall call for them for that purpose; so if you wilfully forbear and refuse to declare yourself obedient and conformable as is aforesaid, we intimate unto you, that his Majesty, who, like a good governor, desireth to keep both his commonwealth quiet, and to purge the same of evil men, (especially ministers,) intendeth to proceed against you as an incorrigible person, and unmeet minister of this church, unto the deprivation of your said bishopric.

"(Nevertheless, upon divers good considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the said bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate, until the time that this injunction should expire, and the matter for the mean time to be kept secret.)"

After this sequestration, the said bishop was convented unto Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners, by virtue of the king's special letters sent unto the said commissioners; to wit, the archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Secretary Peter, Sir James Hales, knight; Dr. Leyson and Dr. Oliver, lawyers, and John Gosnold, esquire, &c., before them, and by them, to be examined. But, forasmuch as among other divers and sundry crimes and accusations, deduced against this bishop, the especial and chiefest matter wherewith he was charged, depended upon his sermon made before the king's Majesty, in not satisfying and discharging his duty therein—partly in omitting that which he was required to do, partly in speaking of those things which he was forbid to entreat of—it shall not be out of the order of the story, here to recite the whole tenor and effect of his sermon, as it was penned and exhibited to the commissioners at his examination, with the copy also of the lord protector's letter, sent unto him before he should preach.

The tenor and copy of a letter sent to the bishop of Winchester, from the duke of Somerset and the rest of the commissioners, touching such points as the bishop of Winchester should entreat of in his sermon. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1548.

"To our loving lord the bishop of Winchester.

"We commend us unto you: We sent unto you yesterday our servant William Cecil, to signify unto you our pleasure, and advise that you should, in this your next sermon, forbear to entreat upon those principal questions which remain amongst the number of learned men in this realm as yet in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the altar and the mass; as well for that your private argument or determination therein might offend the people, naturally expecting decisions of litigious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise, the occasions whereof we

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must necessarily prevent and take away, as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation; and, with the pleasure of God, shall be, in small time, by public doctrine and authority quietly and truly determined. This message we send unto you, not thinking but your own wisdom had considered so much in an apparent manner; or. at the least, upon our remembrance, ye would understand it, and follow it with good will: consulting thereby your own quiet in avoiding offence, as observing our pleasure in avoiding contention. Your answer hereunto our said servant hath declared unto us in this manner: 'Ye can in no wise forbear to speak of the sacrament, neither of the mass;' this last, being the chief foundation, as you say, of our religion; and that without it, we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice. The other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof, what ye think, you know what other men would think of you. In the end, concluding generally, that ye will speak the truth; and that ye doubt not but we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said servant reporteth unto us, that you would not wish that we ourselves should meddle or have to do in these matters of religion;. but that the care thereof were committed to the bishops, unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed. To this your answer, if it so be, we reply very shortly, signifying unto you our express pleasure and commandment, on our sovereign lord the king's Majesty's behalf, charging you, by the authority of the same, to abstain in your said sermon from treating of any matter in controversy concerning the said sacrament and the mass; and only to bestow your speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholesome matters of obedience of the people, and good conversation in living; the same matter being both large enough for a long sermon, and not unnecessary for the time: and the treating of the other, which we forbid you, not meet in your private sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a public consultation, and at this present utterly to be forborne for the common quiet. This is our express pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you, we think, know how willingly ye ought to obey us.

"For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our charge, under the king's Majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion; esteeming that the chiefest foundation to build obedience upon; and, where there is a full consent of other the bishops and learned men in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other wilful heads, to disorder all the rest. And although we presume not to determine articles of religion by ourself, yet from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and advance the truth determined or revealed. And so consequently we will not fail but withstand the disturbers thereof. So fare you well.

"From Sion, the 28th of June, anno 1548.

"Your loving friend,
EDWARD SOMERSET."

Here followeth the sum and effect of the sermon which Gardiner bishop of Winchester preached before the king's Majesty, collected by Master Udall, and exhibited up to the commissioners in the time of the examination of the said bishop.

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The sermon of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached before the king.

"Most honourable audience! I purpose, by the grace of God, to declare some part of the gospel that is accustomed to be read in the church as this day. And for because that without the special grace of God, neither I can speak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the same accordingly, I shall desire you all, that we may jointly pray altogether for the assistance of his grace; in which prayer I commend to Almighty God, your most excellent Majesty our sovereign lord, king of England, France, and Ireland, and of the Church of England and Ireland, next and immediately under God, here on earth the supreme head; queen Katharine, dowager; my Lady Mary's grace, my Lady Elizabeth's grace, your Majesty's most dear sisters; my lord protector's grace, with all others of your most honourable council; the spirituality and temporality. And I shall desire you to commend unto God with your prayer, the souls departed unto God in Christ's faith; and among these most specially, for our late sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, your Majesty's most noble father. For these, and for grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a Pater-noster [and so forth].

"The gospel beginneth, *Cum venisset Jesus in partes Cæsaræ Philippi*, &c. When Jesus was come into the parts of Cesarea, a city that Philippus builded, he asked his disciples and said, Whom do men say that the Son of man is? They said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, that thou art Elias; some, that thou art Jeremy, or one of the prophets. He said to them, But whom say ye that I am? Then answered Simon Peter and said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, &c.

"I cannot have time, I think, to speak of the gospel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to say; but I shall note unto you such things as I may. And first, of the diversity of opinions concerning Christ, which were among the people variable, but among his (that is, the disciples of Christ's school) there was no variety. They agreed altogether in one truth, and among them was no variety. For when Peter had, for all the rest, and in the name of all the rest, made his answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all, with one consent, confessed that he had spoken the truth. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet were they honourable, and not slanderous; for to say that Christ was Elias, and John the Baptist, was honourable; for some thought him so to be, because he did frankly, sharply, and openly, rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremy, had an honourable opinion of him, and thought him so to be, because of his great learning which they perceived in him; and marvelled where he had it. And they that said he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him. But there was another sort of people that spake evil of him, and slandered him and railed on him, saying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine; that he had a devil in him; that he was a deceiver of the people; that he was a carpenter's son (as though he were the worse for his father's craft). But of these he asked not any question; for among these, none agreed with the other. Wherein ye shall note, that man of his own power and strength can nothing do. For nothing that good is he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth when he is left to his own invention. He erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and so stout of his own courage, that he deviseth nothing well, whensoever he is left to himself without God. And then never do any such agree in any truth, but wander and err in all that they do: as men of law, if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion in any point touching the law; ye shall not have two of them agree in

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opinion one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they should answer all one thing, they fear lest they should be supposed and thought to have no learning. Therefore, be they never so many of them, they will not agree in their answers, but devise each man a sundry answer in any thing that they are asked. The philosophers that were not of Christ's school, erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other. Yea, men of simplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Christ's school, they agree not, but vary in their opinions; as these simple people here spoken of, because they were not perfect disciples of Christ's school, they varied, and agreed not in their opinion of Christ, though they thought well of him.

"Some said he was John, some Elias, some Jeremy, but none made the right answer. He that answered here, was Simon the son of Jonas; and he said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. Where ye shall note the properties that were in Peter, he was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a dove; so that in him that is of Christ's school, must be these two properties, obedience and simplicity. He must be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Christ's school. Pride is a let of Christ's school; for, as the wise man sayeth, God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble and meek. And according to the same doth Christ in the Gospel say, O Father! I confess unto thee, (that is, I laud and magnify thee,) for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and hast opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon sayeth St. Augustine, that the gifts of learning, and knowledge of sciences, are not let to Christ's school, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied, and used as they ought to be. But he that is proud, and feedeth himself with his own conceit and opinion of himself, and abuseth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the satisfying and following of his own fantasy, is no right disciple of Christ, but falleth into error. When they said and affirmed themselves to be wise, they were made fools. The philosophers had every one a sect of his own, and had many gay sentences for the commendations of their opinions; and every man thought his own opinion to be best. But because they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themselves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fancy, they erred and fell out of the way, and were not of Christ's school. And all that have gone out of Christ's school, pride hath brought them out of it; and such as have not entered, have kept themselves out of it with pride likewise. Therefore all such as will be scholars of Christ's school and discipline, must be humble and meek: otherwise, *dicentes se sapientes esse, stulti facti sunt*. He that cannot learn this lesson of Peter, and humbly confess with Peter, that Christ is the Son of the living God, is no scholar of Christ's school, be he otherwise never so well learned, never so well seen in other sciences.

"But now concerning the answer of Peter: Matthew here in this place saith,—he answered, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God: St. Luke saith, he answered, Thou art the Christ of God: and St. Mark saith, he answered, Thou art Christ.—But, in all that, is no variety; for to say, Christ the Son of the living God, and to say, The Christ of God, and to say, Christ, is, in effect, all one, and no diversity in it. For Christ alone is the whole, and he that confesseth thoroughly Christ, is thoroughly a Christian man, and doth then therein confess him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world.

"But now we must consider what Christ is. Christ was a sacrifice. He was sent from the Trinity, to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the

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Father. He was the bishop that offered for our sins, and the sacrifice that was offered. And as he is our bishop, so is he our mean to pacify God for us, for that was the office of a bishop, to sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to make intercession for the people. And as he was our sacrifice, so was he our reconciliation to God again. But we must confess and believe him thoroughly, I say, for as he was our bishop then, so is it he that still keepeth us in favour with God. And like as his sacrifice then made was sufficient for us, to deliver us from our sins, and to bring us in favour with God, so, to continue us in the same favour of God, be ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself. He ordained himself, for a memory of himself, at his last supper, when he instituted the sacrament of the altar. Not for another redemption, as though the first had not been sufficient, nor as though the world needed a new redemption from sin; but that we might thoroughly remember his passion, he instituted this sacrament by his most holy word; saying,—This is my body: which word is sufficient to prove the sacrament, and maketh sufficiently for the substance thereof. And this daily sacrifice he instituted to be continued amongst Christian men, not for need of another redemption or satisfaction for the sins of the world, (for that was sufficiently performed by his sacrifice of his body and blood, done upon the cross,) neither that he be now our bishop, for need of any further sacrifice to be made for sin; but to continue us in the remembrance of his passion suffered for us; to make us strong in believing the fruit of his passion; to make us diligent in thanksgiving, for the benefit of his passion; to establish our faith, and to make it strong in acknowledging the efficacy of his death and passion, suffered for us. And this is the true understanding of the mass: not for another redemption, but that we may be strong in believing the benefit of Christ's death and blood-shedding for us upon the cross.

"And this it is that we must believe of Christ, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore, by your patience, as Peter made his confession, so will I make confession. Wherein, by your Majesty's leave and sufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the state of the Church of England at this day; how I like it, and what I think of it; where I said of the mass, that it was a sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion, and for commending unto God the souls of such as be dead in Christ. For these two things are the special causes why the mass was instituted. The parliament very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the parliament, for moving the people more and more with devotion, to ordain that this sacrament should be received in both kinds. Therefore I say, that the act of parliament for receiving of the sacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made. I said, also, that the proclamation which was made, that no man should unreverently speak of the sacrament, or otherwise speak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made: for this proclamation stoppeth the mouths of all such as will unreverently speak of the sacrament. For in Scripture is there nothing to be found that maketh any thing against the sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not use any unreverent talk against the sacrament, nor blaspheme the holy sacrament; for no word of the Scripture maketh any thing against it.

"But here it may be said unto me, 'Why, sir, is this your opinion? It is good: you speak plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare your mind plainly without any colouring or covert speaking.—The act for the dissolving and suppressing of the chantries seemeth to make against the mass, how like you that act? What say you of it? or what would you say of it, if you

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were alone?' I will speak what I think of it. I will use no colourable or covert words. I will not use a devised speech for a time, and afterward go from it again.—If chantries were abused by applying the mass, for the satisfaction of sin, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away sin, or to make men, of wicked, just, I like the act well; and they might well be dissolved: for the mass was not instituted for any such purpose. Yet, nevertheless, for them that were in them, (I speak now as in the cause of the poor,) it were well done that they were provided of livings. The act doth graciously provide for them during their lives, and I doubt not but that your Majesty and the lords of your most honourable council have willed and taken order, that they should be well looked unto. But yet how shall they be used at the hands of under-officers? God knoweth, full hardly, I fear. But as for the chantries themselves, if there were any such abuse in them concerning the mass, it is no matter if they be taken away. King Henry the Eighth, a noble and wise prince, not without a great pain, maintained the mass; and yet in his doctrine it was confessed, that masses of *Scala cœli*, were not to be used nor allowed, because they did pervert the right use and institution of the mass. For when men add unto the mass an opinion of satisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for. I, that allow mass so well, and I, that allow praying for the dead, (as indeed the dead are of Christian charity to be prayed for,) yet can agree with the realm in that matter of putting down chantries. But yet ye would say unto me, There be fewer masses by putting away the chantries.' So were there when abbeys were dissolved: so be there when ye unite many churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the mass. It consisteth not in the number, nor in the multitude, but in the thing itself; so that the decay of the masses by taking away of the chantries, is answered by the abbeys: but yet I would have it considered for the persons that are in them, I speak of the poor men's livings.

"I have now declared what I think of the act of parliament, made for the receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in both kinds. Ye have my mind and opinion, concerning the proclamation that came forth for the, same act; and I have showed my mind therein, even plainly as I think. And I have ever been agreeable to this precinct. I have oftentimes reasoned in it. I have spoken and also written in it, both beyond the seas, and on this side the seas. My books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kinds: and it was a constitution provincial scarce two hundred years ago, made by Peckham, the archbishop of Canterbury, that it should be received in both kinds: at leastwise, *in ecclesiis majoribus*, that is, in the greater churches; for in the smaller churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter. I have never been of other mind, nor I have not changed my conscience; but I have obeyed and followed the order of the realm: and I prayed you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be the children of obedience.

"Now I will return to the text. When Simon had answered, *Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi*, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, then Christ said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Blessed art thou, said he, for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwise, in Luke, Andrew told of Christ and said, I have found the Messias, which is Christ. But that is not enough. He that shall confess Christ, must have an inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of heaven; for Andrew's confession were

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nothing but a carnal confession, and such a one as any other might have made, by natural reason. But the confession of Peter was above the reason of man; for Christ was there a very man, and Peter's *eyes* told him, that he was a man and nothing else. But he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a secret knowledge given him from heaven, not by flesh and blood, (that is to say, by man's reason,) but inwardly, by the Father of heaven. And seeing this was above reason, it is a marvellous thing, that reason should be used to impugn faith. It is a precinct of carnal men, and such as use gross reason. But Peter had another lesson inwardly taught him; and, because he conned his lesson, Christ gave him a new name,—for *Petros* is a stone, a new name of a Christian man: For upon this confession of thy faith here, I will build my church; that is, I will stablish all those which I intend to gather unto thee; *et demones non preualebunt aduersus eam*; that is, and the devils shall not prevail against it. For he that with a good heart and sure faith confesseth this, he is sure from all peril: this world nor Satan can do him no harm.

"But now for a further declaration. It is a marvellous thing, that upon these words the bishop of Rome should found his supremacy; for whether it be *super petram*, or *Petrum*, all is one matter. It maketh nothing at all for our purpose, to make a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise, when Peter spake carnally to Christ, (as in the same chapter a little following,) Satan was his name: where Christ said, Go after me, Satan. So that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy; but, as it is said in Scripture, *Fundati estis super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum*; that is, by participation, (for godly participation giveth names of things,) he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first that made his confession of Christ: which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality, that was in the man—for the first man is not evermore the best. The head man of a quest is not always the best man in the quest; but is chosen to be the head man for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure many, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place; as the king sometimes chooseth a mean man to be of his council, of whom he hath a good opinion; yet is the king the king still. And in some case the king of England might send to Rome; and, if the bishop of Rome were a man of such wisdom, virtue, and learning, that he were able, in matters of controversy concerning religion, to set a unity in the Church of England, the king might well enough send unto him for his counsel and help; and yet should not in so doing give the bishop of Rome any superiority over the king. For if a king be sick, he will have the best physician; if he hath war, he will have the best captain; and yet are not those the superiors, but the inferiors. A schoolmaster is a subject, a physician is a subject, a captain is a subject, councillors are subjects; yet do these order and direct the king. Wherefore, leaving the bishop of Rome, this I say, to declare of what opinion I am. I do not now speak what I could say. I have spoken beyond the seas; I have written; my books be abroad; but this is not the place here. I say that this place maketh nothing for the bishop of Rome, but for Christ only; for none can lay any other foundation than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

"But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time hath come many alterations. First, a great alteration it was, to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority; and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeys were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down. And to all these did I condescend, and yet I have been counted a maintainer of superstition; and I have been called a master of ceremonies and of outward things; and I have been noted to take that religion which consisteth in outward things, as though he were a right Christian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies.

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"I promised to declare my conscience, and so will I; and how I have esteemed ceremonies; and that I have never been of other opinion than I am, concerning ceremonies. And mine opinion I have gathered of Augustine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church. Ceremonies serve to move men to serve God; and as long as they be used for that purpose, they may be well used in the church. But when man maketh himself servant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by over-much familiarity of them, men abuse them, they do evil: for we must not serve creatures, but God. We had monkery, nunnery, friary, of a wondrous number; much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders and fashions in moving of the body. These things were first ordained to admonish them to their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, to spare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and provided. And because they abused these things, and set them in a higher place than they ought to do, (not taking monition thereby, the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them,) they were dissolved; their houses and garments were taken away. But one thing King Henry would not take away; that was, the vow of chastity. The vow of obedience he converted to himself: the vow of chastity he willed still to remain with them. We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men used to visit; by reason whereof they fell in a fancy of idolatry and superstition, above the things that the image might have been taken for: and because it had not the use that it was ordained for, it was left. When men put the images in a higher place than they served for, then were they taken clean away. As give a child a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeousness of his book, and learn not his lesson according to the intent that the book was given him for, the book is taken away from him again. So the images, when men devised and fell to have them in higher place and estimation than they were first set up in the church for, then they might be taken away. And I was never of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of it.

"Divers things there be in the church, which be in the liberty of the ruler, to order as he seeth cause; and he that is ruler, may either let it stand, or else may cause it to be taken away. There be two manner of reformations we have had, of both sorts. There be things in the church, the which if they be abused, may not be taken away; as for baptism, if it be abused, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing must be reformed and brought to the right use again. Also preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken away, but must be reformed and brought to the right use. But there be other things used in the church, in which the rulers have liberty either to reform them or to take them away. We have had many images, which be now all taken away, for it was in the liberty of the rulers, for the abuse of them, either to reform them or to take them away: and because it was an easier way to take them away than to bring them to the right use that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away; and so they might be.— 'Yea, sir,' will ye say, 'but ye have maintained and defended them; and have preached against such persons as despised them.' It is truth: I have preached against the despisers of them, and have said, that images might be suffered and used in the church, as laymen's books. Yet I never otherwise defended them, but to be used for such purpose as they were first set up in the church for. But now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away; wherein our religion is no more touched than when books were taken away for abusing of them. There was an order taken for books not to be used, wherein some might have said, 'The books are good, and I know how to use them: I may therefore use them well enough. I will therefore use them, though they be

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forbidden.' But if thou have any charity, thou oughtest to be contented rather to have them all taken away, than to declare thyself of another opinion than thou oughtest to have.

"As touching ceremonies, I esteem them all as Paul esteemeth them—things indifferent; where he saith, The kingdom of God is not meat and drink. So of ceremonies. Nevertheless, we have time, place, and number: as a certain number of psalms to be said at times, which may be used without superstition. But these things must serve us, and not we serve them. Yet if an order be set in them by such as have power, we must follow it; and we must obey the rulers that appoint such time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not say, 'If the time will not serve me, then I will come an hour after.' No, sir, ye must keep this time and this hour; because it is so appointed by the rulers: not for the things, but for the order that is set. I have been ever of this opinion. We had palms and candles taken away; which things may indifferently have either of the two reformations above-said. When they were in places, they should have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God; but, because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Christ is not in these exercises; and therefore in taking away of them, the religion of Christ is nothing touched nor hindered; but men must in such things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience' sake. St. Paul saith, that we should rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you my opinion, (and my conscience telleth me that I have spoken plainly,) that ye may know what I am; and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be slandered in me, nor make any further search to know my heart. I like well the communion, because it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the proclamation, because it stoppeth the mouths of all such as unreverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I like well the rest of the king's Majesty's proceedings concerning the sacrament.

"I have now told you what I like; but shall I speak nothing of that I dislike? ye will then say, I speak not plainly. I will therefore show my conscience plainly. I dislike that preachers which preach by the king's licence, and those readers which, by the king's permission and sufferance, do read open lectures, do openly and blasphemously talk against the mass, and against the sacrament. And to whom may I liken such readers and preachers? I may liken them unto posts; for the proverb says, that 'posts do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths.' And so do they. And to speak so against the sacrament, it is the most marvellous matter that ever I saw or heard of. I would wish, therefore, that there were a stay and an order in this behalf; and that there might be but one order or ruler: for as the poet saith, (I may use the verse of a poet well enough, for so doth Paul of the great poet,) Ουχ αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη εις κοιρανος εστο [Greek: Oych agathon polykoiranie eis koiranos esto], that is, A government by many is not good: let there be one king only. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king (they call it, 'going before the king'): and such make themselves kings.

"Well, what misliketh me else? It misliketh me that priests and men that vowed chastity, should openly marry and avow it openly; which is a thing that since the beginning of the church hath not been seen in any time, that men that have been admitted to any ecclesiastical administration, should marry. We read of married priests, that is to say, of married men chosen to be priests and ministers in the church; and in Epiphanius we read, that some such, for necessity, were winked at. But, that men being priests already, should marry, was never yet seen in Christ's church from the beginning of the apostles' time. I have written in it, and studied for it, and the very same places that are therein alleged to maintain the marriage of priests, being diligently

read, shall plainly confound them, that maintain to marry your priests—or at the furthest, within two lines after.

"Thus have I showed my opinion in orders proceeding from the inferiors, and in orders proceeding from the higher powers; and thus I have, as I trust, plainly declared myself, without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beseech your most excellent Majesty to esteem and take me as I am; and not to be slandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my conscience unto you. I have not played the post with you, to carry truth in my letters, and lies in my mouth; for I would not for all the world make a lie in this place: but I have disclosed the plain truth as it lieth in my mind. And thus I commit your most excellent Majesty, and all your most honourable councillors, with the rest of the devout audience here present, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end!"

Thus, having comprised the sum and chief purpose of his sermon, with such other matters above written, as appertain to time better opening and understanding of the corrupt and blind ignorance of this bishop, with his dissembling and double-face doings in matters of religion, now it remaineth that we should proceed to the process of his examinations, before the king's commissioners, with the full handling of his cause in such order and process as things were done from time to time, as here following is to be seen.

The first session.



HE first session or action against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was holden in the great hall of the manor of Lambeth, by the king's Majesty's commissioners; that is to say, Thomas, archbishop of Cantertury, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, one of the king's secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight; Griffin Leyson, John Oliver, doctors of law; Thomas Gosnold, esquire; Thomas Argall and William Say, notaries and actuaries in that matter assigned, the 15th of December, A.D. 1550: at which day and place, Master John Lewis, on the behalf of the king's Majesty, presented certain letters of commission under the great seal of England, the tenor whereof

ensueth.

"Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland; defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme head: To the most reverend father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved councillor, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the right reverend fathers in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved councillors, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, and Henry, bishop of Lincoln; our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, Sir William Peter, knight, one of our two principal secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight, one of our justices of Common Pleas; Griffith Leyson, John Oliver, doctors of the law; Richard Goodrick and John Gosnold, esquires, greeting.

"Whereas Stephen, bishop of Winchester, showing himself not conformable to our godly proceedings touching the reformations of sundry abuses in religion within this our realm—and

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for that amongst the multitude of our subjects not yet well persuaded therein, his examples, sayings, preachings, and doings, are very much hurt to the quiet furtherance, and humble receipt, of our said reformation and proceedings—was, for these and other great and urgent considerations, by our council, with our express consent and assent, willed, required, and commanded in our name, to preach and set forth there, in open sermon before us, sundry matters before that time justly ordered and reformed as well by our father of most noble memory, as by authority of parliament; and otherwise, by the advice of sundry learned men of our clergy; and whereas the said Stephen, bishop of Winchester, was at the same time, for the avoiding of occasion of our subjects, by our said council on our behalf, straitly charged and commanded not to speak of certain other matters unfit in respect of the time to be then spoken of, who, forgetting his bounden duty of allegiance to us, did nevertheless openly in our own hearing, and in the presence of our council, and a great number of our subjects, disobey the said commandments given to him, to the danger and evil example of all others, and great contempt of us, our crown, and dignity royal: for the which contempt, the same being notorious, the said bishop was then, by our authority, committed to our Tower of London, where, notwithstanding sundry sendings unto him, he hath ever since continued in this form of disobedience, and utterly and expressly refused to acknowledge the same: And besides that, by other ways and means increased in continuance and disobedience; for the which, after many occasions, and clemency ministered unto him, perceiving no hope of reconciling or conformity, we have further proceeded to the sequestration of the fruits and possessions of his bishopric; and given, eftsoons, strait commandment to obey and conform himself within the space of three months, upon pain of deprivation of the said bishopric, as by the record of our council, amongst other things, fully appeareth:

"Forasmuch as the said bishop—these our advertisements, monitions, and other the premises notwithstanding—doth yet still remain (as we be informed) in his former disobedience, and thereby declareth himself to be a person incorrigible, without any hope of recovery, we let you wit, that like as hitherto, by the space of these two years or more, we have suffered, and forborne to reform his offences with just punishment, upon hope of amendment, using and causing to be used (of our princely clemency, and certain knowledge) only such decrees and lenity in proceeding, as is aforesaid: so, seeing now and well perceiving by experience, that our long sufferance and great clemency hath been and is of him totally abused, and he thereby not only grown to a more wilfulness, but others also, by his example, much animated to follow like disobedience, we can no longer suffer his aforesaid misdemeanours and contempts to pass or remain unreformed; and therefore let you wit, that, knowing your gravity's learning, approved wisdoms, and circumspections, we, of our mere motion, certain knowledge, and by the advice of our council, have appointed, and by these presents do name and appoint, nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, Sir James Hales, or one of you, to be always one) to be our commissioners, substitutes, and delegates special; giving you nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you, (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, Sir James Hales, or one of you, to be always one,) ample commission, and full power, jurisdiction, and authority, not only to call before you at such days, times, and places, as often as to you it shall be thought convenient, the said bishop of Winchester, and all others, whatsoever they be, whom ye shall think good or necessary to be called for the examination, trial, proof, and full determination of this matter or any part thereof; but also to require all and every such process, writings, and rescripts, as have

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passed and been done in this matter as is aforesaid, to be brought in and exhibited before you. And finding the said bishop either to continue in his former contempt, or that he hath not conformed him according to our pleasure and the monitions given by our council by commission from us; or if he, being called before you, shall, eftsoons, refuse to conform himself, according to our said commandments and monitions, our pleasure is, that you shall proceed against him to deprivation of his bishopric, and removing of him from the same, and further do, and cause to be done in the premises and in all matters and causes annexed, incident or depending upon the same or any part thereof, all and every such thing or things as to our laws either ecclesiastical or temporal, statutes, ordinances, equity, and reason, shall appertain, and to your good wisdoms may seem just and reasonable; causing that that shall be decreed, judged, and determined by you, or four of you, as is aforesaid, to be inviolably and firmly observed: in the examinations, process, and final determinations of which matter our pleasure is that ye shall proceed *ex officio mere, mixto, vel promotu, omni appellatione remota summarie et de plano, absque omni strepitu et figura iudicii, ac sola veritate inspecta*: willing that that which, by any four of you, is or shall be begun, shall and may from time to time be continued and ended, by the same, or any other four or more of you; so as you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, or Sir James Hales, or one of you, be one. And such persons as you shall send for, or command to appear before you concerning this matter, if they appear not, or, appearing, do not obey the precepts, we give you full and ample authority to punish them and compel them, by such ways and means as to you, or four of you, as is aforesaid, shall seem convenient; commanding and straitly charging all and singular mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other our ministers and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto you in the doings of the premises. In witness whereof, to this our present commission, signed with our hand, we have caused our great seal of England to be annexed and put unto.

"Given at our palace at Westminster the 12th day of December, and the fourth year of our reign.

"Edward Somerset,
William Paget,
William Wiltshire,
Thomas Cheney,
John Warwick,
Anthony Wingfield,
John Bedford,
Thomas Darcy,
William North,
William Herbert,
Henry Dorset,
William Tirrell,
Edward Clinton,
Edward North
Thomas Wentworth"

This commission being openly read, the archbishop with the rest of the said commissioners (for the honour and reverence due to the king's Majesty) took the charge and burden of the said commission upon them; and decreed to proceed according to the form and effect thereof. And thereupon his Grace, by consent of the rest, then and there assigned William

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Say and Thomas Argall, jointly and severally, to be registrars and actuaries of that cause, and assigned Master David Clapham and Master John Lewis, proctors of the Arches, jointly and severally to be necessary promoters of their office in that behalf. Which done, the said promoters assigned, taking upon them the said office, and promoting the office of the said commissioners, ministered unto him certain positions and articles.

Whereupon they required the bishop of Winchester, then and there personally present, to be sworn faithfully and truly to make answer; and therewith the said bishop of Winchester requiring and obtaining leave to speak, declared in manner following:

"That forasmuch as he perceived himself to be called to answer to justice, he did most humbly thank the king's Majesty, that it had pleased his Grace to be his good and gracious lord therein, and most humbly did acknowledge his Majesty to be his natural sovereign lord; and that he had [obeyed,] and always would obey, his Majesty's authority and jurisdiction, and be subject thereunto. And that forasmuch as his Grace had been pleased to grant him to use his lawful remedy and defence in this behalf, therefore he, there and then, openly protested, that by any thing then spoken, or to be thenceforth spoken, or then done or to be done, or by his then personal appearance, he intended not to consent unto the said judges, nor to admit their jurisdiction any otherwise, nor further, than by the law he was bound to do; nor to renounce any privilege which he might or ought in this behalf to use, but to use the same to his most advantage, and all other lawful defence meet and convenient to and for him, as well by way of recusation of the same judges, or excepting against their commission, as otherwise: which his said protestation he willed and required to be inserted in these acts, and in all other acts thenceforth to be sped and done in this matter."

And under the same his protestation he required a copy, as well of the said commission, as also of these acts; which copies the judges did decree unto him. And this done, the archbishop, by consent of the rest, then and there did onerate the said bishop of Winchester with a corporal oath, upon the holy evangelists by him touched and kissed, to make a true and faithful answer to the said positions and articles, and every part of them, in writing, by the Thursday next following, between the hours of nine and ten before noon, in that place; and delivered a copy of the said positions and articles, willing the lieutenant of the Tower to let him have papers, pen, and ink, to make and conceive his said answers, and other his protestations and lawful defences in that behalf: the same bishop, under his form of protestation giving the same oath, as far as the law did bind him, and requiring to have counsel appointed him; which the archbishop, and the rest of the commissioners, did decree unto him, such as he should name.

This done, the said promoters produced Sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of the king's Majesty's honourable household, Sir William Cecil, secretary, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward North, Dr. Coxe, almoner, Sir Thomas North, Sir George Blage, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Challoner, Sir John Cheke, Master Dr. Ayre, Master Dr. Robert Record, Master Nicholas Udall, and Thomas Watson, witnesses upon the articles by them ministered as before. Which witnesses, and every one of them, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, did admit, and with a corporal oath in form of law did onerate, to say and depose the whole and plain truth that they knew, in and upon the contents of the said articles; and monished them, and every one of them, to come to be examined accordingly: the said bishop of Winchester, under his said

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former protestation, dissenting to the said production, admission, and swearing; and protesting to say, as well against the persons of the said witnesses, as their sayings, so far as the same did or should make against them; and asking a time to minister interrogatories against them: to whom it was assigned to minister the said interrogatories by the Thursday immediately following.

As touching the depositions of the witnesses above named, ye shall have them, with all other attestations of the witnesses, as well of nobility as of others produced and examined in this matter, (both against the said bishop, and with him,) in the twentieth act of this process, where publication of the most part of them was required and granted. After this, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, at the petition of the said promoters, continued the cause, in the state it was, unto the Thursday following, between the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon in that place.

The second session.

The second session or act against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was held at Lambeth, on Thursday the eighteenth day of December.

The said eighteenth day of December, in the fore-named place, between the hours as above prefixed, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, assembled as they were the last session, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall, actuaries, there was there presented to them a letter sent to them from the privy council, the tenor whereof is this:

"After our right hearty commendation unto your good Lordships: It is come to our knowledge by report of persons of good credit which were present at Lambeth at your last session in the bishop of Winchester's cause, that the said bishop did earnestly affirm in open court before your Lordships, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people, that we had made a full end with him at the Tower, for all the matters for which he was then committed, in such sort as he verily thought never to have heard any more thereof: which report seemed to us very strange, and so much toucheth the honour of the king's Majesty, to have him called to justice now for a matter determined: and our fidelities to his Majesty, to have ended the same cause without commission, that although the said bishop seem to defend his cause with untruths, yet can we not suffer him to seek his credit by his over-bold affirmation, amongst a multitude of so false and untrue matters; and, therefore, we have thought it necessary, upon our fidelities and honours to declare, that his said tale of our ending the matter with him, is false and untrue: for neither did we make any end of his matter, neither had we any commission from the king's Majesty so to do; but only to hear and confer with him for his obedience, and thereof to make report. And whereas he saith our end was such, that he thought never to have heard thereof again, if he meant to remember truths, as in this behalf he hath devised untruths, he then can tell what we said to him, requiring more liberty, that we had no commission to grant him that, or to take any order with him, but only to commune with him.

"We be sorry to see him make so evil a beginning at the first day, as to lay the first foundation of his defence upon so false and manifest an untruth; and would wish his audacity and unshamefacedness were used in allegation of truths; for this way, as the proverb saith, 'it

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doth but feed the winds.' Forgetfulness is oftentimes borne with as a man's excusation, but impudent avowal of falseness was never tolerable. Wherefore, besides that we would admonish him hereof, because his false report was openly made, and arrogantly against the truth told him maintained, we pray you to cause this our declaration to be manifested in like manner; that the truth may appear, and thereby the said bishop may be taught to forbear further false allegations: and, at the least, if he will help his cause no otherwise, yet to consider whom he shall touch with his untruth. For although the king's Majesty is well pleased he shall there, before you, use his defence, and have good justice, yet must he think it is not granted him to become so liberal a talker out of the matter, as his natural property and condition moveth him, nor within the matter to become so arrogant, as his sayings should be believed against other men's proofs: which two things if he should amend, 'we will be most glad of it, and charitably wish him a mild spirit, to remember he standeth in judgment for contempt against his sovereign lord the king's Majesty. And so we bid your Lordships most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, the 17th day of December, 1550.

"Your good lords' assured loving friends,
Edward Somerset,
John Bedford,
William Wiltshire,
William North."

This letter, after they had read it to themselves, they commanded to be openly read; the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, requiring that he might be heard speak before that they would so openly read: for that as he said he had matter to say, that should move the judges not to have it openly read. Which request of the said bishop, because they granted him not, but willed the same letter to be openly read, as it was, by the actuary, who was William Say; and after, by the judges decreed, to remain among the acts: the said bishop upon the said reading, declared among other things to them, that they should have respect to all indifferently, and regard no letters or particular advertisements, but to have God alone before his eyes; under his former protestation protesting also, for that he could not be heard speak as before.

After this, the said bishop, declaring that he had used all the diligence he could possibly, to make ready his answers—which for the prolixity of them, and lack of a clerk, and shortness of time [he had not been able to complete]—yet, to declare his diligence in this behalf, under his said protestations, exhibited his said answers; being, as he said, the first original of his own hand-writing, which he required and offered to read openly himself. And because of the length of them, the judges were contented, that the said actuaries should exemplify them, and after collation and conference made between the said original and copy, with the said bishop in the Tower, by the said actuaries, the said original to be delivered him again. Thus his answers being exhibited, the commissioners did grant, (as is said,) not only to redeliver them to him, but also granted to the said bishop to alter and reform his said former answers, in case they should not have been fully and truly made according to his mind; and the same being fully made, to exhibit on Tuesday next in the place and at the hours aforesaid.

Then the said bishop, under his former protestations, gave in certain interrogatories against the witnesses sworn at the last session, requiring them to be interrogated upon them accordingly. The tenor of which interrogatories are these, as followeth:

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Interrogatories ministered by Winchester against his witnesses.

"Inprimis: Whether they heard the bishop of Winchester say, in the end of his sermon made before the king's Majesty, that he agreeth thoroughly with the rulers and higher estate of the realm; but all the fault he found was in the lower part, or such like words to that sense?"

"Whether the bishop of Winchester did not say unto him, when he came with Sir Anthony Wingfield, that he thought so to have made his sermon, as none of the council should have found fault with it?"

"Whether the said bishop of Winchester required the same Sir Ralph Sadler to show the lord of Somerset's Grace, that, by his advice, he should never speak of the letter he sent unto the said bishops?"

These his interrogatories being thus laid in, the judges granted him, at his request, a longer day, to minister more interrogatories, if he were so disposed, against as many of the said witnesses as remained about the city, and that they should not depart thence between that and the next session. Then the said bishop, under protestation as afore, required a copy of the sentence of sequestration and intimation made against him in the last summer, and likewise to have a clerk, and some temporal counsel. And the judges granted him to have a clerk to be with him and his counsel, so long as his counsel remained there, and willed him to send them the names of such temporal counsel as he would have, and he should have answer therein as was meet. There was also, by the said bishop, under his said protestation, exhibited a letter missive, directed from the council to Dr. Standish, Dr. Jeffrey, and Dr. Lewis, advocates of the Arches, and to Dockrel and Clark, proctors of the same; the tenor whereof ensueth in these words:

Letter missive to Drs. Standish and Jeffrey, &c.

"To our loving friends Dr. Standish and Dr. Jeffrey, advocates of the Court of the Arches, and Dockrel and Clark, proctors of the same.

"After our hearty commendations: Whereas the bishop of Winchester (having counsel granted unto him by our very good lord the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's Majesty's commissioners, as we be informed) caused you to be required to be a counsel with him: these be to advertise you the king's Majesty is pleased to, and by these our letters doth, license you, not only to be counsel with him, but also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. And this his Majesty is pleased, notwithstanding one of you is his Majesty's chaplain. Fare you well.

"From Westminster, this present Tuesday, in December, 1550.

"Your friends, Edward Somerset,

W. North,

William Wiltshire,

F. Huntingdon,

J. Warwick,

E. Clinton,

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John Bedford,
Thomas Cheney."

By the said letter, as ye have heard, they were licensed, as well to be a counsel with the bishop of Winchester in this his suit, as also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. Which letter, under his said protestations, he required to be registered, and the original to be to him redelivered; and the same his counsel then present (Dr. Lewis only absent) to be licensed also, by decree of the judges, to be of counsel as afore; at whose desire the said judges decreed according to his request.

The third session.

The third session or action was sped on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of December, A.D. 1550, at the prefixed hours, at Lambeth aforesaid, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, (Sir James Hales and Master Richard Goodrick only absent,) in presence of the aforesaid William Say and Thomas Argall, actuaries. At the which day and place, Gardiner bishop of Winchester was assigned to exhibit his full answers to the positions and articles objected, and to minister more interrogations to the witnesses not yet departed: where and at what time, the said bishop of Winchester read an appellation in writing afore the actuaries aforesaid, and required them to make an instrument thereof.

This being done, the bishop, under his former protestation, and under the protestation not to recede from the benefit of his said appeal, did exhibit his answers to the said positions, being fully made as he said; and required a copy thereof, and also his first original answer, to be redelivered to him: which was decreed, due collation first made of the said original; the tenor of which his fuller answers, word for word, ensueth:

Answer of the bishop of Winchester to the request of a more full answer in certain articles objected unto him.

"The seventh article is not fully answered, where you say, 'I remember not!' 'At any time, that I remember.' First, for that it is required to make a more full answer to the seventh article, containing such general matter as is referred to two years and a half by-past and gone, than do the words 'as I remember,' the said bishop saith his answer therein, uttering as much as is presently in his conscience, doth satisfy all law and reason; and that the word *credo* in Latin, (I believe,) whereby all such positions be answered unto, containeth in effect no more virtue and strength, than do the words 'as I remember' in English; because no man can think of himself to be true, that he remembereth not, except as a man may think of himself generally, that (knowing his direct intention ever to do well) may think well of himself, as the said bishop hath, in the latter general clause of his answers, said; where he saith, Credit all his affirmations and denials in his said answer to be true, as his conscience now testifieth unto him. And therefore, because he answereth to the said seventh article, that he was never but once called in all his life, and at that time declared the matters wherefore he was called; and how, in the end of that examination, the said bishop answereth, that he so departed as he durst; and did allege for himself that he was no offender, and ought not in that sort to tarry by commandment, it must needs, by the matter contained in his said answer, sufficiently appear, he hath fully answered that article; and that

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(being such a personage as he is and hath been) he ought not—after vexation in prison so long time (two years and a half) in such manner of solitary keeping as he might reasonably forget that, and the world also—be now thus travailed with, whereby to touch the integrity of his conscience, and, without cause, indirectly to impute to him, as though he had not satisfied his oath: specially considering that the answer of the said bishop hath been willingly made to such articles; as else by the direct order of the law, he ought not to be compelled to make answer unto: offering, nevertheless, that when by the judges any further specialty shall be objected unto him, he will, and is ready (in such case as the law bind him to answer unto it) to make such answer as the law bindeth him unto in that behalf.

"The eighth wanteth answer to this part; namely, You were called before the kings Majesty's council, in the month of June, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, and by them, in his Highness's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his Majesty, and therein to declare the justness and godliness,' &c.

"To the eighth article the said bishop saith that full answer is made, in that the whole process of the fact, as it can come to the said bishop's remembrance, is plainly told (in what sort that matter of preaching was opened, and where, and with whom) by a clause, that 'otherwise the said bishop was not spoken with concerning preaching.' Which preciseness he nevertheless doth understand according to his present memory and conscience, wherein the said bishop can say no more, but as his conscience now testifieth the fact to have been; declaring with whom he was, with whom he spake, and what they said to him; which, as touching the time, he thinketh was done in the month of June; and his being with the duke of Somerset, to have been the Monday sevensnight before the said bishop preached: And the determination of the bishop being such as he intended faithfully to speak of the matters in the papers, after his conscience, (as he indeed ought to think himself in general estimation of his own integrity,) he did—and it cannot be to him prejudicial to have been commanded to preach, and therefore he mindeth not to make contradiction, or any state of question therein, although he must presently answer as his conscience telleth him, and so doth in his answer to the said article.

The ninth is not sufficiently answered, where you said, 'If I did omit:' and, 'If I did perchance omit any thing, whereof I can make now none assurance: But if I did omit: If it were true, as I know it not to be:' and, 'If I promised to speak plainly: If I had broken it,' &c.

"To the ninth, the said bishop saith his answer to that fact (of two years and a half by-past) of so many divers particularities to be by him touched in special, in a sermon, whereunto he came so troubled as in his said answer is declared, cannot be required to be made now more certain than it is made. And in case of omission, (as is here objected,) which may be by oblivion, and, considering the said bishop's intent, if it happened, was so, and no otherwise; no man can affirm precisely what he forgot, if it were true he did forget; for he that forgetteth, in that he forgetteth, knoweth it not, being forgotten then. And seeing the said bishop determined to speak of all requisite to be spoken of, according as was answered he would, he may then say, If he forgot, it must be by oblivion, and not of purpose. And it is a position uncertain and dangerous for conscience, whereunto the law bindeth no man to answer, to bring the said bishop's faith in slander, to answer more precisely to the fact than is already done. Wherefore all the 'ifs' that be made in the bishop's said answer in that article, be to declare the exclusion of contempt and

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disobedience, if any thing were indeed omitted, as the said bishop knoweth not any to have been, and without prejudice of granting by implication, what ought not to be granted in fact; which was by oblivion, if it were. And therefore, in all law and reason, the said answer as it was first made, is sufficient and reasonable cause by the said bishop now alleged, why none other should now be made or required of him.

"To the tenth, concerning that you were commanded and inhibited, on the king's Majesty's behalf, &c., you answer nothing.

"To the tenth, sufficient answer is made by declaration of the fact as it was; whereupon whether an inhibition and commandment may be grounded and proved, shall appear in the discussion of that letter sent by the duke of Somerset's Grace; which letter the said bishop answereth, in his said answer, to lie of no force in his conscience; declaring the reason of the causes why, and more intendeth to declare, by matter specially to be alleged hereafter for the same. And therefore, seeing commandment and inhibition to be terms of law, the force whereof riseth upon estimation of the fact thereupon to be denied, what is commandment and inhibition, as what is none; the said bishop esteemeth himself discharged in law, to tell for answer the mere fact done in that matter—with the sincerity of his conscience, how he esteemed and doth esteem it; and is bound by no law to bring his credit in slander upon a point of law, and either to grant to his prejudice that to be a commandment or inhibition, which, in his conscience, is none, or, by denial, incur danger of slander of his conscience, if others would esteem it a commandment or inhibition; and, therefore, he telleth the fact, as it was, of the receipt of the said letter: which letter he is ready to exhibit, as he doth offer in his said answer, for more ample understanding of the said answer.

"The last hath no answer concerning your submission, reconciliation, and reformation, &c. To the last article the said bishop said, that, seeing he denied in his answer all contempt on his part, he answereth it sufficiently, seeing the cause of reconciliation and reformation, after the judgment of his conscience, failing, the same ought not to be by him offered with prejudice of his innocency, which he is bound to maintain and defend; because, being an honest man, he is somewhat worth to the king his sovereign lord; and having cast his innocency willingly away by the untrue testimony of himself, he is nothing worth to the world nor himself either. As touching 'submission,' being an ambiguous word, to justice and mercy, the said bishop would think himself not worthy to live, if he should not submit himself to the king's Majesty's justice willingly and humbly, which he hath always done, as shall appear hereafter, now doth, and will do during his life. And when, by examination of his cause by justice, the said bishop shall appear in any point faulty, he will humbly submit himself to such punishment as shall be appointed to that fault, if there be any; and, by that means, honour (as his duty is) the king's Majesty and his laws, as every good subject should do. But otherwise, by submission to mercy whereby to imply an offence in himself, whereof the said bishop in his conscience knoweth he is not guilty, and whereof the said bishop is by no order of law convinced, is what the said bishop dare affirm, and is persuaded, the king's Majesty would wittingly require of no man; but will graciously permit every man to be tried and taken as he is.

"You lack well near (in your answer) to every article and position this clause —'and otherwise,' &c.—without which your answer remaineth imperfect and uncertain.

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"Finally, as touching the general clause 'and otherwise,' &c., seeing this is a special matter, specially used, and handled in such a special form as the said bishop thinketh was never heard of in a special personage, and in a special time; the said bishop desireth, that among so many specialties he be not bound to such a general clause as no law requireth in special terms; and such a clause as needeth not in this matter, nor can serve to any other use, but to bring the faith of the said bishop in slander, answering as he doth upon his oath: in consideration whereof, seeing the said bishop hath to such articles made answer, as by law he is not bound to answer unto—declaring thereby his desire to have the fact opened and known, uttering for his part as much as his conscience testifieth to be truth, and as much as upon these generalities he can call to remembrance—the said bishop (his protestations in the acts repeated and preserved) desireth his answers may be so by you the judges accepted and taken; considering also the said bishop offereth himself ready, as any other specialty, according to law and equity, shall be asked of him, he will be and is always ready to make such answer as the law bindeth him, as afore is always said."

These his full answers, as he said, being perused and considered by the commissioners, then the promoters alleged, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, referring themselves to the same answers and to the law; and therefore, accusing his contumacy in that behalf, did require him to be pronounced contumacious; and in pain thereof to be declared as confessed, upon the same, whereunto he had not fully answered; the said bishop, under his said protestations, saying that he had fully answered, referred himself to the said answers: whereupon the judges had assigned him to make full answer to the said positions, in case his answers already made were not full, the next court day; having first declaration made from the said judges, by St. John's day next, wherein it was not fully answered.

Then the said promoters alleged, that there were certain acts, orders, and other processes concerning that matter, making for the proof of the articles by them ministered in that cause, remaining in the books of the registry of the king's most honourable council, which they desired might there be exhibited. Whereupon Master Armigil Wade, and Master William Thomas, clerks of the said council, by commandment of the said judges did present two books, being, as they affirmed, originals of the said register, with certain copies extracted therefrom, concerning that matter; and, upon a corporal oath to them proffered by the judges, at the promoter's request they affirmed the same to be the very true and original books of the said register; and forasmuch as the books contained many secret matters not to be opened abroad, therefore the said judges, at the request of the promoters, decreed collation to be made between the said originals and copies, by the said clerks, and the foresaid actuaries; and that after collation made, as full faith should be given to the said copies as to the originals, as well as if the said bishop were present at the same collations.

After which decree, the said bishop, under his said protestations dissenting to the said exhibition, and protesting of the nullity thereof, and of the exhibits, and alleging the same to be but private writings, and not authentic, nor such whereunto faith sufficient in law ought to be given, nevertheless, without prejudice of his said protestation, consenting that collation thereof might be made in his absence, reserving power to him to object against the said exhibits, as far as by the law he might in that behalf do, as if he were personally present at the said collation.

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After this the judges, at the promoters' request, published the depositions of the witnesses produced by them, (the which witnesses, as heretofore I have declared, ye shall read in the twentieth act of this process,) the said bishop, under his said protestation dissenting thereunto, and protesting not to take knowledge or understanding of the said depositions, for that he intended to propose a matter justificatory, directly contrary to the articles proposed.

After this the judges, at the promoters' request, assigned to the said bishop to propose a matter, if he had any, upon Thursday next after the feast of the Epiphany, at the hours and place [specified,] the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting, and asking a copy, as well of the acts, as of the exhibits aforesaid; to whom it was so decreed.

The fourth session.



he fourth session or act against the bishop of Winchester, was before the aforesaid commissioners, sitting in judgment in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall, notaries, the eighth day of January, anno 1551, upon Thursday, before noon.

It was assigned to the bishop of Winchester this day and place, to make full answer to the sixth, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, before not fully answered; and also to propose a matter, if he had any to propose; whereupon the said bishop of

Winchester, repeating his former protestations, and under the same, and also such protestations as he said were contained in his matter, did then and there exhibit a matter in writing, which he required to be admitted, and a competent term assigned to him to prove the same, to all the effects of the law, and to all intents, purposes, and effects, contained in his said matter, with compulsory process, and other as shall be requisite for him to have, for proof of the said matter.

Now, to proceed further: in this fourth act the said Gardiner, after this matter thus exhibited as is above-said, did also, under his said protestation, exhibit a certain letter, to him (as he said) sent from the duke of Somerset, inasmuch as the same concerned his full answers to the positions, and made for his full answers; and not otherwise. And therewith he also gave in his answers to the positions afore not fully answered, the promoters accepting the contents as well of the said letters, as of his answers, as far as they made for the office, and not otherwise; and further alleging, that the bishop had not fully answered; and therefore requiring, that he be pronounced contumacious; and in pain thereof, be declared as confessed upon those positions whereunto it was not fully answered: the said bishop, under his said protestation, alleging that he had fully answered, as far as he was bound by law, referring himself to all his answers, and to the law, and to the letters and matters aforesaid.

Then the promoters (protesting of the nullity and generality, invalidity and inefficacy, of the said matter) alleged that the same did not conclude in law, and therefore ought not to be admitted; and therefore they required the same to be rejected: the said bishop, under his said protestations, requiring the same to be admitted as afore. Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure as well upon the said answers as upon the said matters, upon the Monday following, at

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the same time and place, to which assignation the said bishop (under his said protestations) dissented, and required a letter by him, as before exhibited, to be registered, and the original to be to him re-delivered: which was decreed.

The fifth session against Gardiner.

The fifth appearance or session of the aforesaid bishop was on the twelfth day of January, anno 1551, in the forenoon of that day, before the judges, and in the place, as it was in the last session; the said actuaries being present. It was assigned, then and there, to hear the judges' pleasure upon the bishop's answer, and the matter by him proposed.

"The promoters did allege, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, as by them is before alleged, (referring themselves to the answers, and to the law,) and therefore did accuse the contumacy of the bishop. And he, being commanded to make full answer thereunto, and not full answering, they did, as afore, desire him to be pronounced *contumax*; and, in pain thereof, to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the parts of those positions, whereunto he had not fully answered:—the said bishop, under his former protestations, saying, that he ought not to be so pronounced and declared, for that he did not refuse to make answer, but upon the judge's decree and declaration made: that wherein he hath not fully answered, he would then make answer accordingly. And after disputation had on both sides upon the matter, the judges admonished the said bishop to make full answers to the said positions already not fully answered, on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of the same month, the same time and place, under pain of the law. After this, the said judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestation, admitted the matter aforesaid, inasmuch as the law would the same matter to be admitted, and not otherwise; the said promoters accepting the contents in the said matter, as far as the same did make for the office, and none otherwise.

"Then the said judges assigned to the said bishop (for a term to prove the contents of his said matter) Monday, the twenty-sixth day of January, the same time and place; and every judicial day between this and that, to produce his witnesses upon intimation thereof made to the promoters of the office; and further offered to the said bishop, that in case he would nominate his witnesses, he should have (if he would require) letters from the said judges to the said witnesses, to command them with speed to come to answer, and be examined without further compulsory process."

The copy of the letter sent to the several witnesses here followeth.

The letter from the judges to Gardiner's witnesses.

"After our commendations, we signify unto you, that whereas the bishop of Winchester thinketh your testimony necessary for declaration and proof of the truth, as he saith, in a cause depending before us and others, the king's Majesty's commissioners, and doubteth lest, upon his own request, ye will not willingly come, without certain advertisement from us, thereby to mean no displeasure or danger: these shall be to do you to wit, that ye may, without all blame and lack, upon request unto you made, repair to bear witness in that matter after the truth, and your conscience. And, to the intent the matter now depending by your absence be not delayed and

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deferred, we likewise charge you and command you, upon sight hereof, to repair to London with all convenient speed, to depose and testify in the said matter as afore: and therefore will you to use what diligence you can, whereby to avoid that may be objected unto you for the contrary. Thus fare ye well.

"Your loving friends,

T. Canterbury,

John Oliver,

N. London,

John Gosnall,

William Peter,

Griffith Leyson.

"From Lambeth, the 16th day of January, anno 1551."

"And further the said judges declared, that if at that day (the bishop in the mean time using due diligence for production of his witnesses) there should appear sufficient cause to grant him a longer day to prove, that then they would prorogue his said term further, as should be requisite: the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting to the assignation to prove, for shortness of the time assigned. After this, upon motion made that the bishop should constitute proctors, to produce his said witnesses for him, the said bishop, under his said protestation, alleging and protesting that these causes were criminal, and that he therefore could not, by the law, constitute a proctor; nevertheless, under protestation also that by his constitution he intended not to alter the nature of his cause, did constitute Master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerk, proctors of the Arches, James Basset, James Wingfield, and Thomas Somerset, gentlemen, jointly and severally his proctors, to appear for him, and in his name, before the said judges; and to produce witnesses necessary in that behalf, and to require them to be received, sworn, and examined; and, further, to do all things needful and requisite in that behalf, promising to ratify and stand to their doings in the premises and other his said protestations; requiring a copy of all the acts and exhibits in this cause: to whom it was so decreed."

The sixth act against Gardiner.

Another act or session was held on Saturday, the seventeenth day of January, in the bishop of London's palace, before the said bishop, and the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Dr. Oliver, and Master Gosnall, commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"The said day and place, appeared before the said judges Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, by him constituted the last court day; and, under the said bishop's former protestations, he exhibited the said proxy, and, making himself party for the said bishop, produced William Coppinger and John Davy, for witnesses upon articles XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LV. LVI. LXVIII. LXXIX. LXXX. and LXXXI. of the matter laid in by the bishop; requiring them to be charged with a corporal oath in form of law, to testify the truth thereupon. At whose request the judges did onerate the said witness with a corporal oath upon the holy evangelists, to depose the whole and plain truth as well upon the said articles as upon the whole cause, and upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, in presence of

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Masters Lewes and Clapham, promoters of the office, protesting to say against them and their sayings, in ease and as far as they should depose against the office. The copy of the which interrogatories, as well against Coppinger and Davy, as others undernamed, followeth in these words:—"

Interrogatories ministered against William Coppinger, John Dary, and William Bell, Nicholas Lentall, and Richard Hampden, John Seton, doctor of divinity, William Medon, clerk, Thomas Watson, clerk, and Robert Massey, pretended witnesses, brought in and sworn in, of the bishop of Winchester's part.

"First, it was asked of every of the said pretended witnesses, Whether he is or hath been servant retained or belonging to the said bishop, and how long he hath been servant so retained or belonging; and what wages, livery, annuity, or advancement, he hath or hath had, of the said bishop.

"Item, Whether he hath any affection, and what affection, toward the said bishop and his matter, in this cause moved and depending against the said bishop.

"Item, Whether they or any of them do earnestly covet and desire that the bishop may overcome in this matter, and have the victory: yea or nay.

"Item, If any of the said witnesses shall at any time seem to say any thing prejudicial unto the office promoted against the said bishop, or sounding to his discharge, let him be asked of the cause of his knowledge, and let him express the same."

And thus much for the interrogatories against Coppinger and others. Concerning the depositions of the witnesses here produced, ye shall see more at large in the twentieth session, until the which session we have deferred all other depositions of witnesses, as well of the one part as of the other, there the whole to be read and seen together.

The seventh session against Gardiner.

The seventh appearance or action of the forenamed bishop was in the council-chamber at Greenwich, on Monday, the nineteenth day of January, anno 1551, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Secretary Peter, and Master Doctor Leyson, judges delegate; the actuaries, as before, being present.

"The said day and place appeared Master James Wingfield, and Master James Basset, proctors, constituted at the last session (which was the twelfth day of January) in this cause, by the bishop of Winchester; and, under the bishop's former protestations, did exhibit the proxy to them in that behalf made, and produced the right honourable personages here undernamed, being of the king's Majesty's most honourable privy council; that is to say, the duke of Somerset's Grace, on articles I. II. III. IV. X. XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVII. XXVIII. XLV. XLVII. XLVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXXXVI. LXXXVII.: the earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer, on articles I. II. III. IV. X. XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. LV. LVII. LVIII.

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LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXIX. LXX. LXXI. LXXII. LXXIII. LXXVI. LXXV II.: the earl of Warwick, lord great master, on articles I. II. III. IV. LXIX. LXX. LXXI. LXXII. LXXIII. LXXVI. LXXVII.: the earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, on articles I. II. III. IV. LVII. LVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII.: the marquis of Northampton, lord great chamberlain, on articles I. II. III. IV. V. LII. LVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXXVI. LXXVII.: Sir William Harbert, master of the horse, on articles I. II. III. IV. LXIX. LXX. LXXI. LXXII. LXXIII. LXXIV. LXXV. LXXVI. LXXVII.: the Lord Chobham, on articles LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. and LXVII. of the matter proposed by the bishop. Which said honourable personages they required to be admitted, sworn, and examined, as witnesses thereupon, as the law in that behalf required; the said honourable personages declaring, that such personages of dignity as they, were privileged, by the laws of the realm, not to be sworn after the common form, as other persons and witnesses are accustomedly sworn: nevertheless promising, upon their truth to God, their allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's Majesty, and their honours and fidelities, to depose the very truth that they knew in that behalf. Whom the said judges did so operate upon their truth and allegiance to God, and the king's Majesty, and upon their honours and fidelities, to depose the very truth, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, in presence of Master Clapham, promoter of the office, then and there requiring them to be so operated upon the whole cause, and with due reverence approving the honourable personages of the said witnesses; protesting, nevertheless, to use the benefit of the law against their sayings, (their honours always saved,) in case and as far as the same should be seen in law to make against the office; and requiring them to be likewise examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them by the office; they likewise, as afore, promising, and by the judges operated, to declare and answer the truth thereunto, according to their knowledge in this behalf."

The eighth session against Gardiner.

The eighth session or court day was holden upon the cause of the bishop of Winchester, in the place of the lord chancellor Lord Riche, at Great St. Bartholomew's, before the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the king's commissioners, in the presence of the aforesaid actuaries, on the twelfth day, the twentieth day of January, anno 1551.

"The same day and place appeared before the said judges Master James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, constituted the last court day; and, under the said bishop's former protestations he exhibited the said proxy; and, making himself party for the said bishop, produced the right honourable lord chancellor of England, as witness upon articles I. II. III. IV. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. and LV. of the matter laid in by the bishop; whom he required to be admitted, sworn, and examined, as a witness, according to the law; the said lord chancellor declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity and office, (as he was,) are by the laws of the realm privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses accustomedly do swear; promising nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's Majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he doth know, in this behalf: whom the said judges did so operate upon his truth to God, allegiance to the king's Majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, in presence of Master Clapham, promoter of the office, approving the honourable personage of the said lord, and yet

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protesting to say against his sayings, in case and as far as they should be seen in law to make against the office; and requiring his Lordship to be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto him by the office; his Lordship (like as afore) promising, and by the judges ordered, to declare and answer the truth thereunto, according to his knowledge."

Concerning this noble personage of the lord chancellor here produced, who was then Master Wriothesley, understand, gentle reader, that though we find him here produced and sworn, yet we find not his depositions in any place. Whether he did depose at all, or not, I am not able to say. And this, by the way, concerning that man. Now to the matter.

"This being done, the said James Basset, proctor aforesaid, and under the protestations above recited, did intimate to the said lord chancellor, the appellation and querelation made by the said bishop of Winchester, as he said; and did show the instrument thereof made.

"After this, the said James Basset, under the former protestations, did produce the worshipful John Baker, knight, upon articles I. II. III. and IV. of the matter aforesaid, requiring that he might swear and be examined upon the same. At whose request the said judges did order the said Sir John Baker with an oath upon the holy evangelists, to declare the truth he knew upon the same articles, and upon the interrogatories that should be ministered by the office; the aforesaid Master Clapham approving his person, and yet protesting, as before he protested of the lord chancellor."

Interrogatories ministered by the office.

"I. Imprimis: Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the late king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, father of our sovereign lord the king's Majesty that now is, (for sundry causes him moving, and specially for that he judged and esteemed the bishop of Winchester nothing well pleased with the proceedings of the realm in matters of religion,) misliked the said bishop, and was much offended with him?

"II. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the suspicion conceived of the said bishop, as is aforesaid, his Highness did forbear and refuse to have him named among other bishops and learned men, which were appointed to make the books last set forth by his Majesty, touching a uniformity in matters of religion?

"III. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the causes aforesaid, and other great considerations him specially moving, he reputed the said bishop for a man vehemently suspected to favour the bishop of Rome?

"IV. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said late king, expressly willed him (the said bishop) no more to be of the privy council with the king's Majesty our sovereign lord that now is; and omitted, and expressly refused, to have him named among other councillors, in his testament, to be of the council, as is aforesaid?

"V. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said bishop, being aforesaid as an executor in the testament of the said late king, was, a little before his death, at his declaring of

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his last will, put out by his Highness, and so by him refused to be one of his said executors? for what causes the said bishop was so put out, and what the said late king said of the said bishop at the same time?

"VI. Item, Whether you know, or have heard say, that the said bishop is, and in the time of our late sovereign lord hath been, commonly reputed and accepted a man much favouring the authority and proceedings of the bishop of Rome, and, as such a one, an adversary to the king's Majesty's godly proceedings for reformation of abuses in religion in the court, in his diocese, and elsewhere, among such as be men of good understanding; and knoweth him commonly accepted and taken as such, and that such is the common and public fame in the court, in his said diocese, or elsewhere in this realm?

"VII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that to such of his diocese as favour the king's Majesty's godly proceedings, he hath been and is an offence or slander; and whether it is probably thought by them, that he, the said bishop, hath been and is a great hinderance to the said proceedings; and for such a one hath been and is by them commonly reputed and taken.

"VIII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that he—being commanded in the king's Majesty's name, for the avoiding of tumult, and upon other urgent considerations, not to treat of any thing in controversy concerning the communion or sacrament of the altar and the mass—contrary to that commandment, spake, among other things, these words following, or like in effect; namely, That the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood is present in the sacrament, to feed us, which was given to redeem us, and that Christ consecrated himself to be a memorial of himself; and that it was the same Christ that was offered then, and is now either sacrificed, or else remembered in the mass; and that private masses might be and were well retained in this realm of England?

"IX. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that as well before the time of the sermon made by the bishop of Winchester on St. Peter's day, in the second year of the king's Majesty's reign, as at the time of the sermon, there was much contention, strife, debate, and controversy, among divers of the king's Majesty's subjects, as well in the city of London, as elsewhere within this realm of England, concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar, and the retaining and use of private masses, whether the same might stand with God's word or no."

Then Basset required the lord chancellor to be examined as a witness on the Monday following.

The ninth session against Gardiner.

The ninth session or action upon the cause of Gardiner was held in the house of Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, called Cold Harbour, before Thomas and Henry, bishops of Ely and Lincoln, with the other commissioners judicially sitting, with the presence of the above-named notaries, on Wednesday, the twenty-first of January, 1551.

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"The said day and place appeared before the said judges James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, on articles I. II. III. and IV.; William Bell, clerk, on articles XXXIV. and XXXV.; Nicholas Lentall and Richard Hampden on article XV.; John Seton, doctor of divinity, on articles XV. XXIX. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; William Medow, clerk, on articles I. II. III. X. XV. XXV. XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; Thomas Watson, clerk, on articles VII. XI. XII. XIV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXIX. XXXI. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. and LXVIII.; and Robert Massey on articles XIII. and XVI. of the matter purposed by the bishop of Winchester; requiring that they and every of them might be onerated with an oath, to say and depose the truth in that they knew. At whose request the judges did onerate the same witnesses, and every of them, with an oath corporal, taken in due form, to testify the truth as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, and, upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, and every of them, when they should be examined in the presence of David Clapham, one of the said promoters of the office, approving the person of the said Cuthbert, bishop, and yet protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they should say or depose any thing against his office.

"These things done, appeared before the said commissioners then and there judicially sitting, as before, Thomas Dockwray, one of the proctors of the bishop of Winchester, constituted and appointed by him, and under former protestations made by the said bishop, he did exhibit his proxy for the said bishop, made in the acts, and made himself party for him. And also, under the said protestations, he gave and exhibited certain positions additional unto the matter already purposed by the said bishop of Winchester, which he desired to be admitted in the presence of the aforesaid David Clapham, one of the promoters, protesting of the nullity, generality, invalidity, inefficacy, and undue specification, of the same; and desiring the same to be rejected.

"Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure upon the said positions upon the Monday following at Lambeth, at the hour accustomed, and heretofore already assigned. Consequently the said Thomas Dockwray, proctor aforesaid, under former protestations, &c., did lay in and give a matter in writing, conceived against the exhibits, desiring the same to be admitted by the judges in the presence of the aforesaid David Clapham, promoter, protesting as he did of the positions additional afore given; and further, alleging the same not to conclude in law, and therefore desiring the same matter to be rejected. Hereupon the judges assigned their pleasure to be heard upon the admission, or else the rejection, of the said matter, the day and place assigned; concerning which positions additional, with the matter, also, by the aforesaid proctor, exhibited, the tenor thereof here followeth."

Articles additional exhibited by Gardiner.

Here follow the positions and articles additional and declaratory of the matter, and letter, of late purposed and exhibited by the bishop of Winchester, before the pretended commissaries or judges delegate, named in the same matter, which the said bishop gave under the protestations made by him in the matter aforesaid.

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"First, That the bishop of London that now is, then being bishop of Rochester, did openly in his sermon made at Paul's Cross in the month of November or December, or thereabouts, in the first year of the king's Majesty's reign that now is, very earnestly and vehemently preach and teach the true presence of Christ's most precious body to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That Dr. Redman, in a sermon which he preached before the king's Majesty in Lent, the second year of his Majesty's reign, did preach and teach to be believed for the true catholic faith, that the true presence of Christ's body and blood was in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That my lord archbishop of Canterbury, about the time that the bishop of Winchester aforesaid preached a sermon on St. Peter's day at Westminster, before the king's Majesty, in a book by him translated, called Catechism, did affirm, publish, and set forth, the true presence of Christ's most precious body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; and, to the intent the same should so he believed, observed, acknowledged, and taught to be the true and catholic faith, did cause the same to be printed in his name, and as his translation; which books, so printed into great number of books, were, after their imprinting, to the intent aforesaid, openly and commonly sold by many and sundry booksellers, as well of London as of other places, and came about to all the parts of this realm, or to many parts of the same, and were openly and commonly known, declared, published, read, and heard, of all sorts of the king's Majesty's subjects of this realm. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That in the months November and December, in the second year of the king's Majesty's reign, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, London, Chichester, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, and Westminster, (being of the most ancient bishops and best learned in this realm,) did openly, in the parliament then kept at Westminster, defend the very and true presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That in sundry open and solemn disputations, made as well in the university of Oxford, as of Cambridge, the third year of the king's Majesty's reign, the same true presence of the very body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, was maintained and defended by the great number of the chief and well learned of the said universities. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That the truth of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hath not been nor was impugned, by any famous clerk, or yet by any named learned man in any part of all Christendom, either in the Greek or in the Latin church, by our time; specially at the time of the letters sent by the same duke of Somerset to the said bishop, mentioned in this matter aforesaid; but only by Æcolampadius, Zuinglius, Vadianus, and Carolostadius, the impugning whereof was most manifest error; and, in England, no learned man named had, or yet did, openly defend or favour that error. And this is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That the said bishop said not to Master Cecil that the mass was the chief foundation of our religion, for Christ himself is the only foundation; and in the mass, as now in the communion, [is] the showing forth of Christ's death; which is a sacrifice recordative of that only sacrifice of the cross, used in the church according to Christ's institution till his coming; the substance of the sacrifice being all as one, and the manner of the offering only differing. And

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after this manner and sort, in effect, the bishop, in his speaking of the mass to Master Cecil, as is aforesaid, declared to him, and no otherwise, if he had then rightly taken, perceived, and afterwards so uttered and reported the same.

"Item, That by our late sovereign lord the king's Majesty's father that now is, and by his testament and last will, it was provided, ordered, and (upon just considerations then moving his Majesty for the preservation and quietness of this his then realm) decreed, that his Majesty's councillors of his privy council, then being named and appointed in the same testament, or the more part of them, with further execution in that behalf, should have the whole order and governance of the same realm, during the minority of his only treasure under God, the king's Majesty that now is, which things, according to these effects, were thus declared, before the king's Majesty that now is, by the mouth of the lord chancellor, who was at that time in the Tower of London, then being present as well the said bishop of Winchester, as other of the lords of the council, and divers others hearing the same, whereby the authority of the protectorship was clearly restrained.

"Item, That the digression of the said duke from that order aforesaid, and the breaking thereof, was afterwards, among other matters, with the body of the king's Majesty's privy council, objected to him as a fault and offence."

The tenth session.

The tenth session against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was holden in the house of the bishop of Ely, in Warwick Lane, before the said bishops of Ely and London, Master Leyson, and other the king's commissioners, with their notaries above mentioned, on Friday, the twenty-third day of January, 1551, in the fourth year of Edward the Sixth.

"The said day and place appeared before the said commissioners Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations made, &c., he produced Sir John Markham, knight, on articles XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LVI. LXVIII. and LXXXI.; Thomas White, esquire, on articles I. II. III. and XIII.; John Norton, esquire, on articles I. II. and III.; John Cooke, esquire, on articles I. II. III. VIII. and XIV.; Master John White, warden, on articles I. II. III. XV. XXIX. and XXXVII.; Francis Allen, on articles VII. VIII. XI. XII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. XLV. and LXVIII.; John Potinger, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Peter Langridge, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Roger Ford, on articles I. and VIII.; William Laurence and Giles White, on the XVth; William Lorking, vicar of Farnham, on the XIVth; Herman Bilson, on the XVth; Thomas Williams, John Hardy, Robert Braborne, Robert Quinby, John Reade, on XIVth; Thomas Crowte, on the XVth and LXVIIIth; George Bullock, George Smith, Hugh Weston, Philip Morgan, Richard Bruerne, John Weak, clerks, on the articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.; Alexander Deringe, William Browne, on articles I. VIII. IX. and XV.; John Temple, on articles I. II. and III.; Thomas White, prebendary, on the XVth; and John Glasiar, on the VIIIth and IXth articles of the matter given by the bishop of Winchester: which said witnesses, and every one of them, the said bishop of London, by the consent of his colleagues, and the desire of the said Thomas Somerset, proctor aforesaid, did overate with a corporal oath on the holy evangelists, to depose the whole truth as well upon the same articles, that they were so specially produced on, as the whole cause and matter, and upon such

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interrogatories as should be ministered to them, as far as they knew, in the presence of Master Davy Clapham, one of the promoters of the office; dissenting from the said production, and approving the persons of the aforesaid Sir John Markham and Master Ralph Hopton; but yet protesting to say against their sayings, in case they should depose against the office; and desiring that they might be examined of such interrogatories as should be ministered by the office; and protesting against the persons and sayings of all the other witnesses and of every of them, in case they or any of them should depose against the office; and repeating against them the interrogatories last ministered by the office. This done, the said Master Somerset, proctor aforesaid, alleged that Master Doctor Redman, and Doctor Steward, were necessary witnesses for to prove certain things contained in the aforesaid matter, which Master Redman had been and then was sick, and the said Master Steward in durance. Wherefore he desired a commission for the examination of the said Master Redman, and means had, that the said Master Steward might come to be sworn and examined; and also required temporal counsel to be assigned to the said bishop."

The eleventh session.

The eleventh session upon the matter of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was in the house of the Lord Paget, without Temple Bar, before the aforesaid commissioners judicially sitting, (Thomas Argall, notary, being present,) the day aforesaid; that is, the twenty-third of January, 1551.

"At that time and place Master Davy Clapham, and John Lewis, promoters of the office, did produce Sir William Paget, knight of the order of the garter, Lord Paget, upon the articles laid in by the office; whom they desired to be sworn and examined as a witness, according to law; the said Lord Paget declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity as he was, were, by the laws of this realm, privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses usually did swear; promising, nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's Majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he did know in this behalf; whom the said judges did so overate upon his truth to God, allegiance to the king's Majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause and interrogatories that should be ministered, in the presence of Thomas Somerset, proctor to the bishop of Winchester, under protestation, &c., dissenting to the production, and protesting of the nullity, &c.; and to say against his person and sayings (if he should depose against the said bishop in this matter); and requiring that he might be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered against him; and requiring, also, that he might be sworn with a corporal oath upon the evangelists."

The twelfth session against Gardiner.

The twelfth session upon the matter of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was within the bishop of Ely's house, before the bishops of London and Ely, with the rest of the commissioners delegate, one of the aforesaid two actuaries being present, the twenty-fourth day of January, 1551.

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"The same day and place appeared James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and, under protestations before made, and always reserved, he produced Sir Thomas Smith, on articles XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. and XXVIII.; Robert Willerton, John Young, and Edmund Bricket, clerks, on articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.; whom and every one of them the said judges, at his desire, did oenerate with a corporal oath, for to say and depose the truth upon the said articles, the whole cause and interrogatories, in the presence of Master Clapham, approving the person of Sir Thomas Smith, and protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they or any of them should depose against the office; repeating the interrogatories already ministered against all the said witnesses, saving Sir Thomas Smith.

The thirteenth session against Gardiner.

The thirteenth session wherein appeared the said bishop of Winchester was held at Lambeth, before the archbishop of Canterbury, with all the other judges except Master Hales and Master Goodrick; the two aforesaid actuaries being withal present, on Monday in the forenoon, which was the twenty-sixth day of January, 1551.

This said day and place, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, exhibited an allegation in writing touching the admonishment given to him the last court day to make answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions or articles; the copy and tenor of this allegation, so by him exhibited, hereafter followeth.

The allegation of Winchester, touching the pretended admonishment.

"The said bishop, repeating his protestations in the acts, said, that discoursing, and particularly debating, the last court day the answers made by him to the said articles, and agreeing, as he took it, with the judges therein, and so departing, it had been, and was besides, his expectation to hear, in the acts, mention of such admonishment. Nevertheless, the said bishop, for the declaration of himself, how ready he was to obey always, for satisfaction of that admonishment laid in his allegations; and therewith declared, that according to the testimony of his conscience, he had fully answered the said articles, weighing together all that he had answered already and proved, so far as the same opened. And further declared the matter of the said answer, without captious understanding, whereof the bishop protested. And yet, if the judges should declare any special point of any the said articles, wherein a more full answer ought by law to be made, the said bishop offered himself, without any further delay, to make such answer as the law should bind him; and thereby eschew, as much as in him was, the report of disobedience not to answer, when he might answer, or not so fully as he might, with his conscience.'

"This allegation thus exhibited by the said bishop—furthermore, by word of mouth, for fuller answer [he] alleged, that he thought he spake of every article particularly, saving of the king's authority in his young years, and except St. Nicholas and St. Edmund, and such children's toys. And also he said, that he always submitted himself to justice; and for that he knew not himself guilty, he called not for mercy within the time of three months expressed in the said articles: which time of three months ran not, because it was suspended by his appellation made from the sequestration mentioned in the said articles.

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"After this the judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestations, admitted the positions additional, and the matter lastly laid in on his behalf, and before inserted in the ninth session, (as far as the same should or ought in law to be admitted, and none otherwise,) in presence of the promoters protesting of the over-much generality, impertinency, and inefficacy, of the said positions additional and matter; and alleging, that the same ought not, by the law, to be admitted. Then the bishop, under his former protestations protesting that he intended not to renounce the benefit of the law which he ought to have, in the production and swearing of such witnesses as he alleged were received afore in his absence—touching their oath, gave certain interrogatories in writing against the Lord Paget, being a witness received and sworn against him; the promoters alleging that none were received but either [in] his own presence or that of his proctors."

The fourteenth session against Gardiner.

The fourteenth action, or session, was in the bishop of Winchester's lodging, within the Tower of London, on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day of January, in the presence of William Saye, one of the aforesaid two actuaries.

"The said day and place, in presence of William Saye, notary, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, (that by this act he intended not to alter the nature of the cause,) did constitute Master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerke, (proctors of the Arches,) Thomas Somerset, James Basset, and James Wingfield, his proctors; jointly and severally—for him and in his name—to produce witnesses upon his matters purposed, and to be purposed, in this matter: and further, to do therein as he himself ought or should do, at all times, as well when he was present as absent. And likewise did constitute William Bucknam and Master Mitch, fellows in Trinity Hall in Cambridge, jointly and severally his proctors, to produce Dr. Redman before the king's Majesty's sub-delegates, and to require him to be received, sworn, and examined, upon the articles to the commission annexed; and promised to ratify the doings of his said proctors herein, being present hereat Master Dr. Jeffrey, William Coppinger, and John Davy, &c."

The fifteenth session against Gardiner.

The fifteenth action, or session, upon the matter of the bishop of Winchester was holden before Dr. Oliver, one of the king's commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall, one of the two actuaries.

"The said day Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, according to the assignation made, and under former protestations, &c., did exhibit certain minutes, letters, and escripts, to declare the said bishop's conformity from time to time, since the death of King Henry the Eighth, unto this present time; and also exhibited the same, as much as they should make for him in this cause, and not otherwise; videlicet first, five original letters, whereof three [were] from the duke of Somerset, one from Master Cecil, and the others from Master Brig and other the king's visitors.

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"Item, A book of statutes set forth in the second and third year of the king's Majesty that now is; wherein is contained An Act of Uniformity of the Service, and the Administration of the Sacrament, throughout the realm.

"Item, The bishop of Winchester's proxy exhibited in the visitation.

"Item, The copy of a letter printed and directed unto the preachers, from the duke of Somerset and others of the council.

"Item, Minutes of two letters from the bishop of Winchester to the duke of Somerset, then protector, from Winchester, before the said bishop's committing to the Fleet, with copies of them.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the bishop of Canterbury -- in No. 3, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lords of the king's Majesty's council, before his committing to the Fleet—in No. 2, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector out of the Fleet—in No. 4, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector, when he was committed to ward in his house—in No. 1.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop to the lord protector, from Winchester—in No. 1."

In the mean time before the bishop's sending for to London, at which time he was sent to the Tower, all these said originals the said Master Somerset required to have, when they were collated and conferred.

The sixteenth session against Gardiner.

Another action or session upon the cause of Gardiner was in the house of the bishop of Ely, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Leyson, and Master Oliver, (Thomas Argall, actuary, being present,) on Thursday, the twenty-ninth day of January, 1551.

"The same day and place James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, under the bishop's former protestations, exhibiting his proxy, &c., produced the reverend father Thomas, bishop of Norwich, on articles I. II. III. IV. of the first matter, and the IVth and VIth of the additional; Sir Edward Carne, on the articles I. II. and III. of the first matter; Thomas Babington, on articles I. VII. X. XI. of the last matter; Maurice Griffith, clerk, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the first matter, and the first article of the additional, and on the twentieth of the last matter; Christopher Moulton, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the matter, and on the XXth of the matter contra exhibited; William Glyn, clerk, on the Vth of

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the additional; Thomas Nave, on articles XV. XVI. and XX. of the last matter; Oliver Wachell, on articles XIII. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the last matter; Thomas Cotisforde, on the VIIth of the last matter; Henry Burton, on articles IX. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; Thomas Skerne, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; Osmond Coware, on the IXth, XVth, and XVIth of the last matter; John Cliff, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; John Warner, on the XVth and the XVIth of the last matter; John Seton, clerk, on articles IV. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; William Medowe, clerk, on the Ist of the additional, and on articles IV. V. VI. VII. IX. XIV. XV. XVI. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; Thomas Watson, clerk, on the Ist of the additional, and on articles IV. VII. IX. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. and XX. of the last matter; John Potinger, on articles II. III. V. VI. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; John Temple, on the XIIIth of the last matter; Alexander Dering, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; William Browne, on the IId, IIIId, Vth, and VIth of the last matter—which witnesses the said judges did onerate with an oath, to depose of and upon all and singular such articles as they were produced upon, and the whole cause, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in the presence of Clapham and Lewis; approving the persons of the said bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Carne; and protesting to say against their sayings, and the persons and sayings of all the other witnesses; and repeating the interrogatories before ministered, and requiring them to be examined on the same, and others to be ministered by them. Which done, the same James Basset (under the said bishop's former protestations) alleged that the bishops of Durham, Worcester, and Chichester, were necessary witnesses to prove, &c.; and to have a commission for the examination of Dr. Steward, being prisoner in the Marshalsea. Whereupon the said judges, by one assent, committed their power to the bishop of Ely and Dr. Oliver, for the examination of the bishop of Durham; Master Leyson for the examination of Dr. Steward; and the bishop of Lincoln for the examination of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester in the Fleet."

And forasmuch as mention is made, in this act, of certain interrogatories, as well of such as were to be ministered, as of the others being repeated before, the copy of them, which were afterwards ministered, here followeth in these words:

Interrogatories upon the first articles additional.

"I. Whether the bishop of London, in his said sermon, speaking of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, did use any of these words: 'the real, corporal, or substantial presence,' or the same adverbially; or any such like, and of the same effect, and what they were?

"II. Item, Whether he did not bid his auditory to be content to delay the discussion of the secret of that matter, till it should be afterwards judged by learning and authority?

"Item, Whether he did not say, that he would, and did, show them the sentence of an old author, which was both a great learned man, and martyr; and only did cite the same for the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and who was the author, and what was the place?"

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The seventeenth session against Gardiner.

Another action upon the cause of Winchester was holden at Cold Harbour, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and Master Doctor Oliver, with the presence of Thomas Argall, actuary, on Friday, the thirtieth day of January, 1551.

"James Basset, under the bishop of Winchesters former protestations, produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, upon the IVth and VIth positions additional; John Bourne, clerk, on the Ist article of the same additional; Owen Oglethorp, doctor, on the articles III. IV. and XXXVII. of the first matter or matter justificatory, the Vth article of the additional, and the Xth article against the exhibits; whom the said judges did admit and onerate with an oath, to say the truth and the whole truth upon those articles, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in behalf of the office, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters; approving the person of the said bishop of Durham: protesting, nevertheless, to say against his depositions, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they deposed any thing prejudicial against the office; and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered, requiring the witnesses to be examined upon the same.

The eighteenth session against Gardiner.

The same Friday they also met in the Marshalsea in Southwark, Master Doctor Oliver and Thomas Argall being present, on the cause of Winchester.

"James Basset, under the bishop of Winchester's former protestations, produced Master Edmund Steward, clerk, on articles I. II. III. VIII. IX. XV. of the matter justificatory; and on articles II. III. V. VI. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said Master Doctor Oliver, at the petition of the same James Basset, did admit and onerate with an oath upon the premises, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters aforesaid, protesting to say against the said witness and his testimony, in case he deposed against the office, and repeating these interrogatories afore ministered.

"The same Friday, in the Fleet, [before] Henry, bishop of Lincoln, in the presence of Thomas Argall, &c., the said James Basset, under the former protestations, produced Nicholas, bishop of Worcester, in his chamber where he lieth there, and George, bishop of Chichester, in another chamber where he lieth, of and upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions additional; when the bishop of Lincoln, them and either of them, did respectively onerate with an oath, to depose the whole truth that they and either of them knew, upon the said articles, and all such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, in presence of David Clapham; protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case they deposed against the office."

The nineteenth session against Gardiner.

Saturday, the last day of January, 1551, there was a session in the house of Thomas Argall, before Master John Oliver; the said Argall being present.

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"James Basset, proctor, &c., under the bishop's former protestations, did produce John Cooke, a witness before sworn, upon articles II. III. V. VI. and XIV. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said Master Oliver did admit and swear, at the petition of the said Basset, in the presence of David

Clapham, one of the promoters; protesting, &c., and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered."

The twentieth session against Gardiner.

The twentieth session or action upon the cause of Winchester, with his appearance at Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, (Master Gosnall only absent, Thomas Argall and William Say being, present,) was on Tuesday, the third day of February, anno 1551.

"The term probatory assigned to the bishop of Winchester, was prorogued to this day by nine of the clock afore noon; and, by the same time, it was assigned to transmit the examination of Dr. Redman. And it was also assigned to the said bishop of Winchester, to see further process, in this cause, between the hours of ten and eleven afore noon of this day. The said day, one Paul Hampcoats, on the behalf of Master Edward Leedes, and Master Michael Dunning, presented the process of the examination of Master Doctor Redman, at Cambridge, being sealed, and in authentical form, in the presence of the bishop of Winchester; under his former protestations, protesting that he intended not to revoke his proctors exhibiting the same process, as far as it made for him, and not otherwise; the promoters protesting to say against the said process, in case and as far as it should seem to make against the office.

"Then the bishop, under his former protestations alleging Master James Basset and Master Jacques Wingfield to be necessary witnesses for proof of certain articles by him purposed, desired that they might be admitted and sworn; at whose requiring the judge admitted them as far as the law would them to be admitted, and not else: whom they did then and there onerate with a corporal oath, to depose the truth, as they knew, upon such articles as they should be examined upon; the promoters protesting of the nullity of their production, for that they were the said bishop's proctors, and had exercised in this cause for him; and, in case the production were of force in law, protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case and as far as the same should make against the office, and to repeat the interrogatories heretofore ministered against the other witnesses produced by the said bishop. And the said bishop, under his said protestations, for further satisfaction of the term assigned him to prove, did exhibit these writings ensuing; videlicet first, an original letter from the king's Majesty that dead is; and another original letter from the king's Majesty that now is, as much as the same did make for his intent, and not otherwise; the promoter accepting the contents of the same letters as far as they made for the office; and none otherwise."

The tenor and words of these two letters, sent to Gardiner from the aforesaid kings, albeit they seem to me not much to make for the bishop, yet, forasmuch as he doth here allege them, I thought not to omit them; the copies whereof thus ensue:—

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Copy of a letter sent from King Henry the Eighth to the bishop of Winchester.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Understanding, by your letters of the second of this instant, your mind touching such matter as hath lately, on our behalf, been opened to you by certain of our council, we have thought good, for answer, to signify that if your doings heretofore in this matter had been agreeable to such fair words as ye have now written, neither you should have cause to write this excuse, nor we any occasion to answer the same; and we cannot but marvel at this part of your letter, that you never said nay, to any request made unto you for those lands, considering that this matter being propounded, and, at good length, debated with you, as well by our chancellor and secretary, as also by the chancellor of our Court of Augmentations, both jointly and apart you utterly refused to grow to any conformity in the same, saying, That you would make your answer to our own person: which, as we can be well contented to receive, and will not deny you audience at any meet time, when you shall make suit to be heard for your said answer, so we must, in the mean time, think, that if the remembrance of our benefits towards you had earnestly remained in your heart indeed, as you have now touched the same in words, you would not have been so precise in such a matter, wherein a great number of our subjects, and, amongst others, many of your own coat, (although they have not had so good cause as you,) have yet, without indenting, dealt both more lovingly and more friendly with us. And, as touching you, our opinion was, that if our request had been for a free surrender, as it was for an exchange only, your duty had been to have done otherwise in this matter than you have: wherein, if you be yet disposed to show that conformity you write of, we see no cause why you should molest us any further therewith, being the same of such sort as may well enough be passed without officers there.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Oatlands, the 4th of December, the thirty-eighth year of our reign."

Also, then and there the said bishop did, under his said protestations, exhibit a letter written from Louvain by one Francis Driander, the contents whereof are hereunder expressed in English, whereof, as much as to the present purpose appertaineth, here followeth.

Part of a letter of Francis Driander.

"Before my departure from the city of Paris, I wrote unto you by our friend the Englishman, &c. Now the narration of your bishop of Winchester, shall satisfy and content you. He (the said bishop) as appertained to the ambassador of so noble a prince, came to Louvain with a great rout and bravery, and was there, at a private man's house called Jeremy's, most honourably entertained and received; where the faculty of divines, for honour's sake, presented him wine in the name of the whole university. But our famous doctors, and learned masters, for that they would more deeply search and understand the learning and excellency of the prelate, perused and scanned a certain oration made by him, and now extant, entitled *De vera Obedientia*, which is as much as to say, in our English tongue, *Of true Obedience*; in the which his oration he did greatly impair and subvert the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and preferred his lord and king's authority before the holy apostolic see, as they were wont to term it: which being read and considered by them, they did not only repent them, for attributing such their honour unto him, but also recanted what they had done before; and, like impudent persons, did not so much honour

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him afore, but now twice so much, with many obloquies and derisions, disabled and dishonoured his person. But, in conclusion, Richard Lathomus, interpreter of the Terms, with the favourers of this fraternity, and other the champions of the falling church, boldly enterprised to dispute with him concerning the pope's supremacy. The bishop stoutly defended his said oration. The divines, contrary, did stiffly maintain their opinion, and, divers times openly, with exclamation, called the said bishop an excommunicate person, and a schismatic; to the no little reproach and infamy of the English nation.

"I will not here repeat the arguments and reasons which were alleged on both parts, for the defence of the opinions of each side, for that lest, perhaps, to learned men, they shall not seem all of the strongest; and also, because it becometh me to save and preserve the estimation of either party. The bishop not long after, minding to say mass in St. Peter's church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate person, the ornaments and vestments meet for the same; wherewith being highly offended, he suddenly hastened his journey from thence. The dean, the next day after, made an eloquent oration, wherein he openly disgraced and defamed his person. I lament greatly their case, who so rashly, without any advisement, gave themselves to be mocked among grave and witty men. You have heard now a true story, for our doctor was the chief and principal doer of that tragedy."

After this, the said bishop also exhibited a minute of a letter, sent by the said bishop out of the Fleet, to the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof ensueth.

A letter of Gardiner to the lord protector, out of the Fleet.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: This day I received your Grace's letters, with many sentences in them, whereof in some I take much comfort, and especially, in sending a physician; and for the rest that might grieve me, do so understand them as they grieve me not at all. If I have done amiss, the fault is mine; and I perceive your Grace would not be grieved with me, unless I had offended. As for the council, I contend not with their doings, no more than he that pleadeth 'not guilty' doth blame the judge and quest that hath indicted him, and requireth on him. I acknowledge authority: I honour them and speak reverently of them; and yet, if my conscience so telleth me, I must plead 'not guilty,' as I am not guilty of this imprisonment. And so must I say, unless I would accuse myself wrongfully; for I intended ever well. Howsoever I have written or spoken, I have spoken as I thought; and I have spoken it in place where I should speak it; at which time I was sorry at your Grace's absence, unto whom I had used like boldness, the rather upon warranty of your Grace's letter. But I have written truth, without any affection other than to the truth, and could answer the particularities of your Grace's letter shortly, were it not that I will not contend with your Grace's letters; unto whom I wrote simply for no such purposes as they be taken (not by your Grace, but by others); for I trust your Grace will not require of me to believe, that all the contents of your Grace's letter proceed specially from yourself, and, in the mean time, I can flatter myself otherwise than to take them so. Whereupon, if it shall further be applied unto me, that I do your Grace wrong, being in the place ye represent, not to take your Grace's letters as though every syllable were of your Grace's device, being your hand set to them, I will be sorry for it. Thus I take the sum of your Grace's writing: that I should not, for any respect, withstand truth; and of that conformity I am. And to agree against the truth can do your Grace no pleasure, for truth will continue, and untruth cannot

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endure; in the discerning whereof if I err, and, when all the rest were agreed if that were so, I only then cannot agree, yet I am out of the case of hatred: for I say as I think. And, if I think like a fool, and cannot say otherwise, then it shall be accounted as my punishment, and I to be reckoned among the indurate, who, nevertheless, heretofore had used myself (when no man impeached me for religion) as friend to friends; and although I were not (as is of some now thought) a good Christian man, yet I was no evil civil man; and your Grace, at our being with the emperor, had ever experience of me, that I was a good Englishman.

"Now I perceive I am noted to have two faults: one, not to like Erasmus's Paraphrase; another, not to like my Lord of Canterbury's Homily of Salvation. Herein if I dislike that all the realm liketh, and, when I have been heard speak in open audience what I can say, can show no cause of my so doing, or else it cannot so be taken, yet should it be taken for no wonder, seeing the like hath been seen heretofore. And, though your Grace will be sorry for it, I am sure you will love men never the worse: for I adventure as much as any man hath done, to save my conscience. And I do it, if it may be so taken, in the best fashion I can devise: for I accuse not the council, which I confess ought to be honoured; and yet it is not always necessary for those which be committed by the council to prison, evermore to appear guilty; for then should every prisoner plead guilty, for the avoiding of contention with the council. And, howsoever your Grace be informed, I never gave advice, nor ever knew man committed to prison, for disagreeing to any doctrine, unless the same doctrine were established by a law of the realm before. And yet now it might be, that the council, in your Grace's absence, fearing all things, as rulers do in a commonwealth, might, upon a cause to them suspected, and without any blame, commit me to prison; with whom I have not striven in it, but humbly declared the matter with mine innocency, as one who never had conference in this matter with any man but such as came to me; and with them thus—to will them to say nothing. Because I thought myself, if I spake, would speak temperately, and I mistrusted others; being very loth of any trouble to ensue in your Grace's absence, and specially such absence as I feared in vain, (thanks be to God!) as the success hath showed: but not altogether without cause, seeing war is dangerous in the common sense of man, and the stronger hath had evermore the victory.

"I allege, in my letter to your Grace, worldly respects, to avoid worldly reasons against me; but I make not my foundation of them. The world is mere vanity, which I may learn in mine own case, being now destitute of all such help as friendship, service, familiarity, or gentleness, seemed to have gotten me in this world. And if I had travailed my wit in consideration of it since I came hither, (as, I thank God, I have not,) it might have made me past reasoning ere this time.

"I reserve to myself a good opinion of your Grace, being nothing diminished by these letters; in remembrance of whose advancement to honour, when I spake of chance, if I spake 'ethnically,' as you termed in your Grace's letters, then is the English Paraphrase to be condemned for that cause besides all other, wherein that word 'chance' is over common in my judgment. And yet, writing to your Grace, I would not (being in this case) counterfeit a holiness in writing otherwise than my speech hath been heretofore, to call all that comes to pass, God's doings; without whose work and permission nothing indeed is, and from whom is all virtue. And yet, in common speech, wherein I have been brought up, the names 'fortune' and 'chance' have been used to be spoken in the advancement to nobility, and commended when virtue is joined with them. Wherein, me thinketh, it is greater praise, and more rare, to add virtue to fortune, (as

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your Grace hath done,) than to have virtue go before fortune; which I wrote, not to flatter your Grace, but to put you in remembrance what a thing it were, that, bearing in hand of such as might have credit with you, should cause you to enterprise that which might indirectly work what your Grace mindeth not, and, by error in a virtuous pretence to the truth, advance that which is not truth: wherein I ask no further credit than that I can show shall persuade, which is one of the matters I kept in store to show against the Paraphrase, intending only to say truth, with suit to be heard, and instant request rather to be used, to utter that I can say, than to be here wasted after this sort. I can a great deal, and a great deal further than I have written to your Grace; and yet am so assured of that I have already written, as I know I cannot therein be convicted of untruth. As for Erasmus himself, I wrote unto your Grace what he writeth in his latter days, only to show you the man thoroughly. And [how] in speaking of the state of the church in his old days, [he] doth not so much further the bishop of Rome's matters as he did in his young days, being wanton; which Paraphrase if I can, with expense of my life, let from going abroad, I have done as good a deed, in my opinion, as ever was done in this realm, in the let of an enterprise: in which book I am now so well learned, and can show the matters I shall allege so plainly, as I fear no reproach in my so doing. And as for the English, either my Lord of Canterbury shall say, for his defence, that he hath not read over the English, or confess more of himself than I will charge him with. Therefore I call that, the fault of inferior ministers whom my lord trusteth. The matter itself is over far out of the way, and the translating also. In a long work (as your Grace toucheth) a slumber is pardonable; but this translator was asleep when he began, having such faults.

"I cannot now write long letters, though I would; but, to conclude, I think there was never man had more plain evident matter to allege than I have, without winches, or arguments, or devices of wit. I mean plainly, and am furnished with plain matter, intending only plainness, and destitute of all man's help, such as the world, in man's judgment, should minister. I make my foundation only on the truth, which to hear, serveth for your Grace's purpose towards God, and the world also; and, being that, I shall say truth in deed and apparent. I doubt not your Grace will regard it accordingly, for that only will maintain that your Grace hath attained; that will uphold all things, and prosper all enterprises: wherein if I may have liberty to show that I know, I shall gladly do it: and, otherwise, abide that [which] by authority shall be determined of me, as patiently and quietly as ever did man; continuing your Grace's beadman, during my life, unto Almighty God; who have your Grace in his tuition!"

And thus have ye the aforesaid letter sent from the Fleet to the lord protector. After this the said bishop did also exhibit another minute of a letter by him sent to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter sent to the said duke from the said bishop when he was prisoner in his house, as he affirmed; the copy of which letters we have above specified. Also another minute of a letter in Latin, by him sent to Master Cecil. And also a minute of a letter written from Ratisbon, to the king's Majesty that dead is, by the said bishop, subscribed with the hand of Sir Henry Knivet, as he affirmed; which two last letters here mentioned be not yet come to our hands. All these letters abovesaid, he, under his former protestations, did exhibit as far as they made for his intent, and not otherwise; and required the same to be registered, and the originals to be to him delivered: which was decreed in presence of the promoters, protesting of the nullity of the exhibition of these letters, and of the same exhibits; alleging the same to be private writings, and not authentic, and such whereunto there ought no faith to be given in law; and accepting the contents of the

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said exhibits as much as they made for the office, and not otherwise. The said bishop, also, under like protestation as before, exhibited a book of Statutes of Parliament, of the first year of the king's Majesty's reign that then was, concerning his general pardon. And, lastly, two papers of articles, which the bishop affirmed were sent to him to preach, which likewise he did exhibit inasmuch as they made for his intent, and not otherwise, the promoters accepting the contents thereof, as far as they made for the office, and not otherwise.

After all this, the judges, at the request of the said promoters, did publish the sayings and depositions of the witnesses examined in this cause, reserving the examinations of the two witnesses lastly sworn as afore; the bishop, under his former protestations, dissenting to the said publication.

Witnesses produced, sworn, and examined, upon the articles ministered by the office, against Stephen, bishop of Winchester.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, Master Secretary Cecil, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Wrothe, Master John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Richard Coxe, Thomas Watson, Master William Honing, Dr. Giles Ayre, Dr. Robert Record, Sir George Blage, Nicholas Udall, Sir Edward North, Edward duke of Somerset, William earl of Wiltshire, William lord marquis of Northampton, John earl of Bedford, the Lord Paget, Andrew Beynton, the lord chancellor Riche, the earl of Warwick, George Lord Cobham, Sir William Harbert, Sir John Baker, Sir Edward Caine, the lord bishop of Durham, the lord bishop of Norwich, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Markham, William Coppinger, John Davy, Jacques Wingfield, John Seton, Nicholas Lentall, Richard Hampden, Master William Bell, Master William Medowe, Robert Willanton, Herman Bilson, John Reade, William Laurence, Peter Langridge, Giles White, Roger Hurd, William Lorking, John Smith, Thomas Williams, John Glasiar, Richard Bruerne, John Hardy, Morgan Phillips, Robert Quinby, Robert Braborne, Edmund Bricket, Alexander Dering, John Potinger, William Browne, Thomas Crowte, Robert Massie, Hugh Weston, John White, John Young, George Bullocke, John Norton, Francis Allen, Philip Paris, Christopher Malton, James Basset, Thomas Redman, John Redman, Nicholas bishop of Worcester, George bishop of Chichester, Owen Oglethorpe, Cuthbert bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Norwich, Maurice Griffith archdeacon of Rochester, Master Gilbert Bourne, William Glyn, Thomas Cotisforde, Thomas Skerne, John Clyffe, Henry Burton, Thomas Babington, John Warner, Osmond Coward, John Temple, John Cooke, Thomas Neve.

Notes for the reader.

A brief table or index of such notes and specialties, whereunto Stephen Gardiner did agree and grant; concerning reformation of religion.

It may seem to thee, loving reader, we have been too prolix and tedious in reciting the multitude of so many witnesses, which needed not here, peradventure, to have been inserted, considering matters more necessary, and the greatness of the volumes: but the cause moving us thereunto was so reasonable, that we could not leave them out. For seeing there be so many yet to this day, that stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a champion and a firm pillar of the popish church—for such, as hitherto have been so deceived in

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him, we have taken here a little pains: so that if they will either credit his own words, works, sermons, writings, disputations, or else will be judged by his own witnesses on his own. part here produced, they shall see how clearly and evidently he withstandeth the popes supremacy:

First, In his writings, as in his book De vera Obedientia.

Secondly, In his disputations and defensions at Louvain, and other places.

Thirdly, In his open sermons and preaching, as where he expoundeth the place Thou art Peter, nothing at all to make for authority of the Romish bishop, marvelling how the pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his church.

Item, That the confession of Peter was the confession of all the apostles, like as the blessing given to Peter pertained as well to all the apostles.

Item, That the place, Feed my sheep, was special to Peter alone, but general to all the apostles. Also that the Greek Church did never receive the said bishop of Rome for their universal head.

Item, That the authority of the bishop of Rome was not received of most part of Christian princes.

Item, He would not grant, that the said authority was received generally.

Item, That the church was builded upon Christ's faith, and not upon Peter; and though Peter was called chief of the apostles, that was nothing else but like as it is in an inquest, where the foreman or headman, is not so called because he is best or chiefest of that company; but because he speaketh first.

Item, When the keys were given, they were given generally to all the apostles.

Item, He taketh away all such scriptures which are thought to serve for the pope's supremacy, as on this rock: feed my sheep: chief of the apostles: proving, that they serve nothing for his authority.

Item, In his book De vera Obedientia, he did not only write against the pope's supremacy, but also did defend the same at Louvain.

And moreover in his sermons he did allege and preach the same, and that vehemently — pithily — earnestly—very earnestly—very forwardly.

And not only did so vehemently, pithily, earnestly, and forwardly, preach himself against the pope's supremacy, but also did cause Master White (then schoolmaster, after bishop of Winchester) to make certain verses extolling the king's supremacy against the usurped power of the pope, encouraging also his scholars to do the like.

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Item, For the space of fourteen years together, he preached against the pope's supremacy in divers sermons, and especially in one sermon before King Henry.

Item, For ceremonies and images, which were abused: to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his book taken from him, when he abuseth, or delighteth only in the golden cover.

Item, For dissolving of monkery, nunnery, or friary, and for dissolution of monasteries, he granteth they were justly suppressed.

Concerning images being by King Edward's injunctions abolished, he exhorted the people in his sermons to be contented therewith.

Monks and friars he calleth flattering knaves. Friars he never liked in all his life.

Monks he counted but belly-gods.

The going about of St. Nicholas, St. Katharine, and St. Clement, he affirmeth them to be children's toys.

For taking away or transposing of chantry obits, he referreth it to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that in dissolving them it might well be so done.

Item, He wisheth them to be committed to a better use.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the rulers, it is but to set the church in an outward and public order. But if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not availing, but by observing of the same, it is an error.

The Communion set out by King Edward, he liked well.

The Book of Common Service, he was content both to keep it himself and caused it to be kept of others.

For the Homilies he exhorted the people, in his preaching, to come to the church to hear them read.

In sum: to all injunctions, statutes, and proclamations, set forth by the king and superior powers, he yieldeth and granteth.

Item, Cardinal Pole, coming to the French king to stir him up against England, Winchester caused him to be expelled out of France.— Witness: Cuthbert, bishop of Durham.

Item, The said bishop sworn against the pope by express clauses in his proxy.

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Now, gentle reader, lay these his writings, preaching, and doings, with his doings in Queen Mary's time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured, and far differing from the report of one, who, in an English book, set out in Queen Mary's time, reported, (as it appeareth in the said book to be seen,) that there were three only in England, whose consciences had been never distained in religion, of whom, he said, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester was one.

Notes and points concerning reformation of religion, whereunto he would not grant.

Contrary to the real and natural presence of the body in the sacrament, and to transubstantiation, he would not agree or subscribe.

Contrary to the mass, he would not clearly grant; but saying it did profit the quick and the dead. Although against the mass of *scala cæli*, masses satisfactory, and masses in number, he could not find them by Scripture.

To the marriage of priests he would not agree. To the article of justification he would not agree; and divers other places.

Also, here is to be noted in these aforesaid depositions, especially in the depositions of Andrew Beynton, and of Master Chalenor, how falsely, and traitor-like, Winchester behaved himself against King Henry the Eighth at Ratisbon, insomuch that the said king, for the secret informations which he had of the bishop, caused in all pardons afterward, all treasons committed beyond the seas to be excepted, which was most meant for the bishop's cause.

Item, He did exempt the said bishop out of his testament, as one being wilful and contentious, and that would trouble them all.

Item, That the said King Henry, before his death, was certainly believed to abhor the said bishop more than any Englishman in his realm.

Item, That the said king exempted also out of his testament the bishop of Westminster, for that he was schooled in Winchester's school.

Item, The said bishop of Winchester was found to be the secret worker, that, three years before the king's death, divers of the privy chamber were indicted of heresies; for the which the said king was much offended.

Thus thou seest, reader, Stephen Gardiner here described, what in all his doings he is, and what is to be thought of him; as who is neither a true protestant, nor a right papist: neither firm in his error, nor yet stedfast in the truth: neither a true friend to the pope, nor yet a full enemy to Christ: false in King Henry's time; obstinate in King Edward's time; perjured, and a murderer, in Queen Mary's time; but mutable and inconstant in all times. And finally, whereas in his letters to the lord protector and others, usually he vaunteth so much of his late sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth that is dead, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, behold, in the depositions of the Lord Paget; and there ye shall see, that the king, before his death, both

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excepting him out of his pardons, and quite striking him out of his last will and testament, so detested and abhorred him as he did no Englishman more. And whereas the Lord Paget, being sent in message from the king to the bishop, by other words than the king's mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words: then, indeed, the king neither knew, nor yet by him sent the same. Whereupon the bishop, persuading himself otherwise of the king's favour towards him than it was in deed, was far deceived.

And this, now, being sufficient concerning the witnesses and their depositions, let us return to the rest of the twentieth act and session of the process, where we left off.

The publication of the witnesses, which next before I have put, being had, as you have heard and granted, the judges, at the like petition of the promoters, did assign to hear final judgment and decree, in this matter, on Friday, the thirteenth day of this month of February, between the hours of eight and ten afore noon, in this place: The said bishop of Winchester under like protestation as afore dissenting also to the said assignation.

The twenty-first session.

The twenty-first act or session was held on Friday, the thirteenth day of February, between the aforesaid hours, and in the place assigned, before all the judges and commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"Here, and at this time, final judgment being assigned to be heard, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, did exhibit for proof of his matters and additionals, five books in print: videlicet, one entitled thus, Stephani Winton, de Vera Obedientia Oratio: item, another of Peter Martyr, called, Tractatio de Sacramentis Eucharistiæ: item, another called, Catechismus, set forth by my Lord archbishop of Canterbury: item, another entitled De divinis, apostolicis, atque ecclesiasticis Traditionibus, auctore Martino Peresio Guadixiensi, Epistola: item, Injunctions given by the king's Majesty that now is, to all his subjects, as well of the clergy, as the laity: also, A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave done, any rite or ceremony in the church, of their private authority: all which he did exhibit (as far as they made for him, and none otherwise) in presence of the promoters, accepting the contents of the same exhibits, as far as they made for the office; and as much as they made against the office, protesting of the nullity and invalidity of the exhibits aforesaid, (saving only the king's Majesty's injunctions and proclamation,) and alleging the same to be such, whereunto no faith ought to be given."

And as concerning the aforesaid five books, with the injunctions and proclamation, before by the bishop exhibited, because they are in print (here omitting them) we thought best to refer you to the perusing of the same. The said bishop also, under his said protestations, did exhibit certain exceptions in writings against the witnesses, which he desired to be admitted: the promoters protesting of the nullity, inefficacy, over-much generality, and invalidity of the same exceptions; and alleging that they were such, whereunto no faith ought to be given nor the same to be admitted. The exceptions, although they were not admitted, yet for divers considerations I thought good to recite them.

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Exceptions given, and laid in by the bishop of Winchester; against such witnesses as were produced against him.

"The bishop of Winchester—under all and singular protestations, heretofore by him made in this matter, and the same always to him saved and reserved, accepting and approving all and singular such parts of the depositions of the witnesses produced and examined against him and by him in this behalf, as the law bindeth him, and as they make for his part, and for this intent and none otherwise saith, that forasmuch as certain of the witnesses, brought forth by the said bishop and against him, be of the king's Majesty's most honourable council; that is to say, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Paget, Sir William Harbert: unto whom, for that respect, and also in consideration of their estate, duty requireth seemly and convenable speech to be used of them: [in] which mind of his behaviour in language towards them, the said bishop protesteth, and by way of exception allegeth; and excepting saith, that the said noblemen have been, without any corporal oath by them taken, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, examined and deposed: unto whom, because the said oath-giving was not by special consent remitted, but especially and expressly by the part of the said bishop required, their deposition by the ecclesiastical laws hath no such strength of testimony, as the judge should or might, for the knowledge of truth, have regard to them. For, albeit the quality of their estate be such, and their sayings also, in words declared to proceed of their faith and honour, with which it becometh no private man to contend, nor to affirm, by objection, that they would otherwise say or depose upon a corporal oath, than they do now: yet, because the order of the law ecclesiastical requireth the oath corporal, lately practised in this realm, in persons of like estate; the said bishop dare the more boldly allege this exception: and so much the rather, that the Lord Paget hath, in his deposition, evidently and manifestly neglected honour, faith, and honesty, and showeth himself desirous, beyond the necessary answer to that was demanded of him, (only of ingrate malice,) to hinder, as much as in him is, the said bishop, who was in the said lord's youth his teacher and tutor, afterward his master, and then his beneficial master; to obtain of the king's Majesty that dead is, one of the rooms of the clerkship of the signet for him: which ingrate malice of the said Lord Paget, the said bishop saith, in the depositions manifestly doth appear, as the said bishop offereth himself ready to prove and show. And moreover, the said bishop against the Lord Paget allegeth, at such time as the said Lord Paget was produced against the said bishop, the same Lord Paget openly, in the presence of the judges, and others there present, said, how the said bishop did fly from justice, which made him notoriously suspected, not to be affected indifferently to the truth (as seemed him); and without cause therein to speak, as enemy to the said bishop. Objecting against the Lord Paget, as afore in especial, and generally excepting the omission of the corporal oath in the rest, he saith further—that the sayings of the said noblemen, as they in some points depose only upon hearsay, in some points speaking in general, declaring no specialty, in some points declaring a specialty without such quality as the proof of the fact requireth; without giving such a reason of their saying, as the law in the deposition of a witness requireth, when there is deposition of such matter: the same their sayings do not in law conclude, nor make proof of any matter prejudicial to the said bishop, as upon the consideration of the depositions may appear. And finally, the said bishop, by way of exception, allegeth, and excepting saith, that the Lord Paget, being produced against the said bishop, was by the office examined, as appeareth, upon the interrogatories ministered by the office, without making the bishop privy what the said interrogatories were, to the intent he might understand what new

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matter were deduced, to use his just defence in that behalf. And, although the bishop produced those noblemen, as witnesses to prove his behaviour, at their repair unto him in the Tower, and at his coming to them, when he was commanded to appear before them at the king's Majesty's palace, whereby his sayings and answers before them might appear, with their testimony in general of the bishop's estimation in our late sovereign lord's days: yet the same personages be produced again for the office, to be taken and used as witnesses against the said bishop in the principal matter of that they themselves supposed to be true in their process, thereby, with their own testimony, to justify their own doings: whereupon they did proceed so as it appeareth, that the same personages be the judges in the first sentence, and brought here witnesses, whereby to approve the justness of their own former doings; which is against all law, equity, and justice. And touching the other witnesses, such as appear in the acts, to have made a corporal oath,—amongst which be also four of the king's most honourable council, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward North, and Master Cecil,—the said bishop, with due respects to their worships, saith their sayings and depositions, where they be general, and declare no specialty against the said bishop, wherein he should especially offend, conclude no proof in law, nor ought to be prejudicial to the said bishop, as by consideration of the depositions may appear.

"And where Master Cecil deposeth upon the Xth article, he is therein singular, and concludeth no proof in such a matter of weight, and telleth not that matter touching the king's Majesty's young age, as he uttered it, and calleth it a commandment that he uttered not so, leaving out the joining of the council to limit the king's authority; as the said bishop, upon his oath, in answer hath affirmed: and in the VIIIth article, the declaration of his knowledge of commandment given to the bishop to preach, by knowledge, from Master Smith, (as he saith,) varieth from Master Watson, a witness in that part produced. And as for Master Coxe, Master Ayre, Master Honing, Master Cheke, Master Chalenor, Master Record, and Master Smith, the bishop, excepting, allegeth, that either they depose generally, or by hearsay, not concluding any proof, or else so utter their own affection, as they be worthy of no credit, or else show themselves so loth to seem to remember any thing that might relieve the bishop, as they ought to be reputed not indifferent. And moreover, the said bishop saith, that Master Coxe had his conversation so touched in the latter end of the bishop's sermon, for priests to marry contrary to a law, and against order, that it was no marvel though he were offended. Master Ayre declareth himself to have complained of the said bishop, whose complaint by witness already produced is reproved. Master Record, saying that the bishop is yet disobedient, and so wrongfully judging of the bishop in his private prejudice, is unworthy of all faith in the matter. Master Chalenor showeth himself to mistake the matter, not distinguishing Hampton Court from Westminster. Master Smith, in declaring of his treating with the bishop, doth plainly confound the month of February with June. Master Honing's deposition hath no matter substantial in form of proof declared. And also the said bishop, excepting as afore and under his protestation above mentioned, allegeth, that all and singular the witnesses aforesaid, examined against the said bishop, be, in their pretended depositions, variable, singular, discrepant, repugnant, and contrary one to another; and not proving, in any wise, such things as they go about and endeavour themselves to depose of. All which matters the said bishop allegeth as they be above respectively mentioned, touching the witnesses concerning the premises against them, as is aforesaid, objected and excepted, as well for the causes before respectively specified, as other causes contained in their pretended depositions: to whose sayings, credit and faith, sufficient by the law, ought not to be given, as is required for proof and testimony of truth in process, as by their said

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pretended depositions more plainly appeareth; unto which and unto the law, (as is expedient for him and none otherwise,) the said bishop referreth himself in this behalf. And under his said protestations he allegeth, that these things before by him respectively excepted against the said witnesses, were and be true and notorious, as by the acts and depositions of the same witnesses, and by other records and things had, exhibited, done, and made in this matter, doth appear; and also, by proof to be further made by the said bishop, if he may be admitted thereunto, shall appear; and therewith to what is already deposed, to which (as is aforesaid) the bishop answereth himself so far forth as they make for him and none otherwise."

Besides the premises, the said bishop also, under like protestations as afore, did exhibit, for the better information of the judges in this matter, certain papers: one, containing a collation made of the depositions in both parts, what was said, and how it was said in the bishop's sermon; and of the charge and discharge in the same: which collation, for that I have before comprehended it in the table and index of notes, I thought it not here necessary to occupy any more room.—Item, another abridgement of collections touching the said bishop's sermon.—Item, another touching the articles of the council sending to the said bishop to the Tower.—Another entitled, A note of the bishop's conformity in prison, with confutation of that which hath been in general terms called in him, obstinacy and disobedience.—Another entitled, Answers by evident deeds, to such matter at large in words, as is surmised against the bishop of Winchester. the promoters protesting also of the nullity of the same exhibits, and requiring judgment to be given.

Then and there the judges assigned again to hear judgment, on the following day, between the hours of nine and eleven of the clock before noon, in the same place: the bishop, under his protestation, dissenting to the said assignation, and protesting of a grief, for that he hath not yet all the exhibits again, nor space sufficient to consult with his learned counsel in this behalf: and also requiring another temporal counsellor, because one of them already assigned unto him cannot tarry longer in these parts.

The twenty-second session.

The twenty-second act or session, wherein appeared Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, personally, was sped in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, on Saturday, the fourteenth day of February, before all the judges delegate, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"On this day and place, according to the assignment in that behalf, between the hours prefixed, the promoters delivering to the archbishop the sentence in writing, required the same to be given in presence of the bishop of Winchester, who, under his former protestations, before the said actuaries and the multitude there assembled, making a certain appellation from the said judges to our sovereign lord the king's most excellent Majesty, according as was contained in certain paper-leaves, which he then and there openly read; and upon the reading thereof, required the said actuaries to make him an instrument thereof; and the witnesses there present, to bear testimony thereunto: protesting also, that from thenceforth he intended not, by any of his doings or sayings, to recede from the benefit of his said appellation. The copy of which appellation so by the bishop read here followeth.

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The appeal of the bishop of Winchester before the sentence definitive.

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you judges delegates, or commissaries pretended, under named, and before you notaries public, and authentic persons: and also before you witnesses here present, I, Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, to the intent to appeal, and likewise principally of nullity to querell under the best and most effectual way, manner, and form of law which I best and most effectually ought to do, and to all purposes and effects of the law that may follow thereof, say, allege, and in this writing propone in law—That, although I have obtained, and do obtain, hold, keep, and occupy the said bishopric of Winchester lawfully; and the same, (so by me lawfully had and obtained,) with all the rights and appurtenances of the same, have possessed, by many years, peaceably and quietly; and so (saving always such things and griefs, as be under written) do possess now, at this present time; and, for the very and true bishop, and lawful possessor aforesaid, have been and am commonly taken, named, had, holden, and reputed, openly and notoriously: and albeit I was and am (as I thought to be) in peaceable possession of the law, to take, have, and receive the fruits, rents, provents, obventions, and other rights and profects, whatsoever they be, in any wise to the bishopric aforesaid appertaining, and of the same bishopric, by any manner of means, coming or happening: and though also I was, and am, a man of perfect and full integrity and of good name and fame, and also of life, manners, and conversation laudable; not suspected, not excommunicated, nor interdicted; neither with any crime, at least notorious or famous, nor with any disobedience or contentions against any my superiors, noted, respersed, or convicted; but to obey the law, and to stand to the commandments, precepts, and monitions of the most noble prince, and our sovereign lord, Edward the Sixth, (by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the Church of England and Ireland supreme head,) as far forth as they be consonant, conformable, and agreeable with the laws, statutes, parliaments, and injunctions of the said king's Majesty, and ordained by his authority, published, made, and admitted—being not repugnant to the same: and as I may obey the same, saving the integrity of my conscience, am always ready likewise, as hitherto I have always been, as far as I am bound, duly to obey the same, and, with God's help, so do intend to do hereafter, and all other my superiors:—Yet, nevertheless, the most reverend father in God, Thomas, by the sufferance of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; Nicholas, bishop of London; Thomas, bishop of Ely, one of the king's Majesty's privy council; Henry, bishop of Lincoln; Sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's Majesty's principal secretaries, and one of the king's Highness's privy council; Sir James Hales, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; John Oliver, and Griffith Leyson, doctors of the civil law; John Gosnall, Richard Goodrick, esquires, commissaries or judges delegate, as they pretend themselves, by virtue of commission to them committed by the king's Majesty's proceeding against me, (the bishop aforesaid,) of their pretended office, necessarily promoted, as is pretended: laying and objecting against me certain articles, as well for the generality of them as otherwise, of no value, efficacy, or effect: and thereupon, and upon other interrogatories ministered privately by them, without the knowledge of the said bishop, taking away his just defence in that behalf: examining also divers and sundry witnesses upon them, contrary to the due order and deposition of the law, and without any corporal oath due and accustomed in that behalf, to them given, or by them taken, notwithstanding the said witnesses were, and be, laymen, and the cause original (as it is pretended) very urgent, tending to the deprivation of a bishop: which judges, or pretended commissaries, earnestly and vehemently defend the same, against the said bishop, and, showing

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themselves manifestly judges not indifferent, but very much affectionate against me; and to be therein to me, and to the truth of my just cause, vehemently, notoriously, and worthily suspected: and that my Lord of Canterbury aforesaid, was one of the judges that caused and commanded me (the said bishop) to the prison in the Tower of London, where I am now prisoner; and upon that commandment have remained as prisoner almost these three years continually: also Master James Hales, Master Goodrick, and Master Gosnall, commissioners pretended aforesaid, were of counsel. and gave their counsel and advice concerning the same sending of me to the Tower, and imprisonment aforesaid: moreover my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of London, and my Lord of Lincoln, commissioners pretended aforesaid, do, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm, teach and set forth the manifest and condemned error against the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and because I (the said bishop) am, and have been always, of the true catholic faith, contrary to them, (who in that, as well by my writings as otherwise, have and do set forth, according to the truth and verity of Christ's word, and the catholic faith and doctrine, that in the same sacrament of the altar is the very presence of Christ's body and blood,) therefore the same archbishop and bishops have and do show themselves unduly affected against me, and be notoriously in the truth adversaries unto me: and Sir William Peter was one of the judges, that decreed the fruits of my bishopric (not according to the order of law, or upon cause sufficient) unjustly, contrary to the laws, to be sequestered; and did sequester them, *de facto, sed non de jure*: and now is judge in his own cause, concerning his own fact; and so entreateth, and affecteth the maintenance of the same against me (the said bishop) as his own proper cause, both in the place of judgment, and other places: and also all the said judges have so notoriously handled, used, and openly manifested themselves in the distrust, and in their proceeding in this matter against me, (the said bishop,) that they seem, and appear openly, to indifferent men them hearing and perceiving, rather to be parties, than indifferent judges; and show, and declare manifestly, in words and deeds, their undue affection towards me, in my matter aforesaid; and more earnestly, fervently, and rigorously saying, imagining, and intending, with all their endeavours and industry, what they can possibly say and do against me, than any other of them, that be of counsel against me, do or can imagine, or invent to say, or do; and at no time do show themselves like indifferent judges, to say, speak, declare, or do in word or deed, any thing or matter besides granting of process, that might touch or return to my just innocency, and just and lawful defence, notoriously known to them as judges in this behalf, opening and manifesting thereby, and by other the premises, their undue affection, purpose, and intent they have to deprive me from my bishopric, and to make their determination by sentence against me: and that notwithstanding the copies of such necessary writings, and exhibits, as were exhibited in this cause by the part of me the said bishop, which be very necessary and expedient for the proof of my part in this behalf, be not yet delivered me, where upon I might consult with my counsel: and that the fact and state of the cause is not yet fully opened or declared, the said judges having, for their affections, and other the causes aforesaid, no respect thereunto, nor to minister justice in this behalf, having as yet little or no knowledge at all of the cause; and show themselves ready, and, with all their affections, industry, and endeavour, prepare themselves to give sentence of deprivation against me; and, in effect, uttered the same openly in judgment. And to the intent the verity of the fact, and due proof thereof, whereby the innocency of me (the said bishop) might evidently appear, should pass over unknown, and to have the same concealed, cloaked, and hid, the said pretended commissaries sitting, and unjustly and unlawfully proceeding, in this matter yesterday, being the thirteenth of this present month of February, then being the first time, that, in the matter, was assigned to hear sentence, and the first opening or declaring of any part of the

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fact, after the publication and other probations made; having no respect to any of the premises, nor yet that it was almost three of the clock that I returned home to the Tower, to repose and refresh myself; whereunto, without any consideration had in any the premises, [they] assigned the next morrow; videlicet, this day, at nine of the clock afore noon, to hear definitive sentence in this matter; not first admitting the exceptions laid before them by the said bishop, but refusing so to do, and thereby rejecting the same, no day being of respect betwixt the said days; whereby it is notorious, that the said time assigned was and is so short, that the counsel of me the said bishop dwelling about St. Paul's, and I remaining prisoner in the Tower, where the gates be shut at five of the clock in the evening, and till after six in the morning, that there was no sufficient time for me, and my counsel, to peruse and examine such witnesses, proofs, and writings, as were, as well of my part, as against me, in this behalf produced and exhibited, and deliberately to consult thereupon together; especially this cause being a very urgent, weighty, and arduous cause, concerning the deprivation (as it is intended) of a bishop of many years' continuance therein, from his bishopric; and that I, being of long time kept in close prison, was so pestered the said thirteenth day, being yesterday, with the populous audience, that I repair this day with the great travail of my body, and make my personal appearance again to the said place of judgment. And that the said injuries and griefs aforesaid, and other the premises, under manner and form above specified, done, and made, were and be true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous. Whereupon I, (the said bishop,) feeling and perceiving to be grieved of and upon the premises, and of such other things, as, of the acts, facts, doings, and proceedings of the said commissioners may be duly collected, do, from them, and from every of them, appeal in this writing to the king's Majesty aforesaid; and ask apostules, first, secondarily, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, to be given and delivered to me, with the effect, and of the nullity of the premises do libel principally, and querell: and I protest, that there be not ten days since griefs of appeal have been done unto me, and that these griefs be daily continued: and I protest to add, correct, reform, diminish this my appellation, and to subtract from it, and to reduce and conceive the same in a better and more competent form, according to the counsel of such as be expert and have knowledge of the law; and to intimate the same to all and singular persons, that have or may have any interest in this behalf, for time and place convenient, as the manner and style of the law requireth."

After this, upon debate and discussion of the principal matter had, made, and used on both sides, my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, with consent of all the rest of the said judges his colleagues there personally and judicially sitting, gave and read openly a final sentence conceived in writing against the said bishop of Winchester, whereby, amongst other, he judged and determined the said bishop of Winchester to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the right, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be: and him did deprive, and remove from the same, pronouncing and declaring the said bishopric of Winchester to all effects and purposes to be void, according as in the same sentence is more fully contained; the copy whereof here ensueth:

"In the name of God, Amen. By authority of a commission by the high and mighty prince our most gracious sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth: Edward the Sixth, &c.—We,

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Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, with the right reverend fathers in God, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, and Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, knight, one of our said sovereign lord's two principal secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight, one of our said sovereign lord's justices of his Common Pleas, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors in the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall, esquires, delegates and judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the form and tenor of the said commission, for the hearing, examination, debating, and final determination of the causes and matters in the said commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certain articles objected of office against you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, as more plainly and fully is mentioned and declared in the said commission and articles, all which we repute and take here to be expressed; and after sundry judicial assemblies, examinations, and debatings of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents, and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging; the same also being by us oft heard, seen, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things, as by the laws, equity, and the said commission, ought or needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, do proceed to the giving of our final judgment and sentence definitive in this manner following.

"Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, exhibits and allegations proposed, deduced, and alleged, and by sufficient proofs, with your own confession, in the causes aforesaid had and made, we do evidently find and perceive that you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person much grudging, speaking, and repugning against the godly reformations of abuses in religion, set forth by the king's Highness's authority within this his realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open, and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said sovereign lord and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his princely office, and the state and common quietness of this his realm; and forasmuch as you have, and yet do, contemptuously refuse to recognise your notorious negligences and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediencies, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment—contrary both to your oath sworn, obedience, promise, and also your bounden duty of allegiance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the realm, through your wilful doings, sayings, and preachings, contrary to the common order of the realm; and for sundry other great causes by the acts, exhibits, your own confession, and proofs of this process, more folly appearing; considering withal that nothing effectually hath been on your behalf alleged, proposed, and proved, nor by any other means appeareth, which doth or may impair or take away the proofs made against you, upon the said matters and other the premises:

"Therefore we, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, judge delegate aforesaid, having God before our eyes, with express consent and assent of Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, knight, Sir James Hales, knight, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors of the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall, esquires, judges and colleagues with us in the

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matters aforesaid, and with the counsel of divers learned men in the laws, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premises, do judge and determine you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the rights, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be; and by these presents we do deprive and remove you from your said bishopric, and all rights and other commodities aforesaid; and further pronounce and declare the said bishopric of Winchester, to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce, and declare in these writings."

"This sentence definitive being given, the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excessive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeal to the king's royal Majesty, first, secondly, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, most instantly; and asked apostules, or letters dimissorial, to be given and granted unto him: and also, under protestation not to recede from the former appellation, asked a copy of the said sentence; the judges declaring that they would first know the king's pleasure and his council's therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed William Say and Thomas Argall to make a public instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to bear testimony thereunto; and the bishop of Winchester required us also to make him an instrument upon his said appellation, and the said witnesses to testify thereunto; being present as witnesses at the premises: namely, the earls of Westmoreland and Rutland; the lord William Haward, the Lord Russel; Sir Thomas Wrothe, Sir Anthony Brown, knights; Master John Cheke, esquire; John Fuller, Richard Lyall, Galfride Glyn, William Jefferey, Richard Standish; David Lewis, doctors of law; Master Serjeant Morgan, Master Stamford, Master Chidley, Master Carell, Master Dyar, temporal counsellors; and many others in a great multitude then assembled."

And thus have you the whole discourse and process of Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, unto whom the papistical clergy do so much lean (as to a mighty Atlas, and upholder of their ruinous religion); with his letters, answers, preachings, examinations, defensions, exhibits, and attestations, of all such witnesses as he could produce for the most advantage to his own cause, with such notes also, and collections gathered upon the same; whereby, if ever there were any firm judgment or sentence in that man to be gathered in matters of religion, here it may appear what it was, as well on the one side as on the other.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while, till we come to talk of his death hereafter, whom as we number amongst good lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignorant and gross divines, proud prelates, and bloody persecutors, as both by his cruel life and Pharisaical doctrine may appear, especially in the article of the sacrament, and of our justification, and images, and also in crying out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things he spoken; but what the paraphrast uttereth in the person of Christ, or of the evangelist, and not in his own, that he wresteth unto the author, and maketh thereof heresy and abomination.

The like impudency and quarrelling also he used against Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and almost against all other true interpreters of the gospel. So blind was his judgment,

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or else so wilful was his mind, in the truth of Christ's doctrine, that it is hard to say, whether in him unskilfulness or wilfulness had greater predomination.

233. Doctor Redman Expounds the True Faith on his Deathbed

But against this Dr. Gardiner, we will now set and match, on the contrary side, Dr. Redman, forasmuch as he, departing this transitory life the same present year 1551, cometh now, by course of history, here to be mentioned; who, for his singular life and profound knowledge, being inferior in no respect to the said Gardiner, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the gospel's cause, as the other seemeth an enemy, by all manner of ways to impair and deface the same: for the more assured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoin (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the said Dr. Redman lying on his death-bed, and Master Wilkes, Master Alexander Nowel, Dr. Young, and other witnesses more; whereof the said Master Wilkes thus recordeth, speaking in his own person, and his own words, as followeth:

"I, (the aforesaid Richard Wilkes,) coming to Dr. Redman lying sick at Westminster, and first saluting him after my ordinary duty, wished him health both in soul and body; not doubting, moreover, but he did practise the godly counsel in himself, which he was wont to give to others being in his case; and, thanks be to God, said I, who had given him stuff of knowledge to comfort himself withal. To whom he, answering again, said in this wise: 'God of all comfort, give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my mind wholly fixed in him!' Master Young and I said, 'Amen.'

"Then I communed with him of his sickness, and of the weakness of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, yet he, if it were his pleasure, that raised up Lazarus, could restore him to health again. 'No, no,' saith he, 'that is past, and I desire it not; but the will of God be fulfilled!'

"After this, or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be so bold, not troubling him, to know his mind for my learning, in some matters and points of religion. He said, 'Yea,' and that he was as glad to commune with me in such matters, as with any man. And then I said to his servants, I trusted I should not trouble him. No,' said Ellis, his servant, 'my Lord of London, Master Nowel, and others, have communed with him, and he was glad of it.' Then said Master Redman, 'No, you shall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to speak the truth, and his truth, and that which shall redound to his glory, and send us unity in his church;' and we said 'Amen.'

"I said, he should do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to know his mind as touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.—He said, 'As man is made of two parts, of the body and the soul, so Christ would feed the whole man: but what (saith he) be the words of the text? let us take the words of the Scripture.' And he rehearsed the text himself thus: 'Christ took bread; wherein his will was to institute a sacrament. Take, eat. Here he told the use of it. What did he give to them? He calleth it his body.'

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"Then I asked him of the presence of Christ.—He said, Christ was present with his sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought. And there was a wonderful union (for that word was named) betwixt Christ and us, as St. Paul saith, Ye be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh; the which union was ineffable.

"Then I asked him, what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really.—He answered, 'If you mean by corporally, naturally, and really, that he is there present, I grant.'

"Then I asked, how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, blood, and bone, as I have heard the stewards in their Leets give charge when the six articles stood in effect, and charge the inquest to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Christ was present in the sacrament of the altar, in flesh, blood, and bone, they should apprehend them.—He said, that it was too gross, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the Capernaites.

"Then I asked him, Inasmuch as Christ is there were, how do we receive him? in our minds and spiritual parts, or with our mouths, and into our bodies; or both?—He said, 'We receive him in our minds and souls by faith.'

"Then, inasmuch as he was much on this point, that there was 'a marvellous union' betwixt us and Christ, in that we were 'bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh;' I desired to know his opinion, whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no?—Here he paused and held his peace a little space; and shortly after he spake, saying, 'I will not say so; I cannot tell; it is a hard question: but surely,' saith he, 'we receive Christ in our soul by faith. When you do speak of it other ways, it soundeth grossly, and savoureth of the Capernaites.'

"Then I asked him, what he thought of that which the priest was wont to lift up and show the people betwixt his hands?—He said, It is the sacrament.'

"Then said I, 'They are wont to worship that which is lifted up.'—'Yea,' saith he, 'but we must worship Christ in heaven; Christ is neither lifted up nor down.' 'I am glad,' said I, 'Master Doctor, to hear you say so much. I would not speak of the holy sacrament otherwise than reverently; but I fear, lest that sacrament, and the little white piece of bread so lifted up, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour.'—Then said he, looking up and praying, 'God grant us grace that we may have the true understanding of his word, whereby we may come to the true use of his sacraments;' and said, he would never allow the carrying about of the sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

"Then, after a little while pausing, said I, 'Master Doctor, if I should not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in transubstantiation.' 'Jesus! Master Wilkes,' quoth he, 'will you ask me that Sir,' said I, 'not if I should trouble you.'—'No, no, I will tell you,' said he. 'Because I found the opinion of transubstantiation received in the church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be

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satisfied. Then I went to the school doctors, and namely to Gabriel, and weighed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pithier, my opinion of transubstantiation waxed feeble: and then,' saith he, I returned again to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion that there should be transubstantiation was quite dashed.'

"Then said I, 'You know that the school doctors did hold, that bread remained not after the consecration, as they called it.'—'The school doctors,' saith he, 'did not know what *consecratio* meaneth:' and here he paused awhile.

"'I pray you,' said I, 'say you what *consecratio* means?'—Saith he, It is *tota actio*, in ministering the sacrament as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministry, as Christ ordained it, that is *consecratio*; and what,' said he, 'need we to doubt, that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good authors that be of the later time, be of that opinion.'

"After that I had communed with Master Redman, and taken my leave of him, Master Young came forth into the next chamber with me, to whom I said that I was glad to see Master Doctor Redman so well minded. Then said Master Young to me, I am sure he will not deny it; I assure you,' saith he, 'Master Doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before, in certain things, that I would have burned and lost my life for them; now,' saith Master Young, 'I doubt of them. But I see,' saith he, 'a man shall know more and more by process of time, and reading and hearing of others, and Master Doctor Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them.'

"Also Ellis, Master Doctor Redman's servant, showed me, that he did know, that his master had declared to his Majesty King Henry the Eighth, that faith only justified,; but that doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good works.

"The said Master Young hath reported, (the which also I heard,) that Master Doctor Redman should say, that the consent of the church was but a weak staff to lean to; but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him, when he should be in such case as he was then."

Another communication between Dr. Redman, lying in his death-bed, and Master Nowel, then schoolmaster in Westminster, and certain others, with notes of his censure and judgment touching certain points of Christ's religion.

"Imprimis, the said Dr. Redman sent for Master Nowel, of his own mind, and said, he was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moved the said Dr. Redman of a day or two before; and he, being desired of the said Master Nowel to declare his mind concerning certain points of our religion, first said, Ask me what ye will, and I will answer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the world or any worldly person.

"Witnesses: Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

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"II. Item, The said Dr. Redman said, that the see of Rome in these latter days is 'a sink of all evil.'

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

"III. Item, That purgatory, as the schoolmen taught it, and used it, was ungodly, and that there was no such kind of purgatory as they fancied.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

"IV. Item, That the offering up of the sacrament in masses and trentals for the sins of the dead is ungodly.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

"V. Item, That the wicked are not partakers of the body of Christ, but receive the outward sacrament only.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

"VI. Item, That the sacrament ought not to be carried about in procession; for it is taught what is the use of it in these words, Take, eat, and drink, and Do this in remembrance of me.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

"VII. Item, That nothing which is seen in the sacrament, or perceived with any outward sense, is to be worshipped.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton."

"VIII. Item, That we receive not Christ's body corporally, that is to say, grossly, like other meats, and like as the Capernaïtes did understand it.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

"IX. Item, That we receive Christ's body so spiritually, that nevertheless truly.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

"X. Item, As touching transubstantiation, that there is not, in any of the old doctors, any good ground or sure proof hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he seeth what can be answered to the objections made against it.

"Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

"XI. Item, Being asked of Master Wilkes, what that was, which was lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, 'He thought that Christ could neither be lifted up nor down.'

"Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

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"XII. Item, That priests may, by the law of God, marry wives.

"Witnesses: Alex. Newel, Ellis Lomas.

"XIII. Item, That this proposition, that only faith doth justify, so that faith do signify a true, a lively [faith,] and a faith resting in Christ, and embracing Christ, is a true, godly, sweet, and comfortable doctrine; so that it be so taught that the people take none occasion of carnal liberty thereof.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Novel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

"XIV. Item, That our works cannot deserve the kingdom of God and life everlasting.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright.

"XV. Item, That the said Dr. Redman, at such times as we, the aforesaid persons who have subscribed, heard his communication concerning the aforesaid points of religion, was of quiet mind, and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright."

Also Master Young, of himself, doth declare further, touching the former articles, in this wise:

"To the fifth article.—Imprimis, That Dr. Redman said more, whereas St. Augustine said, that Judas received the same that Peter did, he said, that he understood that of the sacrament; and that after the same phrase a man might say, 'That Simon Magus received the same baptism that the apostles did,' when he did receive only the outward sacrament to his condemnation; for he said, that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy flesh to an ungodly man: and this, he said, was always his mind, though he knew that other men did otherwise think.

"To the sixth.—Item, He said, he never liked the carriage about of the sacrament, and preached against it about sixteen years since in Cambridge.

"To the tenth.—Item, When he was demanded of transubstantiation, he said, that he had travailed about it, and thinking that the doubts which he perceived did rise thereon, should be made plain by the schoolmen, did read their books; and after that he had read them, the opinion of transubstantiation was every day weaker and weaker, and that there was no such transubstantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole school did not know what was meant by consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy communion.

"To the thirteenth.—Item, He said, that he did repent him, that he had so much strived against justification by faith only.

"To the fourteenth.—Item, That works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deserve eternal life, and the kingdom of God; no, not the works of grace; for everlasting life is the gift of God."

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Although these testimonies above alleged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, sound doctrine, and sincere judgment of Dr. Redman, yet I thought not to cut off in this place the testimonial letter or epistle of Dr. Young, written to Master Cheke, specially concerning the premises: which epistle of Dr. Young, as I received it written by his own hand in the Latin tongue, the copy which he himself neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of Acts and Monuments, so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the English tongue, the tenor whereof followeth:

"Although, right worshipful, I am stricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe (but that it otherwise pleased Almighty God) and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Dr. Redman, insomuch that, all astonied with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think; yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your Worship's will and pleasure, that so I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by God's grace, here, in these my letters, sincerely and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confess at the hour of his death, as touching the controversies of religion, wherewith the spouse of Christ is, in these our days, most miserably troubled and tormented.

"This Dr. Redman, (being continually, by the space of twenty years, or somewhat more, exercised in the reading of the Holy Scripture,) with such industry, labour, modesty, magnanimity, and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controversies of religion, that in all his doings, as he would not seem to approve that which was either false or superstitious; so he would never improve that, which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain points and articles of his faith, he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his singular gravity, either for softness, fear, or lack of stomach, to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation, by familiar acquaintance with him, was thoroughly known, (with them also which were present at his departure,) may easily perceive and understand, how, in grave and weighty matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgment and unfeigned conscience, he descended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed.

"I give your wisdom to understand, that when death drew near, he, casting away all hope of recovery, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which were present heard) but of heaven and heavenly matters, of the latter day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom most fervently he desired to be; whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners most worthily, and not without tears, he oftentimes used to extol and speak of: and us which were there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare ourselves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this most wretched and corrupt world. And besides that, he promised, (calling God to witness thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come,) if any would demand any question, that he would answer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth. At that time there was present Master Alexander Nowel, a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had alway singularly well loved the said Master Redman, to whom he spake on this wise:

"Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favoured, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do ask these things of you which I shall propound, but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching those

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troublous controversies which are in these our days; and I shall receive and approve your words, as oracles sent from heaven.'

"To whom, when Dr. Redman had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, Master Nowel said, 'I would,' quoth he, 'right gladly; but that I fear, by my talk and communication, I shall be unto you, so feeble and now almost spent, a trouble and grief.' Then said Dr. Redman, replying, 'What! shall I spare my carcass,' quoth he, 'which hath so short a time here to remain? Go to, go to,' said he, 'propound what you will.'

"Then Master Nowel put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare; whereunto the said Dr. Redman severally answered, as hereafter followeth.

"The first question that he asked of him was, What he thought of the bishop of Rome: unto whom Dr. Redman answered, 'The see of Rome, in these our later days, hath much swerved from the true religion and worshipping of God, and is with horrible vices stained and polluted; which I, therefore,' quoth he, 'pronounce to be the sink of all evil; and shortly will come to utter ruin by the scourge of God, except it do fall the sooner to repentance:' wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuse of our English church.

"Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning purgatory, and what the schoolmen judged thereof, he answered, that the subtle reasons of the schoolmen concerning purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, that when we be rapt to the clouds, to meet Christ coming to judgment with a great number of angels, in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged with fire, as it is written, 'The fire shall go before him, and shall flame round about his enemies, and the fire shall burn in his sight; and round about him shall be a great tempest;' saying, that divers of the old writers approved this his sentence concerning purgatory.

"When he was asked, whether wicked and ungodly people, in the holy communion, did eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, he answered, that such kind of men did not eat Christ's most blessed flesh but only took the sacrament to their own damnation; saying, that Christ would not give his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. 'And that,' quoth he, 'that is objected by St. Augustine, that Judas received the selfsame thing which Peter received, that I think to be understood of the external sacrament. And the like kind of phrase of speaking,' said he, 'we may use concerning the baptism of Magus,—that Simon Magus received that which the apostles did receive. Indeed, as concerning the sacrament of the external baptism, Simon Magus received that which the apostles did; but that internal grace wherewith the apostles were endued, and that Holy Spirit wherewith by baptism they were inspired, he lacked. And so,' quoth he, 'the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy table of the Lord, do receive the sacrament, and the selfsame which good and godly men receive; but the body of Christ they do not receive, for Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it them.' And thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

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"Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Christ's presence to be in the sacrament, or no; he answered, that Christ did give and offer to faithful and Christian men his very real body and blood verily and really, under sacraments of bread and wine; insomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food, are, by the benefit thereof, united and made one with Christ in his flesh and body. And therefore, he said, that Christ did distribute his body spiritually; that he gave it truly: yet not so, nevertheless, that by these and the like words, we should conceive any gross and carnal intelligence, such as the Capernaïtes once dreamed of; but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavour to express, by some kind of words, the ineffable majesty of this mystery. For the manner whereby Christ is there present, and ministereth to the faithful his flesh, is altogether inexplicable; but we must believe (quoth he) and think, that by God's mighty power, and the holy operation of his Spirit, that so notable a mystery was made; and that heaven and earth were joined together in that moment, as the blessed man St. Gregory saith, 'The lowest parts are joined with the highest;' by which is understood that holy food, whereby they which be regenerate by the Holy Ghost in baptism, are nourished to immortality. And further he said, that Christ's body was received in the said sacrament by faith; which being received, both body and soul were quickened to everlasting life.

"Being then required to say his mind about transubstantiation, he gave answer, that he had much travailed in that point, and that he first much favoured and inclined to that part which maintained transubstantiation; in searching the verity whereof most studiously he had been no little while occupied, and found to arise thereabout infinite and almost inexplicable absurdities, in confuting whereof, when he had but smally contented himself, (he said,) he took in hand the schoolmen's works, and perused Gabriel and other writers of that sort; for that, by their help and aid, he hoped that all inconveniences which did spring and arise by maintenance of transubstantiation, might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly frustrate, (said he,) for that he did find in those books many fond and fantastical things, which were both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be alleged, about such a mystery; and truly (said he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opinion touching the maintenance of transubstantiation, did every day more and more decrease; and therefore, in conclusion, he persuaded himself to think, that there was no such transubstantiation as the schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; saying, that indeed the ancient writers were plainly against the maintenance thereof; amongst whom he recited by name, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, notorious adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereunto, that the whole school understood not what this word *consecratio* was, which he defined to be the full entire action of the whole communion. Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy supper; he told us, that we are bound so to do, and that it was most agreeing to piety and godly religion.

"Likewise being asked, whether he would have the visible sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, that nothing which was visible, and to be seen with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would Christ be elevated into any higher, or pulled down into any lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled down lower.

"Again, being asked his opinion about the custom and manner in carrying about the sacrament in solemn pomps, processions, and otherwise; he said, that he always misliked and

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reproved that order; insomuch that about sixteen years ago, openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, he spake against that abuse, and disallowed that ceremony; showing that Christ had expressed, by plain and evident words, a very fruitful and right use of this sacrament, when he said, 'Take ye,' (by which phrase, quoth he, he doth express that he will give a gift,) 'eat ye' (by which words he doth declare the proper use and order of that his precious gift): 'This is my body' (whereby he doth evidently and plainly show what, by that gift, they should receive, and how royal and precious a gift he would give them): and, therefore, he judged such pompous and superstitious ostentations utterly to be condemned, and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeit visors.

"His judgment also being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in orisons, whether he thought it profitable or no; he answered, that it seemed to him, to be no less profitable, than religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the books of Maccabees: the which books, although St. Jerome, adjudging as not authentic, thought good to be read in the temples only for the edifying of the church, and not for the assertion of opinions; yet with him, [Dr. Redman,] the opinions of the other writers, by whom those books are allowed as canons, prevail, which he, in that point, thinketh good to be read.

"Being, furthermore, required to show his mind about trental masses, and masses of *scala cœli*; he showed them that they were altogether unprofitable, superstitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of superstition, not yielding the fruit which they promised to bring forth. The sacrifice of the supper of the Lord—the eucharist I mean—that sacrifice, he said, could not be offered for the sins of the quick and the dead.

"Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he showed his opinion concerning justification by Christ. 'I lament,' said he, 'and repent, beseeching God forgiveness of the same, that too seriously and earnestly I have withstood this proposition, that only faith doth justify; but I always feared that it should be taken to the liberty of the flesh, and so should defile the innocency of life which is in Christ. But that proposition, that only faith doth justify, is true,' quoth he, 'sweet, and full of spiritual comfort, if it be truly taken, and rightly understood.' And when he was demanded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof, 'I understand,' quoth he, 'that to be the lively faith, which resteth in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth him; so that in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, all the hope and trust of our salvation be surely fixed. And as concerning good works,' saith he, 'they have their crown and merit, and are not destitute of their rewards; yet, nevertheless, they do not merit the kingdom of heaven. For no works,' said he, 'could purchase and obtain that blessed, happy, and everlasting immortality; no, nor yet those things which we do under grace, by the motion of the Holy Ghost: for that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed upon us, mortal men, of the heavenly Father, for his Son our Saviour Christ's sake, as St. Paul testifieth, The gift of God is eternal life.'

"And these be the solutions which I heard him give to the questions of Master Nowel proposed; from which his sentence and judgment, so heard by me, and of him uttered, (as I remember,) he never declined or varied.

"I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to cease these troublous storms wherewith the church is tossed, and vouchsafe, for his holy name's sake, tenderly to behold and look upon his poor

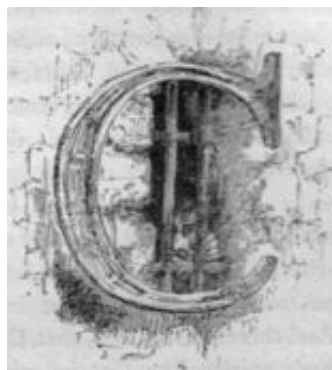
FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

wretched flock, so miserably scattered and dispersed; beseeching him also, of his goodness, to preserve your worship.

"At London, the third of November."

234. William Gardiner, Martyred on Portugal

The history, no less lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner, an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portugal, for the testimony of God's truth.



oming to the next year following, now we will for a time depart, and leave the coasts and country of England, whereupon our style hath now long stayed; and with open sails, as it were, following the tempests of persecution, pass over into Portugal amongst the popish merchants there, whereunto William Gardiner, an Englishman, of necessity calleth me, who was burned in Lisbon, the chief city of Portugal, in the year of our Lord 1552. A man verily, in my judgment, not only to be compared with the most principal and chief martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the ancient churches, in the time of the first persecutions, cannot show a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and stedfast constantness, the invincible strength of his spirit, or the cruel and horrible torments; the report only and hearing whereof were enough to put any man in horror or fear. Yet notwithstanding, so far off it was that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted whether the pain of his body or the courage of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

Wherefore, if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reason is, be due unto the martyrs of Christ for their valiant acts, this one man, amongst many, seemeth worthy to be numbered, and also to be celebrated in the church, with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatus, Crescentius, and Gordianus. And if the church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is enlarged, by whose constancy it is confirmed, by whose testimony it is witnessed, and, finally, through whose agonies and victories the truth of the gospel doth gloriously triumph; let not us, then, think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetual token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themselves receive no glory at our hands, and much less challenge the same, but, referring it wholly unto the Lord Christ, from whom it came, whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them: notwithstanding, forasmuch as Christ himself is glorified in his saints, we cannot show ourselves thankful unto him, except we also show ourselves dutiful unto those by whom his glory doth increase.

Hereupon I think it came to pass, that the ancient Christians, in the time of the first persecutions, thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the martyrdom of those holy men, not so much to honour them, as to glorify God in his soldiers, unto whom all glory and praise doth worthily belong; and moreover that we, being instructed by their example, might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of those wars, to stand more stoutly in battle against our adversaries, and learn the more easily to contemn and despise this world. For, in considering the end and death of these men, who will greatly long or lust after this life, which is so many

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ways miserable, through so many afflictions dolorous, through so many casualties ruinous, wherein consisteth so little constancy, and less safety, being never free from some hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly oppressed, and wherein no man can live in quietness, except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that in this great slaughter of good men, with so many spectacles and examples of cruel torment, Christians do yet live, as it were, drowned in the foolish desires of this world; seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yield up their spirits under the hands of such tormentors, to lie in filthy prisons, in bonds, darkness, and tears, and, in the end, to be consumed with fire. We see so many prophets of God, even Christ himself, the Son of God, to be so cruelly and many ways afflicted in this world, turmoiled, scourged, and crucified; and yet we laugh, drink, and give ourselves unto all looseness of life, and all lasciviousness. For honour and great possessions we contend; we build; we study and labour by all means to make ourselves rich: unto whom it loth not suffice, that we, with safety and freedom from their afflictions, racks, wheels, scourges, irons red-hot, gridirons, flesh-hooks, mallets, and other kind of torments, may serve our Christ in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over ourselves to all kind of wickedness, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Satan.

But what do we think in so doing? Either we must reckon those men to be most miserable in this life, or else ourselves to be most unhappy. But if their blessedness be most certain and sure, then let us direct the course of our life to the same felicity. These men have forsaken this life, which they might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be slow to correct and amend the same; and though we cannot die with them in like martyrdom, yet let us mortify the worldly and profane affections of the flesh, which strive against the spirit; and, at the least, let us not run thus headlong into the licentious desires of the world, as we do. As the life of Christian men is now, I pray thee, what do these bonds, prisons, these wounds and scars, these great fires, and other horrible torments of martyrs, but upbraid unto us our slothful sluggishness, and worthily make us ashamed thereof? which martyrs, if in their lives they lived so innocently, and in their deaths continued so constant, what then is to be deemed of us, which suffer nothing for Christ, and will not take upon us the small conflict against vices and our own affections? How would we suffer the cruel looks of tyrants, the fearful kinds of torments, or the violent assaults of the tormentors, in any quarrel of godliness, if in peace and quietness we are (and that with every small breath or wind of temptation) blown away from God—so faint-hearted without any resistance, that we are carried headlong into all kinds of wickedness and mischief? One singeth songs of love; another watcheth all the night at dice: some spend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting; some tittle so at taverns, that they come home reeling. Others, whatsoever desire of revenge doth put into their heads, that, by and by, they seek to put in practice. Some gape after riches; some swell with ambition; some think they are born for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of injury and perjury; nay, rather, it is so rare a thing patiently to suffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the sleight to do injury to others, we think ourselves scarce men. There is no love almost, nor charity among men; neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

But amongst all the rest, unsatiable covetousness and avarice so reigneth, that no man almost is contented with any tolerable estate of life, either that will prescribe himself any measure in having that he possesseth, or in prowling for that which he lacketh; never quiet, but

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always toiling; never satisfied, but always unsatiable. But now, setting apart these complaints spent in vain, we will prosecute our purposed story touching good William Gardiner.

And first, as concerning his kindred, he was of an honest stock, born at Bristol, a town of merchandise on the sea-coast of England; honestly brought up, and, by nature, given unto gravity; of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always, from his childhood, preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his handsome and indifferent learning, did not a little commend and beautify his other ornaments. When he grew unto those years at which young men are accustomed to settle their minds to some kind of life, it happened that he gave himself to the trade of merchandise, under the conduct and guiding of a certain merchant of Bristol, called Master Paget, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty-six or thereabout) sent into Spain; and by chance the ship arriving at Lisbon, (which is the chief city of Portugal,) he tarried there about his merchandise, where, at the last, he, having gotten understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both unto his master and others, in such things as pertained unto the trade of that vocation; whereunto he did so apply himself, that nevertheless he, in that popish country, reserving still the religion of his own country of England, ever kept himself sound and undefiled from the Portuguese superstition. There were also, besides him, divers other good men in the same city. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men, unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his imbecility and weakness, that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his sins, nor yet inflamed with the love of godliness.

Whilst he was there abiding, it happened that there should be a solemn marriage celebrated the first day of September in the year abovesaid, betwixt two princes; that is to say, the son of the king of Portugal, and the Spanish king's daughter. The marriage day being come, there was great resort of the nobility and estates. There lacked no bishops with mitres, nor cardinals with their hats, to set out this royal wedding. To be short, they went forward to the wedding with great pomp, where a great concourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service' sake, and some (as the matter is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole city, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness. In this great assembly of the whole kingdom, William Gardiner, who albeit he did not greatly esteem such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also; coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunity, and better place, to behold and see.

The hour being come, they flocked into the church with great solemnity and pomp; the king first, and then every estate in order; the greater persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their mass; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The cardinal did execute, with much singing and organ-playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking; their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the external sacrament. How grievously these things did prick and move this young man's mind, it cannot be expressed—partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the



The Royal Wedding

common people; and not only of the common people, but, especially, to see the king himself, and his council, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed, to be seduced with like idolatry as the common people were; insomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would, even that present day, have done some notable thing in the king's sight and presence, but that the great press and throng that was about him, letted that he could not come unto the altar. What need many words? When the ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very sad and heavy in his mind, insomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him; who, albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cause of his sadness, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so

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much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man: but, seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition.

In this deliberation and advice his mind being fully settled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts so exactly, (as well of that which was due unto him, as that which he owed unto others,) that no man could justly ask so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and in continual meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one hour or two of rest in the night; as Pendigrace, his fellow companion both at bed and board, being yet alive, can testify.

The Sunday came again to be celebrated either with like pomp and solemnity, or not much less, whereat the said William was present early in the morning, very cleanly apparelled, even of purpose, that he might stand near the altar without repulse. Within a while after, cometh the king with all his nobles. Then Gardiner setteth himself as near the altar as he might, having a Testament in his hand, which he diligently read upon, and prayed, until the time was come, that he had appointed to work his feat. The mass began, which was then solemnized by a cardinal. Yet he sat still. He which said mass, proceeded: he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, showed his god unto the people. All the people gave great reverence, and as yet he stirred nothing. At last, they came unto that place of the mass, where they use to take the ceremonial host, and toss it to and fro round about the chalice, making certain circles and semicircles. Then the said William Gardiner, being not able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the cardinal; and (which is incredible to be spoken) even in the presence of the king and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trod it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. This matter at first made them all abashed, but, by and by, there arose a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The nobles and the common people ran together, amongst whom one, drawing out his dagger, gave him a great wound in his shoulder; and, as he was about to strike him again to have slain him, the king twice commanded to have him saved. So, by that means, they abstained from murder.

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the king; by whom he was demanded what countryman he was, and how he durst be so bold to work such a contumely against his Majesty, and the sacraments of the church? He answered, "Most noble king, I am not ashamed of my country, who am an Englishman both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffic of merchandise. And when I saw, in this famous assembly, so great idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought nor could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that, which you have seen me presently do. Which thing, most noble prince, was not done or thought of me, for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose, as before God I do clearly confess—to seek only the salvation of this people."

When they heard that he was an Englishman, and called to remembrance how the religion was restored by King Edward, they were, by and by, brought in suspicion, that he had been suborned by Englishmen thus to do, to mock and deride their religion: wherefore they were the more earnest upon him to know who was the author and procurer, that he should commit that act.

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Unto whom he answered, desiring them that they would conceive no such suspicion of him, forasmuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conscience. For, otherwise, there was no man under the heaven, for whose sake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but that he owed this service, first, unto God, and secondarily, unto their salvation. Wherefore, if he had done any thing which were displeasing unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so irreverently used the holy supper of the Lord unto so great idolatry; not without great ignominy unto the church, violation of the sacrament, and the peril of their own souls, except they repented.

While he spake these, with many other things more unto this effect, very gravely and stoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to faint; whereupon surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured, if it were possible, and be reserved for further examination, and more grievous torment. For they were fully persuaded, that this deed had divers abettors and setters-on; which was the cause that all the other Englishmen, also, in the same city, came into suspicion, and were commanded to safe custody: amongst whom Pendigrace, because he was his bed-fellow, was grievously tormented and examined more than the residue, and scarcely was delivered after two years' imprisonment. The others were much sooner set at liberty, at the intercession of a certain duke. Notwithstanding, their suspicion could not yet be thus satisfied, but they came into his chamber, to seek if there were any letters, to understand and find out the author of this enterprise. And when they could find nothing there, they came again unto him, being grievously wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most grievous heresy: of both which points, with such dexterity as he could, he cleared himself; wherein albeit he spake in the Spanish tongue well, yet he used the Latin tongue much more exactly.

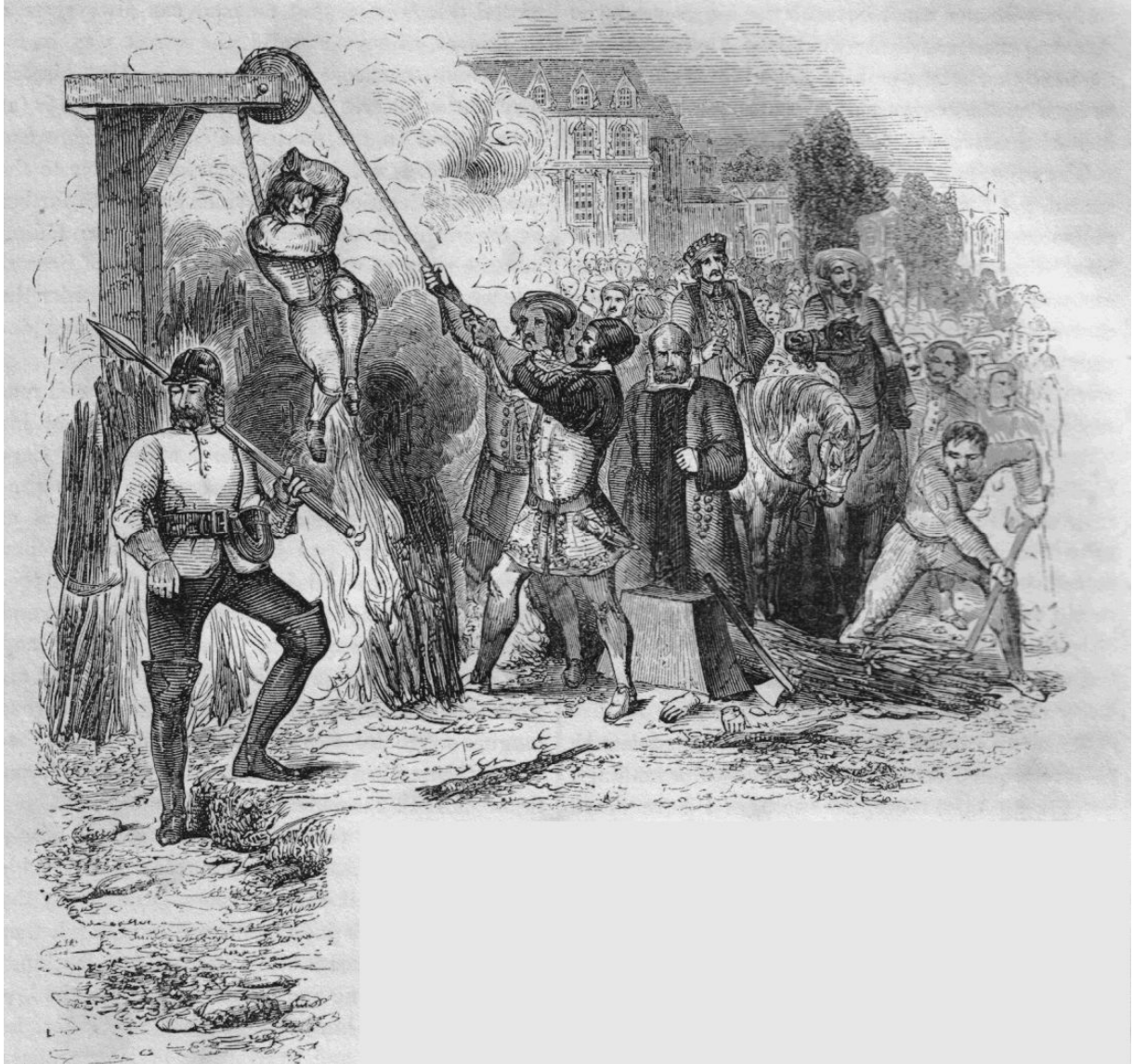
But they, not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kind of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth the bull of Phalaris. Because there should no kind of extreme cruelty be left unassayed, they caused a linen cloth to be sewed round like a ball, the which they with violence put down his throat unto the bottom of his stomach, tied with a small string which they held in their hands; and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence: plucking it to and fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as that with much less grief they might have rid him out of his life at once.

Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevail to go this way to work, they asked him, whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deed? As touching the deed, he answered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little sorry that it was done in the king's presence, to the disquietness of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, who neither enterprised nor thought upon any such matter; but was rather to be ascribed unto the king, in that he, having power, would not prohibit so great idolatry used among his people.—This he spake with great fervency.

After they had used all kind of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him, three days after, to execution. And first of all, bringing him into the vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he, taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the market-

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place, where his other hand also was cut off; which he, kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done, after the manner and fashion of Spain, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horse's belly, he was carried to the place of execution.



The execution of William Gardiner

There was in that place a certain engine, from which a great rope coming down by a pulley was fastened about the middle of this Christian martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into which he was, by little and little,

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let down, not with the whole body, but so that his feet only felt the fire. Then was he hoisted up, and so let down again into the fire; and thus oftentimes pulled up and down.

In this great torment, for all that, he continued with a constant spirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

At last, when his feet were consumed, the tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his deed; and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the saints. Whereunto he answered, that as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, so he had the less need of the help of our Lady, or any other saint; and what external torments soever they used, the truth, he said, remaineth always one, and like unto itself; the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not now deny it at his death: desiring them to leave off such vanities and folly; for when Christ did cease any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate. And said, "O eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beseech thee look down upon thy servant," &c. And when they sought, by all means possible, to stop or hinder his praying to and praising God in this sort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearsing the forty-third Psalm, "Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people."

He was not come unto the latter end of the Psalm, when, as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt asunder, he fell down into the midst thereof; where, giving his body for a sacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for perpetual rest and quietness.

Thus it seemed good in the sight of God, by this messenger to provoke the Portuguese to the sincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And if it be so great an offence to violate the ordinance of man's law, and to contemn the ambassadors of kings and princes, let the Portuguese, and all others, look well unto it, what it is so cruelly to handle the heavenly messenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevenged by the mighty hand of God, when as not only the very same night, amongst divers of the king's ships which were in the next haven ready to sail, one was burned, being set on fire by a sparkle of Gardiner's fire driven thither with the wind, but also the king's son, who then was married, died within half a year, and, in the next year after, the king himself also died; and so both within one year after the tormenting of this blessed martyr.

Thus the body of the said Gardiner being consumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people so ceased not, but they were as cruel against him, being dead, as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea, for very madness, they would scarce tarry until he were burned, but every man, as they could catch any piece of him half burned, threw it into the sea.

This sacrifice thus ended, the clergy, to pacify God's wrath, which they feared for the violating of their altar, appointed a solemn fast of certain days, for penance to purge that fact; which fact rather should have taught them to purge themselves, and to put away their filthy idolatry; and much rather they should have fasted and repented for that their extreme cruelty, which they had showed unto the lively member of Christ.

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Albeit this death of William Gardiner seemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet, for all that, there are some (as I have heard divers report) out of whose minds the remembrance of this constant martyr can never be pulled, and is so fresh yet amongst them, as if it were now lately done: and finally, albeit it be a good while since he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful seed, hath taken such root in some, that even unto this present day he is a lively and diligent preacher unto them, against superstition and idolatry used in their churches.

235. The Downfall of Edward, Duke of Somerset

The tragical history of the worthy Lord Edward, duke of Somerset, lord protector, with the whole cause of his troubles and handling.

After so many troublous matters in this history afore-passed, coming now to the lamentable and tragical narration of the Lord Edward, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, and protector of his person and of his realm, I could not well enter into the story of him without some premonition, first, to all noble personages, of what honour or calling so-ever within this realm, by way of history, briefly to admonish them, no man to plant any trust or assurance upon the brickle pillars of worldly prosperity, how high soever it seemeth, considering that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruin; no wisdom so circumspect, but it may be circumvented; no virtue so perfect, but it may be envied; neither any man's trade so simple, but it may be beguiled. And therefore, seeing the condition of mortal things is so, that no man can always stand in this so ruinous a world, the surest way is, for every man to choose his standing so, that his fall may be the easier. But, because my purpose is (as I have said in the stories before) to abridge and make short, I will here stay; referring thee to the secret consideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered; and so, falling into the story of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

King Edward, after that both his father and mother were dead, had three uncles left him by his mother's side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour; of the which two first, one was made protector of the realm, and the other high admiral of the same. These two brethren, so long as they were knit and joined in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the king their nephew, and the whole commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtle old serpent, always envying man's felicity, through slanderous tongues sought to sow matter, first of discord between them; then of suspicion: and last of all, extreme hatred: insomuch that the protector suffered his brother, being accused, (whether truly or falsely the Lord knoweth,) to be condemned, and to lose his head. Whereby it came to pass, (whether by the correction of God's judgment upon him, or whether that he, after the death of his brother, and the king, being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to shift for himself,) that, not long after, he was overmatched and overthrown of his enemies; and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost his head also—to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequel of this history followeth to be declared. For the better introduction of which history, first to begin with the aforesaid brother of the lord protector, namely, Sir Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's uncle, here is to be understood, that he had married Queen Katharine, late wife to King Henry the Eighth, of whom ye heard before. Now it happened, (upon what occasion I know not,) that there fell a displeasure betwixt the said queen and the duchess of Somerset, and thereupon also, in the behalf of their wives, displeasure and grudge began between the brethren; which, albeit, through persuasion of friends, it was for a time appeased between them, yet, in short space after, (perchance not without the privy setting-forward of some, which were back friends to the gospel,) it brake out again, both to the trouble of the realm, and especially to the confusion of

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them both, as after it proved. First, to the lord admiral's charge it was laid, that he purposed to destroy the young king, and translate the crown unto himself; and for the same being attainted and condemned, he did suffer at Tower Hill the twentieth of March, 1549. As many there were, which reported that the duchess of Somerset had wrought his death; so many more there were, who, misdoubting the long standing of the lord protector in his state and dignity, thought and affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one brother would be the ruin of the other; the experiment whereof, as it hath often been proved, so, in these also, eftsoons it ensued.

It was not long after the beheading of the lord admiral, that insurrections began to kindle, the same year, in divers quarters of the realm, as is above storied; by the occasion whereof the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, was sent to the west parts, and the Lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was sent with an army into Norfolk, where both he himself, and a great number of gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the rebels, were in great danger: notwithstanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the rebels; which was about the beginning of September, 1549. After this victory achieved, in the next month following, which was October, how the matter fell out between the lord protector and certain other lords, I know not, but, at the return of the earl of Warwick aforesaid, great working and consultation there was among the lords, assembling themselves in the house of Master York, and at Baynard's Castle, and in the lord mayor's house, at London, against the lord protector, remaining then with the king at Hampton Court. Of the which business and trouble, thus the lord protector writeth, in his letters to the Lord Russel in the west country, as followeth.

A letter of the lord protector, to the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, concerning troubles working against him.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship: here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the king's Majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant or intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Boulogne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the soldiers; and other such tales and letters they do spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live): the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, specially of those men, towards the king's Majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the king's Majesty, in such force and power as you may, to show the part of a true gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the king's Majesty, in time to come, and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them; but, as you tender your duty to the king's Majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair, with such force as ye have, to his Highness in his castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye may make, to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell.

"From Hampton Court the sixth of October.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,
EDWARD SOMERSET."

Substance of a letter of the Lord Russel in answer to the lord protector's letter.

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"To this letter of the lord protector sent the sixth of October, the Lord Russel returning answer again upon the eighth of the said month, first lamenteth the heavy dissension fallen between the nobility and him, which he taketh for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this realm, being the next way, saith he, to make of us conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole realm a universal calamity and thralldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord do help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the duke's request in his letters, forasmuch as he heard before of this broil of the lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the king's person, he hasted forward with such company as he could make, for the surety of the king, as to him appertained. Now, perceiving by the lords' letters sent unto him the same sixth day of October these tumults to rise upon private causes between him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a convenient power should be levied, to be in a readiness to withstand the worst, (what perils soever might ensue,) for the preservation both of the king and state of the realm from the invasion of foreign enemies, and also for the staying of bloodshed, if any such thing should be intended between the parties in the heat of this faction. And this, he, thinking best for discharge of his allegiance, humbly beseecheth his Grace to have the same also in special regard and consideration, first, that the king's Majesty be put in no fear; and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will so conform himself as no such private quarrels do redound to the public disturbance of the realm; certifying, moreover, the duke, that if it were true, which he understandeth by the letters of the lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising up of the commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding, he trusted well that his wisdom would take such a way as no effusion of blood should follow."

And thus much being contained in his former letter of the eighth of October, in his next letter again, written the eleventh day of October, the said Lord Russel wrote to this effect:

"He (rejoicing to hear of the most reasonable offers of the lord protector made unto the lords) writeth unto him, and promiseth to do what, in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Harbert joined together with him) doth lie, to work some honourable reconciliation between him and them; so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had resolved to have the same in readiness for the benefit of the realm, to occur all inconveniences, whatsoever (either by foreign invasion or otherwise) might happen; and so, having their power at hand, to draw near, whereby they might have the better opportunity to be solicitors, and a means for this reformation on both parts," &c.

And thus much for answer of the Lord Russel to the lord protector's letters.

But now to the matter again of the lords, who, together with the earl of Warwick, (upon what occasion God knoweth,) being assembled at London, as ye heard, against the lord protector; when the king with his council at Hampton Court heard thereof, first Secretary Peter with the king's message was sent unto them, whom the lords, notwithstanding, detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the lord protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth:

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"My Lords, we commend us most heartily unto you: and whereas the king's Majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remain; and was advised by us, and such other of his council as were then here about his person, to send Master Secretary Peter unto you, with such message as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesty's person, with preservation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as Master Secretary can well declare to you: his Majesty, and we of his council here, do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said Master Secretary, and have not, as it were, vouchsafed to send answer to his Majesty, either by him or yet any other. And for ourselves, we do much more marvel, and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the king's Majesty and us to these extremities. Which as we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and our allegiance doth bind us) to extremity of death, and to put all to God's hand, who giveth victory as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place, (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor do we understand what you do require or seek, or what you do mean,) and that you do seek no hurt to the king's Majesty's person; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the king's Majesty's person, his realm and subjects, you shall find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we do esteem the king's wealth and tranquillity of the realm, more than all other worldly things; yea, more than our own life. Thus, praying you to send us your determinate answer herein by Master Secretary Peter, or, if you will not him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God's honour, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of us all; which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

"From the king's Majesty's castle of Windsor, the 7th of October, 1549.

"Your Lordship's loving friend,

E. SOMERSET."

After these letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the lord protector offered, and yet not much regarded of the lords, they, persisting still in their intended purpose, took this advice, first to keep themselves in the city of London, as strong as they might; and therefore, calling upon the mayor and the aldermen, they willed them in any case to provide a good and substantial watch by night, and a good ward by day, for the safeguard of their city, and the ports and gates thereof; which was consented unto, and the companies of London, in their turns, warned to watch and ward accordingly.

Then the said lords and councillors demanded of the lord mayor and his brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king; but thereunto the mayor answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of common-council of the city: whereupon, the next day, a common-council was warned. But, in the mean time, the said lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord mayor's house of London, who then was Sir Henry Amcottes, fishmonger, and William Locke, mercer, and Sir John Aileph, sheriffs of the said city; and there the said council did agree and publish a proclamation forthwith, against the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth:

"First, That the lord protector, by his malicious and evil government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the realm.

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"2. The loss of the king's pieces in France.

"3. That he was ambitious, and sought his own glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly houses in the time of the king's wars.

"4. That he esteemed nothing the grave counsel of the councillors.

"5. That he sowed division between the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

"6. That the nobles assembled themselves together at London for no other purpose, but to have caused the protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the king's Majesty, as appertained, whatsoever the protector's doings were; which, they said, were unnatural, ingrate, and traitorous.

"7. That the protector slandered the council to the king, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the king and the nobles.

"8. That he was a great traitor; and, therefore, the lords desired the city and commons to aid them, to take him from the king."

And in witness and testimony of the contents of the said proclamation, the lords subscribed their names, which were these:

"The lord Riche, lord chancellor.

The lord St. John, lord great master, and president of the council.

The lord marquis of Northampton.

The earl of Warwick, lord great chamberlain.

The earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.

The earl of Shrewsbury.

The earl of Southampton (Wriothesley).

Sir Thomas Cheney, knight, treasurer of the king's house, and lord warden of the Cinque

Ports.

Sir John Gage, knight, constable of the Tower.

Sir William Peter, knight, secretary.

Sir Edward North, knight.

Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas.

Sir Ralph Sadler.

Sir John Baker.

Sir Edward Wootton.

Sir Richard Southwell.

Dr. Wootton, dean of Canterbury."

After the aforesaid proclamation was proclaimed, the lords, or the most part of them, still continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guildhall, during the time that the lord mayor and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and communed a long while with the mayor; and at the last, the mayor and his brethren came forth unto the common-

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council, where was read the king's letter sent to the mayor and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand well-appointed men out of their city, and to send the same with all speed to his castle at Windsor.

This letter by name was directed to Sir Henry Amcottes, knight, lord mayor, to Sir Rowland Hill, knight, mayor elect; and to the aldermen and common-council of the city of London. The day and date of the letter was the sixth of October, in the third year of his reign, being signed with the hand of the king, and the lord protector; the contents of which letter, for the satisfaction of the reader, are here to be seen in manner and form as followeth.

EDWARD.
By the king.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We charge and command you most earnestly, to give order, with all speed, for the defence and preservation of that our city of London for us; and to levy out of hand, and to put in order, as many as conveniently you may, well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watch at the gates; and to send us hither, for the defence of our person, one thousand of that our city, of trusty and faithful men, to attend upon us, and our most entirely beloved uncle, Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, well harnessed, and with good and convenient weapon; so that they do make their repair hither unto us this night, if it be possible, or at least tomorrow before noon; and, in the mean time, to do what appertaineth unto your duty, for ours and our said uncle's defence against all such as attempt any conspiracy or enterprise of violence against us or our said uncle, as you know best for our preservation and defence at this present.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Hampton Court, the sixth of October, the third year of our reign.

"You shall further give credit to our trusty and well-beloved Owen Cleydon, the bearer hereof, in all such things as he shall further declare unto you on the behalf of us, and our said uncle the lord protector.

EDWARD SOMERSET."

This letter of the king, and of the lord protector, was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the lords keeping at London had knowledge immediately thereof, (by the means, as some suppose, of the Lord Paget, who was then with the king and the protector, but the truth the Lord knoweth,) being there ready furnished with their own bands of serving men, and other soldiers and men of arms; who, forthwith upon the same, addressed their letters in semblable wise to the said lord mayor and aldermen in the king's name, not only for a supportation of armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient watch to fortify their city; but also, that they should not obey any such letters, proclamations, or injunctions sent to them from the duke: which letter of the lords at the same instant came likewise to the lord mayor and his brethren, the sixth day of the said month of October; the tenor and copy of which letter here ensueth.

"To our very good lord, the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London.

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"After our right hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: knowing your hearty favour and earnest seals to the preservation of the person of the king's Majesty, and of this realm, and other his Majesty's realms and dominions, we have thought good to advertise you, that notwithstanding all the good advice and counsel that we could give to the duke of Somerset, to stay himself within reasonable limits, and to use his government now, in the tender age of his Majesty, in such sort as might tend to his Highness's surety, to the conservation of his estate, and to his honour; the said duke, nevertheless, still continuing in his pride, covetousness, and ambition, ceaseth not daily, by all the ways and means he can devise, to enrich himself without measure, and to impoverish his Majesty.

"He buildeth in four or five places most sumptuously, and leaveth the poor soldiers unpaid of their wages, unvictualled, and in all things so unfurnished, as the losses lately sustained, to the greatest dishonour that ever came to the king and this realm, do declare. He soweth daily division between the nobles and gentlemen, and commons. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of those that were captains of the commons in these late insurrections; and finally, in such wise subverteth all laws, justice, and good order, (as is evident,) that, putting his trust in the commons, and perceiving that the nobles and gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his devilish purposes, he laboureth first to have them destroyed, and thinketh after, easily enough to achieve his desire; which, it appeareth plainly, is, to occupy the king's Majesty's place. For his doings, whosoever list to behold them, do manifestly declare, that he mindeth never to render account to his Majesty of his proceedings.

"These things, with many more too long to recite, considered, we pondered with ourselves, that either we must travail for some reformation, or we must, in effect as it were, consent with him to the destruction of our sovereign lord and country. Whereupon, laying apart all respects, and resting only upon our duties, we joined in counsel, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him; who, perceiving that we joined for the king, and would have such order as might be for the surety of his Majesty's person and the commonwealth, straight put himself in force, and resteth at plain point, (as it appeareth,) either to go through with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or to try it by the sword.

"Now, forasmuch as we see presently, that unless there be a reformation, the person of the king's Majesty is in most certain danger, and this realm, our natural country, like to be destroyed, with all our posterities; like as we have again fully resolved, with God's help, either to deliver the king's Majesty and the realm from this extreme ruin and destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of our faithful hearts and duties; so, knowing your hearty good wills and truth to his Majesty, and therefore nothing doubting of your readiness to join with us in our godly purpose, we thought good to let you know the very truth of our enterprise, and, in the king's Majesty's behalf, to require you not only to put good and substantial order for watch and ward, but also to have an earnest continual regard to the preservation, within your city, of all harness, weapons, and munitions, so as none be suffered to be conveyed to the said duke, nor any others attending about him; and besides, that you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commandments to be sent from the said duke. And thus we bid your Lordship most heartily farewell.

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"From London, the 6th of October.
"Your Lordship's assured loving friends,
William St. John.
Th. Southampton.
W. Northampton.
William Peter.
John Warwick.
Edward North.
Arundel.
John Gage.
Richard Southwell."

After the receiving of these two letters above mentioned, the one from the king, the other from the lords, which came both at one instant, with contrary commandment to the lord mayor and citizens of London, the case seemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were best for the citizens of London to do. On the one side, the name and authority of the king was much; on the other side, the power and garrisons of the lords, lying then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be such as would have no repulse.

The case thus standing perplexedly, first by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather unto the lords, for that the protector had abused both the king's Majesty and the whole realm; and that without he were taken from the king, and made to understand his folly, this realm was in great hazard; and he therefore required, that the citizens would willingly assent to aid the lords with five hundred men.

Hereunto of a great part in the common-council was no other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was Master Brook) still rested upon them for answer. At the last stepped up a wise and good citizen, named George Stadlow, and said:

"In this case it is good for us to think of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember," saith he, "in a story written in Fabian's Chronicle, of the war between the king and his barons, which was in the time of King Henry the Third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) demanded aid of the mayor and city of London, and that in a rightful cause, for the commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good laws against the king, who would not suffer those laws to be put in execution. And the city did aid them, and it came to an open battle, and the lords prevailed against the king, and took the king and his son prisoners; and, upon certain conditions, the lords restored the king and his son again to their liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the king should not only grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London; the which was granted, yea, and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what followed of it? Was it forgotten? No surely, nor forgiven neither, during the king's life. The liberties of the city were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and governors, the citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it, to enter into the wrath of a prince; as Solomon saith, The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore, forasmuch as this aid is required of the king's Majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken unto, (for he is our high shepherd,) rather than unto the lords, and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearly shaken

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off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them, may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's Majesty, that it would please his Highness to hear such complaint against the government of the lord protector, as may be justly alleged and proved; and I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the King, nor yet the lords, have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both."

After this tale the commons stayed, and the lord mayor and his brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the lords. To make short, I let pass what order by the city was taken; but the conclusion was, that the lords (upon what occasion I know not) sat the next day in council in the Star Chamber, and from thence sent Sir Philip Hobby with their letter of credence to the king's Majesty, beseeching and requesting his Majesty to give credit to that which the said Sir Philip should declare unto his Majesty in their names. And the king gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say; who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the lords, that in the end the lord protector was commanded from the king's presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castle of Windsor, called Beauchamp Tower; and soon after were stayed Sir Thomas Smith, Master Whalley, Master Fisher, and many other gentlemen that attended upon the lord protector. The same day the lords of the council resorted to the King; and the next day they brought from thence the lord protector, and the others that were there stayed, and conveyed them through the city of London unto the Tower, and there left them.

Shortly after the lords resorted unto the Tower, and there charged the lord protector with sundry articles, which follow:

"Imprimis, You took upon you the office of protector and governor, upon condition expressly and specially, that you would do nothing in the King's affairs, publicly or privately, but by the assent of the late king's executors.

"II. Also you, contrary to the said condition, of your own authority did stay and let justice, and subverted the laws, as well by your letters, as by your commandments.

"III. Also, you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged and set at large, against the king's laws and statutes of this realm.

"IV. Also, you have made and ordained lieutenants for the king's armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and seal.

"V. Also, you have communed with the ambassadors of other realms, discoursing alone with them the weighty causes of this realm.

"VI. Also, you have sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the king's most honourable councillors, for showing and declaring their advises and opinions against your purposes, in the king's weighty affairs; saying sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised; and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take others at your pleasure.

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"VII. Also, you had and held, against the law, in your own house, a court of requests; and thereby did enforce divers the king's subjects to answer for their freeholds and goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the same laws.

"VIII. Also you, being no officer, without the advice of the council, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the king's gift for money, and granted leases and wards of the king's, and gave presentations to the king's benefices and bishoprics, having no authority so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the king's lands.

"IX. Also, you commanded multiplication and alchymy to be practised, to abuse the king's coin.

"X. Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, whereby the common people have made divers insurrections, and levied open war, and distrained and spoiled divers of the king's subjects; which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole council.

"XI. Also, you have caused a commission, with certain articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning enclosures of commons, high-ways, decaying of cottages, and divers other things, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the laws and statutes of this realm; whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, have risen and grown amongst the king's subjects.

"XII. Also, you have suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble, and to lie in camp and armour against the king, his nobles and gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

"XIII. Also, you did comfort and encourage divers of the said rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your own money, and by promising to divers of them fees, rewards, and services.

"XIV. Also, you in favour of the said rebels did, against the laws, cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels or traitors should be sued or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said rebellion; to the clear subversion of the same law.

"XV. Also you have said, in the time of therebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors; and said, that the covetousness of the gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise; saying also, that better it were for the commons to die, than perish for lack of living.

"XVI. Also you said, that the lords of the parliament were loth to incline themselves to reformation of enclosures and other things; therefore the people had good cause to reform the things themselves.

XVII. Also you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey Boulogne and the pieces there, would never amend the same defaults.

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"XVIII. Also, you would not suffer the king's pieces beyond the seas, called Newhaven and Black-nest, to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the captains of the same pieces and others, and were thereto advertised by the king's council; whereby the French king, being the king's open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the said pieces; to the king's great loss, and dishonour of his realm.

"XIX. Also, you declared and published untruly, as well to the king's Majesty, as to other the young lords attendant upon his Grace's person, that the lords of the council at London minded to destroy the king; and you required the king never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewise you required the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his lords.

"XX. Also, whereas the king's Majesty's privy council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the king and his realm, did consult at London, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you charitably to amend your doings and misgovernment, you, hearing of their said assembly, caused to be declared, by letters in divers places, the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realm."

And thus much hitherto, concerning the first trouble of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, with the crimes and articles objected against him, with his imprisonment also in the Tower, and the terrible proclamation given out against him. All which purposes of man, though they seemed fully to intend no less than the spilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only disposer of all men's purposes, so ordered the matter, by the means of the king labouring for his uncle, that in short while after, he was let out of the Tower, and that proclamation which before had made him a traitor, within three days after was called in again, with commandment given, none of them to be sold. And so the duke of Somerset, graciously escaping this adversity, was again restored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the space of two years and two days. After the which time of respite being expired, the said duke of Somerset was apprehended and committed again to the Tower, and with him also Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Miles Partridge, and others, &c. At length the time being come of his arraignment, the aforesaid good duke, being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through London with the axe of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of bills, halberts, pikes, and poleaxes, in most forcible wise; a watch also set and appointed before every man's door through the high street of London: and so was he brought into Westminster Hall, where the lords of the council, sitting as his judges in the middle of the hall, upon a new scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with treason and felony.

In the which judgment I pass over the unseemly speech, the vile taunts and despiteful rebukes, without all modesty or honesty, used by certain of the serjeants and justices, and some others sitting there. All which, notwithstanding, he patiently and quietly did suffer, neither storming inwardly in stomach, nor reviling them with words again; but like a lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no less patience to bear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their glowering words and flatterings, in time of his high estate and prosperity. And as the patience of this good duke was marvellous in forbearing his enemies, so also was his discretion and temperance no less seen in answering for himself to the articles to him objected; whereunto he wisely and

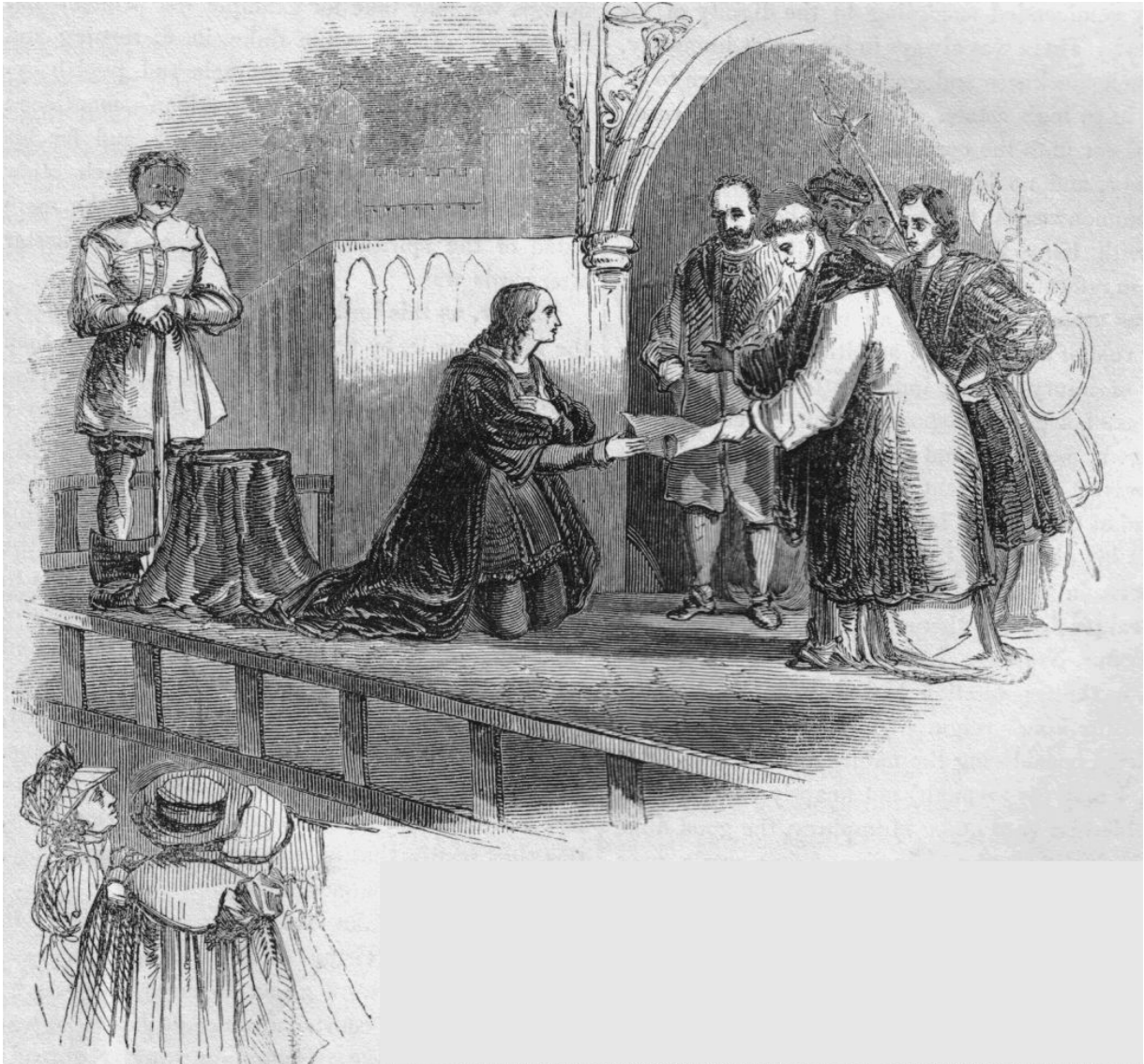
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substantially replied, putting himself, in the end, to be tried by his peers; who then, at length, after consultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus: That as concerning the case of treason, wherewith he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guilty of felony. When the people (which were there present to a great number) heard the lords say, "not guilty," (meaning by the case of treason,) supposing no less but that he had been clearly acquitted by these words, and especially seeing the axe of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladness they made an outcry; well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the duke, whose life they greatly desired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent duke condemned to die for felony; which act of felony had been made a little before against the rebels and unlawful assemblies, such as should seek or procure the death of any councillor, so that every such attempt and procurement, according to the act, should be adjudged felony. By the virtue of which act the duke being accused, with certain others his complices, to intend and purpose the death of the duke of Northumberland, and of certain besides, was therefore cast and condemned of felony, and so was returned toward the Tower again; at whose passage through the city, great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, some rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned.

Thus the good duke, passing through a great part of the city, landing at the Crane in the Vintry, was conveyed to the Tower, where he endured till the twenty-second of January; upon the which day, at the coming down of the letter of execution from the king and the council, the aforesaid duke and uncle to the king, being found no traitor, only being cast by the act of felony, was delivered unto the sheriffs, and so brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be [well] bestowed, in describing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been suggested to us upon the credit of a certain noble personage, who not only was there present at the deed-doing, but also, in a manner, next unto him upon the scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes; and with his pen, also, reporting the same in order and manner as here followeth.

"In the year of our Lord 1552, the two and twentieth of January, in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of tutors, the noble duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and, according to the manner, delivered to the sheriffs of the city; and, compassed round about with a great number of armed men, both of the guard and others, he was brought unto the scaffold on Tower Hill, where he, nothing changing either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.



Edward Duke of Somerset on the scaffold

"After that he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me, standing about the midst of the scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the axe, or yet of the hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as beforetimes he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of others, and especially the poor, (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself most attentive,) he uttered these words to the people:

"Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this realm as any man hath been. But forasmuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge

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myself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death: whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself.

"Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion; which so long as I was in authority I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church; which thing I esteem as a great benefit, given of God, both unto you and me: most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will, with like thankfulness, accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.'

"When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which, unto some, seemed to be heard from above; like as if a great deal of gunpowder, being enclosed in an armoury, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some, again, it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people, being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or stroke stricken, or any man seen, they ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabouts: others, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down grovelling unto the ground, with their poleaxes and halberts; and most of them cried out, 'Jesus save us, Jesus save us.' Those which tarried still in their places, for fear knew not wherethey were; and I myself which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly-burly, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would knock me on the head. It happened here, as the evangelists write it did unto Christ, when the officers of the high priests and Pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being astonied, ran backwards and fell to the ground.

"In the mean time, while these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for—that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon; and therefore, with great rejoicing and casting up their caps, they cried out, 'Pardon, pardon is come; God save the king.' Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all man's help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that, in so great slaughter of dukes as hath been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this duke, the public ruin of all England; except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

"But now to return from whence we have strayed; the duke in the mean time standing still in the same place, modestly, and with a grave countenance, made a sign to the people with his

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hand, that they would keep themselves quiet; which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner:

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the king's Majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always showed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty in his affairs, both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm:' at which words all the people cried out and said, 'It was most true.'

"Then the duke proceeding, said, Unto whose Majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success: 'whereunto the people again cried out, Amen.'

"Moreover, I do wish unto all his councillors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to show yourselves obedient, (as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation,) and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's Majesty.

"Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore, if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended; and all others whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest, through your tumult, you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my life's end.'

"After this, he, turning himself again about like a meek lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Dr. Coxe, who was there present to counsel and advertise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God; which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind, (as it appeared,) and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands who were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money; which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirtstrings. After that, the hangman, coming unto him, turned down his collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then, lifting up his eyes to heaven, where his only hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkerchief; he laid himself down along, showing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that, before his eyes were covered, there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks.

"Thus this most meek and gentle duke, lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying

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himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, Lord Jesu, save me!' as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of bead and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all the dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and gospel he always showed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours."

Thus, gentle reader, thou hast here the true history of this worthy and noble duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie. As touching the manners, disposition, life, and conversation of the said duke and the king's uncle, what shall we need to speak, when he cannot be sufficiently commended according to the dignity of his virtues? There was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high estate. He was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive unto the affairs of the commonwealth, to which, if he had lived together with King Edward, he was like to do much good, in reforming many misorders within this realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury; being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient love and zeal of the gospel and of religion, he brought with him to the state of this his dignity. The proof whereof sufficiently was seen, in his constant standing to God's truth, and zealous defence thereof, against the bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln, London, and others more, in the consultation had at Windsor, the first year of the king's reign.

Briefly, considering the nature and virtues of this duke, I may (as seemeth) not unaptly compare and resemble him unto Duke Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester; who, likewise, being uncle unto King Henry the Sixth, and protector of the realm, (as this was, also, to King Edward the Sixth,) yet he wanted not his enemies and privy enviers, especially Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England; who, at that time disdainng and envying the rule and authority of this duke, procured much trouble against him, and great division in the whole realm, insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut in, for fear of the favourers of these two great personages; for each party had assembled no small number of people. For pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Coimbra (called the prince of Portugal) rode seven times in one day between the two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, between these two, as is before expressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord betwixt parties in this protector's days. And as, in their afflictions and troubles, these two dukes seemed not much unlike, so, in matters of religion, and in discerning truth from falsehood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the gospel did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this latter duke, (the Lord be praised there-for,) yet the wisdom and towardness of the other duke also, touching the same, was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous act of that noble duke, in discerning and trying out the false lying miracle and popish hypocrisy of the blind beggar at St. Alban's, mentioned in his story before; for which cause, and for his diligent study in reforming that, and such other blind abuses of feigned religion, he was the more hated of the spirituality, and such as Winchester afterwards was.

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Finally, as this lord protector, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, by certain of the council was then accused, arraigned, and condemned, for the trespass (as it was given forth) of felony, (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any,) so the other uncle of King Henry the Sixth was made away; of whose decease thus writeth Master Tyndale in his Practice of Prelates: "At the last, they found the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to pass, and made a parliament far from the citizens of London, where was slain the said good duke, and the only wealth of the realm, and the mighty shield which so long had kept it from the sorrow, which, shortly after his death, fell upon them by heaps. But the chronicles," saith he, "cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheless, this they testify, that he was a virtuous man, godly, and good to the commonwealth."

But, to leave Duke Humphrey, and to return to the manners and virtues of the duke of Somerset, which before we were about to describe:—As he was a gentle and courteous duke at home, so was he no less fortunate a captain in warfare abroad; under whose government and guiding not only divers rebellious commotions were happily suppressed here at home; but also abroad, in the expedition of Scotland, such a victory was given him of God, that with the loss of scarce six hundred of his own men, there were, of the enemies, as good or little less than ten thousand slain and put to flight; and even the very same day and time in which all the idolatrous images were here burnt at London. And yet, all these wars notwithstanding, whereunto he was against his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as maybe seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by him set forth in print before, and sent to the realm of Scotland. But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkened with some spot of vice adjoined withal; so, amongst the manifold commendations of this duke, one thing there was too, which both distained his honour and estimation much, and also more impaired and hindered his own life and safety; which was, that he, in condescending to the death of his brother, followed too rashly the persuasion of certain whosoever they were: for that matter lacked not, perchance, some singular fetch and policy of some more craftily than godly disposed persons; as many good men have supposed.

But whatsoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is, that the said duke, in suffering or procuring the death of his brother, not only endamaged himself, and weakened his own power, but also provoked the chastisement of God's scourge and rod, which did so light upon him.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord Henry, earl of Surrey, who also suffered at the Tower next before the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother; because the casting of him was so near to the death of King Henry, as I know not upon whom or what cause the same did proceed, so I pass it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the duke of Somerset, whatsoever his other vices and virtues were, this is certain, that his end (the Lord so working with him) was constant in Christ's truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

Moreover, on the twenty-sixth day of February in the same year, were Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Miles Partridge both hanged at the Tower Hill, and Sir Michael Stanhope and Sir Thomas Arundel beheaded upon the scaffold; all which four were condemned by the said act of unlawful assembly, and as accessories unto the duke of Somerset.

236. Disputations Holden at Oxford, About the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Not long after the death of the duke of Somerset, in the next year following, deceased the king himself about the month of June, whereof more shall be said (the Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In the mean season, before we come to close up the latter end and story of this good king, the place here present seemeth not unfit to intermit, by the way, a few other things before happening within the time of his reign; namely, concerning matters incident of the church, and of religion. Which state of religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this king's days, had not the unhappy troubles of the outward state, among the lords, not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good towardness of things begun. But the malice of the devil, how subtilely worketh it, if men could see it! So long as the lords agreed in concord among themselves, Winchester and Bonner, with all that faction, was cut short, and began to condescend to good conformity. But afterward, perceiving the states and nobles of the realm to be among themselves divided, and the lord protector the king's uncle displaced, and his brother the admiral before beheaded, and the young king now left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till, at last, it came to pass as they themselves desired. And thus, though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us, what discord worketh in public weals; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is, to the advancement especially of God's matters appertaining to his church. Examples whereof in this king's days be not far to seek; for, as touching the success of the gospel of peace, while public peace and the gospel did join together, marvellous it was how error and popery were in themselves confounded, and ashamed almost to show their faces: insomuch that then, both Drs. Smith, Chedsey, Standish, Young, and Oglethorpe, with many more, recanted their former ignorance, whose recantations I have to show. Bonner then, with his own hand, subscribed unto the king's supremacy, and promoted his injunctions.

The same, also, did Stephen Gardiner, subscribing with his own hand to the first book of the king's proceedings; and no doubt had done [no] less to the second book also set forth by the king, had not the unfortunate discord fallen amongst the nobles, in a time so unfortunate as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what papist was found in all the realm, which, for the pope's devotion, would or did once put his neck in the halter, to die a martyr for his sake?

I showed before, how, in these peaceable days of King Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, with other learned men more, were entertained, placed, and provided for, in the two universities of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge, who there, with their diligent industry, did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise present in any hands here to insert, but that the bigness of this volume driveth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations to be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin; and require of themselves a whole volume to comprehend them.

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First, Peter Martyr, being called by the king to the public reading of the divinity lecture in Oxford, amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the public schools three conclusions of divinity, to be disputed and tried by argument; at which disputations were present the king's visitors, to wit, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Coxe, chancellor of that university, Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter, Master Richard Morison, esquire, and Christopher Nevin-son, doctor of civil law.

The conclusions propounded were these:

First: "In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ."

Secondly: "The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Thirdly: "The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

They which were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Dr. Tresham, Dr. Chedsey, and Morgan. The reasons and principal arguments of Peter Martyr hereunder follow.

"The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples. St. Paul, likewise, doth oftentimes make mention of bread.

"Ergo, We also, with the Scriptures, ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the sacrament.

"Cyprian saith, As in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen outwardly, and his Divinity was secret within: so, in the visible sacrament, the Divinity inserteth itself in such sort as cannot be uttered; that our devotion about the sacraments might be the more religious.'

"Ergo, As in the person of Christ, so in the sacrament, both the natures ought still to remain.

"Gelasius saith, The sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, are a Divine matter; by reason whereof, we are made partakers, by the same, of his Divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,' &c.

"Augustine saith, 'As the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, when as he is true God and true man: for every thing containeth in itself the nature and verity of those things whereof it is made. Now the sacrament of the church is made of two things; that is, of the sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the sacrament that is signified,' &c.

"Theodoret saith, 'These visible mysteries which are seen, he hath honoured with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature,' &c. And the

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same Theodoret again saith, Those mystical sacraments, after sanctification, do not pass out of their own proper nature, but remain still in their former substance, figure, and shape,' &c.

"Ergo, Like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinity; so, in the sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the substances remain whole.

"Origen saith, 'If whatsoever entereth into the mouth goeth down into the belly, and so passeth through a man; even that meat, also, which is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath material within it, passeth into the belly, and so voideth through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoined to it, according to the measure of faith, it is profitable and effectual,' &c. And he addeth moreover, For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily,' &c.

"Irenæus saith, 'Jesus, taking bread of the same condition which is after us,' that is, taking bread of the same nature and kind as we use commonly to eat, 'did confess it to be his body. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us,' that is, which we commonly use to drink, confesseth it to be his blood,' &c. Also, 'Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the sacred eucharist, be now not corruptible, having hope of resurrection,' &c."

Argument.

"The bread in the sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made incorruptible by hope.

"But our bodies are not made corruptible by changing their substance:

"Ergo, No more is the bread changed into the substance of the body."

"Gregory saith, 'Notwithstanding, whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour,' &c.

Argument.

"Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread; and not accidents only.

"In the sacrament, bread is received either leavened or unleavened:

"Ergo, In the sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents only."

Argument.

"The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is insensible in operation.

"Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundness:

"Ergo, the body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantial."

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Argument.

"The words of the evangelist, speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread:

"Ergo, the substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the sacrament."

"Chrysostom saith, 'Christ in giving bread and wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me.'

"Cyril saith, 'He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread.' Also the same Cyril saith, 'In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.'

"Ergo, by these doctors, it remaineth bread after the consecration.

"Ambrose saith, 'Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind of thing. After consecration, the body of Christ is signified.'"

Arguments of Peter Martyr, disputing with Master Chedsey upon the first question.

"The analogy and resemblance between the sacrament and the thing signified, must ever be kept in all sacraments.

"In the sacrament of the Lord's body this analogy or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be transubstantiated:

"Ergo, the substance of bread must needs remain in the sacrament.

"The major of this argument is certain by St. Augustine, where he saith, 'Sacraments must needs bear a similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, or else they can be no sacraments.'

"The minor is thus proved: "

Argument.

"The resemblance between the sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.

"Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no resemblance of nourishing:

"Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, the analogy cannot hold."

Argument.

"Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogy of this sacrament is this: that as one loaf of bread, and one cup of wine, containeth many corns, and many grapes; so the mystical congregation containeth many members, and yet maketh but one body.

"Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented:

"Ergo, without the substance of bread and wine the analogy of this spiritual conjunction cannot hold."

Another Argument.

"Every sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.

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"Without the substance of bread and wine, there is nothing that signifieth in the sacrament.

"Ergo, The substance of bread and wine, in the sacrament, can in no wise be transubstantiate from their natures.

"The minor is thus to be proved:

"There is no signification in any sacrament without the element.

"The substance of bread and wine is the element of this sacrament.

"Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no similitude nor signification in this sacrament.

"And forasmuch as the adversaries ground their transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, This is my body, which they expound only after the literal sense, without trope or figure; now, that this their exposition is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved:

"First, By the words of the Scripture.

"Secondly, By the nature of a sacrament.

"Thirdly, By the testimonies of the fathers.

"I. First, by these words of the Scripture, where he saith, Do this in remembrance of me, forasmuch as remembrance properly serveth not for things corporally present, but for things rather being absent.

"II. Secondly, where he saith, Until I come; which words were vain, if he were already come by consecration.

"III. Thirdly, where St. Paul saith, The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Which words of breaking, in no case can be verified upon the body of Christ, which, for the glory thereof, is unpassible.

"IV. Furthermore, whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ, without a trope, forasmuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with teeth, as we use properly, in eating other meats, to do.

"V. The words moreover of Luke and Paul, spoken of the cup, do argue likewise, that the other words spoken of the bread, must needs be taken mystically; as where it is said, This cup is the new testament, which words must needs be expounded thus, This cup doth signify the new testament.

"VI. Item, These words of St. John, My words be spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing, &c.

"VII. Item, Where in the same places of St. John, Christ, to refel the carnal understanding of the Capernaïtes, of eating his body, maketh mention of his ascension, &c.

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"The second cause why the words of Christ, This is my body, cannot be literally expounded without a trope, is the nature of a sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a sign or signification of a thing to be remembered, which thing, after the substantial and real presence, is absent. As touching which nature of a sacrament, sufficient hath been said before.

"The third cause why the words of consecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient doctors.

"Tertullian saith, 'This is my body; that is to say, This is a figure of my body.'

"Augustine saith, 'Christ gave a figure of his body.' Also he saith, 'He did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

"Jerome saith, 'Christ represented unto us his body.'

"Augustine, in his book De Doctrina Christiana declareth expressly, that this speech, of eating the body of Christ, is a figurative speech.

"Ambrose saith, 'As thou hast received the similitude of his death; so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'"

Argument.

"The death of Christ is not present really in the sacrament, but by similitude.

"The precious blood of Christ is present in the sacrament, as his death is present.

"Ergo, The precious blood of Christ is not present really in the sacrament.

"The minor of this argument is proved before by the words of Ambrose."

The argument of Peter Martyr, upon the second conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Argument.

"The true natural body of Christ is placed in heaven.

"The true natural body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is.

"Ergo, The true natural body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in heaven where he is.

"The major is plain by the Scriptures: Jesus was taken up to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. The poor ye have always with you, but me you shall not always have. I leave the world, and go to my Father. Many shall say in that day, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ; believe them not. Whom the heavens must receive for a time, until the restitution of all. Seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God.

"The minor, likewise, is evident by St. Austin, who, speaking of the glorified body of Christ, affirmeth the same to be in one certain place, for the manner of a true body."

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Argument.

"Every true natural body requireth one certain place.

"Augustine saith, Christ's body is a true natural body.

"Ergo, Christ's body requireth one certain place."

Argument.

"Augustine giveth not to the soul of Christ to be in more places at once but one.

"Ergo, Much less is it to be given to the body of Christ to be in more places at once but in one."

Argument.

"The nature of the angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once.

"Ergo, The body of Christ being the true natural body of a man, cannot fill divers places at one time."

Argument.

"Whatsoever is in many and divers places at once, is God.

"The body of Christ is not God, but a creature. "Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in more places together."

Argument.

"We must not so defend the Divinity of Christ, that we destroy his humanity.

"If we assign to the body of Christ plurality of places, we destroy his humanity.

"Ergo, We must not assign to the body of Christ plurality of places."

Argument.

"Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be dispersed in more places at once.

"The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not dispersed in more places at one time."

Argument.

"Every quantity (that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions) is circumscribed in one peculiar place.

"The body of Christ hath its dimensions, and is a quantity.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is circumscribed.

"The major is proved by Cyril: 'Whatsoever is understood to be a body, the same is verily

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in a place, and in magnitude and in quantity. And if it be in quantity, it cannot avoid circumscription; that is, to have its place."

Argument.

"If Christ had given his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible or impassible.

"But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gave at supper.

"Ergo, He did not give his body substantially and carnally at supper.

"The minor is proved thus: For if ye say, it was passible, Augustine is against it, who saith, 'Ye shall not eat this body which you see, nor drink the same blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me,' &c. And if ye say, it was impassible, that may not be admitted by the words of the evangelist, who saith, Eat, this is my body which shall be given for you: so that that body was passible, and not impassible, wherein Christ was given.

"Vigil saith, One creature cannot receive in itself two contrary or diverse things together. But these two things be diverse and far unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where; but the flesh is not every where."

Argument.

"Bodies organical, without quantity, be no bodies. "The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be without quantity.

"Ergo, The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be no body."

Argument.

"All things which may be divided, have quantity. "The body in the pope's sacrament is divided in three parts.

"Ergo, The body in the pope's sacrament hath quantity, which is against their own doctrine."

Argument.

"No natural body can receive in itself, and at one time, contrary or divers qualities.

"To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in one place circumscribed, in another place incircumscribed, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.

"Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adversaries do affirm."

Argument.

"The wicked receive not the body of Christ.

"The wicked do receive the body of Christ, if transubstantiation be granted.

"Ergo, Transubstantiation is not to be granted in the sacrament."

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Argument for probation of the major.

"To eat Christ, is for a man to have Christ dwelling and abiding in him.

"The wicked have not Christ dwelling in them. "Ergo, The wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

"Cyprian saith, 'The eating of Christ is our abiding in him.'"

Argument.

"The Holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present.

"That the Holy Ghost is come it is most certain. "Ergo, It cannot be, that Christ himself should be here really present.

"For proof of the major: John xvi., Unless I go from you, the Holy Ghost shall not come: it is expedient for you that I go hence."

Argument of Peter Martyr on the third conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

"If the wicked, and infidels, do receive the body of Christ, they receive him either with sense, or reason, or with faith.

"But they receive him neither with sense, reason, nor with faith.

"Ergo, Wicked men and infidels receive in no wise the body of Christ.

"For declaration of the major, if ye say, they receive him with sense, that is against their own lore, for the body of Christ in the blessed sacrament (say they) is not sensible, nor to be perceived by any sense: neither with reason can they receive him, by their own learning, forasmuch as this sacrament exceedeth all reason; and if ye say, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, seeing infidels have no faith?

"What it is to eat the body of Christ, the teaching of the papists herein is strange, and differeth from the old doctors. For whereas they teach that wicked persons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the sacrament, yet the matter of the sacrament, which is the very body of Christ, they receive with their mouth, and with their sense the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Christ, such as evil men and infidels may eat; and yet, being eaten, it giveth them no nourishment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of his spirit and grace; both Scripture, and the ancient expositors of the Scripture, do teach much otherwise. For the Scripture knoweth no such kind of eating Christ's body, but only that which is fruitful, wholesome, and effectual. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him, &c. And therefore it may appear, that the Scripture meaneth, by eating Christ's flesh, to believe in Christ's passion; which none can do but only the faithful. And to the same sense sound all the old doctors.

"Cyprian [saith,] 'That we should know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation in him.'"

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"Item, the same Cyprian saith: 'The eating, therefore, of his flesh, is a certain desire to abide in him;' and saith moreover, 'None eateth of this lamb, but such as be true Israelites, that is, true Christian men, without colour or dissimulation.'

"And again he saith, As meat is to the flesh, the same is faith to the soul, the same is the word to the spirit.'

"Moreover saith he, 'And therefore doing this, we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we break the holy bread and distribute it.'

"Augustine saith, 'It may not be said, that any such do eat the body of Christ, because they are accounted amongst the members of Christ. Neither can they be both members of Christ, and members of a harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him; he showeth what it is, not sacramentally, but indeed, to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man so dwelleth in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For so Christ spake those words, as if he should say, He that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.'

"Also in other places the said Augustine affirmeth, that 'to drink, is to live;' and saith moreover, 'Why preparest thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe, and thou hast eaten,' &c.

"All which kinds of eating cannot be said of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful."

And thus, briefly, we have run over all the arguments and authorities of Peter Martyr, in that disputation at Oxford, with Drs. Tresham, Chedsey, and Morgan, before the king's visitors above named, A.D. 1549.

Furthermore, whoso listeth more fully to be satisfied and resolved in all the points and occurments, touching the matter of this sacrament, let him read the books first, of the Archbishop Cranmer against Winchester; secondly, The Tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, translated and extant in English; and thirdly, the book of Bishop Ridley made in prison, called A brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper.

237. A Like Disputation in Cambridge

The like disputation also, about the same time, was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, concerning the same matter of the sacrament, the king's visitors being directed down for the same purpose by the king; the names of which visitors were these, Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Master John Cheke, the king's schoolmaster, Dr. May, civilian, and Thomas Wendy, the king's physician. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these:

The first disputation, holden at Cambridge the twentieth day of June, A.D. 1549, before the king's Majesty's commissioners, by Dr. Madew, respondent, whose first conclusion was this:

"Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed, by the consents of the ancient fathers for these thousand years past." (Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, Master Young, opponents.)

Dr. Madew's Declaration.

"First of all," quoth he, "I am very sorry, and do not a little lament the shortness of time, to declare and discuss such weighty matters of religion in, as these be. But, that notwithstanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeed, yet you shall understand how that I have ever, both in heart and mind, (if otherwise I could have avoided it,) abhorred all scholastical disputations, and subtile sophistications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to allege or bring forth any dismembered or curtailed sentences, or wrested, (as happeneth many times,) but the whole and full sentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient doctors; yea, and to avouch such authors' sayings, as are not suspected, or feigned, but such as be their own very sayings indeed; which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our disputation shall the sooner appear, and be manifest to this auditory.

"And for a further declaration of my part, you shall understand, that this my preface, in my said former most catholic and godly conclusion, shall consist in three principal points.

"First, What thing it was that Christ gave to his disciples.

"Secondly, What season or time this transubstantiation did begin.

"Thirdly, How many devilish abominations have ensued upon that horrible and pestilent invention.

"As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gave to his disciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural senses, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the

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tasting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye seeth nothing but bread and wine; the tasting savoureth nothing else; and the hands touch nothing else. He gave, also, to their understanding, not only his holy and sacred doctrine, but also a special gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material bread and wine sanctified, as the first rude and plain elements or principles to allure them withal; but he gave them the gift of his grace and heavenly doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elements; which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, I will not drink hereafter of the fruit of this vine, until I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God. Nor this fruit or juice of the vine, is nothing else but wine, as Chrysostom saith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be reserved after the consecration for a time, it becometh sour and tart; therefore it is but wine.

"And as touching the bread, St. Paul saith thus: Is not the bread which we break the communion, or participation, of Christ's body? He brake bread, therefore it was but bread which he gave them: for the body of Christ is not broken; as the Scripture saith of the same, You shall not break a bone of him. Also he said, This is my body; not that the bread was his body, and the wine his blood, but he spake those words to and of his own mortal body, there sitting amongst them at supper. Or he spake yet doubtfully, as thus: This signifieth my body, it is one thing which is seen, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily form, but that which is understood thereby, hath a spiritual fruit. St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word have access to the element, so is it made a sacrament:' mark, he saith, 'Let the word have access'—and not 'success.' Now the thing that hath access to another thing, doth not quench the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here: ergo, it is bread and wine still, as before, howbeit sacred and holy. 'What saw you yesterday,' saith St. Augustine, 'upon the altar? Truly bread and wine, which your own eyes can witness,' said he. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our eyes do behold nothing but bread and wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their own proper object, which cannot be by any reason or natural philosophy. And yet, notwithstanding, some papists dream and fancy such a corporal, real, and gross presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as they affirm it to be there, even as verily as it was upon the cross. Indeed the bread is changed after a certain manner into Christ's body; for Christ gave not his own natural body to his disciples at his last supper, but only a sign or figure thereof. Christ's body is there with the bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of bread, but they do judge there to be but one body, that is of bread: ergo, so it is. Also the very definition of a sacrament doth plainly repugn unto transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth the substance of Christ's body, but the accidents do not so: ergo, the substance doth remain of the bread that nourisheth. It is also called bread in the Acts, and in divers other places of the Scriptures; wherefore it is so, but indeed after a sort more holy than before. What gave he in the supper? Bread, which is the body, that is to say, a holy sign of his body; as Augustine doth witness, saying, 'He doubted not to say, This is my body, when it was but a sign of his body.' The unleavened bread was but a bare and naked sign of Christ's body; and so is this bread the same body, even as baptism is. Now, indeed, there be two manner of signs; one that signifieth only, the other that doth exhibit, the thing itself. The first is applied to the old law chiefly, the other to the law of grace. The old, ancient, and learned fathers did never use to speak of the substantial change, for because that all the mutation is but conditional, not substantial; nor do we deem the bodily substance sacramentally, but yet we say that this proposition, This is my body, is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some do deem. But it is as much as to say, 'This

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signiflyeth my body;' or else thus, 'This is a sacrament of my body:' for the bodily bread and Christ's body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

"This portentous and monstrous transubstantiation began first to enter, when the popish prelates and priests began first to understand this said proposition, This is my body, of the carnal and real presence of Christ's body; as Hugo de Sancto Victore, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Innocent the Third, the very pestilent poison of all Christian religion, unto whom we have, of long season, yea, alas, too long, given credit: under the which Innocent the said devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation' began in the year 1315. And Boniface, after him bishop of Rome, made the said mad blind transubstantiation to be the third article of the faith, full wisely, no doubt! whereas another bishop of Rome after him affirmed plainly, against Nestor the heretic, that bread remaineth still, whose name was Gelasius the Third.

"Now, as touching the most shameful and detestable inconveniences, which must needs follow this devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation,' you shall understand the first is, that then such papists will have Christ's body still prostituted and received, even of the wicked and naughty people; which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Now it is plain, that evil persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them; wherefore they receive not his body therein at all. For St. Augustine saith, 'It is but bread, which is seen after the consecration:' ergo, the substance of bread is there still.

"The second inconvenience that groweth hereof, is the fond and superstitious reservation of the sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vain tabernacles over the altar, where oftentimes it did putrify, for all their foolish honour; which began in Honorius's days, the third of that name, bishop of Rome; which corruption declareth it to be but only bread—say all the papists what they list.

"The third inconvenience that must needs follow transubstantiation, is adoration, which is too plain idolatry, as the papists do know themselves, if they list: but they are so stiff-necked, that they will not know it; and so both have kept, and yet also will keep, the world in blindness still, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the sacrament, so the bread is changed into the body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christ's substance: ergo, the substance of the bread is not changed into Christ's body. And to be short and plain with you, most honourable audience, the whole universal world hath been, and yet is, sore deceived and deluded about the estimation of this sacrament. Therefore this is most true; when we do receive the said sacrament worthily, then are we joined by faith spiritually, to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said, in this first matter."

"The second matter to be disputed of is this:

"That in the Lord's supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving."

"In this conclusion I will be much shorter and more compendious than in the first. In consideration thereof you shall understand, that the same is a very godly and true catholic

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proposition; for to offer Christ, and to exhibit the same, is all one thing: for in that he is offered—he is set forth to eat—there is no difference at all between the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command, saying, Do this in remembrance of me; he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but only that. The apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, He took bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples. What gave he to them? Forsooth bread, which was the sacrament, and not his body. No earthly creature, nor heavenly, did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himself, once for all, upon the cross; ergo, he cannot, nor ought not, to be offered many times and often—though that Pighius, with all the blind rabble of papists, say the contrary. For, truly, in this point especially, they know not what they say, being so led by the old Pharisical blindness. But to the purpose: you shall understand, good auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the prophet Malachi, is nothing else than devout and faithful prayer and thanksgiving, as Tertullian saith in his third book 'contra Marcionem,' expounding the Psalm, where it is said thus, The sacrifice of laud and praise shall honour me. So do St. Jerome, Irenæus, and St. Austin say, also, upon Malachi; where, also, they deny that Christ is essentially in the sacrament. Yea, and St. Austin witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly members is our true sacrifice, that be Christians. And all the ancient fathers do call prayers by the name of sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoever list to read that most excellent and famous clerk Zuinglius, shall find the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoever the papists do bark against it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now disputable; and, if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of arguments, I will perform the same in my answer thereunto."

(There disputed against this defendant, Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, and Master Young, students in divinity.)

Glyn.—"Notwithstanding, right worshipful Master Doctor, that you have so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned audience, and also, though just occasion be ministered to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now indirectly, with contrarious and vain words to occupy the small time which is appointed us for the trial of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing itself, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as saith the Master of the Sentences. All words may signify at pleasure, and commonly there be more things than vocables. Like as, sometimes, there was variance amongst learned men, of the unity of two substances in one personage of Christ, God and man; so is there now, in our days, variance of transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Wherefore I do require you, first, to show me here openly, what the said transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing itself, which is our first and chiefest ground."

Madew.—"As for that, I need not to show you; for every man knoweth it."

Glyn.—"Peradventure it is not so, good Master Doctor. And I am perfectly assured, that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be."

Madew.—"Forsooth you know it yourself, and so do all men else."

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Glyn.—"Well, yet I pray you show me, what thing Christ did demonstrate and show forth by that article of the neuter gender, where he said, This is my body? What did he point at in that article 'this?' For if he meant by that, the bread, then Christ, in the sacrament, is not only of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of bread, of the nature of man, and of the Divine nature; which to say, were blasphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that text, He spoke the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created. Moreover, if he should mean by that article of the neuter gender, 'this,' the material bread, then he would have said, This bread is my body, so making the article of the neuter gender; or else he would have said thus, Here, with this bread, is my body; to have avoided ever after all heresies, errors, and schisms. But he said not so, but spake the article of the neuter gender, saying, This is my body, that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the form and kind of bread, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very flesh to eat. In like manner when he gave the cup of his blood, he said not 'this' in the neuter gender, as he would have done, if he had meant the material creature of wine to have remained; but he said then in the masculine gender, This is my blood: that is to say, the thing contained under the form of wine, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghost came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our faith. But, out of doubt, he should have deceived in this matter, if so be he had given us only material bread and wine, instead of his body and blood, and not have fulfilled his promise made in John vi., where he promised thus, The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. Here be two givings spoken of, with two relatives, whereof the first, with his relative, must needs be referred to his gift in the last supper, and the second giving of the same flesh of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessity unto his giving of his body upon the cross: nor do we find in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfil his said promise made in John vi., but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord, thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once think such wickedness of him. He must also be unjust of his promise, if it be not performed at any season; as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then, if it were performed, (as the catholic church of Christ doth hold, determine, and believe,) then must it needs be granted, that he gave, at his last supper, his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the cross for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloody, yet the very same flesh and blood really, after an unbloody sort, and spiritually. He said not, This bread is my body, nor yet, Here, with the bread, is my body; but, This is my body, which shall be given for you. Neither said he, This wine is my blood, nor, With this wine is my blood; which circumstance of plain speech he would have used, if the pure creatures should have remained: but he said, This is my blood, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins; that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible forms of bread and wine, is my very proper flesh and blood. I pray you where do you find, in the whole body of the Scripture expressed, or justly understood, that Christ gave but only a bare and naked sign, figure, or sacrament? or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you think to find it, I pray you show me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was fantastical; if it were his true body, (as you do grant,) then must there needs be two very true bodies in one place together. Now, that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain, by the plain words of the text, saying thus, which is betrayed or given, and, which is shed for you and for many. But I will let all this pass over, and I

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do require of you this one question, Whether that the sacraments of the old law and of the new law be all one?"

Madew.—"If you do consider the things themselves, they be all one; but if you respect only the signs, figures, and sacraments outwardly, then they be divers."

Glyn.—"I do perceive your answer very well. Then further to our purpose, Was Christ, then, after the same manner in the bread that came from heaven, in the paschal lamb, and in Isaac, as he is in this sacrament? which if you do grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, This manna is my body, This lamb is my body, This Isaac is my body. Moreover, if the sacraments of the old law, and of the law of grace, be all one in very deed and effect, (as you seem to grant,) then what difference is between the shewbread in Moses's law, and the bread that we do break, that St. Paul speaketh of? They then had that bread which signifieth Christ; and so doth ours, as you say: that was bread, so is ours; and so, by your reason, there is no difference between them: yea, their manna, because it came from heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath—which is contrary to the truth; for St. John saith, That the law was given by Moses, but the verity was given by Jesus Christ. Wherefore that which Christ gave, was not only a sign, but also the verity; that is to say, the living bread that came down from heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, and Isaac himself, which is Christ: or else you must grant me that we Christians do receive less than the Jews did—for they received the bread, called manna, from heaven, and we only a poor morsel of bread from the earth; theirs was called angels' food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. Me seemeth that you do distrust the doctrine of the faith of Christendom for these five hundred years, even as though Christ had forsaken his catholic church after one thousand years; but that is not so; for he promised his Holy Spirit to assist his spouse the church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon transubstantiation: but the fathers, for one thousand years past, do grant adoration of the sacrament; therefore transubstantiation also. The minor I prove by the most clear testimonies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Denis, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom."

Madew.—"I deny, Master Doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say, that the fathers do understand by adoration, a certain reverent manner that we should receive the Lord's supper with; which may be called a certain veneration, but no adoration."

Glyn.—"No, Master? St. Austin, De Civitate Dei, witnesseth, that the ethnics and paynims do esteem the Christians to worship and adore the god of wheat and barley, called Ceres, and the god of wine, called Bacchus. And again, St. Austin saith thus, 'Lo, no man eateth of that bread, except he first adore and worship it.'"

Madew.—"By your patience, St. Austin, in that place, speaketh of the honouring of Christ's body now sitting in heaven.'"

Glyn.—"Yea, Master Doctor, think you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the sacrament; seeing that he saith it is there? This is my body which is given for you, saith he. More plainly he needeth not to speak for the real presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verify his word. For if a cunning lapidary should say to you or me, This is a true right

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diamond, a perfect carbuncle, sapphire, emerald, or any such precious stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Christ, God and man, in that he saith, This is my body. And why then ought we not to honour it in the sacrament? or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you do grant his body in heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the sacrament?"

Madew.—"Forsooth he hath but one very body and no more; but the same is sacramentally in the sacrament, and substantially in heaven; here by faith, and there in deed."

Glyn.—"Well, yet once again to you thus: The very true body of Christ is to be honoured, but the same very true body is in the sacrament: ergo, the body of Christ in the sacrament is to be honoured."

Rochester.—"Well-beloved friends, and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this disputation, with others that shall be after this, are appointed for to search for the plain truth of the Holy Scriptures in these matters of religion, which, of a long season, have been hidden from us by the false glosses of that great antichrist and his ministers of Rome, and now, in our days, must be revealed to us Englishmen, through the great mercy of God principally, and, secondarily, through the most gentle clemency of our natural sovereign lord the king's Majesty, whom the living Lord long preserve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godliness, to the maintenance of God's holy word, and to the extirpation of all blind glosses of men, that go about to subvert the truth. Because, therefore, that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore, I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controversy. Not because this worshipful doctor hath any need of my help in dissolving of arguments proposed against him, for, as me seemeth, he hath answered hitherto very well and clerkly, according to the truth of God's word. But now to the purpose, I do grant unto you, master opponent, that the old ancient fathers do record and witness a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Christ's body, but then they speak not of it in the sacrament, but of it in heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy Chrysostom saith, 'Honour thou it, and then eat it:' but that honour may not be given to the outward sign, but to the body of Christ itself in heaven. For that body is there only in a sign virtually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in spirit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of it. For we receive virtually only Christ's body in the sacrament."

Glyn.—"How then, if it please your good Lordship, doth baptism differ from this sacrament . for in that, we receive Christ also by grace, and virtually."

Rochester.—"Christ is present after another sort in baptism, than in this sacrament; for in that, he purgeth and washeth the infant from all kind of sin, but here, he doth feed spiritually the receiver in faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in heaven still really and substantially, as for example: the king's Majesty, our lord and master, is but in one place, wheresoever that his royal person is abiding for the time; and yet his mighty power and authority is every where in his realms and dominions: so Christ's real person is only in heaven substantially placed, but his might is in all things created effectually; for Christ's flesh may be understood for the power or inward might of his flesh."

FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

Glyn.—"If it please your fatherhood, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ."

Madew.—"Indeed it is the very body of Christ sacramentally, after the consecration, whereas before, it is nothing but common bread; and yet, after that, it is the Lord's bread: and thus must St. Ambrose and St. Augustine be understood."

(Here the proctors commanded the opponent to divert to the second conclusion but he requested them that they would permit him as long, in this matter, as they would in the second; and so he still prosecuted the first matter as followeth:)

Glyn.—"The bread, after consecration, doth feed the soul: ergo, the substance of common bread doth not remain.—The argument is good, for St. Ambrose, De Sacramentis, saith thus: 'After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the prophet Elias did turn the nature of water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and man!'"

Madew.—"That book of St. Ambrose is suspected to be none of his works."

Rochester.—"So say all the fathers."

Glyn.—"I do marvel at that, for St. Austin, in his book of Retractations, maketh plain, that that was his own very work."

Rochester.—"He speaketh, indeed, of such a book so entituled, to St. Ambrose, but yet we do lack the same book indeed."

Glyn.—"Well, let it then pass to other men's judgments. What then say you to holy St. Cyrian, one thousand two hundred years past, who saith, that the bread, which our Lord gave to his disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and, by the Almighty word, was made flesh?"

Madew.—"I do answer thus: that this word 'flesh' may be taken two ways, either for the substance itself, or else for a natural property of a fleshly thing. So that Cyprian there did mean of a natural property, and not of fleshly substance. And, contrariwise, in the rod of Aaron, where both the substance and also the property was changed."

Glyn.—"Holy St. Ambrose saith, 'The body there made by the mighty power of God's word, is the body of the Virgin Mary.'"

Rochester.—"That is to say, that by the word of God the thing hath a being that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in heaven by this sacramental body."

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Glyn.—"By your patience, my Lord, if it be a body of the Virgin, as St. Ambrose saith, which we do consecrate, as ministers, by God's holy word, then must it needs be more than a sacramental or spiritual body; yea, a very body of Christ indeed; yea, the same that is still in heaven without all moving from place to place, unspeakably and far passing our natural reason, which is in this mystery so captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively faith to God's word. But let this pass. You do grant that this bread doth quicken or give life; which, if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a supersubstantial bread."

Rochester.—"So doth the effectual and lively word of God, which for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for the Divine essence infuseth itself unspeakably into the faithful receiver of the sacrament."

Glyn.—"How then say you to holy Damascene, a Greek author, who, as one Tritenius saith, flourished one thousand years past. He saith thus: 'The body that is of the holy Virgin Mary, is joined to the Divinity, after the consecration, in verity and indeed: not so as the body, once assumed into heaven, and sitting on the Father's right hand, doth remove from thence and come down at the consecration-time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transmuted into the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If,' saith he, thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to pass, let it be enough to thee to believe, that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghost; and we do know no more but that the living word of God is working and almighty, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us: and no great marvel,' smith he, 'for we cannot well express how the material bread, wine, or water, are transmuted naturally into the same body and blood of the receiver, and be become another body than they were before. So,' saith this great ancient clerk, 'also this shewbread with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, into Christ's body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.'"

Rochester.—"First, I deny, Master Doctor, that Damascene was one thousand years past. Secondly, that he is not to be holden as an ancient father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable doctrine, as the worshipping of images and such like. Thirdly, I say, that indeed God, by his Holy Spirit, is the worker of that which is done in the sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine spiritually into the Lord's bread and wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lord's word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the substances; for there is no other change there, indeed, than there is in us, which, when we do receive the sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Christ's body, bones, and blood; not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace. Much like as Isaiah saw the burning coal, even so we see not there the very simple bread, as it was before the consecration; for a union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore, if we be joined to Christ receiving the sacrament, then there is no annihilation of bread, (which is, when it is reduced to nothing,) as it is in your feigned transubstantiation."

Glyn.—"So, I perceive, you would have me to grant, that the sacrament is but a figure; which Theophylact doth deny."

Rochester.—"You say truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure."

FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

Glyn.—"Whereas St. Paul saith, that we, being many, are one bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one material bread, as you do here: ergo, he speaketh of heavenly bread. And holy Chrysostom, upon Matthew, saith, that the paschal lamb was a figure, but the mystery is the verity. For the disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christ's blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure, but the clear verity instead of the figure, as St. John saith, Grace and verity was given by Christ. 'Dost thou see bread,' saith Chrysostom, 'doth it avoid or pass as other meats do which we receive? God forbid! Ergo,'" &c.

Madew.—"That ancient clerk Origen, upon Matt. xv., saith thus, As touching that which is material in the sacrament, it descendeth and issueth out as other nutriments do; but as concerning that which is celestial, it doth not so."

Glyn.—"Chrysostom, upon Matthew, saith, that we cannot be deceived of Christ's word, but our natural senses may be deceived in this point very soon and easily: his said words cannot be false, but our senses be many times beguiled of their judgments. Because therefore that Christ said, This is my body, let us not at any hand doubt (saith Chrysostom); but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after, in that place, he saith thus: It was not enough, that he was become man, and afterwards was scourged for us; but also he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him: not through faith only, but in very deed also, he maketh us his body.' And after that he saith, that these works are not of man's power; but the same things that he wrought in his last supper, he now worketh also by his precept to his right ministers, and we do occupy the place of the same ministers: but he it is that doth sanctify and transumpt the creatures; he performeth still the same."

Rochester.—"Master Doctor, you must understand, that in that place St. Chrysostom showeth us, that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last supper."

Glyn.—"Honourable sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his disciples no sensible thing in substance, but a thing insensible, his own precious body and blood, under the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it seemeth, Theophylact best knew the meaning of Chrysostom, because all authors accept him as a faithful interpreter of him; and he hath these same plain words, 'trans-elemented' and 'transformed.' Also Theophylact of Alexandria, upon Mark, Cyril, and St. Augustine, saith, that before the consecration it is bread, but afterwards it is Christ's very body. In like manner St. Augustine, upon Psalm xxxiii., saith, that in the last supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but St. Augustine saith it there, for a miracle. Irenæus, in his fifth book, is of the same mind. And St. Augustine saith, (I do remember the words,) The law and figures were by Moses; but the verity and body came by Christ."

Rochester.—"Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this: If you will receive and understand, he is Elias—for a property: but indeed he was not Elias, but John the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his body, when it was very bread. But better than the common bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ."

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(Here Master Langdale replied to Dr. Madew.)

Langdale.—"Right worshipful Master Doctor, by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your position even now, before this honourable audience, the which, as me seemeth, are not consonant to the truth of God's word. The first is, as touching Christ's saying, I will not from henceforth drink any more of the fruit of the vine, until I drink it new with you, &c.; which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret, as though nothing else remained after the consecration, but very wine still. Whereof I do not a little marvel, seeing that most famous clerk Erasmus, whose authority and sentence you refuse at this present only, yet, nevertheless, is very worthy, in this matter, of far better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend, to allege him before this learned and honourable auditory. He plainly affirmeth, that for all his great labour in searching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the evangelists, or yet in the apostolical doctrine, that it might be or was called wine, after the consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be so open and plain as in your declaration you seem to make it, that such a profound clerk as he was could not find it out. For that said place he entreated of in his Paraphrases, in his annotations, and in other of his lucubrations; and yet he plainly denieth that same very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is wine, or may be so called after the consecration duly performed by a right minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this so weighty a matter of Christian religion, as I do his."

Madew.—"No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But, for to content your mind in this point, it is most constant and sure, that Erasmus was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to believe Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament, in what manner or condition soever it were."

Langdale.—"By your licence, good Master Doctor, these be Erasmus's words: The church of Christ hath determined, very lately, transubstantiation in the sacrament. It was of a long season enough to believe Christ's body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet,' saith he, after that the said church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgment, then she made a more certain determination of the same.' In the which place (1 Cor. vii.) Erasmus saith, that the proceeding of the Holy Ghost equally from the Father and the Son, was also determined of the same church. But let this pass. And as touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of Tertullian from the verity of his mind: for you said, that he doth interpret the prophet Malachi, speaking of our daily sacrifice in the new law, to mean nothing else by that sacrifice, in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient clerk Tertullian hath not those words that you do allege of him, that is to say, 'nothing else.' And yet, though that Æcolampadius doth so interpret that place, yet (as me seemeth) the judgment of the whole Christian church is to be preferred, in such a matter of religion. But I will pass over this point, and return to the matter itself: and first, I do require of your mastership, whether that this sentence, This is my body, be spoken of Christ figuratively or not."

Madew.—"After the mind of the common gloss of Cyprian and Origen, it is so taken in very deed."

FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

Langdale.—"That cannot be, by your patience; for it is taken there substantially: ergo, not figuratively."

Madew.—"I deny your argument."

Langdale.—"I prove my argument good, thus: This word 'substance' doth plainly repugn, and is contrary to, this word 'figure:' ergo, 'substantially' and 'figuratively' do also repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not: 'Bread is Christ's body.'"

Madew.—"Yea forsooth, it is a true proposition."

Langdale.—"Then thus to you: Christ's body was given for us; but you say, that bread is Christ's body: ergo, bread was given for us."

Rochester.—"Not so, sir, for your former proposition is of double understanding."

Langdale. " Well, yet you, Master Doctor, do grant that Christ is substantially in the sacrament."

Madew.—"No, I deny that I said so ever."

Langdale.—"Yea, do you so? Well, I pass not thereupon greatly, for I will prove it by another means.—Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us, really and substantially: ergo, he is also in the sacrament substantially. The argument is good, because that it is the same here, that was there crucified for us; howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally; but there visibly, and after a mortal and most bloody manner."

Rochester.—"Master Langdale, your argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here, in the sacrament, after such a sort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was betrayed and crucified in his natural body substantially and really, in very deed; but in the sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively only."

Langdale.—"By your good Lordship's favour, that is not so; for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed, by the power of his mighty word; yea, even his very own natural body, under the sacrament duly performed by the lawful minister."

Madew.—"O say not so; for you speak blasphemy."

Langdale.—"No, no, Master Doctor; God forbid that either I, or any man else, should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do no less."

Rochester.—"O Master Langdale! I wis it becometh you not here to have such words."

Langdale.—"If it like your good Lordship, I gave not the first occasion of them, but only did refute that which I was unjustly burdened withal, as reason doth require; and it grieved me to

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hear it. He [Erasmus] saith, if it please your Lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no less, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any doctor say, that there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also: ergo, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which, by Christ's words, must needs be his own blessed body."

Rochester.—"Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substances, or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, inasmuch that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of virtue which they had not before." [Note: Here is to be noted, that Peter Martyr, in his answer at Oxford, did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which, in Cambridge, by the bishop Dr. Ridley, was denied.]

Langdale.—"By your patience, reverend father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the mysteries of our Christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, This is my beloved Son, &c., a man may also wring that, to be understood thus: This is the image of my well-beloved Son; or, This is the virtue of my well-beloved Son: yea, much more justly than your good Lordship doth the other; because St. Paul to the Hebrews doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place, he calleth him the power or virtue of God, and God's wisdom. Now, though he be so called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him only God's image or God's virtue, and not God himself."

Rochester.—"O gentle Master Langdale! you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figurative speech is nocive some where—but not every where, nor in this matter."

Langdale.—"Yet by your licence, honourable father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, This is my body which is given for you; and that for this reason: Christ did exhibit or give again the very same things at his last supper, by the which things he was joined to us; but he was joined or knit unto us, by his own natural flesh and blood: ergo, he did exhibit to us at his last supper no less again. My former proposition I prove by the testimony of St. Chrysostom, whose words in Christ's person are these: 'I would be your brother. I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes; and even the same things by which I am joined to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again,'" &c.

(Here the proctors commanded Langdale to give place to another.)

Rochester." We are not joined by natural flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above." (Here Master Segewick replied.)

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Segewick.—"Right worshipful Master Doctor, I do also ask of you first of all, whether the Greek article 'this,' of the neuter gender, be referred to the word 'bread,' or to the word 'body.' If it be referred to the word bread,' then Christ would not have said this,' in the neuter gender; but rather 'this,' in the masculine gender."

Rochester.—"Forsooth that article is referred to neither of both; but may signify unto us any other kind of thing."

Segewick.—"No forsooth; but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of articles, in the Greek, doth notify unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient fathers. Moreover this word 'bread,' is not always in the Scriptures taken after one sort: wherefore I desire you to show me how it is taken in this place of St. Paul, 'We that are many, are one bread,'" &c.

Madew.—"Forsooth of the very wheaten bread."

Segewick.—"Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread."

Rochester.—"Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and unity that is noted by the coagulation of many grains into one bread or loaf."

Segewick.—"Well, let that pass; then thus: It is the body; ergo, no figure; because there is a perpetual contrariety between the law of Moses and the law of grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the verity indeed."

Rochester.—"I do grant it to be Christ's true body and flesh, by a property of the nature assumed to the Godhead; yea, and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain real property."

Segewick. "It is not the figurative paschal lamb; it is not the figurative manna, nor yet the figurative shew-bread, &c.: ergo, it is no figure."

Madew.—"I deny your argument."

Segewick.—"I maintain my argument thus: All the shadows are wholly past: ergo, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow. If then it be but a figure, all the figures are not past as yet; but that is false: ergo, so is the other."

Rochester.—"It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Christ; as it is said of John the Baptist, he is Elias; not that he was so in deed or person, but in property and virtue he represented Elias."

Segewick.—"So:—But, most learned father, when Christ said, I am the way, the truth, and the life, may it be understood as you do the other place thus: I am 'the virtue of' the way, verity, and the life? But now to the matter itself. It is verily meat: ergo, it is not figuratively."

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Madew.—"This verb or word 'is,' in this place is taken for that which signifieth."

(Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.)

Segewick.—"Now, as touching our second conclusion, this I say: Wheresoever Christ is, there is a sacrifice propitiatory; but, in the Lord's supper is Christ: ergo, in the Lord's supper is a sacrifice propitiatory."

Madew.—"Christ is not offered in the Lord's supper, but is received spiritually."

Segewick.—"The priesthood and the sacrifice be correspondent together; but Christ's priesthood after the order of Melchizedek is perpetual: ergo, also so is his sacrifice."

Rochester.—"Christ is a priest forever; that is to say, his priesthood and sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him."

Segewick.—"Where there is no oblation, there is no sacrifice: ergo, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual sacrifice. Item, the same bloody sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, was the very fine and end of all the bloody sacrifices figured in the law after the order of Aaron's priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant, that he offered himself also, at his last supper, after the order of Melchizedek, under the forms of bread and wine; or else you must show the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done but at his last supper only, after an unbloody manner. Item, He is offered for the remission of sins daily: ergo, he is a sacrifice propitiatory still, in the new law, as St. Augustine saith, expounding these words of the Psalm, 'Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but,'" &c.

Rochester.—"St. Cyprian speaketh much like that sort, where he saith thus, 'It is the Lord's passion which we do offer,'" &c.

Segewick.—"In the old law there were many sacrifices propitiatory: ergo, there be also in the new law, (or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they,) which must be, especially, the most pure daily sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, that holy Malachi speaketh of."

Madew.—"As touching the place of Malachi the prophet, I answer, that it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the sacrament. For that sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of God's holy word, and of prayer and of thanksgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ."

(Here Master Segewick was commanded to cease to Master Young.)

Young.—"Worshipful Master Doctor, although you have learnedly and clerkly defended these your conclusions this day; yet, seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you: It hath pleased Christ to make us partakers of his Holy Spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope, and charity: ergo, much more of his own blessed body and blood, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lord's supper. Item, the

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angels' food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called 'manna:' ergo, also this celestial and heavenly food can he justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that; but without comparison better, (and so no very wheat,) after due consecration of it. Item, the words of Holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working: ergo, they must perform the thing indeed, that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did, by changing water into wine at a marriage in Galilee. But Christ in the Scripture did promise, that the bread that he would give is his flesh indeed; which promise was never fulfilled till in his last supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat; this is my body. Which bread, then, was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, thus: which flesh I will give for the life of the world. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the cross: ergo, the first was likewise at his last supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last, promised and performed."

Rochester.—"Indeed the words of Holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and thoroughly, by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God."

Young.—"If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christ's blood: ergo, then, it is his blood indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward senses, which be deceived; for Christ saith, This is my blood; and also, My blood is drink indeed. And because that we should not abhor his blessed blood in his natural kind, or his flesh, if they should be so ministered unto us; of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures; that is to say, of bread and wine. Also, our body is fed with Christ's body, which is meat indeed; but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present: ergo, Christ's body that feedeth us, must needs be present, in very deed, in the sacrament. Item, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is all one thing: ergo, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is St. Cyprian's, De Cœna Domini, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature."

Rochester.—"Cyprian there doth take this word 'nature,' for a property of nature only, and not for the natural substance."

Young.—"That is a strange acceptation, that I have not read in any author before this time: but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christ's body cannot be there, where his body is not; but the communion of Christ's body is in the sacrament: ergo, Christ's body is there present in very deed."

Rochester.—"Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christ's body sitting in heaven."

Young.—"Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones."

Rochester.—"We be not consubstantial with Christ—God forbid that: but we are joined to his mystical body through his Holy Spirit; and the communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually, through the benefit of his flesh, in heaven."

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Young.—"Well, I am contented; and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to pardon me of my great rudeness and imbecility, which I have here showed."

(Here ended the first disputation, holden at Cambridge the twentieth of June, 1549.)

*The second disputation, holden at Cambridge the twenty-fourth day of June, 1549.
The declaration of Dr. Glyn upon his first conclusion.*

"The mysteries of faith, as Augustine witnesseth, may very profitably be believed, but they cannot well be searched forth, as saith the Scripture, I believed; therefore I spake: and, He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven. We believe every man in his art; therefore much more Christ our Saviour in his word. Marvel not, most honourable lords and worshipful doctors, that I speak thus now; for once you yourselves spake the same. But, peradventure, some will say, Believe not every spirit. I answer, Charity believeth all things, but not in all things. If those things which I shall utter be convinced as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the words of truth: This is my body. Christ spake them; therefore I dare not say, This bread is my body; for so Christ said not. Christ said thus, This is my body; and therefore I, but dust and ashes, yea, a worm before him, dare not say, this is a figure of his body. Heaven and earth, saith he, shall pass; but my word shall not pass. Whatsoever our old father Adam called every creature, that is his name to this day: the new Adam, Christ Jesus, said, This is my body; and is it not so? He never said, This is a figure of my body, nor, Eat you this figure or sign of my body. And therefore, when the paschal lamb was set before him, he said not, This is my body. Wherefore if, at the day of judgment, Christ should say to me, Why hast thou believed that this is my body, I would answer him, Because thou hast so called it. I believed it not to be a figure, because thou saidst not that it was a figure.

"Other reasons to avouch I know not. For the word itself I contend not, but the thing itself I defend; for we must speak regularly. Thus Christ, thus the apostles, thus all the ancient fathers have spoken. Our fathers had but only figures and shadows; but the church of God hath the truth itself with the signs. Tertullian saith, 'One figure containeth not another;' but Melchizedek was a figure: ergo, this is the body. The sacraments of the Jews were signs and tokens; but ours be both the signs, and the thing signified also. Luther himself confessed, that the body was present with the bread; and could not deny it. Ecolampadius took it for a figure only. Chrysostom demanding wherefore Christ gave his body before his passion, rather than at any other time; answered', that he might tie the truth to the figure, saying, Take, eat; this is my body; not a figure of my body. And the same Chrysostom saith again, 'If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his disciples have been offended in eating a figure.' Again, in his eighty-third homily upon Matthew: 'They are not any human works which he did work at his last supper: he it is that worketh; he maketh perfect: we are his ministers; but it is he that sanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and blood.' Again, 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they pass into the draught like other meats? God forbid,' &c. Theophylact of Alexandria, upon these words of Mark the evangelist, This is my body, saith, 'This which I give, and which you receive, is not only bread, or a figure of Christ's body, but the truth itself; for if it should appear, as it is, in form of flesh and blood, we should loathe it; and therefore the Lord, condescending to our weakness, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet converteth the same into the truth of his body and blood.' Theophylact saith, the bread and the wine is the very body and blood of

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Christ; and not a figure only. If you stand in suspense of the author, or approve him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken, amongst all the learned, for a most faithful interpreter of Chrysostom: The bread,' saith he, 'is trans-elementate, and transmuted into another substance than it was before.' Augustine saith, 'There was great heed taken in the primitive church, lest any part of the sacrament should fall down to the ground,' &c. Cyril saith, 'Lest we should abhor flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar, God humbled himself to our weakness, pouring and infusing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his own blessed body and blood.' Damascene calleth it, a divine body, or a body deified. Origen, Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome, with all the rest of the ancient catholic fathers, are of the same opinion with me, all which to produce, it were too long."

The declaration of Dr. Glyn upon his second conclusion.

"The sacrifice and offering up of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, right honourable and worshipful, I will defend even to the effusion of blood, as a thing consonant to Scripture, whereof Paul speaketh to the Hebrews. But, perchance, some will object—Christ offered up himself: ergo, you ought not to offer him. I answer, Yea, because he offered himself, therefore I offer him; for except he had offered himself I could not have offered him. But you will say, Christ's death is sufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I answer, So may we say, we need neither to fast nor pray, for Christ hath done both sufficiently for us. Again, you will object, if you offer him up again you crucify him anew. I answer, Not so, for many have offered him, that have not crucified him; as Abraham, Isaac, Moses, the Levites, Anna, Samuel. We offer Christ, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not only a commemoration thereof, but also the very presence of Christ's body and blood. Irenæus saith, 'Christ counselled his disciples to offer the first-fruits of all their goods to God—not that he needed any of them, but for that they should not show themselves fruitless or ungrateful: and therefore Christ took the creature of bread, gave thanks, and said, This is my body; and likewise the creature of the cup, and confessed, saying, This is my blood of the new testament. Thus Christ hath taught a new kind of oblation, which the church, receiving from the apostles, offereth to God, throughout all the whole world; who only giveth unto us all kind of food, and the first-fruits of his gracious gifts in the new testament, whereof Malachi thus saith, I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts. I will not receive any sacrifices at your hands, because my name is glorified amongst the nations from the east to the west, saith the Lord, and in every place is incense and pure sacrifice offered to my name.

"But here it may be objected, Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more. I answer, Notwithstanding we have this commandment, Do this in remembrance of me; and although I deny not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it is only a commemoration; I deny his absence, and I affirm his presence."

(Here Master Perne beginneth to dispute.)

Master Perne.—"Whereas you say, most reverend Master Doctor, in your proposition, 'I believed, and therefore I spake;' and, 'We believe, and therefore do speak, our consciences suggesting the same unto us;' and again, that mysteries are not to be searched, and the like; it seemeth you go about to restrain the searching of Holy Scriptures—whereas Christ saith, Search

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the Scriptures. Moreover, you have cited the fathers confusedly, and without order. You left transubstantiation, and endeavour yourself to prove the real presence in the sacrament: whereas we deny nothing less than his corporal presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread."

Glyn.—"You inveigh wonderfully, you know not against what; for neither do I, not yet doth Augustine, deny the searching of the Scriptures; but, I said out of Augustine, mysteries are not to be searched; it is another thing to search mysteries, than it is to search the Scriptures. Whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the doctors, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of time so to do; but if you desire me so earnestly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will easily fulfil your request."

Perne.—"I pray you, let me ask you, what is a sacrament?"

Glyn.—"A sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace."

Perne.—"Augustine, against Maximinus the Arian bishop, maketh this definition of a sacrament; 'A sacrament is a thing signifying one thing, and showing another thing.'"

Glyn.—"I refuse not his reason."

Perne.—"What is the thing figured by the sacrament?"

Glyn.—"The thing figured is twofold; to wit, the thing contained and signified, and the thing signified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Christ, the mystical body, and the fruit or benefit of the sacrament."

Perne.—"The forms and signs of bread nourish not: ergo, somewhat else besides the bare sign of bread doth remain, which nourisheth; that is, the substance of bread. For, in every sacrament, there is a similitude between the sign and the thing signified: but, betwixt the body of Christ, and the form or kind of bread, there is no similitude: ergo, the nature of a sacrament is taken away."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor, Master Doctor."

Perne.—"The forms nourish not; but the body nourisheth: ergo, there is no similitude betwixt them; and so is the nature of a sacrament clean destroyed."

Glyn.—"It is sufficient to similitudes, that the bread which was, doth nourish: and yet certain doctors do affirm, that the forms do nourish miraculously."

Rochester.—"Whosoever taketh away all the similitude of substances, consequently he taketh away the sacrament; for a similitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unity, and of conversion. But, by a contrary similitude, he is not changed into our substance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the similitude, that as our blood nourisheth our bodies, so the blood of Christ doth nourish us, but after a wonderful manner; to wit, by turning us into himself."

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Glyn.—"I have answered your reason, most reverend father, in that I said, that the forms do nourish miraculously, as certain learned do affirm."

Perne. "By what authority can you say that bread doth not remain?"

Glyn.—"By the authority of Christ, who saith, This is my body."

Perne.—"By the same reason may we say that bread still remaineth: for St. Paul calleth it bread sundry times in his Epistles."

Glyn.—"I deny not that it is bread, but that it is material bread; for Paul always addeth this article 'which,' betokening (as all men hold) some chief thing."

Perne.—"We are changed into a new creature."

Glyn.—"Not substantially, but actually."

Rochester.—"This is that bread which came down from heaven: ergo, it is not Christ's body, for his body came not from heaven."

Glyn.—"We may say that Christ, God and man, came down from heaven, for the unity of his person, or else for the mutual community of the same his two natures in one; for his human nature, I know, came not from heaven."

Rochester.—"The bread is his human nature; but that human nature of his came not from heaven: ergo, neither the bread."

Glyn.—"It is true that the bread came not from heaven as bread simply, but as celestial and heavenly bread. But I will answer to that: Whereas you hold, that the body of Christ came not from heaven, I, by the body and flesh of Christ, do understand whole Christ, neither separating his soul, nor yet his Deity; although his humanity is not turned into his Divinity by confusion of substance, but is one by unity of both. Or else thus I may reason: The God of glory is crucified, and the Son of Mary created the world," &c.

Rochester.—"So it is. But he is called a rock and a vine, and so, after your judgment, he is both a material rock and also a material vine."

Glyn.—"The circumstances there, show plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, I am the vine, you are the branches; but here is no trope. For after these words, This is my body, he addeth, which is given for you."

Rochester.—"Your judgment herein is very gross, and far discrepant from the truth."

Glyn.—"If my judgment in this be gross, most reverend father, then are all the ancient fathers as gross in judgment as I in this point, and the catholic church also."

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Perne.—"Show us one place, or one doctor, who saith, that it remaineth not bread after the consecration."

Glyn.—"I wonder that you are not ashamed to ask that of me; for have you not had almost infinite places and doctors alleged to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you request at my hands?"

Perne.—"He took bread, he brake bread: ergo, it is bread."

Glyn.—"I have answered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread; but not only, or material."

Perne.—"Irenæus affirmeth, that a sacrament consisteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly: ergo, the bread remaineth."

Glyn.—"Irenæus, in that place, by the earthly matter meaneth the humanity of Christ, and by the heavenly matter the Deity of Christ."

Rochester.—"The humanity and the Divinity of Christ make not a sacrament, which consisteth of a visible and invisible nature; and I deny that Irenæus can be so understood; therefore we desire the learned auditory to search Irenæus at home, as opportunity will serve for this matter."

Glyn.—"I wish them so to do also, with all my heart."

(Here Master Grindal beginneth to dispute.)

Grindal.—"Whereas you say, worshipful Master Doctor, that we speak not now, as sometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you, also, judge not so now all things, as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not; God respecteth no man's person. And whereas you say that you dare not, contrary to Christ, call it a sign or a figure, Augustine, notwithstanding, dareth to call it a figure, and Tertullian likewise, with many more."

Glyn.—"True it is, but they called it not a sign or a figure only; but prove you, if you can, that after the consecration remaineth any other substance than the real body of Christ."

Grindal.—"If the forms do nourish, as you contend, they nourish the natural and human body; for they be both as one, and are nourished alike."

Glyn.—"Your reason is merely physical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith: but I grant they nourish, but miraculously."

Grindal.—"If you grant that the forms do nourish, then you grant that bread remaineth."

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Glyn.—"I said even now that it is true; but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculously."

Grindal.—"If it be the real and substantial body of Christ, because Christ said, This is my body; ergo, because the Lord said, I will not drink of the fruit of this vine, and Paul calleth it bread after the consecration, it is therefore bread and wine."

Glyn.—"Truly, sir, you must bring better arguments, or else you will prove nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer: Chrysostom saith, Christ did drink of the blood; but whether this sentence, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, be spoken of the blood, it is not certain. And truly Erasmus denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the consecration. Or else thus I may answer you: even as it is called bread, for the form, and kind, and accidents which remain; so for the form and similitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the vine, after the consecration. And whereas Chrysostom calleth it wine, he speaketh of the nature whereof the sacrament necessarily is made. And I deny not but it may be called wine, but yet eucharistically."

Rochester.—"The evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke call it the fruit of the vine, and Chrysostom saith that the fruit of the vine is nothing else but wine; ergo, Christ gave them wine, and drank wine himself also, and not blood."

Glyn.—"Christ said twice, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine; once at the eating of the paschal lamb, (as Luke saith,) and then was it wine indeed. And again, after the consecration of his body and blood he said the like; and then it was not wine, which methinks I can prove by the plain words of Luke, if we compare him with Matthew. For, if it were wine, as they both affirm, then the words of Christ cannot well stand, because first, as Luke showeth, he said at his legal supper, I will not drink of the fruit of this Vine, &c. And again, in Matthew, after the consecration of his body and blood, 'he drank;' it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not wine by nature, for then must Christ needs be a liar; which were blasphemy to say."

Rochester.—"Augustine doth thus reconcile those places, saying, it is spoken by a figure which we call *υστερον προτερον*[Greek: *ysteron proteron*]."

Glyn.—"I know that Augustine saith so; but methinks that which I have said, seemeth to be the true meaning of the places."

Rochester.—"Augustine seeketh no starting holes, nor yet any indirect shifts to obscure the truth."

Glyn.—"Say your fatherhood what you will of Augustine, I think not so."

Grindal.—"This cup is the new testament in my blood; but here is a trope: ergo, in these words of Christ, This is my body, is a trope also."

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Glyn.—"I deny your argument; for whereas Luke saith, this cup, Matthew saith, this is my blood: and therefore, as St. Augustine saith, places that be dark are to be expounded by others that be light."

Rochester.—"All of your side deny that Christ ever used any trope in the instituting of sacraments."

Glyn.—"For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you yourself also do pretend the like."

Rochester.—"What understand you by this word 'this,' and in what words standeth the force or strength of the sacrament?—in this pronoun 'this?' or in this verb 'is?' or else in this whole sentence, 'This is my body?'"

Glyn.—"It is not made the true body except all the words be spoken, as in baptism, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. For neither doth baptism consist in this word 'I,' or in 'baptize', or in this word, 'thee;' or in these words, 'in the name,' &c. but in all the words spoken in order."

Grindal.—"If to eat the body of Christ be a figurative speech, as Augustine saith it is; ergo, then these words, This is my body, are a figurative speech also."

Glyn.—"It is a figurative speech, because we eat not the body of Christ after the same manner that we do other meats," &c.

Grindal.—"Cyprian understandeth this of those that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lord's body, speaking of the dijudication of the sacraments, and not of the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"Truly he speaketh of the true body of Christ."

Rochester.—"They receive unworthily, who neither judge themselves, nor yet the sacraments, taking them as other common bread."

Grindal.—"Augustine upon the thirty-third Psalm saith, Christ bare himself in his own hands after a sort; not indeed or truly," &c.

Glyn.—"You omit many other things which Augustine saith; and I confess that he carried himself in his own hands, after a sort: but Augustine delivereth this unto us as a great miracle; and you know it was no great miracle, to carry a figure of his body in his hands. And whereas you say that Christ carried himself after a sort in his own hands, it is very true, but yet diversely; for he sat after one manner at his supper, and after another manner he carried himself in his hands. For Christ in the visible figure bore himself invisibly."

Grindal.—"Tertullian calleth it a figure: ergo, it is so."

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Glyn.—"It is, as I have said, a figure; but not a figure only. But hear what Tertullian saith, he took bread and made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,'" &c.

Grindal.—"Hear what Chrysostom saith upon Matthew, (Homil. ii. super cap. 5.) If vessels sanctified to holy uses," &c.

Glyn.—"That work is received not as Chrysostom's, but some man's else, as you know. Or thus I answer, It is not the true body in proper and visible form."

(Here Master Gest disputed.)

Gest.—"The bread is not changed before the consecration: ergo, not after it either."

Glyn.—"I deny your argument, Master Gest." *Gest.*—"Christ gave earthly bread: ergo, there is no transubstantiation."

Glyn.—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest.—"That which Christ took he blessed; that which he blessed he brake; what he brake he gave: ergo, he, receiving earthly bread, gave the same bread."

Glyn.—"Your order in reasoning standeth not; for by the same reason may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib, and brought it unto Adam: ergo, what he received he brought—but he received a rib: ergo, brought a rib."

Gest.—"How is the body of Christ in heaven, and how in the sacrament? whether circumscriptively or definitively?"

Glyn.—"The body of Christ is in heaven circumscriptively, but not so in the sacrament. The angels also are contained definitively. But I have learned that the body of Christ is in the sacrament, but not locally; nor circumscriptively, but after an unspeakable manner unknown to man."

Rochester.—"Ah, know you not?"

Glyn.—"Neither in other mysteries of faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reason. For as my soul is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and so in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or sound which all men hearing do understand: so the body of Christ, being one and the same, is wholly in the altar, and in many places else. For if God could do this in my soul, how much more in his own body."

Rochester.—"I beseech you show us what difference is betwixt these two: to be in place circumscriptively and definitively."

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Glyn.—"Your Lordship knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him read August. ad Volusianum, et ad Dardanum," &c.

Gest.—"If the bread be changed, it is made the body of Christ; but that is not so: ergo, it is not changed."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor."

Gest.—"It is not generate or begot: ergo, it is not the body."

Glyn.—"That followeth not; as though to be made, and to be generate or begot, were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation: and so you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?"

Gest.—"The generation is the production of the accidents."

Glyn.—"A new definition of a new philosopher."

Gest.—"That which he took he blessed; that which he blessed, he brake, and gave it unto them: ergo," &c.

Glyn.—"Christ took bread, brake bread, and gave his body, that is, the substance of his body: saying, This is my body."

Gest.—"The bread is not changed into the blood of Christ: ergo, not into his body either."

Glyn.—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest.—"The Master of the Sentences saith it."

Glyn.—"You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the body of Christ by the power of God's word."

Rochester.—"Ye dream of a real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the Holy Scripture doth impugn."

Glyn.—"We say, that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret virtue in the words, it is brought to pass; for there is no power in one word alone, as before in baptism, but in all the words duly prolated, according to the custom of the ancient catholic church."

Gest.—"If there were any transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain still; for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave. But the accidents remain not themselves alone: ergo," &c.

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Glyn.—"I confess accidents cannot stand, themselves alone, by their own nature, without a subject; but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of philosophers, but of the Scriptures: although I could show, out of the Scriptures, the accidents to have been without the subject; as in Genesis, the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as Basil beareth me record."

(Here Master Pilkington disputed.)

Pilkington.—"This one thing I desire of you, most worshipful Master Doctor, that you will answer me with like brevity as I shall propound. And thus I reason: The body of Christ that was broken on the cross, is a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"I deny your argument."

Pilkington.—"It is a syllogism."

Glyn.—"It is not so; for there be four *termines*. Touching this word sacrament, it is manifold; but thus I answer: If you take the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ, then is your minor proposition true, and the matter of the sacrament is the satisfaction for the sins of the whole world: but, if you take the sacrament for the sign, which we call a sacrament, then is your minor proposition false."

Pilkington.—"The body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament hath not satisfied: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor, understanding the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament."

Pilkington.—"The sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of this sacrament was begun: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"If you mean of the bare sign only, it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing signified, then what is spoken of the body of Christ, is spoken also of the thing of the sacrament itself."

Pilkington.—"Transubstantiation is not a sacrament; but that which I mean is a sacrament: ergo, that which I mean is not transubstantiated."

Glyn.—"I mean not that transubstantiation is a sacrament, neither do I say that the sacrament is transubstantiated, but the bread."

Pilkington.—"The body of Christ is resident in heaven, and the body of Christ is in the sacrament: ergo, the sacrament is in heaven."

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Glyn.—"A goodly reason, forsooth: but I answer, he is after one sort in heaven, and after another sort in the sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumscriptively, but in the sacrament invisibly and sacramentally."

Rochester.—"St. Augustine saith, 'Take away the spaces from the bodies, and they shall be no where, and that which is no where' is not at all: so, whilst you take away the spaces and dimensions from the body of Christ in the sacrament, you bring to pass that it is not there at all."

Glyn.—"In that place Augustine speaketh of natural bodies, not of supernatural; otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entered in to his disciples, the gates being shut."

Rochester.—"Of the gates being shut, a diverse and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be, he entered in before the gates were shut, and afterwards opened them being shut," &c.

Glyn.—"Then it could be no miracle; but the evangelists, and all sound interpreters, say and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ."

Rochester.—"Whether Christ entered in miraculously, the gates being shut, or else open, the Scripture setteth not down."

Glyn.—"As Christ (the womb of the Virgin being shut) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or apertion of her womb, (for so he might have been polluted,) so entered he through the doors to his disciples miraculously."

Pilkington.—"In the body of Christ which was given for us, there are no accidents of bread; but in the sacrament there be accidents of bread: ergo, in the sacrament there is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"In the matter of the sacrament, that is, in the body of Christ, are no accidents of bread; but accidents are the very sacrament itself."

Pilkington.—"I beseech you, what do we eat? the substance or the accidents?"

Glyn.—"Both; as when we eat wholesome and unwholesome meats together, so we eat the substance of Christ's body, and yet not without the accidents of bread."

Pilkington.—"I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, goeth into the privy; but the accidents go in by the mouth: ergo, into the privy."

Glyn.—"This sentence, Whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, &c., is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Christ did eat after his resurrection."

Pilkington.—"You shall not eat this body which you see."

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Glyn.—"That is, not after that manner as you see it now, nor after the same visible form."

Pilkington.—"Wheresoever Christ is, there be his ministers also (for so he promised): but Christ, as you hold, is in the sacrament: ergo, his ministers are there also."

Glyn.—"To be with Christ is spoken divers ways; as in heart and mind, and in place, and sometimes both: or, to be with Christ, is to minister unto him, and to do his will," &c.

The third disputation, holden at Cambridge as before.

The declaration of Master Perne upon the first conclusion.

"Christ, at his last supper, took bread, brake bread, distributed bread: ergo, not his body, but a sacrament of his body; for the bones of Christ could no man break, as witnesseth the prophet, saying, You shall not break a bone of him.—This cup is the cup of the new testament in my blood. In this sentence there is a trope, by their own confession; wherefore there is in the other also, This is my body; for the Holy Scripture is a perfect rule not only of doing, but also of speaking. Paul calleth it bread three times: ergo, it is bread, &c. And whereas they urge so much this pronoun 'that,' is not in the Greek canon, which hath 'bread,' not 'that bread.' There was no transubstantiation in the manna: ergo, nor in the sacrament; for there is this particule, eat, if that can prove transubstantiation, as they suppose. And if manna were a figure, say they, then this is not. This mystery or sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, both of the intern and extern thing of the sacrament, as Augustine saith, writing to Boniface; but betwixt the forms of bread and wine, and the body of Christ, there is no analogy at all: ergo, they make not a sacrament.—As of many grains, &c.: This similitude of Paul is spoken of the substance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwise Paul should in vain compare us to bread. As in baptism there is material water; so in the sacrament of the eucharist is material bread. Dionysius called the sacrament of Christ's body no otherwise than bread. Eusebius, in Ecclesiastica Historia, doth the same. Tertullian (lib. iv. against Marcion) saith thus: 'He gave his body; that is,' saith he, 'a figure or type of his body.' Cyprian saith, 'In his last supper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the cross.' The same Cyprian saith, Christ drank wine at his last supper, because he would root out the heresy of certain who only used water in the ministration thereof. Chrysostom saith, 'That only bread remaineth,' &c. Theodoret saith, 'Bread remaineth still in his first nature as before.' Augustine saith, 'The bread doth not lose his first nature after the consecration, but receiveth another quality, whereby it differeth from common bread.' The same Augustine saith, 'Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and showing forth another thing.' He speaketh of no transubstantiation here. Again, writing to Boniface he saith, 'The sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and so is the sacrament of wine also,' &c. The sacraments of the old and new law are all one in substance of matter, notwithstanding they be divers in signs: which sacraments, why should they not be one, when they signify all one thing? The body of Christ, when it was on the earth, was not in heaven; so now it, being in heaven, is not on the earth. Whereby it may appear that transubstantiation is a most blasphemous, sacrilegious, and damnable error, and a most vain, unsavoury, and devilish papistical invention, defended and maintained only by the papists, the professed and sworn enemies of all truth. Those who impugn this doctrine of transubstantiation are no new upstarts; as

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the enemies of the truth, the papists, bear the world in hand. But, contrarily, those who maintain this devilish doctrine are new-sprung-up cockatrices, as Manicheus, Eutiches, and others. Gelasius saith, that the sacraments which we receive are Divine things; yet cease they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this puddle of transubstantiation have sprung up adoration of the sacrament, and inducing men to believe that Christ hath many bodies."

The declaration of the Master Perne upon the second conclusion.

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the apostle Paul, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Christ's body and blood; and Paul to the Hebrews saith, By one only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal salvation, &c. By him, therefore, do we offer up the sacrifice of laud and praise to God; that is, the fruit of the lips, &c. It is called the eucharist, because we offer to God praise and thanksgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thanksgiving, because we give thanks to God thereby also. You shall preach forth the Lord's death, &c.; that is, you shall give thanks and be mindful of his death, &c. Give your bodies a quick and living sacrifice, &c. The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving shall honour me, &c. Chrysostom saith, 'The wise men offered three kinds of sacrifices, gold, frankincense, and myrrh: so we do also, namely, virtue, prayer, and almsdeeds. These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased.' And Augustine saith, that there are no other sacrifices than prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, &c. Chrysostom (Homil. 46, upon John) saith, 'To be converted or turned into Christ, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.'"

(There disputed against him Master Parker, Master Pollard, Master Vavasor, and Master Young.)

Parker.—"Christ, whose words are to be believed, said, This is my body. He said not, This bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread; but said plainly, This is my body. And this he proved by these reasons: First, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the manna which came down from heaven: all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly, it was promised in those words of Christ, The bread that I will give, is my flesh, &c. Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last supper, saying, Take, eat, this is my body."

(Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker replied thus against Doctor Perne.)

"We give thee thanks, most holy Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And, on the other side, to acknowledge our own infirmity and imperfection is the first step to the right understanding of the truth. Nestorius the heretic affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ; one that was man, another that was God: therefore, he said, that in the eucharist was contained true flesh, but only of his pure manhood. Against him did the council of Ephesus conclude, saying, that there was the real flesh of the Son of God, &c. This he proved by the words of Christ, My flesh is meat indeed: and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon John vi.; 'That is,' quoth he, 'the flesh united to the Deity, and quickened by the Holy Ghost,' &c. Now that that flesh is in

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the sacrament, it is plain, by Hilary. He proved the same also out of Chrysostom: 'We are one body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones,' &c. Again, in the same Homily, 'We are joined to his flesh, not only by faith and love, but also in very deed and truly.' And again, 'It pleased me to become your brother, and by the same things wherein I was joined to you, have I given myself again unto you,' &c.

Perne.—"I grant unto you that Christ is in the sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner: I deny not his presence, but his real and corporal presence I utterly deny; for doubtless his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And also in the sixth chapter of John, he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified," &c.

Parker.—"The flesh of Christ as it is in the sacrament, is quick, and giveth life: ergo, his real and substantial flesh is in the sacrament."

Perne.—"The flesh of Christ, in that it is united unto the Deity, doth vivify, and giveth life; but not otherwise."

Rochester.—"Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ, both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating: and indeed, for the strengthening of us, to the eating of this spiritual food, was this sacrament ordained. And these words, This is my body, are meant thus: By grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose."

Parker.—"We are joined to Christ, not only by faith, but also in very deed: ergo," &c.

Rochester.—"We are joined to Christ; that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortality. And so, in like case, is there a union between man and woman; yet there is no transubstantiation of either, or both," &c.

Pollard.—"The sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing else, only because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures; and that I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact; as the angels are called men, the Holy Ghost a tongue, the rod of Aaron a serpent, and such like. The words of Christ do teach the same thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of Canaan's daughter, Jairus's son, and many others, &c.: ergo," &c.

Then he proved against Rochester, that somewhat else was in the sacrament besides power and grace, by this reason: "The evil receive the body of Christ, as is plain out of Augustine (Homil. xxi. De Verbis Domini): but the evil and wicked receive not the virtue, or grace: ergo, there is not only grace and virtue in the sacrament."

Rochester.—"The evil do not receive the Lord in the sacrament, but the sacrament of the Lord, as Judas, who indeed did not eat the true body of the Lord."

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Pollard.—"In the sacrament be three things; to wit, an outward sign, the matter of the sacrament, and the fruit of the same. The evil receive the outward sign, and the subject of the sacrament, but not the fruit of the sacrament: ergo, there is somewhat else in the sacrament than only grace. Also every sacrament ought to have a certain similitude with the matter of the sacrament; but the material bread hath no such similitude with the body of Christ, which is the matter of the sacrament: ergo, material bread is not a sacrament."

Perne.—"I deny your minor: for material bread doth so nourish the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soul."

(Here he, being requested, gave place to Master Vavasor and others.)

Master Vavasor.—"Through the shortness of time, I am so constrained, that neither I can speak without loss of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking, as I do, without great premeditation before this honourable, worshipful, and learned audience, I shall but show forth my childishness herein; and if I should hold my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of God's cause. And therefore, while I can neither speak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, God's truth being in controversy, I have determined (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reason of my faith; which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in saying nothing at all. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and unlearned amongst so many grave learned fathers and doctors, than to forsake the just defence of the truth, which every good Christian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable: for whoso forsaketh the manifest known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may overpass in Berengarius, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no less variance amongst themselves, than uncertain of their faith what to believe, Zuinglius writeth thus of himself: 'Although this thing which I mean to entreat of, doth like me very well, yet, notwithstanding, I dare define nothing, but only show my poor judgment abroad to others, that, if it please the Lord, others may be thereby instructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things.' In vain do I spend many words: you see plainly he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it please God or not. Ecolampadius, writing to a certain brother of his, saith thus: 'Peace be with thee. As far as I can conjecture out of the learned fathers, the words in John vi., and, This is my body, be figurative locutions,' &c. You see hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions. They lean not to the Scriptures, to doctors, nor yet to the truth; but to supposals and conjectures: who, therefore, hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your oration, whose beginning pleaseth me very well, and whose progress therein offended me not; but, in the end, you concluded in such sort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the same. And herein you framed a syllogism after this manner: What Christ took, that he blessed; what he blessed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave: ergo, what he received he gave, &c. Whereto I answer with a like syllogism out of Genesis: God took a rib out of Adam's side; what he took he built; what he built that he brought; what he brought that he gave to Adam to be his wife; but he took a rib: ergo, he gave a rib to Adam to wife, &c. Also, in your said oration you shoot much at those words of Paul, where he calleth it bread so often, &c. But the Scripture, in anther place, calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod, when it was a plain serpent."

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Rochester.—"You have pretended great zeal and words enough; but what pith or substance your reasons will afford, we shall see hereafter."

Vavator.—"Christ gave the same flesh to us, which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural flesh of her: ergo, he gave us true and natural flesh. My major I prove by Augustine upon Psalm xcviij."

Rochester.—"Master Vavator, you are in a wrong box: for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing."

Vavator.—"I know it very well, and therefore I allege it as the ground of my reason. These be Augustine's words, 'Christ of the earth received earth, and of the flesh of Mary he received flesh;' acknowledge his substance therefore."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge it."

Vavator.—"And in the very same flesh he walked here upon the earth: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge it."

Vavator.—"And the very same flesh he gave us to eat: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge not his real substance to be there; but the property of his substance."

Vavator.—"Then Vavator recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real substance ought to be acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second; affirming it out of St. Augustine, who saith thus: "The disciples of Christ, approaching the Lord's table, by faith drank the same blood which the tormentors most cruelly spilt," &c. "But the tormentors spilt no figure of blood: ergo, &c. This place will not permit the other so to be illuded."

Rochester.—"It is no illusion, good Master Vavator; but surely you would move a saint with your impertinent reasons."

Vavator.—"I beseech your fatherhood to pardon my rudeness; for surely I cannot otherwise speak, without breach of conscience."

Perne.—"That place of Augustine is to be understood of a spiritual kind of eating."

Vavator.—"I demand whether the faithful may receive spiritually, so as they need not to receive sacramentally."

Perne.—"They may."

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Vavasor.—"Then thus to you: To the spiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lord's table, for so it is the meat of the soul, not of the teeth—but the faithful come to the Lord's table: ergo, that place is to be understood of a sacramental eating. And again, Augustine saith, that he carried himself in his hands."

Rochester.—"Augustine showeth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands after a certain sort or manner."

Vavasor." True it is, that after one manner he sat at the table, and after another manner was in the sacrament."

(Master Young here disputeth against Perne as followeth.)

Young.—"I understand the meaning of this word 'propriety' well enough; for, in Hilary and Eusebius, it signifieth not the virtue or power of any substance or being, but rather a natural being or substance."

Rochester.—"I commend your great diligence in searching of authors, but in divinity the matter standeth not so; for the propriety of essence in the Deity is the very essence, and whatsoever is in God is God."

Young.—"True it is, most reverend father, that this word 'propriety,' in Hilary, in his eighth book De Trinitate, entreating there of the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken; but the same Hilary, almost in the same place, speaketh of our communion and unity with Christ, &c. Tertullian also, writing of the resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the flesh of our Saviour is that, whereof our soul is allied to God; that is, it which causeth that our souls are joined to him: but our flesh is made clean, that the soul may be purged; our flesh is anointed, that the soul may be made holy; the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory of the spirit; our flesh is clothed with a body and blood, that the soul may be fed and nourished of God."

Rochester.—"The flesh indeed is fed with the body and the blood of the Lord, when our bodies, by mortification, are made like to his body; and our body is nourished, when the virtue and power of the body of Christ doth feed us. The same Tertullian is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he meaneth a figure of the same."

Young.—"Then, by your leave, it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needs be a sacramental communion; which cannot be: ergo," &c.

(Here ended the third and last disputation holden at Cambridge, 1549.)

This disputation continued three days. In the first, did answer Dr. Madew: against whom disputed Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, Master Young.

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In the second disputation, did answer Dr. Glyn: against whom disputed Master Grindal, Master Verne, Master Gest, Master Pilkington.

In the third disputation answered Master Perne: against whom disputed one Master Parker, (not Dr. Matthew Parker,) Master Pollard, Master Vavasor, Master Young.

At length the disputations ended, the bishop of Rochester, (Dr. Nicholas Ridley,) after the manner of schools, made this determination upon the aforesaid conclusions, as here followeth.

"There hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after disputations had in your common schools, there should be some determination made of the matter so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian religion. Because, therefore, it hath seemed good unto these worshipful assistants joined with me in commission from the king's Majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will, by your favourable patience, declare, both what I do think and believe myself, and what also others ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterwards ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

"The principal grounds, or rather head-springs, of this matter, are specially five.

"The first is, the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture.

"The second is, the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers, who, after my judgment, do sufficiently declare this matter.

"The third is, the definition of a sacrament.

"The fourth is, the abominable heresy of Eutiches, that may ensue of transubstantiation.

"The fifth is, the most sure belief of the article of our faith, He ascended into heaven."

The First Ground.

"This transubstantiation is clean against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient catholic fathers. The Scripture saith, I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of this vine is wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the supper was finished, as it appeareth both in Matthew, Mark, and also in Luke, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material: for it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture, as in a thousand.

"Moreover, Christ took bread; he gave bread. In the Acts, Luke calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christ's body; for the Scripture saith, Ye shall not break a bone of him. Christ saith, Do ye this in my remembrance. St. Paul also saith, Do ye this in my remembrance. And again, As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me.

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And our Saviour Christ, (in John vi.) speaking against the Capernaites, saith, Labour for the meat that perisheth not. And when they asked, What shall we do, that we may work the works of God? he answered them thus: This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. You see how he exhorteth them to faith: For faith is that work of God. Again, This is the bread which came down from heaven. But Christ's body came not down from heaven. Moreover, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My flesh, saith he, is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. When they heard this, they were offended. And while they were offended, he said unto them, What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven; meaning altogether, as St. Augustine saith, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood.' These be the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sentence and judgment."

The Second Ground.

"Now my second ground against this transubstantiation is the ancient fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of transubstantiation, that plainly they seem unto me, both to think and to teach the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain that it needeth not to recite them.

"Ignatius saith, 'I beseech you, brethren, cleave fast unto one faith, and to one kind of preaching, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: there is also one bread broken for us, and one cup of the whole church.'

"Irenæus writeth thus: 'Even as the bread that cometh of the earth, receiving God's vocation, is now no more common bread, but sacramental bread, consisting of two natures, earthly and heavenly; even so our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the resurrection.'

Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it, 'a figure of his body,' &c.

"Chrysostom writeth to Cæsarius the monk: albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds; for it seemeth to show plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these: 'Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but, by the grace of God sanctifying the same through the ministry of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lord's body, although the very substance of bread notwithstanding do still remain therein; and now is taken, not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son,' &c.

"Cyprian saith, 'Bread is made of many grains. And is that natural bread, and made of wheat? Yea, it is so indeed.'

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"The book of Theodoret in Greek was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there; especially seeing it is directly against transubstantiation: for he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

"Gelasius also is very plain in this manner: 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a Divine matter: by reason whereof we are made partakers, by the same, of the Divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,'" &c.

(After this he recited certain places out of Augustine and Cyril which were not noted.)

"Isichus, also, confesseth that it is bread.

"Also the judgment of Bertram in this matter is very plain and manifest.—And thus much for the second ground."

The Third Ground.

"The third ground is the nature of the sacrament, which consisteth of three things; that is, unity, nutrition, and conversion.

"As touching unity, Cyprian thus writeth: 'Even as of many grains is made one bread, so are we one mystical body of Christ.' Wherefore bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament.

"Also, they that take away nutrition, which cometh by bread, do take away likewise the nature of a sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth bread likewise nourish the body of man.

"Therefore they that take away the grains, or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance thereof, in my judgment are sacramentaries; for they take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm transubstantiation, are indeed right sacramentaries and Capernaïtes.

"As touching conversion—that, like as the bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christ's body—Rabanus and Chrysostom are witnesses sufficient."

The Fourth Ground.

"They which say that Christ is carnally present in the eucharist, do take from him the verity of man's nature. Eutiches granted the Divine nature in Christ, but his human nature he denied. So they that defend transubstantiation, ascribe that to the human nature which only belongeth to the Divine nature."

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The Fifth Ground.

"The fifth ground is the certain persuasion of this article of faith, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God.'

"Augustine saith, 'The Lord is above, even to the end of the world: but yet the verity of the Lord is here also; for his body, wherein he rose again, must needs be in one place; but his verity is spread abroad every where.'

"Also in another place he saith, Let the godly also receive that sacrament; but let them not be careful (speaking there of the presence of his body). For as touching his majesty, his providence, his invincible and unspeakable grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, I am with you unto the end of the world. But, according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was fastened to a tree, taken down again from the cross, lapped in linen clothes, was buried and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection—so you shall not have me always with you; and why? Because that, as concerning his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father; and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty.'

"Mark and consider well what St. Augustine saith, 'He is ascended into heaven, and is not here,' saith he. Believe not them therefore which say, that he is here still in the earth.

"Moreover, 'Doubt not,' saith the same Augustine, 'but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a Christian man, that he arose from death, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father; and from that place, and none other, (not from the altars,) shall he come to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the angel said, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto the which he gave immortality, but changed not nature. After this form (meaning his human nature) we may not think that it is every where.'

"And in the same epistle he saith, 'Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where; and because they are no where, they shall not be at all.'

"Vigilius saith, 'If the word and the flesh be both of one nature, seeing that the word is every where, why then is not the flesh also every where? For when it was in earth, then verily it was not in heaven; and now when it is in heaven, it is not surely in earth. And it is so certain that it is not in earth, that, as concerning the same, we look for him from heaven, whom, as concerning the word, we believe to be with us in earth.'

"Also the same Vigilius saith, 'Which things seeing they be so, the course of the Scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to show plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is, to refer those things to the property of the Divine nature, which do only belong to the nature of the flesh: and contrariwise, to apply those things to the nature of the

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flesh, which do properly belong to the Divine nature.' Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christ's body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his humanity which properly belongeth to his Divinity; as they do which will have Christ's body to be in no one certain place limited.

"Now in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think; for if we did once agree in that, the whole controversy in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there be which do persuade me that this conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scripture, and also certain testimonies of the fathers. St. Paul saith, Christ, being become a High Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained for us eternal redemption. And now, in the end of the world, he hath appeared once, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And again, Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. Moreover he saith, With one offering hath he made perfect for ever those that are sanctified.

"These Scriptures do persuade me to believe, that there is no other oblation of Christ, (albeit I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices,) but that which was once made upon the cross.

"The testimonies of the ancient fathers, which confirm the same, are out of Augustine, Ad Bonif. epist. 23. Again, in his book of Forty-three Questions, in the forty-first question. Also in his twentieth book against Faustus the Manichean, cap. 21. And in the same book against the said Faustus, cap. 28, thus he writeth, Now the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ.'

"Fulgentius, in his book De Fide, calleth the same oblation a commemoration.—And these things are sufficient for this time, for a scholastical determination of these matters."

Disputations of Martin Bucer at Cambridge.

(Ornamental capital £246} OVER and besides these disputations above mentioned, other disputations were also holden at Cambridge, shortly after, by Martin Bucer, upon these conclusions following:

Conclusions to be disputed.

First. "The canonical books of Holy Scripture alone, do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto salvation."

Secondly. "There is no church in earth which erreth not in manners as well as in faith."

Thirdly. "We are so justified freely of God, that before our justification it is sin, and provoketh God's wrath against us, whatsoever good work we seem to do. Then, being justified, we do good works."

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In these three propositions against Bracer disputed Master Segewick, Young, and Perne: which disputations, because they are long here to be recited, I mind (the Lord willing) to reserve them to some other convenient place. In the mean season, because great controversy hath been and is yet amongst the learned, and much effusion of Christian blood, about the words and meaning of the sacrament; to the intent that the verity thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtful scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adjoin to the former discourses of Peter Martyr, and of Dr. Ridley above mentioned, another certain learned treatise in form of a dialogue, as appertaining to the same argument, compiled (as it seemeth) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr, and other authors, by a certain learned and reverend person of this realm; who, under the persons of Custom and Verity, manifestly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men, not to measure religion by custom, but to try custom by truth and the word of God: for else custom may soon deceive, but the word of God abideth for ever.

238. A Fruitful Dialogue Declaring these Words of Christ, This Is My Body.

Custom and Verity.

Custom.—"I marvel much what madness hath crept into those men's hearts, which now-a-days are not ashamed so violently to tread down the lively word of God, yea, and impudently to deny God himself."

Verity.—"God forbid there should be any such. Indeed I remember that the Romish bishop was wont to have the Bible for his footstool, and so to tread down God's word evermore, when he stood at his mass. But, thanks be to God, he is now detected, and his abominations he opened and blown throughout all the world. And I hear of no more that oppress God's word."

Custom.—"No more! say you? Yes, doubtless, there are a hundred thousand more, and your part it is, Verity, to withstand them."

Verity.—"As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to stand with falsehood. But what are they? Disclose them if you will have them reprov'd."

Custom.—"What! are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how that men do daily speak against the sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the real body of Christ?"

Verity.—"In good sooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this country: wherefore you must pardon me, if my answer be to seek in such questions. But go forth in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted than I. What say they more than this?"

Custom.—"Than this? Why, what can they possibly say more?"

Verity.—"Yes, there are many things worse than this: for this seemeth in some part to be tolerable."

Custom.—"What! me thinketh you dally with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the sacrament?"

Verity.—"They deny it not, so much as I can gather by your words."

Custom.—"Nay, then, fare you well: I perceive you will take their part."

Verity.—"I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: for I never go further than the truth."

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Custom.—"I can scarcely believe you. But what is more true than Christ, which is truth itself? or whoever was so hardy, before this time, to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words, This is my body? The words are evident and plain: there is in them not so much as one obscure or dark letter; there is no cause for any man to cavil. And yet, that notwithstanding, whereas Christ himself affirmed it to be his body, men now-a-days are not abashed to say, Christ lied, it is not his body. The evangelists agree all in one; the old writers stand of our side; the universal and catholic church hath been in this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And shall we think that Christ himself, his evangelists, all the whole catholic church, have been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these days?"

Verity.—"You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto, without many words, I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding, because you provoke me thereto, if you will give me licence, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reprov'd Christ of any lie: but, contrariwise, they say, that many men of late days, not understanding Christ's words, have builded and set up many fond lies upon his name. Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, This is my body; and next, in what sense the church and the old fathers have evermore taken them. First, therefore, you shall understand, that Scripture is not so to be taken always as the letter soundeth, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For, if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the Christian faith. What is plainer than these words, My Father is greater than I am? Of those plain words sprang up the heresy of the Arians, which denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, I and my Father are both one? Thereof arose the heresy of them that denied three distinct persons. They all had one soul and one heart, was spoken by the apostle: yet had each of them a soul and heart peculiar to himself. They are now not two, but one flesh, is spoken of the man and his wife: yet have both the man and the wife their several body. He is our very flesh, said Reuben by Joseph his brother; who, notwithstanding, was not their real flesh. I am bread, said Christ; yet was he flesh, and no bread. Christ was the stone, saith Paul; and was indeed no material stone. Melchizedek had neither father nor mother; and yet indeed he had both. Behold the Lamb of John, saith John Baptist by Christ: notwithstanding, Christ was a man, and not a lamb. Circumcision was called the covenant, whereas it was but a token of the covenant. The lamb named the passover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance only of the passover. Jacob raised up an altar, and called it, being made but of lime and stone, The mighty God of Israel. Moses, when he had conquered the Amalekites, set up an altar, and called it by the names of God, Jehovah, and Tetragramatum. We are all one loaf of bread, saith Paul; yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Christ, hanging upon the cross, appointed St. John to his mother, saying, Lo! there is thy son; and yet was he not her son. So many as be baptized into Christ, saith Paul, have put on Christ; and so many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ: notwithstanding no man took the font-water to be the natural blood of Christ. The cup is the new testament, saith Paul; and yet is not the cup indeed the very new testament. You see, therefore, that it is not strange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing by another's name. So that you can no more, of necessity, enforce the changing of the bread into Christ's body in the sacrament, because the words be plain, This is my body; than the wife's flesh to be the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, They are not two but one flesh; or the altar of stone to be very God, because Moses, with evident and plain words, pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. Notwithstanding, if you will needs cleave to the

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letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cause: for thus I will reason, and use your own weapon against you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The evangelists agree in the same. Paul nameth it so five times in one place. The Holy Ghost may not be sent to school to learn to speak. Wherefore, I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe, that in the sacrament there remaineth bread."

Custom.—"Methinketh your answer is reasonable, yet can I not be satisfied. Declare you, therefore, more at large, what moveth you to think this of the sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long holden and taught, unless you were enforced by some strong and likely reasons."

Verity.—"First, In examining the words of Christ, I get me to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. And in this behalf I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men, of themselves, be, and evermore were, forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behoveful, that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens; as with the passover lamb, the brazen serpent, and the like. For the brazen serpent was a token, that when the Jews were stinged and wounded with serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The passover lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, who, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the Jews, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a lamb. So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of his death and passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread, and drinking of the cup, meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the cross, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise, as wine fostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacrament: for Christ charged the apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I conclude:

"No thing is done in remembrance of itself.

"But the sacrament is used in the remembrance of Christ:

"Therefore the sacrament is not Christ.

"Christ never devoured himself.

"Christ did eat the sacrament with his apostles:

"Ergo, the sacrament is not Christ himself.

"Besides this, I see that Christ ordained not his body, but a sacrament of his body. A sacrament (as St. Austin declareth) is an outward sign of an invisible grace. His words are, 'A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace.' Out of which words I gather two arguments. The first is this: the token of the body of Christ is not the thing tokened; wherefore they are not one. The second is this:

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"One thing cannot be both visible and invisible.

"But the sacrament is visible, and the body of Christ invisible:

"Therefore they are not one.

"Which thing St. Augustine openeth very well by these words, 'The sacrament is one thing, the substance another. The sacrament goes into the body, the substance is the body of Christ.' Moreover, I remember that Christ ministered this sacrament not to great and deep philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned fishers, who, notwithstanding, understood Christ's meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at Christ's hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But neither the lay people, nor scarcely the apostles themselves, could understand what is meant by transubstantiation, impanation, dimensions, *qualitates, quantitates, accidens sine subjecto, terminus a quo, et terminus ad quem, per modum quanti*. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people; wherefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing than hath been taught of late days. Furthermore, Christ's body is food, not for the body, but for the soul; and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is faith. For as ye receive sustenance for your body by your bodily mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And for that St. Augustine sharply rebuketh them that think to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, 'Why makest thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten Christ.' Likewise, speaking of eating the selfsame body, he saith to the Capernaïtes, who took him grossly as men do now-a-days: The words that I speak, are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing."

Custom.—"What mean you by this spirit, and by spiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Christ hath a body, and therefore must be eaten (as I think) with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soul, as it hath no body and flesh, so it hath no month."

Verity.—"You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul; and each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily meats, or else cannot endure; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may justly say, that the Turks, Jews, and heathen be dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what mean, will you feed the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body, but of the soul; for that which is received into the body, hath no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ saith, Whatsoever entereth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught. And whereas you say that the spirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived; for the spirit hath a mouth, in his kind; or else how could a man eat and drink justice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit instrument for it. Yet Christ saith, that he is blessed that hungereth and thirsteth for justice. If he hunger and thirst for justice, belike he both eateth and drinketh it; for otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth his thirst. Now, if a man may eat and drink righteousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus:

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"Of whatsoever sort the mouth is, such is his food. "But the mouth of the spirit is spiritual, not bodily:

"Therefore it receiveth Christ's body spiritually, not bodily.

"And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, nameth himself the bread, not for the body, but of life, for the soul; and saith, He that cometh to me, shall not hunger; and he that believeth in me, shall never thirst. Wherefore, whosoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will he received, with the instrument of faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christ's body must he received and taken with faith, I mean not that you shall pluck down Christ from heaven, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place; but that you must, with your faith, rise and spring up to him, and, leaving this world, dwell above in heaven; putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, who suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty and to make you free; creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the body of Christ; so shall you suck the blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christ's body: and therefore St. Gregory calleth it, 'The food of the mind, and not of the belly.' And St. Cyprian saith likewise, 'We sharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our belly.'

"Now, to return to our former purpose: seeing it is plain that Christ's body is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reason. The sacrament is bodily food, and increaseth the body: ergo, the sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body it is evident; for Christ calleth it the fruit of the vine, whose duty is to nourish. And, for a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you as well as your table-bread. And if a little mouse get a host, he will crave no more meat to his dinner.

"But you will say, these are worldly reasons. What then if the old fathers record the same? Irenæus saith, 'When the mingled cup and the broken bread receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of the Lord, by which the substance of our flesh is made up and nourished.' Bede witnesseth the same by these words, 'Because bread supports our flesh, and wine our blood, the former is applied to the body, and the latter to the blood of Christ. Wherefore, as I said before, seeing that Christ's body is spiritual meat, and the bread of the sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ's body. Beside this, whereas it was forbidden, in the old law, that any man should eat or drink blood, the apostles, notwithstanding, took the cup at Christ's hands, and drank of it; and never staggered, or shrank at the matter: whereby it may be gathered, that they took it for a mystery, for a token and a remembrance, far otherwise than it hath of late been taken.

"Again, when the sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sat there present before their eyes; but took it, and ate it, knowing that it was a sacrament and remembrance of Christ's body. Yea, the old councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of idolatry. And long after the apostles' time, as Tertullian writeth, women were suffered to take it home with them, and lap it up in their chests. And the priests, many times, sent it to sick persons by a child; who, no doubt, would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their

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God. But a great while after, about three hundred years ago, Honorius the Third, bishop of Rome, took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to begod him. A.D. 1220.

"Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the apostles saw no miracle in it. Nazianzen, an old writer, and Augustine, entreating of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the sacrament for none. As for the apostles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas, in other things, they evermore were full of questions. As touching St. Augustine, he not only overskipped it, as no wonder, but, by plain and express words, testifieth that there is no marvel in it. For speaking of the Lord's supper, and of the other sacraments, he saith these words: 'The sacraments demand honour as religious ordinances, but not wonder as miracles.' Moreover, a little before the institution of the sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, I leave the world: I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, because I go from you: I tell you truth, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you; with many other like warnings of his departure. St. Stephen saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God: but he never said, that he saw him at the communion, or that he made him every day himself. And, in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter saith, that Christ must needs keep the heaven till all be ended. Isaiah, Solomon, and St. Stephen say, that God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hand. St. Paul wisheth that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ: not in the altar, doubtless, where he might be daily; but in heaven. And, to be brief, it is in our Credo, and we do constantly believe, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Father's right hand; and no promise have we, that he will come jumping down at every priest's calling. Hereof I gather this reason:

"Christ's body cannot both be gone, and be here.

"But he is gone, and hath left the world:

"Therefore, it is folly to seek him in the world."

Custom.—"Fie, you be far deceived, I can in no wise brook these words. You shut up Christ too straitly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go at large. No, doubtless, he hath deserved more gentleness at your hand, than to be tied up so short."

Verity.—"I do neither lock up, nor imprison Christ in heaven; but, according to the Scriptures, declare that he hath chosen a blessed place, and most worthy to receive his Majesty; in which place whoso is enclosed, thinketh not himself (as I suppose) to be a prisoner. But, if you take it for so heinous a thing, that Christ should sit resident in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that imprison him in a little box; yea, and keep him in captivity so long, until he be mouldy and overgrown with vermin; and when he is past men's meat, be not contented to hang him till he stink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extreme cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter: we are certainly persuaded by the word of God, that Christ, the very Son of God, vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man; and that he walked and was conversant amongst men in that same one,

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and not in many bodies; and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the selfsame body; and that he sitteth at his Father's right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of the said one body. This is our belief, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, who, leaving heaven, will grope for Christ's body upon the earth."

Custom.—"Nay, sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ hath not so gross and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body; and therefore, without repugnance, it may be in many places at once."

Verity.—"You say right well, and do grant that Christ's body is spiritual. But, I pray you, answer me by the way, can any other body than that which is spiritual, be, at one time, in sundry places?"

Custom.—"No, truly."

Verity.—"Have we that selfsame sacrament, that Christ gave to his disciples at his maundy, or no?"

Custom.—"Doubtless we have the same."

Verity.—"When became Christ's body spiritual? was it so even from his birth?"

Custom.—"No: for, doubtless, before he arose from death, his body was earthly, as other men's bodies are."

Verity.—"Well, but when gave Christ the sacrament to his disciples? before he rose from death, or after?"

Custom.—"You know yourself he gave it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered his passion."

Verity.—"Why, then, methinketh he gave the sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual."

Custom.—"Even so."

Verity.—"And was every portion of the sacrament dealt to the apostles? and received they into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?"

Custom.—"Yea, doubtless."

Verity.—"Mark well what ye have said, for you have granted me great repugnance. First, you say, that no body, being not spiritual, can be in sundry places at once. Then say you, that at the maundy Christ's body was not spiritual: and yet hold you, that he was there present visibly before the apostles' eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths, all at one time—which grants of

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yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formal reason of your words, in this sort:

"No body being real, natural, and organical, and not spiritual, can be in many places at once.

"Christ's body in the sacrament was in the apostles' hands and mouths at one time, which were many places:

"Ergo, Christ's body in the sacrament was not a real, natural, and organical body; but spiritual."

Custom.—"Indeed you have driven me into the straits, before I was aware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you."

Verity.—"I desire you not to give credence to me. Believe the word of God; yea, believe your own belief: for they both witness against you, that Christ's body is taken up into heaven, and there shall remain until he come to judge."

Custom.—"Tush, what speak you of the word of God? there be many dark sayings therein, which every man cannot attain to."

Verity.—"I grant you there be certain obscure places in the Scripture, yet not so obscure but that a man, with the grace of God, may perceive; for it was written not for angels, but for men, But, as I understand, Custom meddleth but little with the Scripture. How say you by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose? what if they stand on our side?"

Custom.—"No, no, I know them well enough."

Verity.—"So well as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witness, they will give evidence against you. For St. Austin commonly, in every of his books, but chiefly in an epistle to his friend Dardanus, declareth that Christ's body is placed in one room. I marvel you be not nearer of his counsel. His words are these: 'Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe, the Christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he shall come, and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And shall come in the same substance of body, to which he gave immortality, and took not the nature from it. After this form he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware so to defend his Divinity that we destroy not his humanity.' And in another place of the same epistle, 'He is one person God and man, and both is one Christ. He is every where as God, but in heaven as man.' Likewise upon Psalm xiv.: 'While the world shall last, the Lord is above, and also the verity of the Lord is with us. For the body wherein he rose again must be in one place; but the verity of him is every where dispersed.' In like manner writeth Damasus, an old bishop of Rome, in his Credo, 'Having conquered the power of death, he rose and ascended into heaven with that flesh in which he was born and suffered, the same nature remaining.' St. Ambrose, writing upon

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Luke x., recordeth the same: Wherefore neither above the earth, nor upon the earth, nor according to the earth, we ought to seek the Lord, if we will find him; for he did not seek him above the earth, who did see him sitting at the right hand of God. And Mary sought upon the earth to touch Christ and could not. Stephen touched him, because he sought him in heaven.' St. Jerome, in an epistle to Marcella, proveth that the body of Christ must needs be contained in some place, for he saith, 'The property of God is to be every where; the property of man is to be in one place.' The same Jerome, in another place, calleth it a foolish thing to seek for him in a narrow place. or in a corner, who is the light of all the world; 'Foolishness it is, in a small place or in a hid corner to seek him who is the light of the whole world.' Origen saith likewise, 'They are not to be heard, who show Christ in houses.' The same also recordeth Bede, writing upon these words of Christ, Now a little while shall you see me. He speaketh in Christ's person. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'shall you see me but a little while after my resurrection; because I will not still abide in the earth bodily; but, in the manhood which I have taken, will ascend up to heaven.' What needeth more words? All the old fathers witness the same. You may by these soon judge the rest. Now to return to the matter: Seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the Credo, and the Abridgement of the Faith, seeing all the old fathers do constantly agree in one, that the body of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the sacrament is not the body of Christ; first, because it is not in heaven, neither sitteth at the Father's right hand; moreover, because it is in a hundred thousand boxes, whereas Christ's body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow, that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ."

Custom.—"Marry, and so they do. For Paul saith plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion."

Verity.—"No, not so. These are not Paul's words, but he saith, 'Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own condemnation, not judging the body of the Lord.' Here he calleth it, in plain words, bread. And although the sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injury redound to the body of Christ. As if a man break the king's mace, or tread the broad seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but silver and wax; yet is the injury the king's, and the doer shall be taken as a traitor. St. Ambrose declareth the meaning of St. Paul by these words, 'He is guilty of the body of the Lord, and shall suffer the punishment of the death of Christ, seeing he has made of none effect the death of Christ.' The cause of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Christ, which whoso forgetteth, receiveth the sacrament to their condemnation. That same witnesseth St. Augustine: 'For the sacrament,' saith he, 'is an outward token of love and charity. For like as many grains of corn are become one piece of bread, even so they that receive it, ought to be one.' Then saith he, *Mysterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecravit. Qui accepit mysterium unitatis et non servat unitatem, non mysterium accepit pro se, sed testimonium contra se.* He that readeth the gospel, wherein is declared the passion and death of Christ, and liveth contrary to the gospel, shall doubtless be the more of the death of Christ, because he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not."

"In a certain country the manner is, that when the gospel is read, the king shall stand up with a naked sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his sword in defence of the

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gospel. But if he himself oppresseth the gospel, he beareth the sword against himself; for the gospel shall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremely punish a man, who, knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet, notwithstanding, will impudently creep into the company of Christian men, and receive the sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant St. Paul by the unworthy receiving of a sacrament of Christ's body. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christ's body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth.—But what if I prove that every massing priest is guilty of the body and blood of Christ?"

Custom.—"I dare say you cannot prove it."

Verity.—"But if I do prove it, will you believe me?"

Custom.—"I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it; for priests commonly are confessed before they go to mass; and how can they then take the sacrament unworthily?"

Verity.—"Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience so good as a sermon: but, notwithstanding, because it was never commanded of Christ, nor received of the apostles, nor much spoken of by the old doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the sacrament. But how like ye these words of St. Ambrose? 'He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwise than Christ ordained it.'"

Custom.—"This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?"

Verity.—"This will I gather. The massing priest taketh the sacrament otherwise than Christ either commanded or taught: ergo, he taketh it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation."

Custom.—"That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commanded him."

Verity.—"That shall appear; for Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance: the priest doth it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread: the priest taketh bread and conjureth it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks: the priest taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Christ took bread and brake it: the priest taketh bread and hangeth it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his apostles: the priest, because he is an apostle himself, taketh bread and eateth it every whit alone. Christ, in a sacrament, gave his own body to be eaten in faith: the priest, for lack of faith, receiveth accidents, and dimensions. Christ gave a sacrament to strengthen men's faith: the priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be eaten: the priest giveth it to be worshipped. And to conclude, Christ gave bread: the priest saith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough between Christ and the priest. Yet moreover, Christ, at his supper, spake his words out, and in a plain tongue: the priest speaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oftentimes perceiveth not; and much be whispereth, lest any poor man should perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to pass, that the priest knoweth no more what he himself saith, than what he doth. Thus you may see that the massing priest receiveth the

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sacrament of Christ's body far otherwise than ever Christ minded; and so therefore unworthily, and to his condemnation.

"Now, if you think yourself satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christ's body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ, in John vi., speaking of the eating of his body, saith, He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever. Whereof I gather thus: but sinful men take the sacrament to their condemnation, and live not for ever; ergo, in the sacrament they receive not the body of Christ. Again, Christ saith, He that eateth me shall live for my sake. Hereof I conclude thus: but impenitent persons cannot live for Christ's sake. Moreover Christ's body must be received, not with the mouth, as Gregory recordeth, saying, that it is eaten with the teeth of the soul, not of the body, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent persons lack faith; wherefore they cannot eat the body of Christ. Again, Christ's body cannot be divided from his spirit; but wicked men have not the Spirit of God: God's word, or the doctors and the ancient writers, ergo, they have not Christ's body. Hereunto agree all the old writers, affirming constantly, that the unfaithful be no meet vessels to receive the body of Christ. St. Augustine saith, 'Whosoever does not remain in Christ, and in whom Christ does not remain, without doubt he neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, though he also eats and drinks so great a mystery to his own condemnation.' Ambrose avoweth the same by these words: 'He that departs from Christ neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, though he receive the sacrament of so great a thing.' And therefore St. Augustine saith, 'The wicked have the sacrament, but the substance of the sacrament they have not.' Thus by the word of God, by reason, and by the old fathers, it is plain, that sinful men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the sacrament never so oft: which thing could not be, if in the sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ.

"The sacrament in Holy Scripture is named, the breaking of bread; which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain fantasies of white and round. Yet whereas they, with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much ado, can scarcely make one god, they have such virtue in their fingers, that at one cross they be able to make twenty gods; for if they break the sacrament, every portion, yea, every mite, must needs be a god. After the apostles' time there arose up heretics, who said that Christ, walking here amongst men bodily upon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therewith dimmed men's sight. Against whom the old fathers used these arguments: Christ increased in growing, fasted, hungered, eat, wept, sweat, was weary, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body: wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning: It feedeth, it tasteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the little silly mouse taketh it for bread, and, to be short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: ergo, it is bread. The old fathers, when there remained any part of the sacrament more than was spent at the communion, they used to burn it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the sacrament that can turn to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christ's body to ashes): ergo, in the sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the emperor, the sixth of that name, was poisoned in the host, and Victor the bishop of Rome in the chalice. But poison cannot hang in God's body and blood: wherefore there remaineth bread and wine. What needeth many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either of your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the cat, or the ape, or the mouse, all these agree in one, and answer together, There is bread. Wherefore, if you reject so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale,

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specially being such as will lie for no man's pleasure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the sacrament itself to record. It crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertise you, what you should think of it. 'I am,' it saith, 'grated with the tooth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can endure no space; I canker; I suffer green mould, blue mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a box for fear of rats. If you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the mouse get me, I am gone. I am bread; I am no God: believe them not.' Thus crieth the sacrament daily, and beareth witness itself."

Custom.—"The devil on such like reasons! and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer: but, if it be true that you have said, why is the sacrament so well of Christ himself, as of his apostles, and the old fathers, called the body of Christ?"

Verity.—"Because it is no strange thing in Scripture so to speak; as I have declared before.—But will you stand to St. Augustine's arbitrement in the matter?"

Custom.—"To no man sooner."

Verity.—"St. Augustine, in an epistle to his friend Boniface, giveth a good cause why the sacrament, although it be not the body of Christ, is, notwithstanding, called the body of Christ. His words be these: 'If sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments; of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore, after a certain manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ; and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ,' &c. And upon Psalm xxiii. he writeth likewise, 'Christ after a certain manner and fashion, as it were, did bear himself in his own hand, when he said, This is my body.' 'In manner,' he saith, 'and after a fashion;' not in very deed. Again, when faithful men receive the sacrament, they think not of the bread, nor mark the wine, but they look further, and behold the very body of Christ spread upon the cross, and his very blood poured down for their sakes. So in baptism men regard not greatly the water, but account themselves washed with the blood of Christ. So saith St. Paul, Whatsoever we are that be baptized, we are washed in the blood of Christ. Wherefore to the faithful receivers you may say, that the water of baptism is the blood of Christ, and the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: for to them it is no less than if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learn of Chrysostom, whose words are these: 'All mysteries must be considered with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually. But the inward eyes, when they see the bread, they pass over the creatures, neither do they think of that bread which is baked of the baker, but of him which called himself the bread of eternal life.' For these two causes the bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ. Now I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words, This is my body."

Custom.—"Yet one thing moveth me very much."

Verity.—"What is that?"

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Custom.—"The doctors and old writers, men inspired with the Holy Ghost, have evermore been against your doctrine; yea, and in these days the wisest men and best learned call you heretics, and your learning heresy."

Verity.—"As touching the old writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the sacraments, like as every man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their mind with their right hand, you, Custom, receive it with the left. For whereas they say, that it is the body of Christ, and that it must be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the eyes Christ's body, and that it is to the faithful man no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in faith, not torn nor rent with the teeth: you say, that howsoever it be taken, it is Christ's body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

"And that the fathers meant no other thing than I have said, it shall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wise men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my doctrine heresy; for they would condemn all ancient writers of heresy, if they were now alive. But I will answer you to them anon. In the mean while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They say, 'You must follow the letter; you must stick to the letter.' But Origen saith, 'If ye follow after the letter that which is written, Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, there shall be no life in you—this letter killeth.'

"Augustine, in the third book De Doctrine Christiana: 'First, thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech after the letter. For thereto pertaineth that the apostle saith, The letter killeth. For when a thing is spiritually meant, and the same is taken literally as properly spoken, that is a carnal taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the soul, rather than that.' And in the same book he teacheth a man to know the plain sense from a figure, saying thus: 'If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech, Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drink his blood, there shall be no life in you. Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance.'

"In like manner Chrysostom plucketh you from the plain letter and the bare words by this saying, The flesh profiteth not; that is to say, 'My words must be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the flesh, gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be judged as they are seen, but all mysteries must be seen with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually.'

"What is so heinous in these days, as to call the sacrament the token or the remembrance of Christ's body? Yet did the old writers in manner never call it other. Tertullian, in the fourth book against the Marcionists: 'Christ took bread and made it his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' Ambrose, upon 1 Corinthians xi.: 'Because we are delivered by the Lord's death, in the remembrance of the same by eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood which were offered up for us.' Chrysostom, in the eighty-third Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew: 'When they object unto us, and ask, How know you that Christ was offered up? then, alleging these things, we stop their mouths. For, if Christ died not, then whose sign or

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token is this sacrifice?' Augustine to Adimantus: 'Christ doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave but a sign of his body.' Augustine, upon Psal. iii.: 'Christ received Judas to the supper, in which he commended and delivered a figure of his body and blood unto his disciples.' Rabanus: 'Because the bread strengtheneth the body, therefore it is aptly called Christ's body. And likewise the wine, because it increaseth blood in the flesh, it doth resemble the blood of Christ.' The monk Druthmar, on Matthew: 'Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaseth blood; and therefore the blood of Christ is not unaptly signified thereby.' Irenæus witnesseth plainly, that in the sacrament remaineth bread and wine, by these words: 'As the earthly bread, receiving the vocation of God, is now no common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly and the other heavenly.' Here he recordeth, that there remained in the sacrament an earthly nature, which is either bread or nothing. Gelasius writing against Nestorius avowed, the same, saying, 'In the eucharist the substance of bread and nature of the wine cease not to be. For the image and similitude of the body and blood of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the mysteries.' Chrysostom preferreth a poor man before the sacrament, and calleth him the body of Christ, rather than the other. Whereof I may gather this reason:

"The poor man is not the natural and real body of Christ.

"Every poor member of Christ is the body of Christ, rather than the sacrament:

"Ergo, the sacrament is not the natural and real body of Christ.

"His words are: 'This altar thou dost reverence, because the body of Christ therein is set before thee. But him that is the body of Christ indeed, thou dost spitefully entreat, and dost neglect him ready to perish.' Chrysostom, in the eleventh Homily upon Matthew: 'If it be so perilous a matter to translate these sanctified vessels unto private uses, in which not the true body of Christ, but a mystery of the body of Christ is contained, how much more then these vessels of our body!' Athanasius, upon these words, Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, saith: 'The words that Christ here speaketh, be not carnal, but spiritual. For what body might have sufficed for all that should eat, to be a nourishment of the whole world But therefore he maketh mention of the ascension of the Son of man into heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation.' Augustine to Marcellinus: 'In those carnal oblations the flesh of Christ was figured, which he should offer for our sins, and the blood which he should bestow on us; but, in this sacrifice, is the giving of thanks and memorial of the flesh of Christ which he hath offered for us, and of the blood which he hath shed for us. In that sacrifice, therefore, is signified figuratively what should be given for us; in this sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In those sacrifices the Son of God was before preached to be slain; in this sacrifice he is showed to be slain already for the wicked.'

"Origen, upon Matthew, expounding these words, This is my body, saith: 'The bread which Christ confesseth to be his body, is a word nutritive of our souls.' Augustine: 'No man ought in any wise to doubt but that every faithful man is then partaker of the body and blood of the Lord, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ. For he shall not be deprived of the participation and benefit of that sacrament, when he findeth in himself that thing which the sacrament loth signify.' Ambrose: 'Such is the force and strength of the word, that the bread and wine remain the same as they were, and yet are changed into another thing.' For it is not any

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longer common bread, but it is turned into a sacrament; yet notwithstanding there remained bread and wine. Tertullian, writing against a heretic named Marcion, which taught that the creatures of God, as flesh, bread, and wine, and such like, were naught and uncleanly: God hath not cast away his creature, but by it he hath represented his body: Origen, upon Leviticus, speaking of the drinking of Christ's blood, saith, 'We do not desire the blood of the flesh, but the blood of the word.' Ambrose called the sacrament 'a type of the body of Christ,' and Basil, 'an antitype,' which is as much as to say, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Christ's body. Origen, upon Matthew xiv.: 'In this bread that thing which is material passeth through man's body: but that which is made by the word of God, by the means of faith doth profit.' And lest perhaps you think that he spake those words of our common table-bread, he concludeth the matter himself with these words: 'These things we have spoken of the mystical bread.' Augustine declareth, that it must needs be a figure and a remembrance of the body of Christ: 'These things are understood figuratively, according to the rule of sound and true faith. For otherwise it seemeth to be more horrible to eat man's flesh than to kill a man, and more horrible to drink man's blood than to shed it.' And therefore he saith upon Psalm xcvi.: 'Ye shall not eat this body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me; I commend unto you a sacrament.' Tertullian: 'Jesus hath another body than bread; for bread was not given for us, but the very true body of Christ was given upon the cross; which body was exhibited in the supper under the figure of bread.' This recordeth Theodoret, an ancient writer, and avoweth, that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the sacrament. His words are these: 'He hath honoured and dignified the visible signs with the name of his body and of his blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature.' And in another place, where he maketh a true Christian man to reason with a heretic, he giveth to the heretic this part: to hold with the turning of bread and wine into the natural body and blood of Christ. The heretic's words are these: 'The sacraments of the Lord's body and blood before invocation are one thing; but after, they are changed and made another.' This maketh Theodoret to be on the heretic's part. Then he bringeth forth the true Christian man, who reproveth the heretic for so saying: 'Thou art fallen into the snares which thou thyself hast laid. For those selfsame holy signs after the consecration, do not go from their nature, for they abide still, both in their former substance and figure; and may be both with eyes seen, and felt with hands, as before.' To the same agreeth well Chrysostom, saying, 'After the bread is sanctified, it is called bread no more, although the nature of the bread still remain.' Hereby you may understand, how and in what sort the old fathers, how the primitive and beginning church, how the apostles, and how Christ himself, took these words, This is my body.

"Now, to withstand and stoutly to go, not against only ancient writers, or the congregation of Christian people, (which at that time was not overgrown, no, neither spotted with covetousness and worldly honour,) but the apostles also, and God himself, no doubt it is great fondness. But what speak I of the old fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of its right understanding. For this word *transubstantiatio*, whereby they signify the turning of the bread into the body of Christ, was never either spoken or heard or thought of, among the ancient fathers, or in the old church. But about five hundred years past, Pope Nicholas II., in a council holden at Lateran in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the changing of bread, and would have made an article of faith, and placed it in the Credo. After which time ensued Corpus Christi day, masses of Corpus Christi, reservation of the sacrament with honour, with canopies, with censing, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, and with so much as any man could devise. For

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they thought they could not do too much to him, after that the bishop of Rome had allowed him for a God.

"But not fully two hundred years before that time, when this doctrine first began to bud, (and yet notwithstanding had not so prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good men could know the sacrament to be a sacrament, and not Christ himself,) Charlemagne, king of France and emperor of Germany, demanded of a great learned man, whose name was Bertram, what he thought of that strange kind of calling down Christ from heaven, and turning a little gobbet of bread into his natural body. To whom Bertram made answer in this wise: 'This we say, That there is a great difference and separation betwixt the body in the which Christ suffered, and the blood which he shed upon the cross, and this body which every day is celebrated in the mystery of the passion of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude, but the other is the very truth itself. Ergo, it appeareth that these are separated asunder by no less difference than is between a pledge, and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an image of a thing, and the thing itself whereof the image is; or than is between the form of a thing, and the verity itself.' This wrote Bertram, Druthmar, and many others, and yet were never in all their time once reprov'd of heresy. This wrote Johannes Scotus also, in whose lifetime men had not eyes to espy his heresies: but, about two hundred years after his death, he was judged and condemned for a heretic, and his books burned, in a council holden at Vercelli in Lombardy, in the year of our Lord God 1050. Since which time, even until this day, although idolatry had great increase, yet there never wanted some good men, which boldly would profess and set forth the truth; although they were well assured that their worldly reward should be spite, malice, imprisoning, sword, fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus, so shortly, and in so few words as I could, I have declared unto you what Christ meant by these words, This is my body; what the apostles taught therein, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors; in what sense and meaning the holy fathers and old writers, and the universal and catholic church, have evermore taken them."

239. The End and Death of King Edward the Sixth.

Thus, having discoursed things done and past under the reign of King Edward, such as seemed not unfruitful to be known, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed king, our young Josias; who, about a year and a half after the death of the duke of Somerset his uncle, A.D. 1553, entering into the seventeenth year of his age, and the seventh year of his reign, in the month of July was taken from us, for our sins no doubt; whom if it had so pleased the good will of the Lord to have spared with longer life, not unlike it was, by all conjectures probably to be esteemed by those his toward and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began, he would have reformed such a commonwealth here in the realm of England, as by good cause that might have been said of him, which was said in the old time of the noble Emperor Augustus, in reforming and advancing the empire of Rome: "Which empire he received (as he said) of brick, but he left it of fine marble." But the condition of this realm. and the customable behaviour of English people, (whose property is commonly to abuse the light of the gospel when it is offered,) deserved no such benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deformation, such as happened after his reign, as you shall hear, the Lord granting, in the next queen's days that followed.

Thus then this godly and virtuous imp, in the time and month above mentioned, was cut from us, whose worthy life and virtues have been partly before declared. Nevertheless, to have some monument of him remaining, to testify of the good nature and gentle disposition of that prince, we will add here, for a remembrance, this little epistle of his own handwriting to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather, as followeth:

An epistle of young Prince Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather.

"Impertio te plurima salute, colendissime præsul, et charissime susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, et promoveas verbum Dei. Vale.

*Antilæ, 18. Junii. Tuus in Christo filius,
EDWARDUS PRINCEPS."*

Another epistle of the young Prince Edward to the archbishop, his godfather.

"Etsi puer sum, colendissime susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Non exciderunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruere, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector et veneror, optoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi

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amplectendam et exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divas Paulus dicit, pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos.

*Hartefordiae, 13. Januarii. Tui studiosissimus,
EDWARDUS PRINCEPS."*

The answer of the archbishop to Prince Edward's epistle.

"Non magis poterat ipsa me servare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua et salute et valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam sunt literæ tuæ perjudicandæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adesse et ingenium dignum tanto principe et præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cælestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, princeps illusterrime, et Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quad credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem simili; turn etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa ilia tua indoles barbari vitium contrahat."

The report of the prince's schoolmaster, in commendation of his towardness, to the archbishop.

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations: the opportunity of this messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but only to signify unto your Grace, that my Lord's Grace your godson is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all this realm, ought to think him, and take him, for a singular gift sent of God, an imp worthy of such a father; for whom we are bound without ceasing to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost four books of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say without book. And of his own courage now, in the latter book, he will needs have at one time fourteen verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis, Æsop's Fables, and Latin-making, whereof he hath sent your Grace a little taste.—Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet."

(Ornamental Capital £247} Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy virtues and singular towardness of this godly imp, King Edward the Sixth, although I have not, neither can, insert all things due to his commendation, but am enforced to let pass many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief note I thought not to overslip, (something to recreate the weary reader in such a doleful story,) being notified to me by one Master Edward Underhil, who, waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow pensioners and men at arms, as Sir Henry Gates, Master Robert Hall, Master Henry Harston, and Master Stafforton, heard these words between the king and his council.

The relation and testimony of which person and persons above-named come to this effect: That King Edward the Sixth, the fourth year of his reign, being then but thirteen years old

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and upward, at Greenwich, upon St. George's day, when he was come from the sermon into the presence-chamber, there being his uncle the duke of Somerset, the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and knights of that order called the Order of the Garter, he said to them, "My Lords, I pray you, what saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?" At which question the other lords being all astonished, the lord treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, "If it please your Majesty, I did never read in any history of St. George, but only in *Legenda Aurea*, where it is thus set down: That St. George out with his sword, and ran the dragon through with his spear." The king, when he could not a great while speak for laughing, at length said, "I pray you, my Lord, and what did he with his sword the while?" "That I cannot tell your Majesty," said he. And so an end of that question of good St. George. Now to return again from whence we have digressed, which is to signify some part of the order and manner of his godly departing. As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us, which was the sixth day of July, the year above-said, about three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer which followeth:

The prayer of King Edward before his death.

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord! thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance! O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England! O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake!"

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off." Then Dr. Owen said, "We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not." He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, "I was praying to God." The last words of his pangs were these, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." And thus he yielded up the ghost, leaving a woeful kingdom behind unto his sister. Albeit he, in his will, had excluded his sister Mary from the succession of the crown, because of her corrupt religion; yet the plague which God had destined unto this sinful realm could not so he avoided, but that she, being the elder daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the crown: of whose dreadful and bloody regiment it remaineth now, consequently, to discourse.

This briefly may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the Lady Mary, by the king and his council, and also by Bishop Ridley, yet would she not be reclaimed from her own singular opinion, fixed upon custom, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which set will of the said Lady Mary, both this young king, and also his father, King Henry before him, right well perceiving and considering, they were both much displeased against her: insomuch that not only her brother did utterly sequester her in his will, but also her own father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for a great space he did seclude her from the title of princess; yea, and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceed further with her, (as it is reported,) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop, reconciled the king again to favour

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and pardon his own daughter. For the better understanding whereof, by these her own letters copied out of her own handwriting, which I have to show, something may be perceived, and more, peradventure, may be guessed. The words out of her own handwriting be these. And first her letter to King Henry her father here followeth:

A letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry her father.

"In my most humble wise I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my Lord my chamberlain came and showed me, that he had received a letter from Sir W. Paulet, comptroller of your house; the effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same letter, which he showed me: wherein was written, that the Lady Mary, the king's daughter, should remove to the place before-said, leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your Grace was not privy to the same letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess; forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodness, but your Grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience run in the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly your Grace would not that I so should. And in all other things your Grace shall have me always as humble and obedient a daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to; as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour, and long life to his pleasure.

"Written at your manor of Beaulieu, the second day of October,
By your humble daughter,
MARY, PRINCESS."

Protestation of the Lady Mary to certain lords sent by the king her father, with certain requests unto her.

"My Lords, as touching my removing to Hatfield, I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all others that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than myself for the king's lawful daughter, born in true matrimony, or princess; and that I will never willingly and wittingly say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my judge; but that, if I should say or do otherwise, I should, in my conscience, slander the deed of our mother holy church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other; and also dishonour the king my father, the queen my mother, and falsely confess myself a bastard; which God defend that I should do, seeing the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive; for to his judgment I submit me."

As you have heard some part already of the stout courage of the Lady Mary toward her father, and also by her letters no less was declared toward King Edward her brother and others of his council, as well may appear by the letters above specified between the king her brother and his council: so now let us infer somewhat, likewise, of the stout talk and demeanour of the said Lady Mary toward Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, who, gently coming to herof mere good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as here followeth:

FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

About the eighth of September, 1552, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hertfordshire, went to visit the Lady Mary, then lying at Hunsdon, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock; about which time the said Lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her Grace, and said, that he was come to do this duty to her Grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and, for a quarter of an hour, talked with him very pleasantly; and said, that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before King Henry her father, at the marriage of my Lady Clinton that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c.: and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, resorted again to her Grace, between whom this communication was. First the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth:

Bishop.—"Madam, I came not only to do my duty, to see your Grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me."

At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

Mary.—"My Lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it yourself."

Bishop.—"Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you."

Mary.—"Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer: the door of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I, nor any of mine, shall hear you."

Bishop.—"Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word."

Mary.—"I cannot tell what ye call God's word: that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days."

Bishop.—"God's word is all one in all times; but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in others."

Mary.—"You durst not, for your ears, have avouched that for God's word in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them: I never did nor ever will do."

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm and the laws made in the young years of her brother (which, she said, she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then, she affirmed, she would

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obey them,) she asked the bishop whether he were one of the council. He answered. "No." "You might well enough," said she, "as the council goeth now-a-days."

And so she concluded with these words: "My Lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you: but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit."

Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly; and suddenly brake out into these words: "Surely I have done amiss." "Why so?" quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. "For I have drunk," said he, "in that place where God's word offered hath been refused: whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house." These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house.

And thus, making an end of this ninth book, touching the story and reign of King Edward, and having also somewhat said before of the nature and disposition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next book following; we intend, the grace of God assisting us therein, now further to proceed in describing the acts and proceedings of the said Lady Mary, coming now to be queen, and advanced, next after this godly King Edward, to the crown of this realm of England.

END OF VOLUME 8