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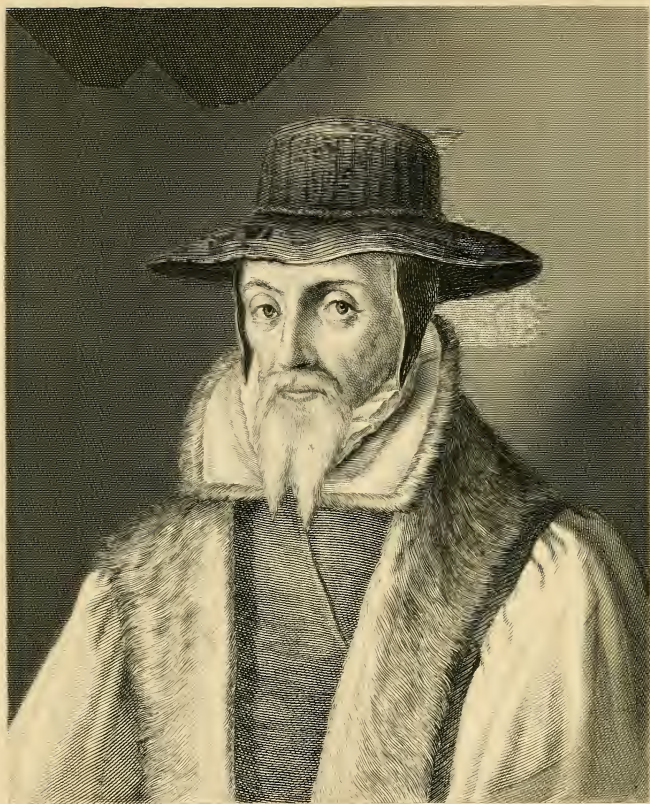


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OF ENGLAND.









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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS  
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REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE LIFE AND DEFENCE OF  
JOHN FOXE,  
by Geo. Townsend, D.D.

FOXES PREFACES TO THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS,  
AND KALENDER OF MARTYRS.

VOL. I.—PART I.

George Seeley,

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LIFE AND DEFENCE OF JOHN FOXE,

*ſc. ſc.*

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PART I.

LIFE OF THE MARTYROLOGIST.



## SECTION I.

### BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF JOHN FOXE, TILL HE LEFT THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1516 TO A.D. 1545.

BIRTH AND EARLY PURSUITS—ENTRANCE AT OXFORD—HIS COURSE AS A STUDENT—ELECTED FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE—INTIMACY WITH ALEXANDER NOWELL—RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT OF THE TIMES—CRISIS IN HIS RELIGIOUS STATE—PERSECUTED UNDER THE ACT OF SIX ARTICLES—RESIGNS HIS FELLOWSHIP, AND LEAVES OXFORD.

JOHN FOXE, the author of the Acts and Monuments of the Church (the last book which was commanded by the sovereign, sanctioned by the bishops, and ordered by a canon of the Anglican Convocation to be placed in the hall of every episcopal palace in the land); the most influential preventer of the revival of the papal supremacy over England; one of the most elegant Latin scholars and irreproachable men of his age—was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in 1516.<sup>2</sup> His parents were of respectable rank in the town of Boston.<sup>3</sup> It transpires in later life that he had a brother.<sup>4</sup> His father died when he was very young: his mother married for a second husband Mr. Richard Melton, to whom he afterwards dedicated one of his works, with expressions of dutiful respect and affection.<sup>5</sup> Young Foxe was distinguished by great intelligence and a love of reading; his stepfather

(1) The following Life of John Foxe is that originally drawn up by the late Canon Townsend, revised and corrected. The old Memoir first published in 1641, and purporting to be the production of one of Foxe's sons, is so vague and inaccurate, that Dr. Townsend himself, though he in a measure followed it, had very little confidence in it. The present Editor, therefore, has not scrupled to modify his statements whenever better authorities rendered it necessary. This observation applies especially to the earlier portions of the Life. Certain documents among the Lansdowne MSS. in Foxe's own handwriting, the preface to two of his works, and the records of Magdalen College, Oxford, throw light on his earlier years, of which the Editor has availed himself.

The Editor takes this opportunity of thankfully acknowledging his obligations to the Rev. G. Branson, M.A., vice-president of Magdalen College; the Rev. C. H. Cholmeley, M.A., senior proctor; the Rev. Henry Hansell, M.A., librarian; and the Rev. H. C. Ogle, B.A.; for admitting him to the muniments of Magdalen, and aiding him in the examination of them. He is also much indebted to the Rev. Dr. Bloxam, vicar of Upper Beeding, and late fellow of Magdalen, who has gone deeply into the records of his College, and furnished the Editor with useful information.

(2) "Anno salutis humanæ, 1516:" see a patent of arms granted to the family Dec. 21st 1598, and printed by the late Rev. Dr. Maitland. This date is quite consistent with Foxe being called on his monument *jam septuagenarius*—i.e. turned seventy—at the time of his death, April 18, 1567.

(3) His eldest son Samuel, in an autograph letter, speaks of "that parcel of land which descended to us from our ancestors in Lincolnshire by death of my Cosin Isaac Foxe."—Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 222.

(4) See *infra*, p. 28, and Section V.

(5) The title of the work alluded to is: "An Instruceyon of Christen fawth howe to be holde upon the promyse of God, and not to doubt of our salvacyon; made by Urbanus Resius: Translated into Englyshe . . . . . Printed at London by Hugh Syngelton at the synge or saynt Augustine in Paules churche yerde." The Preface begins: "to his reverende and singular good father R. c. Melton the translateour wyssheth grace and comfort in Chryst;" and ends: "The which booke I commend and committe universally to the whole englysh congregation, and namly send it to you (moste reverend father), both to declare some token of my obedient duty toward you, and also to minister to you some occasion of further knowledge and consolation, which I most hartely desire in the Lord.—Grace be with you and with all the congregation, Amen!

By your sone most bound  
J. Foxe."

Colonel Chester of the U. S., a great searcher into our English Registers, has kindly furnished the following notices of the Melton family in Lincolnshire:—"John Melton, Clerk, signed the Register of Belton in the Isle of Axholm, Co. Lincoln, as early as 1559. Another John Melton was curate of Belton from 1593 to 1605. Buried at Belton 30 Dec. 1600, Mary, daughter of John Melton, Clerk; probably the child of the preceding John Melton. John Melton was married to Anne Topcliffe at Gainsborough, Co. Lincoln, July 6, 1602. Also, 'Mr. John Melton, Vicar and Minister of God's Word,' was buried at Louth, Co. Lincoln, 27 July, 1643."

afforded him every encouragement in his studies, and put him to school. Mr. Melton's means were not ample; but young Foxe was fortunate in having friends, who regarded him with kindly interest as a boy of great promise;—especially a Mr. Randall, said to have been a citizen of Coventry, and one of whose daughters he afterwards married. Mr. Randall brought him under the notice of the Rev. John Hawarden or Harding (as it is pronounced to this day), fellow and tutor of Brazenose College, Oxford, by whose recommendation he was sent to Oxford at sixteen years of age.

He appears to have been entered at Brazenose,<sup>1</sup> and to have been appointed, according to the custom which then prevailed among the poorer students, chamberfellow with Alexander Nowell, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, then an undergraduate of Brazenose, about eight or nine years older than himself.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Harding seems to have watched over the young student with almost paternal interest; and Foxe afterwards acknowledged his obligations to him in a Dedication prefixed to his *Syllogisticon* published in 1563.<sup>3</sup> Foxe's application was great, his attainments in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, logic, and general knowledge, were such as to justify the expectations of those friends who had sent him to the University. He confesses to having had from his earliest years a sort of passion for learning, and a deep reverence for learned men; and he tells us that he had made many an excursion on foot expressly to see and converse with men of eminence. He discovered a genius for poetry. He acquired a copious and elegant style of writing Latin, which he cultivated by corresponding in Latin with his friends, frequently sending them his compositions both in prose and verse. He was very diligent in making

(1) So says the old Memoir. The name of Foxe is not to be found in the books of Brazenose, but this does not prove that he was never a member; for the Colleges in those times did not always register members who were not on the foundation, and at Brazenose some of the scholars even were not on the foundation.

On the other hand, Dr. Maitland thought the old Memoir a spurious production, and contended that Foxe's connexion with Brazenose was the pure invention of the Memoir writer, who assumed that Foxe, as a matter of course, would begin his University residence at the College of his early friend and patron Mr. Harding. In support of this opinion Dr. Maitland alleged that Foxe never after mentions any other than Magdalen as his College, nor do his intimate friends Bale and Humphrey; but this is natural, as Foxe was fellow of Magdalen for the last seven years of his University life.

The Rev. Dr. Bloxam informs the Editor that there is a perfect list of Demies at Magdalen for 1534, and imperfect lists for 1536 and 1537, in none of which Foxe's name appears. The list of choristers is very imperfect till 1546, and throws no light on our search. The list of commoners is still more defective.

Foxe mentions the foundation of Brazenose twice, which indicates some interest in that College, though he makes no remark (see vol. iv. pp. 165, 219 of the present edition: also vol. v. p. 457): but he mentions the foundation of Magdalen with gratitude, as he well might. See vol. iii. p. 716.

If Foxe previously to being chosen fellow of Magdalen in 1538 was maintained by his friends, that would account for his not appearing on the books of either College while an undergraduate. On the whole, Foxe's respect for Mr. Harding, his intimacy with Nowell through life, and his triple allusion to Brazenose in his History, tend to corroborate the statement of the old Memoir, that he began his career as a commoner at Brazenose under Mr. Harding; and all the Oxford authorities take this view of the matter. It seems highly probable, however, that he at the same time attended the grammar-school of Magdalen College, which was open to all the University, and there was no such school at Brazenose.—See his letter to Magdalen College *infra*, Appendix No. VI.; and *intra*, Section IV., p. 48, note (3).

(2) Foxe himself afterwards, writing to his son Samuel, when Demy at Magdalen, sends his kind regards "Inkforbio, conebuculario tuo."—Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 109. Nowell was born in 1507 or 8; B.A. May 29, 1536, and fellow of Brazenose soon after; M.A. June 10, 1540; quitted Oxford for Westminster School 1543.

(3) The Preface to the *Syllogisticon* is as follows:—

"Salutem in Christo Domino. Quod publicè et univèrsim communibus Theologorum studiis judicium destinatum volui, id tibi seorsim et nuncupatim (Hardinge observande Mæcenas, et in Christo frater plurimum diligende), ceu pro tessera qualicunque mææ erga te voluntatis et studii, mittere libuit. Scio enim, ac memini, nec excidit unquam, quantum Domino per te tibique in Domino pro veteribus in me officiis debeam. Neque putavi convenire, ut quum puer olim ad literas has Academicas (quintulumcunque sit quod in Academia profecerim) Divina per te Providentia tuoque apud Socerum impulsu primum attractus sum, adultior nunc factus segnior essem in referenda gratia quam tum in beneficio accipiendi sum visus.

"Accedit insuper ad hæc voluntatem erga te propensam non vulgaris stimulus. Pernovi enim judicii tui acrimoniam sine pertinacia gravem et in hoc disputandi genere bene tritam. Neque vero dubitavi pro veteri eandore tuo, quin aut argumenta ipsa si quid prævaricaretur justam censuræ tuæ animadversionem sint subitura, aut ipse ex argumentis fructum veritatis aliquem sis percepturus. Quod ut possit contingere votis omnibus exopto in Domino. Qui senilem ætatem tuam veritatis suæ luce pariter et longa incolumitate confirmet stabiliatque ad perennem salutis felicitatem. A en." "Pernovi, &c." Foxe seems here to allude to his former connexion with Mr. Harding, as his college tutor at Brazenose.

friends, and his acquaintance even before he left Oxford seems to have been extensive, including such men as Hugh Latimer, Richard Bertie, John Cheke, Mr. Lucy of Charlecote, Dr. Hensy of Exeter, and Thomas Cooper, afterwards bishop successively of Lincoln and Winchester. Some of his letters and compositions of that period are still extant in his own handwriting, and are printed in the Appendix to this Life, No. XVIII. He took his B.A. degree May 17th A.D. 1538, and two months later was chosen probationer fellow of Magdalen College, and full fellow July 25th A.D. 1539. He was College lecturer in logic jointly with Mr. Baldwin Norton in A.D. 1539-40. He proceeded to his M.A. degree June 7th A.D. 1543. He vacated his fellowship in July A.D. 1545, and finally quitted Oxford at the following Michaelmas.<sup>1</sup>

What the religious principles were in which he had been reared, we have no certain evidence; but it is impossible that he should have been unacquainted with the religious controversy which then, as now, was agitating society both in England and on the Continent. One of the Randall family, a young student at Cambridge five years older than himself, about A.D. 1531 was found hanged in his study with his finger pointing to a text of the Bible on predestination. Foxe represents his "kinsman" as having been murdered "in hatred of his love of Scripture and sincere religion,"<sup>2</sup> and the sad occurrence could not fail to have some effect on his tender mind.

But whatever his previous bias may have been, the society into which he was thrown at Oxford would incline him to favour the principles of the Reformation. Nowell, his intimate friend from the first, learned as a logician, devoted to study, distinguished for his genius, industry, and kindness, would possess great influence over the mind of his more youthful companion. Nowell was already favourable to the changes which were commencing; and it is generally supposed that he must have materially biased the mind of Foxe towards Protestant principles. The society of Magdalen College would be likely to influence him in the same direction; for ever since William Tyndale had given secret instructions in divinity to certain students and fellows of Magdalen<sup>3</sup> about ten years previously, there had been an increasing party in the College favourable to "the new learning." Lawrence Humphrey accounts for Jewel's early bias towards the Reformation from his having been a pupil of Parkhurst at Merton, and for Parkhurst's Protestantism from his having been educated at Magdalen.<sup>4</sup>

The events of the period, moreover, would unavoidably compel him to consider deeply and anxiously the differences between the Roman and the Reformed religion. The Holy Scriptures, which had been withheld from the

(1) The Vice-President's Register B. at Magdalen College has long been lost, and was so even before Anthony Wood's time. The first entry in Register C. states that "Gulielmus Standish" and "Gulielmus Fox" were elected "*in plenos socios*" July 25th, 1539, so that they must have been chosen probationers in July 1538. After July 1545 we read: "A festo dom. Mariæ Magdalen. quod fuit A.D. 1545 usque ad idem rursus festum sequentis anni ex honestâ causâ recesserunt sponte à Collegio hi subscripti et sequente ordine:—

Mr Thomas Cowper,  
Dn<sup>s</sup> Leo Manby,  
Mr Gulielmus Mayew,  
Mr Joannes Fox,  
Mr Thomas Ottley,  
Dn<sup>s</sup> Joannes Slade,  
Mr Walter Wodruif."

A subsequent page headed 1546 is occupied from top to bottom with a complete list of the forty fellows on the books in July of that year, and the name of Foxe does not occur among them; and as no "Gulielmus" Foxe appears to have left in the interim, it is clear that the "Gulielmus Fox" of 1539 is a clerical error for "Joannes Fox," the "Gulielmus" having lingered in the notary's mind from the previous "Gulielmus Standish."

In the *Liber Computi* we find sub anno 1540 among the

"Stipendia lectoribus:"

L. S. D.

"Solutum Mr<sup>o</sup> Norton et Dn<sup>o</sup> Foxe lectoribus dialectice pro stipendio suo hoc anno iiii. xv. o."

(2) See vol. iv. of this edition, pp. 694, 770.

(3) See infra, vol. v. p. 115.

(4) "Parkhurstus enim tunc cœpit Papisticum fermentum et fœces subodorari, prius in Collegio Magdalenensi educatus et optimorum virorum saluberrimâ institutione edoctus."—Life of Jewel, p. 20.

people by severe decrees for many ages, were now beginning to be universally read. Many of the clergy indeed exerted their authority to prevent the royal injunctions, that the people should hear and read the Bible, from being carried into effect. But the waters had broken forth, and were streaming in the desert; and "wonderful," says Strype, "was the joy with which the Book of God was received both by the learned, the lovers of the Reformation, and by the vulgar." One instant effect of this universal desire to read the Scriptures appeared in the disregard which began to be manifested toward the Schoolmen. Nowell and John Foxe were possibly a part of that assemblage of young men, of whom in the year 1535 the King's Commissioners wrote to Lord Cromwell—"We have set Duns in Bocardo, and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses. The second time we came to New College, after we had declared our injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Duns, the wind blowing them into every corner."—Nor was this all. The abolition of the papal supremacy in 1534, with the recognition of the King as head of the Church of England by the bishops and clergy in convocation; the insurrection in Lincolnshire, Foxe's native county, in 1537; the overthrow of the Monasteries; and the mutual and bitter exasperations which increased every year between the two parties; convulsed and agitated men's minds more than can now be imagined; and the Oxford student would be no exception.—Neither was this all. The cruel burnings, which were alike inflicted upon the scholar who could reason and discuss, as Tyndale, Frith, and Bilney, and upon the heart-broken maniac, the poor idiot, and the thoughtless jester, would compel an amiable and reflecting mind to question the moral justice of the painful executions of the day.<sup>1</sup> Episcopacy itself had unfortunately become odious, in consequence of the active persecution of those who adhered to the new teachers by many of the bishops during a century and a half, and especially within the last few years.

Thus Foxe's early love of learning which originally induced his friends to send him to Oxford, his intimacy with Nowell, and the events of the period, were all pledges that he would investigate the controverted points, till he had ascertained whether the principles of the Romanists could be defended by Scripture, and identified with primitive Christianity. The high relish with which he describes the scene at St. Mary's church at the close of 1536, when John Malary of Cambridge was made to bear his faggot—no doubt as a warning to the young men of Oxford—shows plainly on which side his sympathies were already enlisted.<sup>2</sup> But he was not left to the mere logical deductions of his understanding. It pleased God to discipline him by afflictions ("vitæ ærumnas").<sup>3</sup> of what nature we are not informed; and he was brought manifestly by the Divine guidance, in the use of prayer and the Holy Scriptures, into a state of spiritual life and peace. This was the turning-point in his life. Thenceforth his studies took a new direction, and were pursued in a new spirit. Leaving philosophy, he addicted himself chiefly to theology. He applied himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures and of ecclesiastical history. He made himself master of the different controversies

(1) It was this which won over the heart of Julius Palmer to the truth, against which he had been previously much prejudiced.—See *infra*, vol. viii. p. 205.

(2) See *infra*, vol. v. p. 455.

(3) See Foxe's appeal against his persecutors to the President of Magdalen in the Appendix No. XVIII., beginning, "Quintus jam annus agit, quod ego in procellis fluctibusque his accusationum atque judiciorum jactatus mersor. . . . ."

"Ad hoc obicitis, me relictis philosophis theologos sectari. Atenim hoc Deo potius non mihi obicitur: quem si ille hue invitum et nolentem obortoquo (ut aiunt) collo trahit, Quid? an quisquam tandem vestrum est, qui illius voluntatem reprehenda? . . . . ."

"Statueram, Præses, obsecutus huic tantæ opportunitati, rationem omnem studiorum meorum tibi reddere; vitæ ærumnas commonstrare; quibus calcaribus ad literas evangelicas impulsus sum significare: quæ satis scio si referrentur, insolitâ quâdam admiratione obstupesceres; simul et factum albâ (quod aiunt) amussi comprobares."

which had divided the Church; and it is said that, before leaving Oxford, he had read most of what the Greek and Latin Fathers have left in their writings, the Schoolmen in their disputations, the Councils in their acts, or the Consistories in their decrees.

This crisis in Foxe's religious state probably took place soon after he became full fellow in 1539; and his sincerity was put to a severe test during the troublesome and dangerous times which were at hand. In 1540 the Act of Six Articles was passed, with a view to suppress the Reformation; and there were those even in Magdalen who sympathised with that cruel and inquisitorial act. A visible change had come over John Foxe. He was not the man to conceal his convictions and his emotions. Spies and informers were ready to seize upon any peculiarities in his behaviour, and any infractions of the College discipline, and report them to the authorities. He soon found that if he followed his convictions, he should suffer persecution. He never wavered, however, but passed through a conflict, which served only to deepen and strengthen his Christian character. It was a fearful trial. On one side were literary leisure, worldly competence, and the gratification of ambition in reaping the rewards of his sound learning. On the other side were disgrace, poverty, and exile, and perhaps a most agonizing death amidst contempt and insult. He reflected. He decided. He resolved to sacrifice all that ambition could desire, so that he might "win Christ," advance his Gospel in the world, and "inherit the crown of righteousness." His course thenceforward was clear. The dogma of transubstantiation and the idolatry of the mass having become odious to him, he avoided attendance as much as possible both at the College chapel and at the University church. After nearly five years<sup>1</sup> of annoyance from his persecutors, he was at length formally accused to the president of the College, Dr. Owen Oglethorpe. It has been said that he was expelled in consequence; but this is not exactly true. The documents in the Appendix already referred to show, that he was treated as leniently as could be under the circumstances. The statute of Magdalen required every fellow to take holy orders as soon as possible after his election, unless a valid reason could be shown to the contrary, of which certain official persons were to judge. Foxe had been fellow for seven years, and his persecutors pressed for the observance of the statute. The authorities could not well object without compromising themselves. Foxe was required to take holy orders. This he refused to do, on account of the celibacy which they imposed; and his fellowship was filled up in July 1545. He quitted Oxford at the Michaelmas following. But the College recorded in their books, that he and six other fellows who are named "ex honestâ causâ recesserunt sponte à Collegio."<sup>2</sup> The terms in which he ever after referred to his College prove the sense which he entertained of the kindness with which he had been treated.

(1) See note (3) on preceding page.

(2) See note (1) supra, p. 5.

## SECTION II.

## FROM HIS LEAVING OXFORD TILL HE WENT ABROAD.

A.D. 1545 TO A.D. 1554.

HIS TUTORSHIP AT CHARLECOTE—MARRIAGE—LEAVES CHARLECOTE—ARRIVES IN LONDON—HIS GREAT DISTRESS—SUCCOUR MYSTERIOUSLY BESTOWED—HIS TUTORSHIP AT REIGATE—HIS FIRST PUBLICATIONS—HIS ORDINATION—HE PREACHES AT REIGATE—TERMINATION OF HIS TUTORSHIP—PROTEST AGAINST THE REVIVAL OF THE SIX ARTICLES—HE LEAVES ENGLAND.

THE old Memoir states, that Foxe on leaving Oxford obtained employment as tutor in the Lucy family, at Charlecote in Warwickshire. William Lucy, Esq., father of Sir Thomas Lucy, held the family estates from A.D. 1525 till his death in 1551.<sup>1</sup> He was doubtless the Mr. Lucy mentioned in 1536 with high approbation by Latimer, then bishop of Worcester, in which diocese Charlecote is situated: he seems to have been a favourer of the Gospel, and a protector of those who faithfully preached it.<sup>2</sup> The family of such a man would afford a most congenial retreat to a young tutor of Foxe's principles. Foxe himself tells us in a letter written to his friend Tindall, a little before he left Oxford, that he had just been spending a few days with Mr. Lucy, of whom he speaks in terms of admiration; and describes his family as just such an one as he should like to be connected with.<sup>3</sup> We may, therefore, fairly consider his engagement with Mr. Lucy as a fact: it cannot have lasted, however, much more than a year, and terminated probably for the same cause that had compelled him to leave Oxford, viz. the search which was being made under the Act of Six Articles for all who were suspected of heresy, both publicly and in private houses. Like William Tyndale in similar circumstances, he turned his thoughts toward the great city, where he would be more safe from spies and informers. It was arranged that he should at once marry Agnes, daughter of his early friend and patron Mr. Randall: their affections had probably been long engaged: the parish register proves that they were married at Charlecote February 3d 1547.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing definite is known of Foxe's trials and mode of life, while he was seeking patronage and maintenance in London. Henry VIII. had died Jan. 28th, a week before his marriage; and as the Act of Six Articles was abolished on the accession of Edward VI., he was relieved from the danger of arrest for his religious principles. But it seems to have been a period of anxious suspense: to obtain daily bread was sometimes difficult: he is said to have been reduced to the utmost distress just before his penury was relieved. The following anecdote is told of him in the old Memoir:—

(1) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 368.

(2) See Latimer's Remains, Parker Soc. Edition, pp. 381, 383, 384, 399.

(3) See the Appendix to this Life No. XVIII.

(4) Dr. Maitland has surmised that "1547" means 1547-8: but the position of the entry in the following consecutive series, obligingly furnished by the clergyman of the parish, proves that the year was what we should call 1547.

"Thomas Russel and Elizabeth Boughton were married the 22 of November Anno ut supra.

Frances King et Elinor. Glover were married ye 23 of November 1546, and of the Reigne of King Henry ye 38.

Jhon Fox and Agnes Rondull were married the 3 of Februarii Anno ut supra.

Rycharde Mason and Margaret Bacon were married ye 25 of Januarii anno ut supra.

Andrew Warburton was married to Margerie Lowe 23 of October Anno 1547, and in the first yeare of King Edwarde.

Andrew Shatswell and Isabell Wendlocke were married ye 12 of October Anno 1548."



“As Master Foxe one day sate in St. Paul’s church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, after the ghastly manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before, who, sitting down by him, and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, adding withal, that he knew not how great the misfortunes were which oppressed him, but supposed it was no light calamity; that he should, therefore, accept in good part that small gift from his countryman which common courtesy had forced him to offer; that he should go and take care of himself and take all occasions to prolong his life; adding, that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood.” Foxe could never learn to whom he was indebted for this seasonable bounty, though he used every endeavour to find out the person. “Some who looked further into the event by which that prophecy became fulfilled, believed that the friend who performed the kindness came not of his own accord, but was employed by others who were deeply concerned for Mr. Foxe’s safety; and that it might possibly be through the negligence of the servant, or person commissioned, that he had endured so much misery before the means of relief were afforded him. Certain it is, however, that within three days after the transaction the presage was made good. Some one waited upon him from the duchess of Richmond, who invited him, upon fair terms, into her service.”

This statement tallies with what Foxe himself tells us at vol. iii. p. 705 of the present edition, that he and John Bale “were both together dwelling in the house of the noble lady the Duchess of Richmond when the said John was recognizing his ‘Centuries’ by a book borrowed of Master Cheke.” Now the first edition of the “Centuries” was completed and printed by the end of July 1548; so that Foxe may well be supposed to have been residing in the duchess’s house about the beginning of that year.<sup>1</sup> The duchess was a known favourer of the Reformation, and while hospitably entertaining the poor scholar at her residence, Monjoy House, Knight Rider Street,<sup>2</sup> would have the best means of estimating his learning and abilities, and of ascertaining his religious character and principles. An opportunity soon occurred for showing how highly she appreciated them.

Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, were imprisoned on suspicion of treason Dec. 12th 1546. The earl of Surrey was executed Jan. 19th 1547; the old duke, his father, would have suffered the like fate Jan. 28th, but escaped in consequence of the king dying in the previous night. The unfortunate earl left five children: Thomas, who succeeded to the dukedom, born March 10th 1536; Jane, afterwards countess of Westmoreland, born in 1537-8; Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton, born Feb. 25th 1539; Catherine, married to Henry lord Berkeley; and Margaret, to Henry lord Serope of Bolton. These children were placed under the care of lord Wentworth; with one Thomas Gaudy, a confidential

(1) The second edition of the “Centuries” was published ten years later, at Bâsle, in 1559; and Bale, in a short notice of John Foxe, gives similar information as to their residence together in the house of the duchess: “Joannes Foxus. ad Botulphi fanum in agro Lincolnensi natus, Oxonii primum in Societate Magdalenensi honorum literarum ac trium linguarum principalium studiis vacabat. Talis ille semper erat, ut qui bonis artibus, seu doceret seu scriberet, elimatam eloquentiam tersè adjungeret. Decem fere annis mihi Achates fuit: in Angliâ unâ mansimus in clarissimæ ducis Mariæ Richmondiæ domo, atque iterum in Germaniâ nunc unâ manemus. In Germaniâ nunc vivit, et in Christi messe fideliter laborat.”—Script. Brit. Cent. ix., Bâsle, 1559, p. 763.

(2) Monjoy House was a valuable stone messuage belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s in Knight Rider Street, and leased to the Blounts lords Monjoy, whence it derived its name. Several notabilities inhabited the house at different times: among others the duchess of Richmond. It was here that John Foxe and John Bale lived together, and probably also John Louthe (infra, Section V.). It was leased to the College of Advocates Feb. 2, 1568, who eventually bought the freehold, and it became the well-known Doctors’ Commons.—See Stow’s Survey of London, 1754, vol. i. p. 706; Churton’s Life of Nowell, pp. 131, 132: and infra p. 11, note (1)

servant in the family, to attend upon them. Lord Wentworth was a pious man, and patron of Foxe's friend Bale; and Foxe was probably accepted by him as tutor to the three eldest, about April 1548, on the recommendation of the duchess, to whose care the earl's children were eventually transferred.<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Richard Day, son of Foxe's printer, published in 1579 an English translation of Foxe's "Christus Triumphans," dedicated to William Killegrew, Esq.; a later edition of which, in 1607, he dedicated to William lord Howard of Effingham. In the latter Dedication he informs us, that this tutorship was carried on at Reigate, in Surrey, till the death of Edward VI. in July 1553; that is, rather more than five years.

Foxe now began to be known as an author. His first dated work was a duodecimo of forty pages, printed at London, 1548, by Hugh Singleton, "De non plectendis morte adulteris consultatio Joannis Foxi." It is preceded by an affectionate and able Dedication, commencing, "Generoso viro Thomæ Pictono J. Foxus salutem et pacem in Christo." (See Appendix to this Life, No. I.) It appears to have been originally written as an effort to obtain temporary relief, and to make himself known among the London publishers, after leaving Warwickshire. He next published a treatise, "De Censurâ sive Excommunicatione Ecclesiasticâ Interpellatio ad Archiepiscopum Cantuar. Londini, 8vo. 1551;" and "Christus Triumphans, Comœdia Apocalyptica, Londini, 1551;"<sup>2</sup> and then "Tables of Grammar," in 1552.<sup>3</sup> At this time also he must have been collecting the materials for the first part of his Ecclesiastical History, subsequently published at Strasburg in 1554.

Two years after he had accepted this tutorship, Foxe was ordained deacon at St. Paul's by bishop Ridley, June 24th 1550, for which purpose he obtained a temporary residence in the diocese of London, at the house of the duchess of Suffolk, in Barbican.<sup>4</sup> His object in taking this step evidently was, that he might be able to minister to the inhabitants of Reigate, where the Romish religion is said to have been in great strength. Richard Day in the Dedication before quoted says, that he was himself the first Protestant incumbent of Reigate,<sup>5</sup> and Foxe the first Protestant preacher there; and adds, "Exceedingly did his free and voluntary labours fructify among them, for many were there converted from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; witness thereof the old superstitious and idolatrous Lady of Ouldswoth, an image or idol-saint, who was worshipped at Reigate in place of God for her miraculous power of saving health." Gardiner, bishop of the diocese, was at this time in confinement, and soon after deprived; and his successor, Ponet, would give every encouragement to Foxe's evangelistic labours.

Such had been the employments of Foxe at Reigate, attending to his pupils, devoting himself to his books and pen, and instructing the people—a useful,

(1) See Nott's Memoirs of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, Appendix p. xcviij. Dec. No. XXXVII.

(2) See Tanner's Bibliotheca, and the Biographia Britannica; and infra, p. 28. This sacred drama is in the style of other pieces, still extant, composed by Foxe while he was at Oxford.

(3) Anthony Wood informs us, that these "Tables were subscribed in print by eight lords of the privy council, but were quickly laid aside, as being far more too short, than King Henry VIII.'s grammar was too long."

(4) From the Ridley Register. fol. ccxcix. :—

"Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo et Quinquagesimo.

"Examinatio ordinandum in loco consueto, infra ecclesiam cathedralem Divi Pauli Civitatis London. situato, die Lunæ vigiliâ Nativitatis S<sup>t</sup>i Johannis Baptistæ, viz. vicesimo tertio die mensis Junii, per Henricum Hervie, generalem Nicholai Episcopi London. in spiritualibus vicarium, et Johannem Storie in theologiâ baccalaureum, ejusdem Episcopi cancellarium; et post meridiem eodem die per ipsum Episcopum in ædibus Episcopaliibus London.

"Et ordines generales in crastino sequente, viz. die sive festo Nativitatis prædicto, vicesimo quarto die mensis Junii, ante summum altare in choro ejusdem ecclesiæ Divi Pauli juxta ritum, modum, et formam, jam nuper saluberrimè editum et ordinatum, solemniter collati et celebrati sunt.

"Diaconi.

"FOXE. { Magister Johannes Foxe in Artibus Magister, moram trahens cum dominâ ducissâ Suffolk, oriundus apud Boston, Lincoln. dioc., per literas commendatitias in eâ parte laudabiliter commendatus."

(5) Richard Daie paid the first-fruits as Vicar of Rvgate, Surrey, 13 Oc. 25 Eliz. (1582); and William Cawsey his successor 30 Jan. 27 Eliz. (1584)

happy, and contented student—when he was driven from his peaceful abode by the change in public affairs. Edward VI. died July 6th 1553, and Mary succeeded to the throne. Gardiner was released from the Tower and restored to his bishopric August 5th, and soon after made Lord Chancellor. The old duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower August 10th, and his grandchildren were removed from Foxe's tuition.<sup>1</sup> They were then respectively seventeen, sixteen, and fourteen years of age, and were eventually placed under the care of White, bishop of Lincoln. A letter of the earl of Arundel, dated 1620, informs us that both Thomas and Henry were made pages to the bishop, according to the usual custom of so training the patrician youth. The instructions of Foxe, however, were not obliterated, as might have been hoped and intended by this arrangement. The duke, as we shall see, continued steadfast in his attachment to the primitive faith, as it was again taught by the Reformers. His sister, the countess of Westmoreland, embraced the same principles through life. The same steadfast adherence has, it is true, been considered somewhat less certain with regard to lord Henry, the earl of Northampton. From an expression which he is alleged to have used in his last moments—"that he died in the religion in which he was born"—it has been supposed by some that he was unfriendly to Protestantism. But he was born at a time when the papal supremacy was overthrown, and when the Bible was given to the people; and there is nothing to make it improbable that his expression applied to the state of religion at the commencement of the great changes, rather than to the old superstitions.

Foxe still remained in England for a while after his pupils had been taken out of his hands. The friends of the Reformation were at first led to hope the best from the queen's professions of toleration. But they soon began to fear the worst, when they witnessed the censure of Judge Hales for directing the people to observe the laws of the late reign, even before they were abolished (August); the restoration of the mass at court (August 18); the prohibition of preaching without a special licence from the queen; and a summary order for religious foreigners to quit the realm (August 22); the exclusion of the Protestant bishops from the House of Lords (October 5); the abolition of the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion by the House of Commons, after six days' debate (October); the abolition of the Reformed Liturgy, and restoration of the doctrine of transubstantiation as a portion of the national faith (November 8); the deprivation of the married clergy, and the excommunication of the archiepiscopal and episcopal defenders of the prayers in their own language. Bradford, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, Coverdale, Hooper, Latimer, Cranmer, and other leading Reformers, were already in confinement. Rumours were prevalent that the Six Articles were to be renewed by the Parliament which was to assemble April 5th; and Foxe, using the liberty of an Englishman, as well as displaying the judgment of a politician and the spirit of a patriot, addressed the Parliament as an individual against such re-enactment. In this address he says, that "not only a rumour but a most positive assertion had gone abroad, that those sanguinary laws, known by the title of the Six Articles, once laid to sleep, are about to be, as it were, recalled from Hades to earth." "If this be true," continues the bold and judicious remonstrance, "I know not how plausible it may appear to you, and how acceptable it may be to certain others; but I well know how

(1) In Nott's *Memoirs of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey*, p. cix. we read the following extract from the Minutes of the Privy Council: "1<sup>o</sup> Mariae, August 27. A letter to be written to the Countess of Surrey to send up to Mountjoy Place in London (see note (2), page 9) her youngest and the rest of her children by the earl of Surrey, when they shall be rewarded by the duke of Norfolk their grandfather."—Harl. MSS. 643. At p. cxi. Nott states, from MSS. in the archives at Norfolk House, that the old duke was so pleased with the fidelity with which the duchess of Richmond had discharged her trust, that he left her 500*l.* by will. The old duke died October 1554, the duchess of Richmond Dec. 9th, 1555, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary.

deadly and ominous it will prove to the kingdom at large." He then proceeds to argue strongly and eloquently on the subject, and to deprecate the renewal of the Act, bringing to mind the dread it had already excited, and the horrors it would produce. This spirited and admirable document is given in the note, that the reader may appreciate the Latinity and eloquence of Foxe.<sup>1</sup>

Gardiner, of whom the foregoing protest speaks so charitably, soon began to send forth his spies in every direction. Foxe, who had not only taken advantage of his imprisonment and deprivation to obtain ordination, but had been industriously teaching in his diocese that the superstitions and image-worship which Gardiner favoured were contradictory to Scripture, could not hope to escape condign punishment. He expressed his fears to his eldest pupil, who is said at first to have treated the subject lightly. At length a crisis arrived. It appears from a well-authenticated anecdote given in the note,<sup>2</sup> that Thomas, the eldest of Foxe's pupils, was for the present placed

(1) "Frequens hic per omnium ora ac aures jactatur non suspicio modo, sed constans certissimaque prædicatio, id vos, summi sanctissimique patres, moliri, ut sanguinariae leges illæ *Sex Articulorum* titulo inscriptæ, quondam bene sopitæ, nunc demum velut ex orco revocentur ad superiores. Quod si verum sit, quàm vobis plausibile, ac quibusdam sit gratum, ignoro; certè, quàm reip. funestum ac ominosum sit futurum, satis jam pridem declarat publicus mœror, tristissima rerum ferè humularum ac luctuosa facies, optimi cujusque gemitus; nec tacita solum suspiria, sed ubertim ex doloris acerbitate prorumpentes lacrymæ, quotidiana bonorum fuga, totius denique reip. (si tamen reser. aliqua sit) squalor: ut interini taceam conscientiarum occulta judicia ac vulnera, in omnibus ferè horror, in nonnullis etiam funera, ac mortes ex rerum perturbatione contractæ. Quæ si calamitates (tot tantæque quidem illæ, quantas vix in ulla unquam reip. conspeximus) ex conceptâ rerum imagine atque recordatione duntaxat ipsâ, cives adeo perstringunt vestros, quid vos futurum tandem existimatis, suscipiendi domini, exhibitis jam rebus ipsis, ubi in exhibendis tanta sit trepidatio? ubi intolerabilis ipse legum rigor, et acutissima acies cervicibus jam incumbit civium? ubi tot millia hominum non vitæ libertatem, quam jam amiserunt, sed vitam ipsam cogentur deserere? Nec jam vita, sed et conscientia etiam erepta hominibus;—nec Deo quidem supplicare licebit pro arbitrato suo, sed ad libidinem paucorum.

"Quæ quum ita sit, vel deteriora etiam quàm à me referrî queant, considerabit prudentia vestra quæ documentis nostris non eget, sed pro communi salute rerum consilia vestra potissimum flectenda sunt. Hæc etenim jam ipsa agunt tempora quibus vobis jam in manu situm est, felices nos velitis, an perditos. Si tam vilem habeatis civium vestrorum sanguinem:—si nihil vos moveant tot hominum gemitus, querelæ, lacrymæ, bonorum miseria;—si parum sit vobis una ab iisdem legibus accepta clades;—age denud revocetur Trojanus equus in urbem, quo soli, vel cum paucis, regnum hoc possidetis! Sin vero ulla subit animos vestros reipublicæ charitas;—si quod patriæ studium maneat;—siquid preces nostræ—siquid bonorum supplices manus;—siquid denique reipublicæ, siquid ecclesiæ christianæ (quam adolutam genus vestris existimetis) febilis querela valeat;—efficite modo, pii proceres, pro summa pietate, ut pluris sit apud vos salvis publicæ conservatio, quàm privata quorundam sollicitatio; nec quid possit pro imperio autoritas, sed quid æquitas potius civibus debeat vestra, velitis considerare.

"Nihil enim in omni officiorum genere fieri æquius arbitror, quàm ut quorum vos patria patres conscripsit ipsa, eos in filiorum loco ascetos tueamini, quique suam ad vos omnem reverentiam ac dignitatis auctoramentum transferunt, iidem a vobis salutis ac tranquillitatis vicissim accipiant suæ incoluntiam. Quod si communis patriæ respectus vos minus attingat, at quod vobis ipsis dignum, quod generosa ac heroica sanguinis vestri nobilitas tacito quodam sensu suggerat, attendite. Nam quum inter humanos omnes affectus nil sit tam hominis proprium quàm clementia, quâ divinæ naturæ imaginem maximè ferre vel infirmi etiam videntur homines; quid tum à vobis expectari convenit, illustrissimi heroës, qui quo sublimiorem honoris in his terris gradum sortiti estis, hoc expressius supremo huic imaginis divinæ archetypo respondere omnibus modis decet?

"Porro, habetis ad hoc reginam, ut nobilissimam, ita ad sana et salubria quæque obsequium, principem. Habetis et cancellarium, ut doctrinâ præstabilem, ita naturâ non improbum, si quorundam absint consilia. Verum ut inter animantium genera, quædam noxia, alia ad hominis usum, creata existunt: rursus sunt, quæ in hoc tantum dicas nata, ut reliquis molestiam ac pernicem moliantur: sic, in humanis rebus, nulla republica nec vitæ genus est, quod suas non habet vnicas et *κακοβούλους*. Atque hi sunt potissimum, qui religione præposterâ, naturâ sævi, alteri ecclesiæ, alteri republicæ exitiales existunt. Quibus quum bene esse non possit nisi perturbatis rebus, turbam, quantum queant, intendunt ad sævitiam; mitissimos principum animos, hoc est reipublicæ fontes, vitiant; consilia instillant, non que honesto, sed que ventri suo ac quæstui serviant: simile quiddam exercentes in humanis rebus, quale Ate tribuit Homericæ narratio. Deinde quo tutius lædant sub umbrâ nobilitatis ac aule se occultant, quo si quid adveniat adversi, se postremo feriat: si quid boni sit, ipsi primi sint ad carpendam messem. Et quoniam juxta imperitorum legem nihil his recte fieri videtur, nisi quod ipsi faciunt, ad arbitratum suum universam religionem, cum ipsa Scriptura, corrigendam putant. Quæquid ipsis non placet hæreticum est. Nil sibi placere potest, quod non illico alba amissis sit quantumlibet a scopo alienum."—Harleian MSS. 416, fol. 122. Strype (Memoirs of Cranmer, bk. iii. cap. 9, doc. 76), judging probably from the word "hic" at the beginning, supposes this remonstrance to have been written by Foxe already an exile, and in the name of the exiles. But the language implies that he was still in the midst of English society; and his allusions to the queen, and especially to Gardiner, must surely have been written before the circumstances occurred which led to his precipitate flight.

(2) In the Grenville Collection, at the British Museum, is a perfect copy of the "Acts and Monuments" of 1563; and on the back of the title-page is inscribed as follows:—

"This booke was given me by Mr. Hart, Grocer in London dwelling by little St. Bartholomews, whom I pray God bless with all his, 3 Decemb. 1578."

"Mr. Foxe the Duke of Norfolk's tutor. Remember his resort to Winchester house, where the Duke remained some parte of Queene Maryes dayes, as the Bish: puple for education. Remember

at Winchester House, in Southwark,<sup>1</sup> under the immediate eye of bishop Gardiner; and that Foxe was in the habit of visiting his young friend there by a back entrance. Gardiner had privy intelligence of these visits, but thought proper for a time to connive at them. At length, as the old Memoir states, he began to ask his noble pupil about his late tutor. One day Foxe suddenly entered his young friend's apartment, not knowing that Gardiner was there, on seeing whom he withdrew. Gardiner inquired who the stranger might be. "He is my physician," was the reply. "I like his appearance," said Gardiner, "and when necessity requires I will employ him." The bishop's manner was such as to indicate that Foxe would be in danger if he remained longer in England, and his young friend lost no time in procuring him the means of escape with his wife, then pregnant, to the Continent by way of Ipswich.

We may be assured that recantation or the flames would have been the lot of John Foxe, had he remained in England a few days, and possibly only one day, longer. Scarcely had they weighed anchor, the old Memoir proceeds, "when suddenly a contrary wind rising troubled the sea with so great violence that the stoutest mariners began to tremble. Then followed a dark night with continued showers; and a great multitude of clouds gathered together into a thick storm of rain and hail, which both hindered the seamen's work, and took away all possibility by the compass any longer to direct their course. That night, with much ado, they lay at anchor, and as soon as the day appeared, when the tempest seemed not likely to cease, they began to cast about, and to make back again to shore; so that the tide a little favouring them, at length, with much difficulty, they arrived in the same evening at the same haven again whence they had loosed the day before. In the meanwhile that Mr. Foxe had been at sea, a messenger from the bishop of Winchester had broke open the farmer's house where he had been concealed, with a warrant to apprehend him wheresoever he might be found, and bring him back prisoner to the city: but understanding he was gone already, after he had pursued him even to the port, and there found that the ship he had embarked in was yet scarcely out of sight, he returned back without his errand. Mr. Foxe, as soon as he came ashore, hearing what had passed, although the news somewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himself, presently took horse, and made as if he would have left the town; but the same night returning, he bargained with the master of the ship to set sail again with the first convenience of the winds, telling him that so his business required, nor did he much care what shore he landed at; only desiring him to go forward, and not doubt but God would prosper so pious a work. Whether for reward, or piety's sake, the pilot took upon him the venturous task, and performed it accordingly: for loosing thence in the night's silence, as soon as the tide turned, though the sea was rough, and the weather blustering, within two days' space he landed Mr. Foxe and his company in safety at Nieuport haven, on the other side the sea."

So much benefit has accrued to the church of God from the publication of

how secret that resort was; by a backe waye to the Duke's chamber, and howe the B. having notice of it by a false Brother, might once or twice have instantly apprehended him, if the circumstaunces of person and place of recourse had not dis-suaded. forget not the author of this narration, nor the spirite wherewith he spake it, what lykewyse on my parte (the Auditor) was inferred in my private observacion forget not. All which severalityes passed, whilst we crossed the Thames from Whitehall to Winchester house the last lent upon a visitacion of Sir E. D. then grievously sicke, myselte occasioning the whole speeche."

Mr. Grenville has left inside the cover a sheet of paper containing the following observations of his own on the above:—

"Mr. Collier, in his *New Particulars respecting the Works of Shakespeare*, has given some extracts from the Diary of Simon Forman, the celebrated physician and astrologer. On comparing the style of them with that of the curious anecdote of Foxe written on the back of the title of the present volume, the similarity is so striking as to lead to the supposition that he was the writer of it, and consequently that the book was once in his possession."

(1) Dr. White was not consecrated bishop of Lincoln till April 1st, 1554.—Richardson's *Godwin de Præsulibus*."

his useful labours, that we may believe him to have been delivered from danger by the especial providence of God. The death of the martyrs was essential to the stability of the spiritual and visible church of England: yet a chronicler of the actions and sayings, of the courage and patience of these martyrs, may be said to be no less necessary. The poet of pagan Rome could lament that many heroes of antiquity were unknown to posterity, because no poet had recorded their bravery.<sup>1</sup> The memory of the martyrs of Languedoc, and of the south of France, who were actually exterminated by the first agents of the newly-formed Inquisition, has perished; or lives only in the contemptuous triumphs of the papal historiographers. The record of the English champions of the faith, who died protesting against the creed of Rome, condemned by the laws of Mary for opinion not leading to treason—not as those by the laws of Elizabeth, for opinion ending in treason—was indispensable to the exposure of that spiritual and ecclesiastical tyranny which the church and court of Rome, regardless of the rights of conscience, are now labouring hard to reimpose upon us. The work of John Foxe has rendered greater service to the cause of reformed, *i. e.* true, primitive, scriptural Christianity, than a hundred battles, or than millions of soldiers in the field. Incalculable, therefore, would have been the loss to the church, if the emissaries of Gardiner had captured the writer; and destroyed the already prepared manuscript, with which he was probably travelling. The clouds of darkness were gathering over the Anglican church. The boldest hearts despaired. The writer of the deeds of the heroes who perished in that holy war was prepared to give the loudest warning to the churches, and to inflict the most deadly blow on the united system of superstition and cruelty, of priestcraft and idolatry, which had so long overshadowed and oppressed both liberty and truth. May God in his mercy grant, that, whatever be the punishments with which he may afflict our guilty empire, we may both escape from infidelity on the one hand, and on the other from the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments—popery!

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### SECTION III.

#### FOXE'S RESIDENCE ABROAD.

A. D. 1554 TO A. D. 1559.

ARRIVAL AT STRASBURG—HIS FIRST HISTORICAL PUBLICATION AT STRASBURG IN 1554—THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFORT—FOXE ARRIVES AT BÂSLE—TRANSLATES "CRANMER ON THE EUCHARIST" INTO LATIN—HIS POVERTY—HIS "CHRISTUS TRIUMPHANS"—HIS REMONSTRANCE AGAINST THE PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—HIS SECOND HISTORICAL PUBLICATION AT BÂSLE IN 1559—HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

FOXE, as we have seen, arrived safely at Nieuport in Flanders. The situation of his wife, who was probably at this time or soon after delivered of a daughter, may have detained him there some time. As soon, however, as he was able he left Nieuport for Antwerp, from whence he proceeded to Strasburg. Grindal, one of Ridley's chaplains, influenced by his friendship for

(1) "Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona," &c. Hor. Od. lib. iv. Od. ix. v. 25—29.

Peter Martyr, who had been driven from his Divinity Professorship at Oxford, was there already. Foxe found in him a kindred spirit, and maintained a close communication with him during the whole of their exile; and would no doubt have continued to reside there, had circumstances permitted. But he was compelled by his necessities to seek means of support for himself and his family. As formerly in England, so now, he had recourse to the printers; and correcting the press was the chief source of his maintenance during his residence abroad. Hence we find him changing his place of abode more than once to suit the convenience of his employers.

He did not, however, devote himself exclusively to the mere mechanical labours required in a reader for the press, but laboured hard in various ways to advance the glorious cause for which he was suffering.

When he escaped from England he bore away with him the manuscript of an unfinished work. It related to the history of the church; its object was to prove by a chain of examples, that from ages long past persons had from time to time arisen who had professed, and had been persecuted for professing, those very opinions which the church of Rome, in its war against the Reformers of the 16th century, was accustomed to stigmatize as new. Besides the historical and logical uses of such a work, Foxe looked forward to it as displaying admirable examples of constancy and calm fortitude in the victims, and hateful exhibitions of cruelty and wickedness in the persecutors. He designed to gather his proofs from all parts of Europe; but as far as he had proceeded in his collections—and his work was as yet little more than a mass of collections—they related principally to Wicliffe and his followers. In September 1544 there was to be held at Frankfort one of those fairs which were then celebrated literary marts. Foxe, probably on the suggestion of his printer, who in those days was the publisher also, determined to divide his contemplated book into two parts: the former was to comprise the period before, and the latter that after, the year 1500; and he set his heart on having the former part ready for sale at the coming fair. In spite of ill health, of the necessity for prosecuting—at the same time with this literary work—the daily labour of correcting the press by which he earned his daily bread; notwithstanding the many inconveniences to which an exile newly arrived in a foreign country is exposed, the zealous writer accomplished his design. But it was by confining himself to Wicliffe and the Wicliffites, with the addition of the kindred case of John Huss. The book thus limited in subject is a small octavo volume, 6 inches by  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , and contains 212 numbered leaves, with seven leaves of title-page and dedication which are not numbered.<sup>1</sup> It was printed at Strasburg by Wendelin Rihelius, and was dedicated on the 31st of August to Christopher duke of Wirtemberg; a prince who added to many other good deeds that of being a liberal benefactor to the English exiles. Such was his friendship for them, that on one occasion he gave the princely donation of three or four hundred dollars to those who were at Strasburg, besides a further sum bestowed at Frankfort. Foxe could not have selected a better patron. In his Dedication, which like all the rest of the work is written in Latin, Foxe laments the divisions that prevailed throughout the Christian world, and especially in his native country, “our England” as he terms it, which used to be the asylum of persecuted churches, and of all good men. He sets before the duke the nature of his work, and its twofold division; and he solicits pardon for a Dedication which proceeded from a person who was neither known to his Highness, nor had ever seen him. He could only plead or his excuse, that he was simply prompted by the praises of his character, as

(1) The title of this work is: “*Commentarii rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum maximarumque per totam Europam persecutionum à Wiclevi temporibus à hanc usque ætatem descriptio. Liber primus. Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo.*” A facsimile of the title-page is given in this volume.

a student of Christian truth, and as a protector of the English, which on his arriving in that country had met his ear on every side.

Such is the history of the first design, and of the first published portion of Foxe's ultimately ponderous work. The particulars above stated are not to be found in the works of our bibliographers, which may be accounted for by the extreme rarity of the little book to which they relate. There are copies of it, however, in the British Museum, and at the Bodleian, and in the library of her Majesty; but few books of that particular period are on the whole more difficult to be met with.

At the close of the book Foxe subjoined, as is indicated in the title-page, an address to the University of Oxford. Its subject is, the return of the University to what he terms the obsolete and long-exploded doctrine of transubstantiation. He appeals to them principally on the score of their ancient support of the contrary doctrine in the time of Wicliffe, when Oxford, as he alleges, was the great patron of Christian truth. One fact, which he here states respecting the sister university, deserves to be remembered. It is, that in Mary's time twenty-six scholars of one college left Cambridge, rather than subscribe to transubstantiation. Were these Pembroke Hall men? <sup>1</sup>

The next we hear of Foxe is in connexion with what are termed "the Troubles at Frankfort:" <sup>2</sup> there the largest number of exiles had assembled: and as he took a part in the proceedings, it is necessary to refer to them. It may have influenced him not a little to take the part which he did, that he lodged while at Frankfort with Anthony Gilby, a strong partisan on the puritan side of the question.

To understand better the origin of these controversies, we must consider some circumstances which took place in England in the reign of Edward. Among the religious foreigners, who fled to England from the persecution carried on by the Emperor Charles V. about the *Interim* in 1548, was Valerandus Pollanus, a native of Flanders, and minister of a congregation at

(1) The foregoing account of the Strasburg volume is taken from the Edinburgh Review, vol. 85, April 1847, p. 416. The conclusion of the work itself (fol. 203-5) is here subjoined, that the reader may see Foxe's original plan.

"Equidem videri possim nimis fortassis importunè legendis istis abuti otio tuo (pie lector); præsertim quum obsoleta hæc barbarici sæculi monumenta tam parum ad rem præsentem conducere videantur. Attamen antiquitatem ipsam annotandam existinavi; quo superioris sæculi aliquæ saltem reliquæ nobis superserent: quas (si opus sit his) in hos regeramus, qui calumniantur Doctrinam hanc novam esse, quæque omni antiquitate careat. Verum isti si aperient oculos facile perscipiant, vel ex iis nonnihil, vel ex aliis multo potius, quam longo temporis spatio vi ac tyrannicè supposita veritas, non incipit modo, sed erupit tandem, non à nobis nata sed à majoribus, ab episcopis, à rectoribus etiam, ac primariis doctissimisque viris tradita; quod mihi difficile non erat demonstrare, si superius à trecentis aut quadringentis annis aucte Wiclewum historiæ hujus deductionem protrahere libuisset. Verum malui a Wiclewo potius telam hanc exordiri, non quod exempla superiora defuissent, sed ob vitandam infinitam rerum prolixitatem. Quanquam nec ea quidem pars posthac fortassis à nobis (aspirante Christi gratiâ) suâ opportunitate negligetur.

"Interim habes hic (lector Christiane) priorem hujus historiæ seriem à millesimo trecentesimo ad quingentesimum annum, qualicumque penicillo nostro delineatam; in quâ si ob tumultuariam nimis festinationem non satis videbimur functi officio nostro, aliud nihil respondeo quam Socraticum illud ex Xenophonte, Præstitisse me καθόναμεν. Neque enim in alienâ patriâ exulanti suppetebat ad manum parata librorum ac registorum copia, unde plenius ista desumerentur. Rursus nec amplius bimestri spatio ante nundinas Franckfordianas mihi concedebatur ad hæc ex rudi ac infirmo sylvulâ recolligenda, digerenda, rescribenda, ac componenda etiam pleraque, præter quotidianas insuper formularum typographicarum castigationes; ut nihil interim dicam de valetudine, quæ tam infidonea omnibus gerendis munis reddebatur, ut nulla spes esset hanc qualemcumque laboris nostri fructuram vel ad dimidiatum partem provchendi, nisi naturâ superior Potentia Christi fractissimas viriculas hucusque nostras sustinisset pro misericordiâ suâ: cui soli cadat omne genu, Amen. Restat nunc altera hujus narrationis complectio, videlicet à D. Martini Lutheri venerandæ memoriæ Evangelistæ temporibus ac deinceps. Sed hoc initium esse volui alterius libri, quem nunc σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ aggrediemur: tantoque aggrediemur alacrius (amicæ lector), si priorem hanc partem comiter plausabiliterque acceptum iri persenseris. Rogemus ac amemus mutuam propensionem in Christo Domino nostro; cui sit uni omnis gratia ac gloria. Amen."

(2) There is but one authentic account, and even that is tinged with the prejudices of its puritan author, of the circumstances to which I here allude—the well-known pamphlet in the Phoenix, entitled "The Troubles at Frankfort." The original was published by a nonconformist in 1575; reprinted in 1662; and afterwards in the Phoenix in 1707. Strype and other relates the history; but that pamphlet is the source of their narrative.—See Strype's Grindal, pp. 13—15. Mr. Latb bury, in his History of the Episcopacy of England, has given a very good abstract of the history, p. 24, &c. See especially Fuller's Church History, folio edition, 1655, b. viii. p. 26.



Strasburg. This man retired with his congregation into England, on his refusing to subscribe to the *Interim*, and obtained a settlement at Glastonbury. He was there permitted to use with his people the mode of worship which they deemed fittest when they had rejected the Romish service. On the death of Edward they were again compelled to seek refuge on the Continent. They established themselves at Frankfort, where they continued the same form of worship which they had adopted at Glastonbury, and used a Liturgy compiled for them by Calvin about 1538, ten years before king Edward's First Prayer Book was given to the reformed Church of England.

On the 27th of June 1554 a certain number of English exiles<sup>1</sup> arrived at Frankfort. They were welcomed to the city on the very evening of their arrival by Pollanus; and assurance was given them that a church was obtained in which they might worship without interruption from the common enemy. They were, however, naturally anxious to worship God in their own language, and in their own manner. Their brother exiles at Strasburg and Zurich had already obtained this favour, and preserved their union as Christians and churchmen by adopting the services of the Second Book of Common Prayer, drawn up and ratified in the reign of Edward; and the French exiles had obtained the favour of using their own form of prayer at Frankfort. Application was consequently made (July 8th) to Glauberge, one of the chief senators, for a separate church, where all the English might hear sermons, and worship in their own manner. The required permission was granted July 14th. Liberty was given them to preach, and to minister the sacraments, in the same church which had been previously granted to the French exiles who had come from England. Both parties were to use the church on alternate days in the week; and on the Sundays, at different hours, as they might agree among themselves. As the English, however, had not solicited definitely for the toleration of their own Service Book, the condition was made—that the English should not dissent from the French, either in doctrine or ceremonies; that they should subscribe also to the French confession of faith. Compliance with these conditions was promised, and the use of the church was granted.

The question now arose, in what manner their worship was to be conducted. They were required not to dissent from the French Protestants in doctrine and ceremonies, but they were not bound to follow implicitly the French mode of worship. They resolved, therefore, after perusing the Prayer Book to omit the audible responses and the Litany, to adopt another form of confession, to sing a psalm after the confession or prayers in the common metres then in use, to pray for the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and then to proceed to the sermon. A prayer for all estates of men was then to follow, at the end of which the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed<sup>2</sup> were to be repeated. A psalm was then to be sung, the blessing to be pronounced, and the people to depart. The beautiful and solemn services of the communion, which have been handed down to the Church of England as the best monument of Catholic antiquity, were to be altered, as being, in many respects, superstitious or superfluous, and the use of the surplice was to be discontinued. A minister and officers, to whom they gave the name of deacons, were appointed; and possession was taken of the church assigned to them by the magistrates and senators on the 29th of July.

There must have been a great deficiency of attachment among these exiles to the Liturgy which they had used in their native land, or they would have made some effort to be permitted still to use it. We must believe that the

(1) Among whom were Sutton, Williams, Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, who married Calvin's sister, and others.

(2) So I understand the expression—"A rehearsal of the articles of our belief;" which seems to be taken from our Church Catechism—"Rehearse the articles of thy belief."

English exiles at Frankfort had already, before they appealed to John Calvin, begun to be affected with the love of novelty, and disaffected to the Book of Common Prayer. This conviction is confirmed by the fact, that, though the principal reason adduced by the Frankfort exiles against the use of the Liturgy was the disapprobation of the magistrates, Whittingham and his party, when these magistrates subsequently authorized the book, refused to accept it.<sup>1</sup> If they had accepted it, or even if they had been silent under the circumstances, and permitted their countrymen to form their own candid conclusions respecting the supposed necessity of the case, the unity of the church might have been preserved. Instead, however, of adopting either of these two measures, they resolved to admit none of their brethren who might afterwards come to Frankfort to their communion, unless they should subscribe and conform to the rules and discipline of this novel worship. Thus began the miserable schism which ended so fatally for the Church of England. They next proceeded to communicate their doings to their brethren at Zurich, Strasburg, Embden, and other places; to applaud their own conduct; to invite their approbation to a church, which they declared to be "one free from all dregs of superstitious ceremonies;"<sup>2</sup> and to request those who agreed with the new system to settle at Frankfort.

The exiles at Zurich reproved them for their rejection of the English Liturgy, and declared that they were fully determined to admit and to use no other. The exiles at Strasburg, at the head of whom was Grindal, could not imagine that their brethren at Frankfort had the least intention to do away the use of the Liturgy, which had been obtained by so much labour and learning in England, and for which so many were, at that moment, suffering in their own country. They believed that the exiles at Frankfort only intended to apply to them for a minister; and Grindal, consequently, wrote to Scory at Embden, to proceed to Frankfort. Scory offered his assistance. Before his letter reached them the congregation had elected John Knox, who was residing at Geneva, and had attached himself with much ardour to the opinions and discipline of Calvin. Grindal, accompanied by Chambers, repaired to Frankfort. Grindal informed them that the object of himself and of Chambers was to solicit the re-establishment of the English Liturgy, which they had used of late so partially, in its substance at least, if not in its integrity. Knox and Whittingham eagerly inquired what he meant by the substance of the book. Grindal desired to know what parts of the Prayer Book they were willing to accept—a question which was answered by the declaration, that they should permit its use, so far only as it could be maintained by Scripture, and agreed with the system of the country. Other questions were proposed and answered, but not satisfactorily. Grindal and Chambers returned to Strasburg with a letter dated the 3d December 1554, and signed among others by Foxe, who had arrived at Frankfort while these answers were being embodied, and whose name we now meet, for the first time, in these sad transactions. They declare that they do not dissent from the doctrines of their brethren; but they will not be ready to die for ceremonies which, as the book specifeth, may, upon just causes, be changed and altered. Knox declined to use either the Prayer Book or the Genevan form of worship without further consultation with the exiles at Strasburg, Zurich, Embden, &c.

It was under these circumstances that the celebrated letter to John Calvin was penned. It is said that Calvin had made friendly overtures to Cranmer

(1) Moreover, Bale declares that the exiles at Basle, when the magistrates there would have permitted the use of the English Liturgy, refused to adopt it, and called it a popish mass.—Lathbury's *Episcopacy*, p. 29.

(2) This expression is in the letter, which seems to be a circular sent from Frankfort to Strasburg, Zurich, and some other places, dated August 2d, 1554. The principal signer is Whittingham. Foxe was not at Frankfort at this time.—*Phoenix*, vol. ii. p. 49.

of assistance, and co-operation with the English Reformation; some of which overtures were neglected; while others never reached the archbishop, being intercepted by the papists. He never forgot or forgave the slight thus put upon him.<sup>1</sup> The answer of Calvin was accordingly such as might have been expected, and such as they most probably desired. He condemns the conduct of those who pressed upon them the English Liturgy, and argues from the persecutions in England that they should endeavour to depart still farther from popery. He considers all attempts to reform the Liturgy as advancing to a greater degree of purity and perfection; and regards those who threw away the present opportunity of improvement as doating upon the leavings of popish dregs. He pronounces the book generally to contain some points which, though in his opinion foolish, might still be tolerated; and expresses this opinion in the two well-known words,<sup>2</sup> which have served from that time to the present as the war-cry of the objectors to the services of the Anglican church. On receiving this letter, John Foxe, who seems to have been one of those who drew up the letter to Calvin, was requested, in conjunction with Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, and T. Cole, "to draw up some order meet for their state and time." They did so; which was the same as that used at Geneva.<sup>3</sup> This was not approved of, and caused much warm contention. At last it was determined that Knox, Whittingham, Parry, and Lever should compile a formulary for their public worship. One was completed, partly from the English service, and partly from the Genevan form: it was decided on the 6th of February, 1555, that this service should be used till the May following; and that any intermediate controversy on the subject should be determined by Calvin, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Vvret.

Among other exiles who had been driven from England was Dr. Cox, who had been chaplain to archbishop Cranmer, and successfully recommended by him to be tutor to prince Edward. He was afterwards elevated by him to

(1) Calvin is said to have suggested alterations in the Second Prayer Book of king Edward, and to have offered his assistance to Cranmer; which the archbishop declined. Heylin gives as the reason of this, that he knew the man. Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 65; and Collier, vol. ii. p. 253.

When the manner in which he spoke of the progress of the Reformation both to the king and Cranmer is considered, and the mode in which he expressed his disregard for antiquity, we cannot be surprised at the hesitation of the archbishop to receive his services. "The news," says Heylin (of order being given to Cranmer, and some other prelates, to draw up a form for the administration of the sacrament), "no sooner came unto Geneva, but Calvin must put in for a share; and forthwith writes his letter to archbishop Cranmer, in which he offereth his assistance to promote the service, if he thought it necessary. But neither Cranmer, Ridley, nor any of the rest of the English bishops, could see any such necessity of it, but that they might be able to do well without him. They knew the temper of the man, how busy and pragmatical he had been in all those places in which he had been suffered to intermeddle; that in some points of Christian doctrine he differed from the general current of the ancient fathers; and had devised such a way of ecclesiastical polity, as was destructive in itself of the sacred hierarchy, and never had been heard of in all antiquity."

"In his letters unto the king and council, as he writes to Bullinger, he had excited them to proceed in the good work which they had begun; that is to say, that they should so proceed as he had directed."—Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, pp. 236—238.

Cardwell, in his "Two Prayer Books of Edward VI." Oxford, 1838, preface, p. 31, note W. says, "This statement"—of Heylin and Collier—"seems to be overcharged." The words of the epistle, although not containing the direct offer, certainly seem to hint that he was ready to do whatever Cranmer chose in the business. He spoke slightlying of the Reformation in England. Epist. p. 136. "Quantum ad me atinet, si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat." He expresses his joy at the prospect of the Reformation principles being forwarded by Cranmer; and he rejoices to think that unity of doctrine and discipline will be established under his care. He greatly wishes that learned and pious men from the chief churches (Reformed) could meet at a convenient place to discuss diligently each article of faith, and by the common decision of all hand down to posterity the sure doctrine of Scripture. "Atque utinam impetrari posset, ut in locum aliquem docti et graves viri ex præcipuis ecclesiis coirent, ac singulis fidei capitibus diligenter excusatis, de communi omnium sententia certam posteris traderent Scripturæ doctrinam." See Instit. Christ. Relig. Genev. 1607. Epist. at the end, 1617, p. 135. "Bene habet, quod non eundem modo animum Deus nobis contulit, ut Regem Angliæ et ejus consiliarios incitarem ad persequendum; sed fecit etiam ut consilia nostra tam apte inter se congruerent. Hoc certe ad eorum confirmationem nonnihil, ut spero, valebit."—Calvin's Epist. pp. 131, 132. See Appendix to this Life, No. II.

(2) *Tolerabiles ineptias*. Calvin's letter is dated January 22d. 1555.

(3) It was called the *Order of Geneva*, because first used by the English church at Geneva; but it is not the same as that used by the church of Geneva in which Calvin ministered. It was afterwards used in the Presbyterian church in Scotland, under the name of *The Book of Common Order*, and is sometimes called Knox's Liturgy. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 143.

the rank of privy councillor, and to the office of king's almoner. He had escaped from England to Strasburg, where Peter Martyr and the other exiles were permitted to exercise their public worship according to the Liturgy. The report of the untoward proceedings of the exiles at Frankfort was soon brought to Strasburg. Dr. Cox imagined that his influence might persuade the innovators on the Liturgy, to which he was himself most passionately devoted, once more to adopt the discipline and worship of the Anglican Reformed Church; and he might possibly have succeeded in his object if he had proceeded with more moderation.

When Dr. Cox, however, first attended the public worship of the congregation at Frankfort, he broke the conditions between the parties, and repeated the responses aloud after the custom in England.<sup>1</sup> He and those who came with him, having been admonished by the seniors of the congregation, defended their conduct by affirming the necessity of maintaining the appearance of an English church. On the Sunday following, one of those who accompanied the almoner, without the previous knowledge and consent of the congregation, entered the pulpit, and read the whole Litany; Dr. Cox and the rest answering aloud. Knox, who had been invited to become minister at Frankfort in September 1554, and arrived there in November, ascended the pulpit in the afternoon, it being his turn to preach; and in his own bold, unsparing, declamatory style inveighed against the English Liturgy, and taxed the authors of the disorder with a breach of agreement. For this he was rebuked by Dr. Cox. Conferences were afterwards held between the two parties. Knox, who was as generously-minded as he was inveterate against what he believed to be error, prevailed with the congregation to admit his opponent and his friends to the privilege of voting with them. The result of this noble liberality was, that Knox himself was outvoted, and forbidden to officiate any longer. If the controversy had ended here, by the successful party conducting themselves with moderation, the wound might perhaps have been healed. They did not so. They submitted the dispute to the magistrates of Frankfort, who required them again to conform to the practice of the French exiles, in doctrines and ceremonies. They complied with this at the request of Cox himself, upon being threatened with dismissal from the town if they refused:—but they then proceeded to an act of the most unworthy and un-English character. They privately accused Knox of high treason against the Emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and Queen Mary of England; and to substantiate the charge, they put into the hands of the magistrates a book of his, entitled, “An Admonition to England,”<sup>2</sup> with certain passages marked. They had been addressed to the inhabitants of Amersham in Buckinghamshire, on occasion of the rumoured marriage of Mary with Philip; a union much dreaded by the English. In this address he had compared the Emperor (Charles V.) to Nero. The magistrates therefore were compelled either to deliver him up to the emperor, or advise him through his friend Whittingham<sup>3</sup> to depart from the city. They chose

(1) He arrived at Frankfort, March 13, 1555.

(2) M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 153. It is called, in the “*Troubles at Frankfort*,” p. 76, “*An Admonition to Christians*.”

(3) “Knox, who was minister of this congregation at Frankfort, and invited by them the last year from Geneva, September 24th, now (May 26th) returned in some haste thither (to Geneva) again; for he was the chief opposer of the use of the English Liturgy, averring, that it was a superstitious model, borrowed from the papists; and refused to celebrate the communion, according as it was there prescribed to be done. And besides, Knox held and published some dangerous principles about government; which were so disliked by the chief of the English divines there, as Cox, Bale, Turner of Windsor, Jewel, and others, that they thought it fit, and that for their own security, to disown him publicly, not only by discharging him of his ministry, but also by making an open complaint against him to the magistrates of the town.

“The magistrates, upon this information, sent for Mr. Williams and Mr. Whittingham, willing them to advise Knox to depart; otherwise they should be constrained to deliver him unto the emperor's council, which was then at Ausburge: that, upon this information, Knox makes a sermon in his lodging, to about fifty persons, of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the unspeakable

the latter alternative; and the Reformer retired to Geneva, exasperated and embittered by such treatment. Cox and his friends procured from the magistrates of Frankfort, through the means of the nephew of Glauberge, permission for the unlimited use of the English Liturgy: and having done so, they refused to tolerate the use of the Genevan, or rather the mixed Genevan and Anglican service, which Whittingham, who offered to acquiesce in the new arrangement, requested permission to prefer. Whittingham, in retaliation, exerted himself to recommend the French, and to depreciate the Anglican service. Cox wrote an apologetical letter to Calvin, whose influence with both parties was so great that all desired his sanction to their proceedings. Calvin still further increased the distance between the two parties, by returning an answer condemning the exclusive use of the Prayer Book, and censuring many of its observances, which he calls hurtful and offensive ceremonies. He justly declares that the treatment received by Knox was neither godly nor brotherly. He concludes his letter from Geneva, dated the "last of May, anno 1555," by wishing that their agreement may be stable, and prays for a blessing upon them in their exile.<sup>1</sup>

John Foxe, with some others, made another effort to restore the mixed service, by submitting the controversy to four arbitrators, two for each party, and signed a letter to that effect with them on the 17th of August. One more useless meeting took place on the 30th. On the ensuing day, Whittingham, with Foxe and others, declared to Cox and the heads of the congregation their determination to depart from Frankfort; assigning among their reasons for so doing the treatment of Knox, and that papistical superstitions, and unprofitable ceremonies, which were burthens, yokes, and clogs, were brought in. After the lapse of a few days more, Whittingham with his party retired to Geneva; while others settled at Basle.

The details of the Frankfort Liturgy may not be interesting to all. As much attention, however, has been lately given to the subject, the curiosity of some may be gratified by a short account, which will enable

joys prepared for God's elect, and then departed; and was conveyed by some, three or four miles out of the town."—*Strype's Ecl. Mem. vol. v. pp. 406, 407.*

(1) The following extract of a letter from Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, to Ridley, who was now in prison or in confinement at Oxford, confirms the above account of the exiles abroad.

*Grindal to bishop Ridley.*

"*Gratiam et consolationem à Domino et servatore nostro, Jesu Christo.*

"*SIR*—I have often been desirous to have written to you and to have heard from you; but the iniquity of the times have hitherto always put me forth of all hope and comfort. Now at this present God seemeth to offer some likelihood that these might come to your hands, which thought to use, referring the rest to God's disposition. Your present state, not I only (who of all other am most bound,) but also all other our brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joined with the most miserable captivity that ever any church of Christ hath suffered. Notwithstanding, we give God most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened you and others, your captives, to profess a good profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but He that hath called you and them not only to believe upon hym, but also to suffer for hym, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort which He useth to minister abundantly to his in the schole of the cross. He graunte that his name may be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as may be most to his honour and your everlasting consolation.

"*SIR*, I thought it good to advertise you partly of our state in these partes. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certaine be at Tigurye (Zurich) good students of either University, a number; very well entreated of Maister Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole citye. Another number of us remayne at Argentine (Strasburg), and take the commodity of Maister Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father. Maister Scory and certayne other with hym be in Frysland, and have an English church there, but not very frequent. The greatest number is at Frankfort, where I was at this present by occasion; a very fayre city, the magistrates favourable to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles can well look for. Here is also a church; and now (God be thanked) well quieted by the prudency of Maister Cox, and other which met here for that purpose. So that now we trust God hath provided for such as will flye forth of Babylon a resting place, where they may truly serve hym, and hear the voice of their true pastor. I suppose, in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God to work diversly in his, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man.

"God comfort you, ayd you, and assist you with his spirit and grace to continue his unto the end, to the glory of his name, the edification of his church, and the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom. Amen.

"From Frankfort, the 6th of July 1555.—E. G."—*Strype's Life of Grindal, pp. 10—13. Ecles. Mem. vol. v. pp. 410, 411.*

those who admire the spirit of the English Liturgy to contrast the other with their own.

The service of the Lord's Day began with "*Sursum corda.*" Then the first table of the Decalogue was sung in rhyme. Then the pastor, standing at the table, turning to the people, thus begins, *Our help is in the name of the Lord, &c.* A short exhortation follows, to confess their sins. A confession.<sup>1</sup> Then the pastor rehearseth to the people some sentence out of the Scripture of the remission of sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the people either kneeling or standing all this while. The Gospel is read. The absolution is again repeated. The rest of the Decalogue is sung. The pastor exhorteth them to pray. A very short prayer follows, like one of our collects, that God would give them grace to keep the Commandments: and the same collect is sung. The pastor then ascends the pulpit; where he first prays, and then preaches upon the New Testament, beginning some one book of it, and going on till he hath ended the whole book in several sermons. Then follows a prayer. The bands of marriage are published, baptism is celebrated, the sick are particularly prayed for, alms are collected by the deacons; a long prayer for the whole church, after sermon, the same with that prescribed in the French form, following. Then the Apostles' Creed. Then, when there is a communion, the pastor first rehearseth the institution of that sacrament out of I Cor. xi. and subjoins an excommunication of all idolaters, blasphemers, heretics, schismatics, perjured, seditious, contentious, disobedient to parents, whoremongers, thieves, covetous, &c., forbidding any such to partake of the said supper. He then makes an exhortation concerning the Lord's supper. He communicates in both kinds himself; next, the deacon in both kinds; then, all the men first; and, after them, the women approach reverently to the table, where the pastor, at one end of the table, gives to every one of them the bread one by one; and the deacon, at the other end of the table, gives them the wine; a psalm of praise being sung during the time by the people. The pastor, in giving the bread to every one, says, *The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ.* The deacon, in giving the cup, says to every one, *The cup which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ.* Then follow the same thanksgiving and benediction which are to this day used by the French Protestants. Here ends the morning service.

At noon, after the singing of a psalm, the children are catechised and instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, for an hour.

At evening, after a psalm was sung, a sermon follows, with a prayer, and the benediction.

In the daily service; every morning a psalm was sung, a prayer, a sermon, a prayer and benediction in the pulpit.<sup>2</sup>

There was a service of repentance. Every Tuesday was a day of more solemn devotion, to deprecate God's judgments and to confess their sins: a psalm, the confession, a sermon, a long prayer, the same as above.

The service of baptism was the same which is used by the French, except that the parent and godfathers brought the child. The minister asked them, Will you have this child baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? They answered, This we desire, &c.

(1) The sentence, the exhortation, and confession, are the same which are at this day used in the French congregations, and prescribed in their Liturgy.

(2) This is the Sunday service now general among the Independent dissenters.

The service of the blessing of wedlock, and of visitation of the sick, was the same with the French.

The service for ordination of ministers, and for ecclesiastical discipline, did not much differ from that which the French now use.

Such was the service used by the exiles when settled at Glastonbury, and, no doubt, at Frankfort also when they left England. I omit the description of the English Liturgy, drawn up by Knox and Whittingham, and sent to Calvin, which elicited the celebrated "*tolerabiles ineptias.*" Whoever compares the two—that is, the published form of Pollanus and the epitome sent from Frankfort—will perceive that the variations between them ought not to have excited the bitterness which both then, and subsequently, characterised the congregation at Frankfort, and their followers, the future Nonconformists. There were common to each: sentences of Scripture—the exhortation to confession—absolution<sup>1</sup>—the gospel—the decalogue—prayer before sermon—sermon. In the English form there are, in addition, the great improvements of the two lessons—the psalms—the epistle—*Jubilate*—the versicles before the Lord's prayer—with the collects, litany, and part of the communion service.

This was the Liturgy to which Foxe had conformed before he left England. We may justly believe that he approved of it at this moment; but he believed that the Prayer Book of Calvin, which was first used at Strasburg, afterwards at Glastonbury, and then at Frankfort, did not clash with the use of the English Prayer Book in other parts of the Continent, or in England if the exiles returned. He submitted to the influence of Calvin in the places where that influence had banished the common enemy, who was now beginning to consign his brethren at home to the dungeon and to the flame. But when the same miserable dispute broke out soon after at Bâle, he seems to have taken no active part in it.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after his return to England, as we shall see, he received priest's orders at St. Paul's from bishop Grindal; and he steadfastly conformed to the Anglican services to the last hour of his life.

After the departure of Whittingham to Geneva, Foxe wrote to Peter Martyr to express the desire of the English at Frankfort to appoint him to the office of their Lecturer in Divinity.<sup>3</sup> It would seem as though Foxe was not anxious

(1) The work of Pollanus, which was published Feb. 19, 1551, when the Second Book of king Edward was being compiled, contained a slight form of absolution, embodying only a sentence of Scripture relating to the remission of sins ("Ille pastor ex scripturâ sacrâ sententiam aliquam remissionis peccatorum populo recitat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti"): but Calvin's Liturgy, published in 1545 for the church at Geneva, contains no absolution of any kind, although he at first intended to have added one, but was overruled by others.\* Durell says, p. 34, that most of the Reformed liturgies have confessions of sins, and also absolution, but this is wanting in the liturgy of the French Reformed churches (p. 35). Whether the English absolution was taken from that of Pollanus, as Lawrence says, or from that of John-à-Lasco, as Cardwell writes, probably is not easy to decide. May not each form have contributed a portion, both having been published in the interval between the publication of the two Prayer Books?

John-à-Lasco's confession and absolution bear a strong resemblance to those adopted in the Second Book of king Edward the Sixth.

See "Forma ac Ratio tota Eccles. Min. in Pereg. Eccles. anno 1550."

(2) As to Foxe's peaceable disposition, see Strype's Memorials, Mary, chap. xxxi.; and Fuller.

(3) John Foxe to Peter Martyr, urging him to accept the invitation of the English at Frankfort, to read divinity to them:—

"Suspiciende Domine, salutem et gratiam in Christo. Elmeri nomine et subscriptione nostra ad te veniunt literæ, in quibus graves et necessariæ causæ ad persuadendum continentur. Cæterum me omnino occultis tuis cogitationibus satisfaciunt, vereor. Scio enim quam difficilis sit *τρόπος ἡ μεταθεῖς* locique mutatio, præsertim in ea urbe, ubi et diu assueveris, et plausibiliter victas. Quin nec scio an occultiora adhuc avocamenta in hac re subsint, abs te per-pecta, quæ nos non advertimus. Verum quæcunque incerta sunt Deo permittentes, interim ut simpliciter tecum agamus *καὶ καθ' ἑνὸς*, primum, cogitet modo eximia prudentia tua, sic te productum esse, ut multo maximas utilitates vitæ et roip. Christianæ pro singulari excellentia tua afferre queas; nec minus certe parem virtutibus industrium in te defuturam arbitror. Jam etsi nullus locus te vindicare poterit, attamen si indigentiam spectet excellentia tua, nulla certe Germanicæ pars impensius eget opera tua

\* Lawrence, Bamp. Lect. p. 207. Cardwell, Preface, p. 30. Durell, p. 35.

to leave Frankfort. The opulent men of the city, in compliance with the advice of Melancthon,<sup>1</sup> had contributed bountifully to the support of the English exiles. His friend Nowell still remained there; and if Peter Martyr would have accepted the invitation of the exiles to lecture to the congregation now united under Cox, it is probable he would have continued his residence at Frankfort. Peter Martyr, however, declined the invitation; and this circumstance, together with the representations made to Foxe by both Martyr and Grindal, that he would find more encouragement at Bâsle than at Frankfort, and not any desire to unite himself to John Knox and his brethren, finally induced the martyrologist to proceed with his family to that destination about the middle of November 1555.

Bâsle was celebrated above all the other cities of Germany for its wealthy and enterprising printers, who preferred to employ the industrious and learned English before their own countrymen. One of the principal of them was Herbst, or Oporinus.<sup>2</sup> Foxe presented to Oporinus a copy of his Strasburg volume, with an epistle, in which "he desired to be received by him into his service, and that he would vouchsafe to be his learned patron, under whom he might follow his studies, being one that would be content with a small salary: promising him, that if he would employ him either at Bâsle, or at Argentine (Strasburg), or some University (which he should prefer), 'aut me (said he) destitutum omnia, aut efficiam, Christo opitulante, ut omnes politioris literaturæ homines intelligant, quantum Oporiano et nomini et officinæ debeant.' All his work he did himself without the help of any amanuensis, nor had he any servant to do his necessary domestic business: being fain to be often diverted from his work by his own private occasions."<sup>3</sup>

The last paragraph of Foxe's letter to Peter Martyr, given in the note, adverts to an undertaking in which Foxe engaged at this time, viz. the translation into Latin of Cranmer's famous work on the Eucharist in reply to Gardiner, published at London in October 1551. This work was deemed by Peter Martyr, Grindal, Aylmer, and others, to be so conclusive and valuable, that they requested Foxe when he was at Frankfort to translate it into Latin for the common benefit of the Reformed church. Foxe complied with their request. But he seems to have experienced more difficulty in translating the sentences of Gardiner than he had anticipated. "Most learned Sir," he says in a letter to Peter Martyr, "you would scarcely believe how much pains that

si voluntatem ac vota hominum, nulla impotentius desiderat, quam Anglia nostra Francfordiana. Cui genti quoniam te peculiariter esse apostolum suspicamur (suspicamur enim omnes) ideoque audacius te literis sollicitare atque ambire ausi sumus.

"Quòd si vero ita res pateretur, ut per conjuges nostras et conscientiam aliquo pacto abesse ab ecclesia liceret, facile isthuc momento traheremur. Nunc quum nobis non perinde licet ecclesiam deserere, ut cæteris ad vos accedere: deinde quum in te uno situm sit, ut Anglos omnes ubicunque dispersos intra unas caulas eademque septa compellere; magnopere obtestamur, ne quibusdam è nostris ita gratificeris, ut reliqua Anglorum multitudo inopia tui destituatur. Ut hic de Argentinensium studiis ac favoribus nihil dicam, ut quotidianos temporum ac vitæ humanæ casus præteream, certe si senectam hanc, etsi satis adhuc florentem ac vividam, consideres, quid tam consultius, quàm ut illic quod superest ætatis exigas, ubi quam plurimis esse queas utilis.

"Postremo, vel illud reputa, ad fovendam interim senectam tuam quàm non mediocri solatio fuerit, postquam tot tam diversis locis disjunctantes Anglos tuâ unius causâ eoire in unum cœtum, te amplecti, ex te (imo ex Christo potius per te) pendere, tuis consiliis regi, te in illo observare, videas.

"De salario, de pensione magistratus, quid cum illis, quid inter mercatores nostros conventum sit, fidelis hic Tycheicus noster, frater in Dno. charissimus, abunde significabit; qui communem hanc causam multo facilius dicendo, quàm ego scribendo, perorare poterit. Attamen hæc apud te seorsim pro audacia mea commentare libuit.

"In versione libri Dni. Cantuariensis maturabimus, quantum Dominus dederit. Audio Crawleum quendam esse, qui priores libros illius habeat ex versione D. Chychei (*Cheke*), quos si per Whittingamum nostrum ad te mittendum cures, gratum feceris. Dns. Jesus te quam diutissime incolumem ecclesie suæ servet, ac tueatur in omnibus. Francfordiæ, 12 Octob.

"Tuus Jo. Foxus.

"Incomparabili ac summo viro Dno. Doctori Petro Martyri."

Harl. MSS. 417, art. 67, fol. 116. Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. vi. pp. 311—313, Oxford edition.

(1) Strype's Life of Cranmer, book iii. chap. xv.

(2) *i. e.* born in the Autumn: see "Notes and Queries," 3d Ser. vol. iii. p. 386.

(3) Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 98. Strype's Life of Cranmer, book iii. chap. xv.



great dispute of my lord of Canterbury cost me; which by means of you, and the persuasion of my friends, I undertook to translate. I never saw anything more unpleasant, rough, and intangled, than Winchester's discourse; wherein sometimes he is so full of depths, that he needs some sybil rather than an interpreter. Yea, I doubt whether any sybil be such a riddle resolver, or Apollo so great a prophet, to be able everywhere to comprehend his sense. In the third book there be one or two places, where you may sooner draw water from a pumice, than find light for the sentence. In his periods, for the most part he is so profuse, or rather infinite, that he seems twice to forget himself, rather than to find his end. The whole phrase hath in effect that structure, that, consisting for the most part of relatives, it refuses almost all the grace of translation. Whence how great difficulty arises upon me, it will be easy for you to guess. The archbishop of Canterbury is somewhat softer, but so much longer; whereby, if it doth not create me more trouble, yet certainly as much labour. To these dark sentences happeneth moreover the want of books and doctors, cited up and down herein. And you know how it is not handsome to bring in doctors speaking otherwise than in their own words. This thing will oblige me shortly to resort to your Strasburg for a month or two, to beg the aid of some library. In the first book Winchester cites your name with Luther and Bucer, laying to your charge the imputation of a forger or liar. But the archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand, omits nothing for the defence of the name of his friend Peter. I shall send over to you the very place translated, together with the remaining part now finished."<sup>1</sup>

Peter Martyr however encouraged him to interest. The murder of Cranmer at the beginning of 1556 gave new interest to the task; and on May 10th Grindal advised him to employ Christopher Froshover, of Zurich, to print the work. August 1st, Grindal thanks him for sending him the firstfruits of his labours; and December 28th, in a kind letter partly given in the note,<sup>2</sup>

(1) Strype's Life of Grindal, pp. 15, 16.

(2) It has been ever since, as Grindal declares it to have been then—that while various opinions were formed respecting Foxe, the friends of the Reformation spoke well, its enemies spoke ill of him—"Bonni de te benè loquentur, mali malè. Satis est laudari à laudatis viris; omnibus placere nemini unquam datum est."

*Grindal to Foxe.*

"Quod ad judiciorum varietatem attinet, non est cur multùm labores. Boni de te benè loquentur, mali malè. Satis est laudari à laudatis viris; omnibus placere nemini unquam datum est. De ratione vertendi nemo melius judicabit quam tuipse, cui non est incognita fidi interpretis libertas. Verbum verbo reddi qui exigent, seipos statim proderent, quàm nullus esse judicii. Sensus sensu reddisse semper in laude fuit, modo scriptoris mentem non suam explicuisse appareat. In his omnibus mediam quandam viam tenuisse, ut ferè etiam in cæteris, tutissimum erit. Idemque etiam judico de stylo. Nam neque ecclesiasticus stylus cum fastidio rejiciendus est (quod faciunt quidam), præsertim quum capita controversiarum sine eo nonnunquam perspicuè explicari non possunt: neque è diverso tam superstitiosè consecrandus est, ut orationis lumen aliquando aspergere non possimus. Hujus rei egregium nobis exemplum ob oculos posuit D. Calvinus, quem honoris causâ nomino, qui et styli ornatum non neglexit, et ecclesiasticas loquendi formulas, tanquam civitate donatas, sæpenumerò usurpat. De librorum inversione quâ utitur Wintoniensis, meum quidem hoc est judicium; ut omnino permittatur ille suo arbitratu uti atque ordine, neque moveas quicquam. Duo sunt quæ me præcipuè movent. Primum, vociferabuntur adversarii, fraude et dolo malo mota esse argumenta loco suo. Nam ut in præliis non semper eodem ordine pugnam ineunt imperatores, sed aliquando primam aciem invadunt, aliquando in cornua impressionem faciunt, nonnunquam equestri pugna, sæpius etiam tenui armaturæ velitatione hostes primum aggrediuntur (iniquissimum enim esset, de ordine pugnæ ineundæ ab hostibus leges accipere), ita et de vobis quiritabuntur, si Wintonienses copiam aliâ ratione, quam ipsemet instruit, in aciem producantur. Deinde et hoc mihi videtur ad autoris ingenium patefaciendum pertinere: nam qui in tota vita præposterissimus (ut ita dicam) fuit omnium rerum humanarum et divinarum inversor, consentanum est, ut in scribendo etiam præposterum sese ostentet, et (ut vulgo dici solet,) *Joannem ad Oppositum*.

"Hæc mea est sententia, tu pro tuo candore aliter consulas. Quod ad titulum libri, nemo melius adaptabit quàm interpres, qui non modo singulas sententias, sed et verba etiam et apices penè excussit.

"Mihi impræsentiarum libri copia non fuit: itaque nunc nihil habeo quod in medium proferam. Si posthac aliquid occurrerit quod acuminis aut gratiæ aliquid in se habeat, non illibenter communicabo. Verùm quiddam est quod nunc scribenti mihi in mentem venit, cujus tuam prudentiam admonere non inutile fore existimavi. Audivi hoc mussitatum aliquando in Anglia, Cantuariensem aliquando Papistas allingere, quod ipsi non profiterentur. Et si benè memini, habet quasdam antitheses inter Papisticam et doctrinam nostram hæc formulâ, *Illi dicunt, Nos dicimus*. Ibidem (credo) habet, *Papistas corpus Christi ubique esse asseverare*; quod illi nusquam docent, sed in omni altari pertinaciter esse contendunt. Siqua similia inter vertendum repereris (nam illud exempli causâ

he exhorts him to persevere. The translation was at length finished in 1557, as appears from another letter of Grindal, dated June 18th of that year, congratulating him on having completed his task. A letter of Foxe to Grindal, written about the following November, states that he had engaged Froschover to print the work, and had in October sent him the first book as a sample of the whole. But, after all, it is pretty clear that no part of Foxe's translation was ever put to press, for we find him still negotiating with Froschover as to the prudence of printing it Sept. 26th, 1559.<sup>1</sup> (See Zurich Letters, 1st Series, p. 42.) The letter to Grindal affords such a picture of his circumstances at that time that it is given in the note.<sup>2</sup>

Foxe's letter contains one expression—"omnibus plane exutus pecuniis, adeoque pæne ad extremum assem redactus" (*i.e.* "completely without money, and reduced to the last penny")—which reveals to us the embarrassments under which our poor exile often suffered. It is said that the printers of Basle required his valuable services only with shelter, bread, and water. Grindal in one of his letters hands him two crowns sent from England, and wishes they were two hundred. He had hoped for some assistance from the nobleman to whom he had dedicated his Strasburg volume: but the draft of a letter from Foxe to the duke of Wirtemberg is extant,<sup>3</sup> apologising for the Dedication, which he heard had given offence; and pleading that he was "egestate adactus, quæ quam durum sit telum, ex hac effreni scribendi audaciâ intelliges." We do not know whether this was successful. It would seem that at first he had remittances from his old pupil, the young duke of Norfolk, but the cessation of them occasioned the following excellent and touching letter:—"I have so often," he says, "written to your highness, that I feel ashamed to trouble you any more. However, I am so conscious of

tantum affero) aut sicubi tuo ipsius iudicio non plene satisfiat, faceres meo quidem iudicio non malè, si ad D. Petrum Martyrem catalogum huiusmodi locorum mitteres; et illius consilium in amantissimi sui patroni opere requireres. Communicaret sat scio libentissimè, et fortasse, si qua ipse præterea annotaverit similia, subindicaret.

"Hæc ita à me scripta sunt, ut tuo tamen iudicio omnia geri vellet; tantum meæ mentis sensa apud amicum et fratrem, candidiùs fortasse quàm prudentiùs, in medium profero. Saluta D. Balæum, et cæteros amicos. Opto, te in Domino quam optimè valere.

"Argentina V. calend. Jan. [Dec. 28th] 1557."

"EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS IUUS.

(1) "The original manuscript," says Strype, "under Foxe's own hand, is in very elegant Latin. I have it lying by me. It bears this title:—'De tota sacramenti Eucharistiæ causa institutionum Libri V. autore D. Thoma Cranmero Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Quibus et Stephani Gardneri Episcopi Wintoniensis et Smythi Doctoris Theologiæ impugnationibus respondetur.'"—Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 375. The translation in Latin published at Embden under the care of Sir John Cheke, in 1547, was different from that of Foxe. There is a letter from Foxe to Cheke on the subject.—Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 96 b. "In that translation," says Mr. Jenkyns, "some supplementary authorities were inserted, which were collected by Cranmer during his imprisonment, but were not published till after his death."—Could these supplementary authorities be the pages to which Strype refers as having perished? Foxe's Translation is preserved in the Harleian MSS. No. 418.

(2) "Salutem in Christo. Recepi cum litteris tuis historiam Bradfordianam, cum variis illius aliò atque aliò missis epistolis. Qua in re video (mi Edmunde) quam bonæ fidei sponsor sis, citràque noxam (quod aiunt). Utinam ad eandem diligentiam cætera omnia *τα μαρτυρικά* congesta habeamus. Atque ut non dubito, quin magnam harum rerum farraginem (ut scribis) jam etiamnum habeatis, ita nec diffido in cæteris conquirendis vigilantiam vestram fidemque non defuturam. Jam ante, te absente, binas ad te misi litteras, quas an receperis ideo subdubito, quod nullam video in litteris tuis de libris Cantuariensibus mentionem. Jamdudum transactum est cum Froschovero, jamque mense Octob. primum librum meo magno tædio iterum descriptum illis in gustum miseram: interim autem, dum expecto ab illis responsum, delatum mihi est negotium à Frobenio et Episcopo Christostomi exemplaria cognoscendi et conferendi: erantque tum omnibus plane exutus pecuniis, adeoque pæne ad extremum assem redactus. Itaque in ea movenda farina perierunt mihi duo menses. Interea temporis venit ad me Froschoverus cum litteris D. Elmeri et Bullingeri, pasciscens mecum inducias ob certa negotia in proximas nundinas, quas nec minus libenter ipse accepi; scis enim in hiemè ubique fere conquiescere *τα πολέμικα*. ducibus se in hyberna recipientibus. Habes itaque integrum huius negotii statum. Quum hæc ad te scripsissem, alteras ad Jacobum Haddonum litteras eodem simul tempore destinabam, jamque charta ad eam rem parata erat, quum subito affertur, eum istic Argentinæ defunctum esse, ad quem si vixisset libenter scripsissem, partim illi acturus gratias de coronato, quem ad me nuper te absente miserat, partim etiam subnotatum, quod his diebus mihi in mentem venerit. Eram enim Francofordiæ tum in ædibus Ant. Gilbij, quum Jo. Knoxius satis indigne eo tempore accusatus à quibusdam et ejectus ea urbe: post colloquium nescio quid inquit cum Jac. Haddone, tandem me cum aliquot mecum presentibus palam illi denunciarunt futurum, si sic pergeret, ut evidentem sentiret divinum in se supplicium in hac ipsa quoque vita, erant enim hæc illius verba, aut non multo profecto diversa. Dominus meæ ignoscet tarditati. Nunc verò quoniam serò ad eum scripturus sum, votis (quod solum superest) opto illi felicem in Domino requiem."—Harl. MSS. 417, art. 59, fol. 113 b.

(3) See Harleian MSS. 417, fol. 122 b.

the ingenuous kindness of your nature, that I know there would be no necessity for my petition if there was only required the will to bestow aid. But perhaps these times hinder you sending to us, and me urging you. I cannot think that it is from forgetfulness of us, nor from pride, you have so long withheld assistance to us. But whatever may be the cause why your liberality has thus ceased, one thing I know, that it is most easy for thee, in the midst of your great fortune and abundance of all things, to set aside for us some small allowance out of, as I hear, your immense and unbounded expenditure. More earnest prayers would be necessary where benefactors are less inclined to confer benefits. But your disposition always seemed of that character, that you gave rather from your own nature than the prayers of others. Neither, on the other hand, is my own disposition unknown to you, which is not to be importunately craving, although dying with hunger.

“That I have not as yet ventured to dedicate anything to you, apprehension of danger to you, rather than my own will, is the cause; which your highness, if Christ permit, shall hereafter rightly understand.

“As regards religion, I think there is no necessity for me to tell *you* where the truth stands. God grant that you may manfully stand with it. In the mean time see to it above all, that, if you cannot help Christ at this juncture, no mortal persuade you in any way to become his adversary. He will at length conquer, though all should oppose. The time which others spend in courtly pomps and dice if you devote to reading the sacred Scriptures, you will act wisely and for your own interest.”<sup>1</sup>

About the time of his arrival at Bâsle, Foxe is supposed to have written to Richard Bertie, Esq.<sup>2</sup> and his wife, the duchess of Suffolk, the beautiful letter, of which a part is still preserved:—“The grace of God, in Jesu Christ,” it begins, “which aydeth, governeth, and conducteth all such in safety as put their confydence in hym, be multiplied upon you and your vertuouse yok felow, that as by the holy institutyon of the Lorde ye are called to be one fleshe, so by fayth you being one in mynde may in the unytie of Christes speryt lik true yok felowes beare the crosse with pacyence, and folowe our gyude and fore leader Christ Jesus, Amen.

“Whan I understood by your fryndly letters sent to my brother what our good God and moost sweate father hath donne for you and other members of his mystycall bodye, in delyveryng you out of that

(1) The original is in Harl. MSS. No. 417, p. 115 b.

(2) The duchess married for her second husband Richard Bertie, Esq. (not the Hon. Robert Bertie, as is generally written), son of Thomas Bertie, captain of Hurst Castle, Hampshire. He took his degree of bachelor of arts, as member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, May 3d, 1537, one year before Foxe. In the first year of Mary, Gardiner, who knew that the duchess favoured the Reformation, was determined to persecute her; and he issued an attachment to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, commanding him to bring Richard Bertie to London without bail. He, however, accepted his bail, in two sureties of one thousand pounds each, to appear before Gardiner, which he did on Good Friday following. The day after, a conversation took place between them, when Gardiner asked him whether the lady, his wife, was now “as readie to set up the masse, as she was laticke to pull it downe, when she caused, in hir progresse, a dog in a rochet to be caried and called by my name; or dooth she thinke hir lambs now safe enough, which said to me, when I vailed my bonnet to hir out of my chamber window in the tower, that it was merie with the lambs now the woolefe was shut up?” The one she did not, said her husband: and the words were not intended to be offensive. And although Gardiner dismissed him with apparent friendship, yet was it known that he only waited an opportunity to summon the duchess before him. Mr. Bertie obtained leave from the queen to go abroad, under colour of looking after some debts due from the emperor to the late duke. He departed in June 1554, leaving the duchess behind. In January following she made her escape, and joined her husband, and proceeded to Santon, in the duke of Cleve’s dominions. About five miles from this place is a free town, Wessel, where they took up their abode. They obtained protection from the magistrates by means of Francis Pernal, minister of the Walloon congregation, who had been in London, and had formerly received kindness at the hands of the duchess. Here their only son was born, and they named him “Peregrine,” from the circumstance that he was born in a foreign land, and given to them as a consolation in their exile (Hollingshed, p. 1143, and Camden’s Britannia). Foxe was residing under the hospitable roof of the duchess in Barbican at the time of his ordination, and he had known Mr. Bertie at Oxford. His narrative of the escape of the duchess to the Continent will be found at vol. viii., pp. 569-576, of the present edition.

myserable land, from the danger of Idollatrye and fearefull companye of Herodyans: I was compelled with a gladd hart to render unto his dyvyn majestic moost humble thankes, besechyng hym that as he hath delyvered you from their contagious venym and deathlie stinge with a saffe conscyence, so he will vouchsafe to protecte and preserve it styll undefyled. To forsake your countrey, to despice your commodyties at home, to contempne rycheis and to set naught by honours which the whole woorld hath in gret veneracyon, for the love of the sacred gospel of Christ, are not workes of the flesshe, but the most assured frutes of the holy goost, and undeseueable argumentes of your regeneracyon or new birth. Whereby God certyfyeth you that ye are iustified in hym and sealed to eternall liff: and therefore ye have gret cause to be thankfull, first that he hath chosen you to liff; and secondly that he hath geven you his holy Speryt which hath altered and changed you into a newe creature, working in you thorow the word such a mynd that thes thinges are not paynefull but pleasant unto you. Agayne to be delyvered from the bondage of conscyence from the" . . . (Unfinished.)

On the back of this, reversing the leaf, is the following:—

"[Doubt] not that the lord wyll bryng us as he did them into our dere countrey, or into his kyngdom which further exceedeth it than the bright sunne doth the dark night. I can not (derely beloved) recompens the gret gentyllnes I have receyved at your handes, but I leave that to God my father which hath moved your hart to such liberalytie, who I am well assured wyll not leave it unrecompensed; not withstanding to testyfy my dew thankes, I have sent you this poore letter, poore indede but yet playne and true, following the example of a poor Persyan named Cinata, who being farre from whom (home) and sodaynely metyng with the kyng of the land named Artaxerxes, and seeing every man presenting him with giftes, made haste to a certayne well called Cyrum and toke up a lytle water in his hand, and after he had saluted the kyng he said having nothing o kyng better to present" . . . (Unfinished.)<sup>1</sup>

About the same time, March 1556, Foxe republished his "Christus Triumphans," some account of which edition will be found in the Appendix to this Life, No. III. It opens with a Dedication to certain leading citizens of Bâsle, in which he thanks them as well as the citizens of Frankfort and Zurich for their noble hospitality to the English exiles. A French translation of it was subsequently printed at Geneva.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have been designed to sustain the faith and patience of the Protestants by the prospect of the ultimate triumph of their cause.

Such a publication was most seasonable, for the storm of persecution was raging in England. If the queen herself had been inclined to milder measures, the foreign influence which is ever identified with the Italian form of Christianity<sup>3</sup> gradually produced its effects. The conduct of the queen was in unison with the determination of all the Roman Catholic princes;

(1) Harleian MSS. 416, fol. 144.

(2) "Le Triomphe de Jésus-Christ, comédie apocalyptique traduite du Latin de J. F. en rythme Française, augmentée d'un petit discours de la Maladie de la Messe. Par Jaques Bienvenu, Genève, 1562, 4<sup>e</sup>," printed by Jean Bonnefoy. There is a beautiful copy of it in the British Museum. Bienvenu after Foxe's Act v. Sc. 3 has introduced five Scenes of his own; and numbers Foxe's Act v. Sc. 4 as "Act vi. Sc. 2." He has also set to music the "Epithalamium" or Nuptial Song at the close. Curiously enough, the Frenchman has translated the "Comedy" only, neglecting the prose "Panegyricon;" but the Englishman Day, in 1579, translated only the "Panegyricon," calling it "a fruitful treatise," &c. (see the full title in Herbert's or Dibdin's Ames). Thomas C(omber), M.A. of Sidney College, Cambridge, in 1672, published Foxe's "Comedy" both in Latin and English, recommending its adoption as a schoolbook for its choice Latinity. (Tanner, and Biogr. Brit.: also "Notes and Queries," 2d Ser. vol. vii. p. 47.)

(3) See Sharon Turner's Reign of Mary,

who had resolved to root out heresy by fire and sword. The parliament of England supported the queen, was reconciled in form to the Church of Rome, and received absolution from Pole the papal legate November 29th 1554. England then became the scene of a persecution which threw into the shade all modern examples of religious rage. There was no periodical press to submit to the court and the legislature the public disapproval of their measures, and the people were in despair.

The exiles ventured to remonstrate at the commencement of this persecution.<sup>1</sup> John Foxe after the murder of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer addressed to the nobility of England a strong expostulation. It is the first treatise ever published in favour of religious toleration, and has been considered one of the most eloquent appeals of that day:—

“It was contrary to his disposition,” he said, “to interfere with the duties of his superiors in their high stations; yet the people had now fallen into such straits, that as they could neither be silent without impiety, nor speak without danger, he begged them to consider, not so much what courtesy, as what duty, might require.” “Who,” he says, “most exalted fathers, can bear this; who will not deplore it; whom will it not draw to groans and tears, even if we have never seen England, to hear of so much Christian blood being shed in the land; that so many ingenious citizens, so many honourable and innocent men, promiscuously, with women, are daily in danger of their lives and fortunes—are slain, burnt, and torn to pieces, almost without bounds and number? If the barbarians from farthest Turkey, or a fierce enemy from some other quarter, invading England, had caused such a slaughter of the nation, perhaps neither the calamity nor the complaint would have been less. This cruelty would have been the same in reality, yet the opinion of the nation would have lessened it. But now those persons, whose safety belongs principally to you, ye see and allow to be apprehended, to be hunted after, to be torn in pieces and lacerated—English, their countrymen—magistrates, those under their command—Christians, those of the same religion. Those who, under the government of the most celebrated prince Edward VI., enjoyed, when at home, not only security of life, but even pleasure; now, the aspect of human affairs being changed towards them, are deprived by dreadful torments of that life which they cannot protect; not that their life or manners are changed, but because the times have changed.

“And where is the gentleness of Paul, where is your mercy, most gentle lords, where that ancient and ever-lauded piety of the English, even towards their enemies, if, among yourselves, ye desire to be so fierce and deadly? I know that the variety of dispositions in the world is great, almost numberless, both among men and among animals; but surely nothing is so becoming and natural to honourable men, nothing is so agreeable to this nature as a certain generous disposition and ingenuousness of manners; which benefits every one, does harm to none, unless it hath received an injury, and not then indeed, unless more by compulsion than of its own desire: and that more for the public good than its own cruelty. Generous piety will indeed forget its own injuries, and be more desirous for the preservation than the destruction of the wretched (offenders); excusing, defending, assisting them, and relinquishing the accusation, whenever they can find an opportunity of mercy.

“But now so great is the degeneracy of men, or shall I say, of the times, that towards men, not only not wicked, but of an innocent and blameless life, by whom none of you have been injured, or are likely to be injured, but towards men, good, publicly as well as privately, the

(1) See Warner's Ecclesiastical History of England, vol. ii. pp. 369, 370.

cruelty of some so burns, that there is no hostile nation, however barbarous, where they cannot sleep safer than among their own people." He expresses deep regret that "what nature among unbelieving nations, and literature among civilized ones, have been able to accomplish, piety, the power of the gospel, and that kindness so often inculcated by Christ, are unable to excite among the English: but for the slightest cause, yea, even for no cause at all, they are hurried to punishment. So cold every where is brotherly love, that I know not but that the same will be inflicted upon me which happened to Justin Martyr, the apologist for the early Christians, who, while he pleaded for the martyrs, himself suffered martyrdom."<sup>1</sup>

This brings us to that by which John Foxe is best known—his Martyrology. The Marian persecutors were shedding the blood of—take them for all in all—the noblest body of victims that were ever offered on an unrighteous altar. Such transactions could not be permitted to be buried in the episcopal registers, or confined to the memory of their contemporaries. These horrible atrocities called aloud for an historian. The publications which Foxe had already given to the world pointed him out as the fittest person to record the actions and deaths of the martyrs in England. Foxe was as eager to write, as they could be to furnish the materials; while therefore he continued to correct the press for Oporinus and other printers, and to translate Cranmer's work on the Eucharist, he devoted every spare moment to carrying on his Ecclesiastical History. In this work he received material assistance from Grindal,<sup>2</sup> who had considerable influence both at home and among the exiles, and kept up a correspondence with England, for the purpose of procuring authentic details of the examinations and sufferings of the most distinguished martyrs. At first it was intended that Foxe should translate these narratives into Latin, and publish each one separately, with liberty to introduce his translations afterwards into the contemplated continuation of his Ecclesiastical History; and that somebody else should in the meantime publish the same narratives in English. This was really done in the instance of the narrative of Philpot's examinations, which were published separately both in Latin and English. Foxe received also from Grindal, with the same view, Bradford's examinations, and those of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; all which he translated into Latin. But there was a failure in the English portion of the intended publications, and also in the scheme of separate publication in Latin. Grindal recommended in a letter to Foxe, dated June 10th 1557, that the history should be finished and published at once as far as the end of the reign of King Henry VIII.; and in the mean time the history of this persecution might be arranged and completed about Michaelmas.

In the year following queen Mary died, November 17th 1558. Foxe, at the persuasion of Grindal and Sampson,<sup>3</sup> continued at Bâse, until he could

(1) See Strype's Life of Cranmer, Appendix lxxxv., and Harleian MSS. 417, fol 100. This is in fact the beginning of the long Appeal given in the Appendix, No. XVII., printed at Bâse in March 1557, and afterwards in the Latin folio of 1559, p. 239.

(2) The ensuing account of Foxe's Latin folio of 1559 is founded on the first seven letters in the Parker Society's Remains of Grindal, also Letters x. xiv. xvii. xviii. in the first series of Zurich Letters. They also furnished the account before given of his translation of Cranmer's work on the Eucharist.

(3) *Grindal to Foxe.*

"Sal. in Christo. Mutationes temporum meum etiam institutum mutarunt, doctissime et clarissime Foxe; ego jam cogor argentibus amicis in Angliam iter instituire, qui alioqui Basileam ad vos transvolasseni. Jam quod ad Historiam Martyrum attinet, Sampsonus et ego existimamus optimum fore, ut ad aliquod tempus premeretur; donec ex Anglia et certiora et plura comparemus. Dubium enim non est, quin multa tum in lucem prodibunt, quæ antea in tenebris delitescabant. Si tibi etiam idem videatur, bene est. Nos quæcunque possumus tibi corrademus, et ad te transmittenda curabimus. Levis erit jactura temporis, si rerum copiâ et certitudine compensetur Vale in Christo, quam optime.

"EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS tuus.

"Argentinae, raplin 19 Decemb. 1558."

receive more certain and copious intelligence from England of the late persecution, and so complete his work. But though he did not return to England immediately on the accession of Elizabeth, Foxe wrote to her a Latin address, congratulating the queen, in the name of the German nation, on her accession to the throne. It does not consist of merely complimentary and eulogistic phrases, but abounds with useful advice to the queen, the court, and the clergy.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile he made an arrangement with Nicholas Brylinger and John Oporinus, and under their auspices proceeded to publish a volume of his "Ecclesiastical History." He still clung to his notion that it was to be an European history; and in forming his collections he inserted many things that related to foreign countries. But the recent miserable notoriety of England, the greater interest of English affairs in his estimation, and the important materials communicated to him by Grindal, gave to English transactions and to English martyrs so great a preponderance in his collections, that he was obliged again to subdivide his work. Accordingly he put forth his new publication as *Pars Prima*, or the English part, of the great European history which he still contemplated. This publication is a small folio, containing 732 numbered pages, and twelve unnumbered pages of title and Dedication.

In the year after the queen's accession, the Basle edition of his work appeared, dedicated to the duke of Norfolk.<sup>2</sup> The Dedication is written in his usual elegant Latin. He mentions to his former pupil his endeavours to form his youthful mind, and requests him to accept this literary labour from the hands of his old tutor, or, if he would rather, from his now new client. He hopes that it may tend to establish him in the Protestant religion, and that the commentaries will not be read only by him, but by all men of every rank and station, from the highest to the lowest, public and private, not in England merely, but by Christians everywhere. He ascribes the glory to Christ, and adds, "What can be a more delightful contemplation than that, casting one's eye around, we may in such small space consider so many changes of times; see such instability in the mass of the people, that they always follow where the prince leads; to behold so many heroes and chief men—dukes, counts, knights, and esquires—so many, both learned and unlearned, passing in review before one, each performing so bravely and admirably his part; to look upon such an army of most chosen martyrs, O blessed Jesus, contending for thee with such constancy, dying with such fortitude, and disputing with such prudence!" He then says, that it will show God's providence, inflicting upon the heads of some that which they assigned to others; that to many who find there—some perhaps their parents, others their sons, some again their wives, another part husbands, some relations and near connexions, others neighbours and friends—it will be pleasant to read of them in these records, as if each affectionately desired to listen to them speaking. Here, also, is afforded the character of both churches, so that a judgment may be formed without much trouble. There are also the decisions, testimonies, reasonings, and arguments of the most learned martyrs in the weightiest controversies; so that there is left no place for error or doubt. He concludes by saying, "that he desired to say much more, but his time was short, and both printers and markets were urgent." This Dedication is dated September 1st, and will

(1) Printed at Basle by Oporinus.

(2) The title of this edition was "Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosissimis temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam persecutionum, ac sanctorum Dei Martyrum, cæterarumque rerum si quæ insignioris exempli sint, digesti per Regna et Nationes Commentarii. Pars Prima, in qua primum de Rebus per Angliam et Scotiam Gestis, atque inprimis de horrendâ sub Mariâ nuper Reginâ persecutione, narratio continetur. Auctore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Basileæ, per Nicolaum Brylingerum et Joannem Oporinum." The dedication was "Præpotenti ac pietate non minus quam generis claritudine ornatissimo Principi D. Thomæ Duci Norfolkicæ, supremo regni Ang. Archi-Marschallo, etc., Mæcenati suo, Joan. Foxus perennem in Christo cum salute felicitatem."

be found in the Appendix No. IV.: it is followed by a proœmium "de Historiæ hujus utilitate et fructu," and a discussion "Cur immittantur à Deo persecutiones:" after which comes a short address "Ad Lectorem," given in the note.<sup>1</sup>

The work itself consists of six books, the first of which is little else but a republication of the Strasburg volume of 1554: the other books commence at pp. 119, 215, 404, 543, 639, respectively. At pp. 121, 122, he promises, at some future time, to publish separately the history of the continental martyrs. At pp. 239-261 he reprints his "Expostulation with the Queen and Nobility of England against the persecution," which is printed in the Appendix to this Life, No. XVII. At pp. 309-392 he introduces a treatise of "Hooper on the Eucharist," written in prison, and sent to Bullinger for publication (Epistolæ Tigurinæ, XLVIII.), who sent it to Oporinus at Bâsle, as Foxe himself states at p. 393: this treatise was long supposed to be lost, till it was discovered a few years ago buried in this Latin volume. (See infra, vol. vi. p. 662, Note 1). Another treatise of Hooper, "De vero et falso discernendo cultu," Foxe promises at p. 298, but has unaccountably withheld, and it is not known to exist. The sixth book contains the disputations of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer on the Sacrament. Foxe, while introducing the subject at p. 639, laments that the holy Eucharist, which is the symbol of peace and union, should be the chief cause of dissension. "And oh!" he adds, "that it was nothing else than disputations and strifes of words; but they have verged into a perfect butchery of the gentle martyrs of Christ: and what was the subject which afforded cause for their execution, but the differences of opinion on the Eucharist?"

Great must have been the difficulties with which the author had to contend in the accomplishment of this work. The materials of it were to come from beyond the seas; and to travel far over land, when there were impediments and restrictions innumerable to prevent the safe transit of such papers. Those who sent them, as well as those to whom they were addressed, would be exposed to danger. Moreover, there was then no free press: an *imprimatur* was necessary to give currency to every publication. One edition of this work in Latin was being printed at Bâsle; another in French was in the press at Geneva; so that the burthen upon him was very great. In addition to all these impediments to his more rapid progress in his labours, the pope was exerting himself to the utmost to prevent the free circulation of the books

(1)

"Ad Lectorem.

"Quum primum hunc historiæ Martyrologicæ librum, ante annos complures à nobis in Anglia descriptum, jam ante sexennium Argentinæ impressum in lucem dedimus, satis perfuncti officio nostro videbamur, si tum Wiclevianam persecutionem, resque illorum temporum gestas, à seculi nostri memoria remotiores, qualicunque industria nostra à tenebris ac oblivione vindicaremus; aut si aliis saltem hac occasione calamos expergefacerem, ut per ecclesias alias, suaque quisque in patria idem facerent, quod nos in Britannia nostra fecimus. Id quod evenisse secundum votum nostrum, tum in Germaniâ, tum Geneva, tum etiam alibi, in Gallicis, Germanicis, et Italicis martyribus conquirendis, gaudeo. Neque putavi posthac fore, quod vehementer mihi in hoc argumenti genero necesse deinceps foret nervos intendere, maxime post exactam Henrici octavi Illustriss. principis testatamentum. Atque utinam tempora ipsa oculum mihi et dimissionem ad reliqua studia mea permitterent, quo in lætiori aliqua scribendi materia versari liceret. Sed incidit rursus, nescio quo fato Angliæ nostræ infelici et calamitosa, longè præter expectationem nostram Mariana persecutio quinquennialis, ita per se scriptorem necessario flagitans, ut vix sciam an unquam exoriturus sit, qui tot fantasque res exiguo gestas tempore, tam gravitate insignes, varietate innumeras, atrocitate plusquam tragicas, non dico oratione et stylo, pro rerum dignitate explicare, sed enumerando complecti omnia, aut singula pervestigando indagare atque eruere, poterit, quæ tam variè dispersa persecutionis hujusce tempestas atque ruina suppeditat. Nos etsi Anglia procul absumus, ubi res certissime cognosci potuit; usi tamen Anglorum quorundam administrandis, quum præstare omnia non dabatur, nihil tamen conari in historia tam necessaria non potuimus. Itaque priorem hunc Wiclevianæ historiæ librum, jam ante diu Argentinæ, ut dixi, impressum, cum posteriorum temporum perturbationibus conjungentes, seriem rerum gestarum à ducentis annis perpetuatam per continuas ætates ad hunc usque diem deduximus, ita distinctis historiæ partibus, ut Prior ætas Wiclevicas et Illustrianas res, ad exortum D. Martini Lutheri, complectatur; Secunda Lutheri perturbatissima tempora ad exitum regis Henrici 8 contineat; Tertiã deinde sectionem Mariana hæc persecutio possideat. Illud doluit; in recognoscendis istis et perpeliendis justam nobis operam curamque defuisse. Sic enim urgebat cum temporum ratio, tum duo pariter typographi, alter Basiliensis, qui Latine imprimeret, alter Genevensis, qui Gallicam etiam hujus historiæ editionem cfflagitabat."



which were being published by the Reformers. Leo X. had issued an ordinance commanding that no book be printed until it had been previously subjected to examination. This decree had been confirmed in the tenth session of the Lateran Council held in 1515. The popes assumed the power of prohibiting any publications that opposed their policy. Paul IV., anxious as any of his predecessors to suppress the efforts of the Reformers, issued a prohibitory Index in 1559, the very year of the publication of Foxe's "Commentarii," forbidding by name Oporinus,<sup>1</sup> Stephens, and many others, from printing any book whatever. It is not improbable that the papal decree was more especially aimed at the work of Foxe.

Nor were these the only labours to which this indefatigable student devoted himself. When he saw that his brethren who were united with him in common hostility to the persecutions of Rome deserved censure, he did not hesitate to reprove them. John Knox, who had returned to Geneva at the end of the year 1557, published, early in the year following, his treatise called, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women;" in which he attacked with great vehemence the succession of females to the government of nations. With many of his sentiments it appears Foxe did not agree; and he, therefore, wrote to expostulate with him in a friendly manner upon the impropriety of his book, and the use of such strong language. To this Knox returned the following characteristic answer:—

"The mightie comforte of the Holie Ghost for salutation.

"Dearlie beloved brother, albeit at the departure of this our brother, from whom I receaved your loving and frendlie lettre, my selve could writ nothings be reason of the evill disposition of my bodie, yit becaus I could not suffer him to depart without som remembrance of my deutie to you: I used the help of my left hand, that is of my wief, in scribbling these fewe lynes unto you, as touching my purpose and mynd in the publishing The First Blast of the Trumpet. When the secreates of all hartes shall be disclosed, that shall be known which now by manye can not be perswaded; to wit, that therein I nether have sought my selve nether yit the vain prase of oney; my rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear rather to proceed from eoler than of zeal and reason, I do not excuse; but to have used anye other tyle mor plausible thereby to have allured the world by any art, as I never purposed, soe do I not yit purpose. To me it is yneugh to say that black is not whit; and man's tyrannye and folishnes is not Goddes perfite ordinance; which thinge I do not so much to correct comon welthes as to delyver my own conscience and to instruct the consciences of som semple who yit I fear be ignorant in that matter; but further of this I delay to better opportunitie. Salut your wief and dowghter hartlie in my nam. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you now and ever. From Geneva the 18th of May, 1558.

"Youre brother to power,

"JOHNE KNOX."

"I your sister, the writer hereof, saluteth you and your wief most hartlie, thanking hir of hir loving tokens which my mother and I receaved from Mrs. Kent."<sup>2</sup>

From the conclusion of the letter it seems as if the bearer of it was Lawrence Kent, to whom Knox was known at Frankfort, he being one of the number that seceded from Dr. Cox and his adherents. This letter proves that a daughter had been born to Foxe while abroad, a fact also mentioned

(1) Hallam's Literature of Europe, vol. ii. p. 509, London, 1839.

(2) Harl. MSS. No. 416, p. 70.

by Strype, when recording Grindal's generosity to him. The old Memoir states that he took two children back with him to England, who must have been daughters, as Samuel, born Dec. 31, 1560, called himself his "filius primogenitus."

From a letter of Foxe to Bullinger we find him still at Bâsle so late as Sept. 26th, 1559, making collections for the *Pars Secunda*, or continental portion of his History, which he had promised in due course: this, however, he eventually delegated to Henry Pantaleon of Zurich. He was also still debating with Frosechover, whether to print his translation of Cranmer's work on the Eucharist. He was also "very busy translating the Greek councils with a double commentary,<sup>1</sup> and other engagements." But his principal task being completed, he at length in the month of October returned to England.

## SECTION IV.

### FROM HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE SECOND EDITION OF HIS "ACTS AND MONUMENTS."

A.D. 1559 TO A.D. 1570.

FOXÉ'S POVERTY ON HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND—RESIDENCE AT THE DUKE OF NORFOLK'S, ALD GATE—HIS REFUSAL OF THE CLERICAL HABITS—ORDAINED PRIEST—RESIDENCE AT NORWICH—FIRST EDITION OF THE "ACTS AND MONUMENTS"—HE OBTAINS PREFERMENT IN SALISBURY CATHEDRAL—HIS "SYLLOGISTICON"—HIS CORRESPONDENCE—ELIZABETH DENOUNCED BY A PAPAL BULL—FOXÉ'S SERMON ON "CHRIST CRUCIFIED"—THE SECOND EDITION OF THE "ACTS AND MONUMENTS."

JOHN FOXE arrived in England, with his wife and two children, in a state of great privation and distress, and wrote without delay to his former patron the duke of Norfolk. The duke was not in London at the time, but was residing at his place of Kenninghall in Norfolk, from whence he sent the following reply:—

"I have received your letter, my excellent preceptor, from which I learn your affection towards me, which is very acceptable to me. And unless the return of my servants had preceded my letters, you would have been here with me before this. For I wrote to them that they should so provide you with all things, that you might speedily come to me, which would have so happened, had they not returned more quickly than I expected. Now, since I shall be in London shortly, I wish you to await me there, when, as I desire and ought, I will look to you. In the mean time I bid you farewell.—From my house at Kenninghall, the 30th October, 1559.

"Your pupil,

"THOMAS NORFOLK.

"To my right loving schoolmaster John Foxe."<sup>2</sup>

(1) See Zurich Letters, 1st Series, Letters x. xv. xviii.

(2) "Accepi litteras tuas, optime preceptor, quibus mihi quod animi haberes significasti, quodque mihi valde charum est. Et nisi famulorum meorum redditus litteras meas prævenisset, multo antehac tu hic mecum fuisses. Scripsi enim ad illos, ut ita tibi de rebus omnibus providerent, ut ad me subito venires; quod et ita factum fuisset, nisi citius quam credideram redissent. Nunc quoniam ipse brevi te Londini videbo, velim ut ibi me expectes, quando tibi (sicut et debeo et volo) prospiciam. Interea jubeo te valere. Ex ædibus meis Keninghallæ, tricesimo die Octobr. 1559.

"To my right loving schoolmaster John Foxe."

Harl. MSS. No. 417, fol. 115 b.

"Tuus alumnus,

"THOMAS NORFOLK.

Foxe and his family were soon after admitted to residence in the duke's manor-house, at Christ Church, Aldgate.

His labours, talents, and usefulness would doubtless have been rewarded at this time by preferment in the church; but, like most if not all of the exiles, he disliked the habits which the queen required the clergy to wear, viz. the academic gown and hood, the square cap, and the surplice. Most of them indeed, after full deliberation, concluded that it would be wrong in them to refuse the situations offered them in the church on account of habits not abstractedly evil, especially as purity of doctrine was secured; and they felt that if they stood aloof it might open the door to concealed papists: they resolved therefore that they would conform to the established order. Others, and among them John Foxe, demurred. He wished to recede further from popery. He was a decided Episcopalian, and never united himself to any schismatical separatists from the church; and shortly after his return to England he received priest's orders at St. Paul's at the hands of his dear friend, Edmund Grindal, now bishop of London, January 25th, 1560.<sup>1</sup> But he declined to go like a mass priest, and refused the habits. He raised no factions opposition to them, but was content to hold his opinions in quietude,<sup>2</sup> and was therefore allowed unmolested to exercise his gifts as a preacher, which he did with much acceptance during the remainder of his life. But his scruples of conscience debarred him from the higher preferments of the church; yet, in common with others who held similar objections, he was admitted to some preferment, as will appear.

He was now making active preparations for an edition of his "Martyrology" in English; and his intense application and studious habits, following on the privations of his exile, were impairing his constitution. It was probably in consequence of the bad state of health into which he was falling, that the duke of Norfolk, in the ensuing spring, invited him into the country, as we may gather from the following affectionate letter, which rather implies that they had not yet met:—

"I am greatly rejoiced, my Foxe, since your coming is so near at hand: and I think every day a year until I behold yourself. Your love and labour bestowed upon me in my youth and poverty I forget not; and, God willing, you shall find that it has not been bestowed upon an ungrateful man. I am ashamed of my unskilfulness in the letters I write to you, but my affection compelled me to do that for you, which I wish to do for no other, because I have not for five years past written a Latin epistle. As other business calls me, and that I may not detain you from other engagements by these barbarous letters, hoping to see you in a few days, I wish you, in Christ, the happiest life and arrival.

"*March 5.* "Your most loving scholar, "THO. NORFOLK."<sup>3</sup>

From this temporary sojourn in the country Foxe doubtless returned to London greatly refreshed. Another opportunity of similar refreshment pre-

(1) Strype, Annals, vol. i. The ordination is recorded in a book of ordinations kept in St. Paul's muniment room, distinct from the Grindal Register, exactly as Strype represents.

(2) On Foxe's peaceable disposition in the matter, see Strype's *Life of Parker*, book iii. chap. xi.

(3) "*Dux Norfolciensis ad D. Joh. Foxum.*"

"Incredibili gaudio obruor, mi Foxe, cum tuum adventum jam appropinquare conspicio; et tamen computans unumquemque diem annum, donec tuam personam intueor. Tuum amorem atque laborem, in juventute et paupertate meâ in me impensum, non obliviscor, et, Deo volente, in memorem hominem collocatum invenies. Pudet me meam dissuetudinem in literis tibi his scriptis indicare, sed amor cogit me tibi id facere quod nemini alii volui; nam nunquam scripsi epistolam Latinam istis jam quinque præteritis annis, sic aliis negotiis me tempus appellavit, et ne longo tempore his barbaris litteris te in rebus tuis impedire possim, sperans te hic videre infra paucos dies, opto tibi in Christo felicissimam vitam atque adventum. Die Martii 5.

"Tuus scholasticus amatissimus,

"THO. NORFOLK.

sented itself in the autumn of the same year. His intimate friend and fellow-exile, John Parkhurst, was consecrated bishop of Norwich September 1st, and invited Foxe, whom he greatly esteemed, to accompany him to his new diocese. "The bishop," says Strype, "took Foxe down to Norwich with him, not only for his company, but to preach the Gospel, being of excellent eloquence; and to instruct the people in good religion, which was much needed, as bishop Hopton, the last popish bishop in the reign of Mary, who died in the same year with that queen, had leavened the diocese with popery." In the last night of this year his eldest son Samuel was born at Norwich, showing incidentally that his family as well as himself had the benefit of this country sojourn.

During his residence at Norwich he was engaged in preaching; and in translating or rewriting his historical work in English; and in corresponding with his friends, by whom he seems to have been regarded with much veneration and affection, as we learn from various letters still extant. He is solicited by one to remember certain in his prayers to God, they not having bowed the knee to Baal; as also to obtain for others some preferment, he himself being still without either a benefice or an ecclesiastical dignity. The following is a copy of the letter, addressed to him at Norwich:—

"Derelye beloved in Christ Jesus, oure onlye comforte in all extreme assaults, &c. These fewe words are but as a testemonie of my hartie salutations unto youe. contynuallye wysshynge youe prosperous successe in the Lordes harveste, and that many laborers maye by your meanes be sent forthe in that good worke to call the yonglings to the greate supper of the lambe that was slayne from the begynninge of the worlde, &c.; and for your memento I have noted a fewe names, which have not bowed their knees to Baall; which I commit to your remembrance: not that I judge ye have them in oblivion, but that I must have somewhat to blot my paper wythe, to make matter, &c. Mr. Brull,<sup>1</sup> James Yonge, Mr. Playfer, William Fausset, mynister of Lynseye, and thys berer Peter Foxman,<sup>2</sup> are all vertuous men, fearinge God. These fewe, with many others, I trust shall not be forgotten. Elyzabeth my wyffe, and our brother To. Upcher, salutethe youe, desyringe youe, when ye speake unto God, to tell hym of us. Thus the eternall Spirite governe youe in all youre affaires, to hys glorie and your everlastynge comforte in hym. Thys 18 November, Anno D<sup>ni</sup>. 1560, in London.

"Syr, yf ye can procure some lyvinge of 50<sup>li</sup>. a yeare, or upwarde, for Robarde Cooll, he ys mynded heare to give up wheare he ys; and also Rycharde Berde, a good mynister. I comyt them all to your remembrance. Once agayne byddinge yowe hartely farewell in Christ. Amen.

"Youres in the Lorde assuredlye, "WYLLIAM WYNTROPP."

"To hys very ffrende Mr. Jhon Foxe, preacher in Norwiche."<sup>3</sup>

While Foxe was here Richard Pratt, a London minister and Foxe's old friend, wrote to him lamenting his absence:—"What great comfort we had in your presence, and what great loss we have by your absence, it is best known to us who have tasted of both. Notwithstanding, we must be content to lose you for a time, considering that you are daily travailling to win others that are not forward as we (in London) are. God bless all your doings." He adds a hope that he will not mention the difference between bishop Ferrar and George Constantine (then dead, he says,) and Robert Young, archbishop-designate of York, as the bishop was reconciled to them before his death, and regrets that the subject was mentioned in his Latin book. Foxe

(1) Written "B .ll" by Strype, Annals vol. i. chap. 16.

(3) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 106.

(2) "Forman," Strype.

did not see fit to yield to this request.<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated January 29th, 1560-1.<sup>2</sup>

How long Foxe continued at Norwich is not certain. From a diary of Samuel Foxe still extant,<sup>3</sup> it seems that the family remained at Norwich for three years. Foxe himself can scarcely have remained so long: the desire to devote his life to perfecting his History according to the original plan overruled all considerations of self; and the necessity of inspecting registers and collecting authentic details would compel him to return to London long before bishop Parkhurst would be willing to part with him; and he repaired to the town residence of the duke of Norfolk. "That most bounteous, charitable, and princely lord," says one of Foxe's principal contemporary admirers,<sup>4</sup> "gave him free entertainment and dwelling for him and his, at his manor of Christ's Church, by Aldgate. From that his house, he travelled weekly, every Monday, to the printing-house of John Day. In that, my father's house, many days and years, and infinite sums of money, were spent to accomplish and consummate his English 'Monuments,' and other many excellent works in English and Latin." This language is certainly indefinite, and must refer not merely to the residence of Foxe immediately on his return from Norwich, but to his general residence in London for many successive years. The pension, however, allowed him by the duke was but small; and he exhibited for some time much the same shabby exterior in which he had returned to England. He himself alludes to this in a letter which he purposed sending to his friend Humphrey, on hearing that he was appointed president of Magdalen in December 1561. Assuming that Humphrey had conceded the point of the clerical habits, on which he had hitherto been at one with himself, Foxe says:—"Are you not ashamed to become such a deserter from our order of mendicant, or, if you prefer it, preaching friars? You ought to have taken example of greater constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes and remain in the same sordid condition as when I first returned to England from Germany." Before Foxe had finished his letter, however, one arrived from Humphrey, showing that Foxe had misjudged his friend; when he drew his pen across the letter: it is given however in the note,<sup>5</sup> as affording an interesting insight into the working of his mind. But it gives a high idea of the firmness and conscientiousness of Foxe, that he could see many of his more compliant brethren stepping from poverty into their carriages, as he expresses it, without being moved from his purpose. Such conduct was sure to draw forth the sympathy of his friends. We should probably assign to

(1) See vol. vii., pp. 7—21, of this edition.

(2) Harl. MSS. 416, p. 178.

(3) See Lansdowne MSS. 679, fol. 30; and Strype's Annals, vol. iii. book 2, Appendix xviii.

(4) Richard Day, in his preface to the "Christus Triumphans."

(5) "Gratulor tibi quòd fortuna tam splendida, illis quòd talis tamque non obscurus contigerit collegiarcha.

"Sed quid tibi gratulari incipio, qui multò magis tecum expostulare debeam? Age enim hic tandem, o bone. Itane nos nostrumque gregem et ordinem deseruisse te ac abiisse, fugitive transfuga, nonne pudet? Atqui ex me exemplum petere debebas majoris constantiæ, quippe qui in hisdem pannis et sordibus quibus me recepit Anglia redeuntem ex Germania persisto, nec gradum nullo nec ordinem, qui est videlicet fratrum mendicantium, vel si velis prædicantium. Atque in hoc ordine eras et ipse, futurus fortasse unâ nobiscum bonus socius. Nunc tu relicto ordine hoc ecclesiæ nostræ nescio quo, ascendisti albis (quod aiunt) vestris quadrigis.

"Cæterum dum cæteris in hac tuâ fortunâ gratulor—et lubenter gratulor—mihi interim, eximie Præses, nescio quo pacto scrupulus nonnullus animo oboritur, subvertenti ne ex quâ re cæteri lucrum comparent ego damnum sustineam. Quid istuc? inquires. Si pateris cum pristino congerone pristino meo modo nugari, dicam. Nam dum cæteri quidem illi bonum præsidem adepti sunt, metus est ne ego amiserim bonum socium. Quamdiu enim superior te habebat fortuna, hoc est quamdiu nostri ordinis eras et loci, licuit te tanquam bono socio tui familiariter, licuit salutare audacter atque unâ conversari libere: faciebat enim fortunæ similitudo consuetudinem familiarem, *κατὰ τὴν παρομοίαν ὁμοίον πρὸς ὁμοίον*. Nunc vero cum socius esse desieris, factus socio-rum præses, quid superest ergo nisi ut Laurentio illi veteri sodali valedicam? quem alio nomenclato bonum socium fuisse memini. Nunc qualis sit, versus in tantum præsidem, nescio. Quòd si mihi effecerit industria tua, ut uterque salvus maneat, hoc est, ut dum illi bonum invenient præsidem ego Laurentium illum meum bonum videlicet socium non amittam,—Atqui ecce hæc ad te scribenti commodum supervenerunt tuæ literæ, veteris Laurentii mei non manum modo sed et pectus et pectoris candorem referentes."

this same year (1561) an invitation down to Bugden, to renew his intercourse with a recently-returned fellow-exile, to which he replied in the following letter :—

“The grace of Christ Jesus grant us hys everlastyng comfort, through true fayth in hym. Amen. Of your long looked for return I am glad. Of your preserved health I am more glad. As also, yf yt so please y<sup>e</sup> Lord we may mete here at London, I wyl not be sory. Yf strength and courage had been correspondent to my wyl, I wold have been glad to have seen you at this present at Bugden, and to have seen Bugden for your sake. But this doubtful whether, this could ayr, y<sup>e</sup> foule way, and y<sup>e</sup> weakenes of my health, would not wel matche together, or els no travayle, nor lack of good wyl, shuld have witholden me from rydyng to Mr. Hyckman, to no man in England more sōner. Nothwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> which serveth not now, may serve an other tyme, if yt so please y<sup>e</sup> Lord, our merciful Saviour, who confirme and stablyshe us daily, increasyng in the trew knowledge of hys name; and if yt be hys pleasure, graunt we may both safely and shortly see yow here at London. Londini, Octob. 5. I pray you commend me to your good hoast, and to your good hoastess, and to your good wife.

“Your in Christ, JOHN FOXE.”<sup>1</sup>

A letter addressed by Foxe to archbishop Parker,<sup>2</sup> probably in the next year (1562), affords a glimpse of the pains which he was taking to procure the most authentic accounts possible of the Acts of the martyrs. Having found in the bishop of London's register, that a certified copy of the celebrated disputation of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford had been exhibited in Convocation under the seal of the University, 1<sup>o</sup> Mariæ, he applied to the archbishop for assistance in discovering the document; which was probably found and used by Foxe, the same which is now in the Harleian MSS. 3642. The affectionate remembrance in which he was held by his Continental friends is exemplified by a letter received in the same year from his friend Oporinus, in which he thanked him for a book, of which he supposed Foxe to be the author, on the “Cruelty of the Papists.”<sup>3</sup>

At length the spring of the ensuing year (1563)<sup>4</sup> witnessed the publication of the first English edition of his great work, under the following title :—“Actes and Monuments of these latter perillous days touching matters of the Churche, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish Prelates, specially in this realme of England and Scotland, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousand unto the time now present, &c., gathered and collected accordinge to the true copies and wrytyngs certificatorie, as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops' registers, which were the doers thereof. By John Foxe. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneth St. Martin's. Anno 1563, the

(1) Harl. MSS. No. 416, fol. 134.

(2) “Parker Correspondence,” by the Parker Society, p. 160.

(3) “Salutem. Literæ tuæ, mi D. Foxe, fuerant mihi longè gratissimæ una cum libello de papistarum tyrannide, quem tamen obiter tantum inspicere hic licuit: domum reversus diligentius percurram, suspicor enim, te, licet nomen non adjeceris, operis ejus autorem. Pro utroque ingentes tibi gratias ago, ut quam suavissimas litteras animi tui erga me testes notissimas et elegantissimum libellum ad me miseris. Quod si etiam libellum de statu Belgico misisses, rem adhuc mihi gratiorum fecisses, non quod illo carere diutius nequeam, sed quod verear ne omnino aliquando pereat, non indignum alloqui quin legatur et in lucem etiam aliquando prodeat. Libenter aliquid librorum ad te misissem hoc tempore a me excusorum, si recipere eorum curam quisquam voluisset; vix effeci ut litteras reciperent. Sed proximis nundinis, citius fortasse, curabo. Bene vale, doctissime Foxe, et de recognoscendis aliquibus martyribus tuis quæso serio etiam cogita. Franckofordiæ, Sept. 1, 1562.—Harl. MSS. No. 417, art. 43, fol. 108 b.

(4) Bishop Parkhurst informs Bullinger, in a letter of April 26th, 1563, that Foxe's Book of English Martyrs “was published four days before Easter,” which fell on April 11th in 1563.—Zurich Letters, p. 128.

20th of March. Cum gratia & privilegio regiæ Majestatis." It was comprised in one folio volume, containing 1742 pages, exclusive of the prefaces, index, &c.

It has not been observed by any writer, that on the very same day—“XIII. Kalend. April, A.D. 1563”—the *Pars Secunda* or Latin account of the Continental martyrs was published at Bâsle by Oporinus, answering to Foxe's *Pars Prima* published at Bâsle in 1559." This "Second Part" had been promised by Foxe at pp. 121, 122, of his Latin volume; but Henry Pantaleon of Zurich informs us that he had been solicited by Foxe and Bale, with whom when at Bâsle he was intimately acquainted, to undertake the task; and after long waiting in vain for his English friend to move in the matter, he had accomplished it himself. It exactly matches with Foxe's *Pars Prima*, and is frequently bound up with it in the same volume.

But to return to Foxe's first English Martyrology of 1563. We find it preceded by five introductory prefaces, each of which "in thoughts that breathe and words that burn" expresses the solemn conviction, that the souls of men were endangered by the wilful corruptions of God's revealed truth adopted by the Church of Rome, and maintained by her priesthood under the most tremendous spiritual anathemas, enforced wherever there was the power with all the terrors of secular pains and penalties.

I. The first preliminary paper is an address, in the most devout spirit and language, to Jesus Christ. He calls it *Eucharisticon*; and amply will it repay the labour and attention which may be devoted to its perusal. "The work," he says, "O adorable and supreme Saviour, which I began and have completed under thy divine favour, contrary to the conviction which I entertained of my own strength and power, I now dedicate to thee. Thine omnipotent majesty cannot but know the labours, the watchings, the anxieties, which have attended the progress of the work, and which could not have been overcome unless thy divine grace had shone upon me. I thank thee, not only in my own name, but in the name of thy holy church. Thy favour is the proof of the value in which thou holdest the martyrs of thy church. Thy will it was that I should declare to all men how honourable it is to die, valiantly contending for the glory of thy name. Every nation, people, and language, to the most remote posterity, shall praise the names of Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, and Hooper, of Bradford and others, who died preferring thy glory to their own safety; and all who honour them shall despise and abhor their persecutors and destroyers." He proceeds to lament the degeneracy of the day in which he and the sons of the martyrs lived; and commends his labour to the favour and protection of Him to whom every knee shall bow, and whose glory shall be confessed through all the churches of God. The cause of the Reformers and the Reformation is identified throughout, as the cause of the Apostles and of Christianity was identified at the beginning—with the cause of Christ. The same fearlessness of man, and the same devotion of heart to God, enabled each to conquer priestcraft, and to give both truth and freedom to the world.

II. The second preface was a Dedication to queen Elizabeth. He compares her to the emperor Constantine, inasmuch as he delivered the primitive church from the cruel persecutions of Pagan Rome; while she effected a similar deliverance of the church of these later times from the worse tyranny and persecution of Papal Rome. Moreover, as Eusebius the historian, when invited by Constantine to ask for some boon as a mark of the imperial favour towards him, simply requested his authority to search the records of the Roman tribunals, that he might exhibit from thence the acts and sufferings of all the witnesses for Christ in those early persecutions; so Foxe solicits for himself her Majesty's aid and protection, in exhibiting the

heroic fortitude of those who had suffered in the same cause and quarrel : especially as he anticipated incurring the bitter enmity of those who favoured the corruptions of popery.

III. But, though the martyrologist anticipated the rage of the prejudiced enemies of the Reformed faith, he was too deeply learned to shrink from any criticism, or any inquiry, which the most profound scholar of that age of scholars could institute or demand. His next preface, therefore, was addressed "Ad Doctum Lectorem"—and it is at once a challenge to the critic to discover any intentional misrepresentations, and an apology for unavoidable defects. "When I consider,"<sup>1</sup> he says, "the difficulty, in times when all things are misrepresented, of writing with such circumspection as to avoid calumny, I almost deem that those persons are subjects of envy, who live in ease and dignity, enjoying the labours of others, as spectators, rather than as actors in the great theatre of life. Never has it been my lot to taste the sweetness of such leisure. I do not, however, complain, if my labours might be but useful: though I suffer under the disadvantage of not being able to render my subject interesting; for I cannot relate falsehoods without injustice to my history, nor speak the truth without the hatred and envy of many. What else indeed could have been expected, than that, after I had by my indefatigable, though perhaps useless labour, ruined my health, lost my sight, brought on premature old age, and exhausted my strength, I should suffer from the contempt and scorn of my calumniators, No human aid, indeed, could have supported me; nothing but the divine power alone, to whom I have and do commend myself and my book. And to thee also, learned and pious reader, in the same spirit I submit my labours."

He goes on to remark on the impossibility of pleasing all, and especially those, who, even before the publication of his book, professed to anticipate a golden legend only. He relates the sacrifice of health, by which alone he had been able to complete his work. He contrasts the truth of his narrative with the falsehood of those real legends in which his adversaries were accustomed to believe. He alludes to his framing the calendar, in which he substitutes the names of his martyrs for those which the Romanists had placed in their calendars; and he inquires, whether Cranmer was not as worthy of a place in their commemorations as Becket; whether Nicholas Ridley was not fit to be compared with pope Nicholas; or whether Latimer, Hooper, and Marsh were not as admirable, and as praiseworthy, as the best and greatest of those whom the Romanists esteemed? "I wish," he adds, "neither to diminish the honour nor extinguish the memory of any good or holy man, in whatever age he may have lived; and if my calendar of saints offend any, let it be remembered, that I arrange them in their places, in the days of the months, for the use of domestic reading, and not for any commemoration in the service and house of God."

He concludes with a beautiful paragraph, expressing his consciousness of much imperfection, after all his efforts; and reminding the reader of the Greek proverb, that it is more easy to criticise than to imitate.

IV. The fourth preface is addressed "To the persecutors of God's truth."

He upbraids them with their cruel butchery of multitudes—men, women, and children of all ranks in society—whose blood cried to heaven for vengeance. He reproaches them with their own scandalous lives. He also challenges them to produce any warrant from God's Word for the cruel and tyrannical statutes under which they excused themselves. He calls for proof of the alleged heresy of the martyrs, and compares their doctrines with the teaching of Paul and the primitive church: he shows in fact that nothing made them

(1) It is written in Latin. The commencement is an imitation, apparently, of Cicero's introduction to his "De Oratore:"—"Cogitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo," &c.



heretics but the Romish canons of later ages. Finally he exhorts them to consider their ways. Return and reform yourselves, repent your murders, cease your persecutions, strive not against the Lord, but rather bewail your iniquities, which, though they be great and greater than you are aware, yet they are not so great, but Christ is greater if ye repent betime.

V. The next prefatory tract to this edition is an address "On the utility of this story," being a translation of the Latin preface "De Utilitate," &c., prefixed to the Basle book of 1559. It consists of some general though apt remarks on the value of history, and more especially on the usefulness of a martyrology, which he therefore published for the use of the common people. "In the lives and deaths of these men," he observes, "we have the manifest declarations of the divine power within them: when we behold such strength to suffer, such readiness to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, such cheerfulness and courage in suffering, with such manifold sense of the divine presence, the deaths of these saints do not a little avail to the establishing of a good conscience, to the contempt of the world, and to the fear of God. They confirm faith, increase godliness, abate pride in prosperity, and in adversity do open an hope of heavenly comfort. For, what man, reading the misery of these godly persons, may not therein, as in a glass, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godless? For, if God give adversity unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evil not fear? And as by reading of profane stories we are made more skilful, perhaps, in warlike affairs, so by reading this we are made better in our livings; and, besides, are better prepared unto the like conflicts (if by God's permission they shall happen hereafter), more wise by their doctrine, and more stedfast by their example."—"To be short, they declare to the world what true Christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in the hope of the resurrection to come. In consideration whereof, methinks I have good cause to wish that, like as other subjects, even so also kings and princes, which commonly delight in heroical stories, would diligently peruse such monuments of martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their walls, cups, rings, and gates."

—"If martyrs, too, are to be compared with martyrs, I see no reason why the martyrs of our time deserve any less commendation than the other in the primitive church, which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise; whether we view the number of them that suffered, or the greatness of their torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of posterity, and increase of the gospel. They did water with their blood the truth that was newly springing up; so these by their deaths restored it again, being so decayed and fallen down. They, standing in the forward of the battle, did receive the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught us by that means to overcome such tyranny; these with like courage again, like old beaten soldiers, did win the field in the rereward of the battle. They, like famous husbandmen of the world, did sow the fields of the church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these with their blood did cause it to batten and fructify. Would to God the fruit might be speedily gathered into the barn, which only remaineth behind to come!"

"If we ascribe such reputation, too," he adds, "to godly preachers (and worthily), which diligently preach the Gospel of Christ when they live, notwithstanding, without all fear of persecution, how much more reasonable cause have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their lives for the defence of the same! All these premises duly, of our parts, considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous martyrs in this our age, let us not

fail, then, in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that point we seem more unkind to them than the writers of the primitive church were to theirs. And though we impute not their ashes, chains, and swords, instead of relics, yet, let us yield thus much unto their commemoration, to glorify the Lord in his saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their lives, at the least, with like innocency. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors; and is it so great a matter, then, for our part, to mortify our flesh, with all the members thereof? They continued in patient suffering when they had most wrong done to them, and when their very hearts' blood gushed out of their bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready, for every trifling offence, to seek his destruction, and cut his throat? They, wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their persecutors; and therefore ought we, which are now the posterity and children of martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but, being admonished by their examples, if we cannot express their charity towards all men, yet, at least, to imitate the same, to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any: and if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving, and not revenging the same. And let us not only keep our hands from shedding of blood, but our tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, by martyrdom or loss of life, according to their example, to yield up the same in defence of the Lord's flock. Which thing, if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the world than now is. And thus much touching the utility and fruit to be taken of this history."

The reception of the book was enthusiastic. "Great," says Strype, "was the expectation of the book here in England, before it came abroad. The papists scurrilously called it Foxe's Golden Legend. When it first appeared there was extraordinary fretting and fuming at it through all quarters of England, and" on the Continent, "even to Louvaine." The common people of England welcomed it as the true record of the past; and they loved the church of their forefathers as they saw it restored by the queen, because of the power which Foxe had given them, of estimating its superior pretensions to their favour now that it was invested with the Christianity of the primitive church.

The contemporary objections which were made to it—and such a book could not be free from unintentional errors—were fully and candidly considered by its truth-seeking author. These, and the subsequent objections which were made to it, shall be considered presently.

The devotional, amiable, and gentle spirit of Foxe is eminently conspicuous in his letter to the president and fellows of Magdalen, presenting a copy of his work. After many expressions of regret, that he cannot submit to them any labour more worthy of their acceptance, he affirms that he published the work, not in Latin, which might have been more imposing and pleasant to them, but *in English, for the good of the country and for the information of the multitude*. He commends his book to the approbation of Oxford generally, but especially to the Society of Magdalen. The best part of his History, he observes, relates to Oxford itself, whence, as from a fountain, the Reformation took not only its first beginning, but its increase. He prays that the Lord Jesus Christ would preserve them and their president, and prosper their studies to the glory of His name.<sup>1</sup> Deep and bitter, therefore, must be the regret of those who admire the character and appreciate the services of

(1) The letter will be found in the Appendix No. VI. Among the Magdalen College accounts of 1563 appears the following item:—"Solutum M<sup>ro</sup> Foxe pro libro ad Collegium missio vi lib. x.111 s. 1111 d." A letter of thanks from Foxe to his College is preserved among the Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 124.

Multis magnisque doctis & ornatissimo viro, P. Lamerius,  
collegii Magdalenensis praefidi, pariter et vniuersae & horti  
reliquorum bonorum locupletissimo, eiusdem collegii socijs  
Ioa. Foxus Saluto et pace in Christo, fave fave.

Epsi inibi erat in vobis mors digna atq; idonua. quod beate mar. & magha  
lona, veteris hospite ac miferis mea praedi amitterem, at vidua tamca  
Euarachina opulenta illi in status penuria, huc quodlibetq; le mbratidm  
nos. dicitur a mimibus, pro veteri meo cura vos studio, vel officio potius  
venerit idemq; doctis & sancti praefidi dicitur, vosq; praefer vniuersi  
eiusde sodalitatatis collegio rōmōcipimū] in publicis verarū mstrū cōiū  
endas venim. Vos in admittendo libro futretis, pro libero arbitratu  
meo, quod videbitur. Nihil: ut ingenue fatear, indignius quiddo,  
ac idcirco esse videtur, q̄nt in chartophylarū mstrū scripi dicitur,  
praefatam quā de sermōis genere cōscripta historia nullū magis fore  
nō gaudijs vestris praestare queat. Et tamē hīc me, mēso quo parō,  
perstruxit, vniuersis prouē et indim non Carbrandi bēthopola  
pellop oratio, sic ad profuandū mstrū, ut nō supra in tali  
tam diu gradum vidēri possit amittitur. Anxietate porro nonnil  
hōr nōtū di fiducie, tanta quada est iā cōm mstrū nōm erga collegiū  
illud pōpōfū, velle dūde erga mē humanitatis, simulq; mōi  
mōi, mōi erga nos officij recordatio. Intelligo em quid vobis  
sistat, quid dicitur rōfodabibis, quid dicitur vniuerso magdalenensiu  
ordm ac rostri sed praecipue quid ipse inprimis tharybimo.  
collegiarū, viro ornatissimo, d. Lamerio dēbam, em quot quōsq;  
sē nominibus dēntibus nullo modo obmisi aut praeterire  
potero. Praeter nos spmōles arechis dūiq; quōd quā hystoria  
hūius bona magna q̄ opomōfem hanc nōstrā abingal praedemā,  
vnde ven ex fonte prima nōtū mstrū, sed et mremōta  
lupit ac sumit quōra & felix hōr et aspirata reformate per  
orbem cōspiciant religiois propagatio, nōstrū nem facturus,  
nō vobis ingratam, aut mōi mstrū officio vidēbar, si de rebus  
magis exomōfibus rōfcripta hystoria, ad ex magdalenā gymnu  
sō vōstrū, hōr est, ad primam in nobis dūm rōpōfictis Academia  
collegiū, vult in arō quada mstrū ac hēvā penas vos aseranda  
rōfodare hōr tōm dōct latine nō ego scripū opus, quo nō ad phres  
emanare simul hystoria, vel vobis nō rōdior eius ego possit hūic.  
Atq; equid nullo id mstrū Sed hūc nō adēgit vōis pānae, ac mstrū  
dūm & dīfrāda respectus, vni et vos iplos iā hōr rōdonare agm est.  
Habetis rāhōm et rāntas, quōs ad mstrū hystoria nō pronoratus. hūc hystoria  
habet ipsa, quā vult pro tēpora Foxana erpōs voluntatis mstrū. Ea pro rāā ore  
vōstrū, rōfō cū atq; etiā benignē mstrū velle mstrū itaq; nō nihil aliud q̄ hystoria mstrū, et  
mōi mstrū mstrū viderim in simul cō hystoria, mstrū rōpōfōs, quos in hoc mstrū  
et mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū hystoria Oxonia vōstrū hōr tēpō mstrū, in mstrū mstrū  
dōct. fōrō mstrū mstrū mstrū, fōrō mstrū vōstrū hystoria, et hōr vōstrū mstrū mstrū  
tāms erepū, dōct ad vos tāq; rōdōm et rōfō mstrū, mstrū mstrū nō rōrōs.  
nec pānos, nec hūlgras oxonia vōstrū quōdā amōs, mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū  
adōmōfōs, tāq; pēdre hōr vōstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū  
ad hystoria quōmā, arelā mstrū angulā, rōfō (praefidi mstrū) in dōmōfō mstrū mstrū  
praefidi vōstrū et cōfōfō mstrū mstrū dōct mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū mstrū  
pōmōfō ad rōfōfō mstrū glōria hōrōmōfōfō mstrū in Christo fōrō fōpōs.

John Foxe, that the most unsparing assailants of his name and work, next to the adherents of the Church of Rome, have been certain members of the University of Oxford in our own day. These persons have not hesitated to deride his motives, decry his services, and stigmatize his work as a caricature of the history of the Catholic church. The foreign Reformers, in common with their Protestant brethren in England, in the day of the regeneration of the Christian church, were of a different opinion. Bullinger, for instance, who read the work probably in the proof-sheets, or referring to the Latin folio of 1559, writes to its illustrious author:—"I am devotedly attached to you on account of your piety and learning, but chiefly for your book of the martyrs of England."<sup>1</sup>

Above all Elizabeth, the Protestant queen, was not insensible to the honour which had been paid her by the martyrologist in placing himself and his work under her royal patronage and protection; and she rewarded him by bestowing on him, in the following May, the canonry and prebend<sup>2</sup> of Sipton in the cathedral of Salisbury.<sup>3</sup> He was instituted in the person of John Randall, probably a brother-in-law. This prebend afforded him the opportunity of transmitting a valuable lease to his descendants. The lease was first made to Thomas Randall, probably another brother-in-law. The letter in the note<sup>4</sup>

(1) Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 124. Zurich, March 10, 1563.

(2) By the Act of 2d Queen Victoria, the holders of stalls in the cathedrals of England are to be called canons, and not prebendaries. Their appointments must be consequently called canonries. For the distinction between canonries and prebendaries, and canons and prebends, see writers on the Canon Law, Selvagio, vol. ii. p. 172, lib. ii. tit. xviii. § 12. de Præbendis. Barbosa.

(3) "Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo tertio. Sipton præbendæ institutio.

"Ultimo die mensis Maii anno Domini prædicto, prænarraus Reverendus pater dominum Johannem Foxum clericum ad canonicatum in ecclesia sua cathedralis Sarum, et præbendam de Sipton in eadem pro mortem naturalem Petri Vannes clerici ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, juxta præsentationem Serenissimæ in Christo principis et dominæ, dominæ Elizabeth, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defensoris, &c., veri et indubitati ejusdem præbendæ patroni, admisit; ipsumque canonicum et prebendarium, &c. et de eisdem in persona Johannis Randall procuratoris sui legitime constituit instituit, et investivit cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis, præstitis primitiis per eundem procuratorem in, antejam dicti Johannis Fox prebendarii sic instituti-juramento corporali juxta formam statuti in ea parte editi, &c. Necnon de legitima obedientia dicto Domino Episcopo et successoribus suis commisit sibi cura sive onusque vel quod dicto canonicato et præbendæ incumbit. Et scriptum fuit Decano et Capitulo pro ipsius installatione et inductione."—Register of bishop Jewel in anno supra.

In addition to this the following entry appears in the Chapter Register of Salisbury:—

"Die lunæ viz. ultimo die mensis Maii Anno Domini 1563 in domo capitulari ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sarum Magistris Parry, Presidente, Lancaster, Chandler, Proctor, et Bradrydler, Canonicis residentibus, ac Stephano Cheston, Roberto Ryve, Ric. Reade, Johanne Fawley, et Roberto Mody, Canonicis prebendaribus, et capitularibus congregatis et capitulum facientibus, dictus magister Jacobus Proctor, procurator Magistri Johannis Fox prebendarii præbendæ de Sipton, exhibuit procuracionem suam litterariam pro dicto Magistro Johanne Fox, et fecit se procuratorem pro eodem, ac literas mandatarias Reverendi in Christo principis et domini, Domini Johannis Sarum Episcopi, Decano et Capitulo Sarum directas pro suâ admissione, installatione, et inductione nomine domini sui in canonicatu et præbendâ de Sipton prædictâ, realiter obtulit et præsentavit."—Blacher. Register in Cath.

Foxe took his corporal oath that he would observe the statutes of the foundation of the cathedral at Salisbury, and the laudable customs of the Church: he gave the usual security of fifty pounds that he would perform all the duties and support all the burdems attached to his office.—Register, ut supra.

From the same Register it appears that Foxe was not present at the Pentecostal synods held in 1564 and 1565, nor probably at the ensuing ones. He was not present at bishop Jewel's visitation in June 1568. An hour was allowed for his appearance after his name was called, but he was not present. In December he was proclaimed contumacious, but his penalty reserved until the octave of the next Epiphany. Foxe refused to agree to the payment of the tenth of his income for the repairs of the cathedral, and process was ordered against him with others for its recovery. He was neither present at the election of bishops nor yet of deans.

Book of Compositions for Firstfruits and Tenths. at the New Record Office, Fetter Lane.

"Sexto decimo die Julii 1663, anno regni dñæ Reginæ nunc Elizabeth quinto,

"Oxon. Sipton subtus Wichwood Rect. Præbenda in ecclesia Cathedr. Sarum.	Johannes Foxe clericus composuit pro primitiis præbendæ prædictæ: extenden. ad xxxix l. vi s. and liij s. quadrantem. decima inde lxxviij s. vii d. obolus quadrans. Pendendum.	} purificatione 1563 } } petri ad vinc. 1564 } } purificatione 1564 } } petri ad vinc. 1565 }	} xxx l. vii s. viij d. obolus."

"Obligantur Johannes Randall paroch. sanctæ Mariæ Colechurch London haberdasher; et Wilhelmus Walton paroch. Sancti Laurentii in Judaismo London, barbour surgeon."

(4) Ad Decanum et Capitulum Sarisburiensem:—"Ornatissime D. Decane, cæteriq. charissimi mihi in Christo fratres ac domini, in Domino salutem. Nisi æqua vobis videatur petitio, non postulo ut annuatis. Sin nihil a vobis postulaturus sum, quod vel à justissimâ ratione vel à communi vestro jure et consuetudine sit alienum; peto ut quod illustriss. D. Episcopus, æquissimâ suâ voluntate, passus est à se impetrari, idem à vobis exorare liceat, ut syngrapham hanc nostræ cum Tho. Randallo transactionis publicæ sigilli vestri approbatione ac benigno suffragio confirmare ne denegetis.

is a request from Foxe to the dean and chapter, that they would execute the deed as parties to the lease, as the bishop (he adds) had done already: we shall find (see Section V.) that this was never done, and that the omission cost Foxe some anxiety.

In the same year (1563) Foxe published a learned work establishing the true doctrine of the Eucharist, by arguments picked out of various theological works, and reduced to logical form. It is entitled "*Syllogisticon, hoc est argumenta seu probationes et resolutiones in utramque partem hinc inde e theologorum libris desumptæ, in nudas syllogismorum formas redactæ de re et materiâ sacramenti eucharistici.* Lond. MDLXIII. 8<sup>vo</sup>." It is dedicated with great respect and affection to his early tutor and patron Mr. John Harding of Brazenose; and though he does not name the College, he seems to allude to his former experience of his friend's tutorial acuteness. A few particulars of Foxe's early life have been already derived from this Dedication. His friend had in the interim been chosen principal of his College; and though he had been present in that capacity at the process against Cranmer in 1555,<sup>1</sup> Foxe no doubt considered that as an official matter, not indicating any real hostility to the cause of the Reformation; and hoped to derive some encouragement and assistance from him in his present embarrassments.

In the course of the ensuing summer the plague broke out in London, and is said to have carried off 21,530 persons in the city of London alone. The following appeal, from Foxe's pen, was addressed to the merchants and citizens of London on behalf of the sufferers; and showed that his sympathies were not withered up by his arduous literary labours:—

"Grace and ioy in y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghost; with increase of all felicity through Christ our only Saviour. To y<sup>e</sup> dispersed company of Londiners as well Aldermen Merchants, and other rich and wealthy members of y<sup>e</sup> same city, with all other well-disposed persons wheresover, hartly greeting in y<sup>e</sup> Lord. If wee y<sup>e</sup> poore servants of Christ and ministers of his word within y<sup>e</sup> city of London, here nowe remaining, and sustaining y<sup>e</sup> affliction of this dangerous and infectious time, shall seeme in this our writing to you something more plaine, or bold, then wee should, humbly wee crave of your wisdom wisely to construe y<sup>e</sup> cause therof, imputing it not to any inconsiderate suggestion or p<sup>r</sup>tensed devise conceived of our parts; but rather to y<sup>e</sup> serious and earnest necessity of this p<sup>r</sup>sent calamitous time; thus much signifying to you before, y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> cause wer ours only, privately to us belonging w<sup>ch</sup> write to you, wee would never soe farr embolden ourselves, for as wee for our parts have lerned not to shrinke away from our charge comitted to us of y<sup>e</sup> Lord; soe wee have lerned alsoe to stand content, whatsoever it bee, wee have of him, butt nowe hearing as wee heare, and seeing as wee see y<sup>e</sup> pittious cry of y<sup>e</sup> poore and desolate flocke of Christ, some in lanes, some in houses, some in ditches; some harbourlesse, some clotheles, some menteles (*mad*), some frendeles, all succourles, wee cannot chuse,—being their pastours, and y<sup>e</sup> mouth of y<sup>e</sup> flocke, but both tender ther pitifull lamentation, and alsoe certify y<sup>e</sup> same to you, desiring you in y<sup>e</sup> Lord, to extend your tender and christian compassion uppon thē, in helping them in this infectious ayer, with some good odour of sweet savour from you; so y<sup>t</sup> though your bodily comfort bee absent

In quo ut mihi rem non ingrattam, tum nec incommodam his qui mihi successuri sunt, in hanc præbendam, vos pro solità vestrà benignitate facturos confido."—Hærl. MSS. 417, art 24, fol. 102.

(1) See MSS. in Lambeth Library, printed in the Oxford edition of Strype's Cranmer, and the Parker Society's "Cranmer's Remains." It is worth notice, that in this process (Park. Soc. Cranmer, ii. p. 547) Hawarden is miscalled "Willimus." The Editor feels much obliged to Dr. Cradock, the present principal of Brazenose, for the following extract from the book of Yate, principal from 1648 to 1681:—"Johannes Hawarden S.T. Bæc. Rector de Steepie Aston in Com. Oxon. in Principalem electus 27 Februarii 1548, et Principalis officium resignat 21 Januarii 1564." He is also entered by Yate among the fellows as "Johes Hawarden Lanc.;" and in a power of attorney granted by the College in the 4th of Elizabeth he is called "Johannes Hawarden Principalis."

from thē, yet your charitable sustentation may be p<sup>r</sup>esent with them. As members together of one mystical body, soe wee beseech you utterly forsake not y<sup>r</sup> fellowe members. And though God hath sett you in a more safe state of life, yet neglect not them w<sup>ch</sup> beare y<sup>e</sup> cross, y<sup>t</sup> God might, or yet may lay uppon yourselves. It is y<sup>e</sup> point of an honest mind, and a christian heart, y<sup>t</sup> though hee bee in ease, y<sup>t</sup> hee neede not for himselfe to feare, yet to lament and sorrowe with thē y<sup>t</sup> lie in misery. Wherefore being thereunto necessarily constraind by y<sup>e</sup> pittiful cry, and exclamation of y<sup>e</sup> poore people of Christ, here left in London, wee are forced to write to you, speaking for them, y<sup>t</sup> cannot help themselves, that you of y<sup>r</sup> clemency, and christian dewty, (whereby you are borne, not only to yourselves, but alsoe to your country and neighbours) will bestowe some comfort uppon your fellowe members and poore bretheren, miserably here oppressed and consumed, as well with penury, as with pestilence; of w<sup>ch</sup> two, y<sup>e</sup> one is the hand of God only to stopp, y<sup>e</sup> other partly under God lieth in your hands to reliefe. Extend therefore wee beseech you your helping hand, and in case you will not or dare not visitt thē with y<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>esence yet visitt them with your purses, that y<sup>e</sup> Lord (who peradventure doth this to try you, what you will doe) may say to you, I was sick and you visitted mee, I was hungry etc. for else how this your flying and departing from y<sup>r</sup> needy neighbours, w<sup>ch</sup> nether with your visitation, nor provision you will helpe, wilbe allowed before God, wee cannot see; especially such of you as by charge of office are obliged to your companies: [is not] y<sup>e</sup> aldermen being magistrats of his ward, as well bound in conscience to thē, as y<sup>e</sup> minis[ter] to his parish? or what meane ther robes of scarlett, butt to declare themselves ready with their blood to defend y<sup>e</sup> safegard of ther people? And howe bee they ready to y<sup>e</sup> s[hedding] of ther blood to defend, w<sup>ch</sup> at every slight occasion doe shrinke away, leaving th[em in] danger whom they should succour with ther provision? And what is then to bee said [where] as nether with ther blood, nor yet with ther goods will minister any supportation." <sup>1</sup> . . . (Cætera desunt.)

Foxe seems to have written to bishop Parkhurst enclosing a copy of this Appeal. The bishop exerted himself about this time to improve his friend's worldly circumstances, and endeavoured to procure for him a prebendal stall in his own cathedral at Norwich. One Thomas Fowle had been installed as a canon at Norwich July 22d 1563, but did not seem to take any interest in the place whence his income was derived. The bishop therefore entered into treaty with him to resign; but without success, as appears from the following letter, written at the beginning of 1564:—

"Salutem in Christo Jesu.—I have received your loving letters, and do understand thereby your visitacion at Goddes hand, in this tyme of mortalityte. You are not ignorant that so he ys wont to chastise whom he loveth. As tochyng the prebend, what I with other your frendes have donne in that behalfe I am sure you have herd. Howbeit the successe is not such as we hoped at Foules hands, but ther ys one Mr. Smith in Cambridge that hath another of the prebends, who, as I hear, can be content to part from the same uppon reasonable condicions. Good Mr. Foxe appoint you to come down, as soon as convenientlie you may, and doubt you not God will provide for you eyther that or some other thing as good, whereunto there shall want nothing in me that I am able to doo. And thus with my hartie commendacions to my good frends with you, I commit ye to the keeping of Almightye God. From Ludham this xxix<sup>th</sup> of January, 1563-4.

"Your assured frend,

"JOHN NORWICH."

Another letter from the bishop about the same time proves in what estimation Foxe was held by the learned, abroad as well as at home. Conrad Gesner, of Zurich, wished to publish the ancient ecclesiastical authors from good copies. For which purpose he sent to the bishop of Norwich a catalogue of books of that sort, that search might be made in all our best libraries for MS. copies of them; this is the catalogue referred to in the following extract from the letter:—

“ I have sent you here inclosed a letter, written to me from Dr. Gesner, and two catalogos. The one for you to searche by that the queene's librarie, according to Dr. Gesner's request, and to ask of other learned men concerning the same. The other I pray you send to Dr. Sampson or Dr. Humphrys, that searche may be made in Oxford also. One I have sent to Mr. Beaumont, \* in Cambridge, that he may do the lyke.

“ I wold rather be negligent in other things, then in setting forthe old ancient writers; and yet to say the truthe to you, I lyke no olde wyter then Dionysius, the which, although he be somewhat ancient, yet I am persuaded that it is not *Areopagita ille de quo Act. 17.*

“ I praye you certifie me of these things as sone as you maye, and if a bloodhound or twayne might be sent to Zurich, according to Dr. Gesner's requeste, I wold rejoyce not a little, and wold be contente to pay for the charges thereof. I wrytte this unto you, because you be so good a hunter, and have such plentie of dogges, &c. I praye you, when you have perused Dr. Gesner's letters, that you will send them againe forthe to me, that I may make answer to the same against the next caste.

“ Commende me to Mrs. Foxe, to Mr. Day and his wyfe, and thanke him for the boke of the reliques of Rome which he sent me. I will thanke Mr. Becon, which dedicated the same to my name, another time, if God so will. Yf you see the bishop of London, the deane of Paul's, Mr. Whitehedd, and other of my friends there, I praye you salute them in my name.

“ Yours,                     “ JOHN NORWIC.”<sup>1</sup>

In the autumn of this year, the queen visited the University of Cambridge, August 15th, and was entertained at King's College. She attended in the schools the Acts or academical disputations in divinity, philosophy, and medicine, and, before leaving, addressed to the University a Latin speech. In the answer to this, the public orator, William Masters, recommended the University of Cambridge to her Majesty's notice as being more ancient than the sister one of Oxford; but without intending any disparagement of it. This, however, was taken ill by some of the Oxonians, who presented to the queen, upon her visit there two years later, a tract entitled “ *Assertio antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis.*” One of the copies of the queen's speech fell into the hands of John Foxe, who addressed to her Majesty, on the occasion, an elegant Latin epistle, partly to the following effect: “ To let pass (most noble queen) those commonly known things, viz. that presently at the very beginning of your most fortunate reign, you saved so many good men at home in great danger of their lives, and called back so many more abroad from their banishment; that you restored their own country to them, and not only to them, but the country in a manner to itself; and England, then almost at the very point of expiring, to its light and life again; that at your said most happy beginning, having procured peace, you do now every day improve it in good studies and arts; to the good laws you give again their force, the bad ones you take away, and supply their rooms with such as are wholesome; the mischievous and the idle sort you reduce to order; robberies and the bands of spoilers, wherewith your realme is reported at this day in a foul manner to swarm, you restrain; the afflicted you give an ear to;

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 175.

what is fallen and gone to decay you build up ; and not only money embased, but also the manners of men much more corrupted, you purify and refine. In a word, you restore everything to its own brightness, nay, more than its own ; and many other things of this kind you do ; which, although of themselves they be not ordinary benefits, and such as in other monarchs might seem very great, yet, I know not how, do not sufficiently express the largeness of your praiseworthy deeds.

“ But assuredly these things that follow are much greater still ; and of all the greatest, that your excellent highness defendeth so vigorously the ecclesiastical state no less than the commonwealth ; that you take upon you so affectionately the care and protection of religion ; that you quench the direful flames of persecution ; that you open a liberty to consciences so long shut up ; that you illustrate and promote the temple of God and the glory of evangelical doctrine ; that is, by all means endeavouring, that the remainder of old superstition by little and little be destroyed, the sincere truth of the gospel return to its native brightness. This was lately declared by that excellent voice and answer of your majesty given to the petition of some divines concerning the habits. By which words, then by your majesty spoken, it can scarce be thought how great prosperity you did in one day bring to the whole church, how great comfort to the minds of all godly people, how great benefit to posterity, how great a light to all succeeding times ; and moreover to your own name how great and how immortal an honour, more lasting than any monument of brass. The tongues and learning of all Englishmen would be stained with ingratitude, should they suffer as well this godlike thing, as all the other trophies of your virtues, by an antiquity of time to be abolished.

“ Hither must be added your majesty’s singular favour towards learned studies. In the adorning and furthering whereof, you would never have shown yourself so inclinable, had you not been so exquisitely furnished and dressed yourself. Happy Cambridge lately perceived it ; and I doubt not but hereafter our Oxford also will look for it. And further, we all, though absent thence, well perceived it, by your late speech delivered there at Cambridge ; which is come to my hands, (among other monuments of historical matters,) not unworthy, methinks, to be transmitted to posterity ; and so it shall be transmitted, if your highness give way to it. In the meantime this only grieves me, that when I am preparing a full account of the history of you, and have great collections serving thereunto, many things are wanting, which are yet unknown to me, and cannot be known but to your majesty. And if they might, they could not be described better by any than by your own commentary. Which I heartily wish might be obtained by your most excellent wit, in this time and space of your life ; but of the commendations of your excellent parts, I shall elsewhere, God willing, have occasion to speak.”<sup>1</sup>

These last expressions imply, that Foxe purposed to write the life of Elizabeth ; or, at least, the part the queen took in establishing the Reformation. If he had done so, Strype<sup>2</sup> says, “ there had been no need of this performance of mine.”

The letter concludes with what he confesses was his main object in writing, viz. a request that her Majesty would remit the payment of what was still due to her for the firstfruits of the prebend of Shipton. He solicits the same favour for William Masters, the public orator of Cambridge, whom he supposes therefore not unknown to her Majesty, and whom he had appointed

(1) Strype’s Annals, vol. i. chap. 39. Nare’s Memoirs of Lord Burghley, vol. i. p. 341. Collier, vol. ii. p. 492. Rapin and Tindal, vol. ii. p. 68. Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 195. Echard, Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 420, who states the arrival of the queen at Cambridge, August 15.

(2) Strype’s Annals, ut supra.



his vicar at Shipton.<sup>1</sup> He declares that they neither of them had a farthing to pay. The entire letter is printed in the Appendix to this Life, No. VII. from Harl. MSS. 417. A better copy of the last paragraph is given in the note from Harl. MSS. 416.<sup>2</sup> There is another and a shorter form of this letter in Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 107, which does not mention Masters at all; but an intimation is given that the profits of the benefice had not come up to the estimated value:—"Prebendiola non usque adeo optimi proventus, longè tamen meis certe meritis superior. . . . Præter eam unicam prebendiolam nihil mihi suppetit auxilii ad victum studiorumque alimentum. . . . Hæreo adhuc in solutione illius pecuniæ, quæ tibi pro primi anni fructibus debetur; nec scio unde teruncium corrodam ad persolvendum." It is sad to think that the worthy man had no benefit as yet of his preferment, of which he had been possessed a year and three-quarters.

It appears from the Book of Compositions, that a tenth of the firstfruits was paid at the time of institution to a benefice; and the residue might be paid in four half-yearly instalments, for which securities were usually given. Thus Foxe had paid his tenth in May 1563 (see p. 43). Similarly William Masters had paid his tenth, Dec. 12th 1564 (see note<sup>1</sup> below). Perhaps their securities had paid for them; and they had not the means of either indemnifying them, or paying the remaining instalments.

There is a letter to Foxe from Masters as his vicar at Shipton (Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 89), dated "Septimo Idus Martii," in which he dissuades the felling of some timber: he speaks of having John and Thomas Randall with him as pupils; he asks after Foxe and his wife, and adds—"scire maximopere avemus, an Deus te aliâ prole adhuc ditaverit." He sends salutations "D. Randallis, et eorum conjugibus;" and wishes for the licence to preach. The Messrs. Randall alluded to were probably his brothers-in-law; John who had personated him at his institution, Thomas whose name was inserted in the *syngrapha* or indenture of the lease of Shipton, and Harry mentioned in Mrs. Foxe's letter, infra Section V.

About this time, a Magdalen man, named West, had got into trouble for speaking disrespectfully of the ruling powers, probably under the inspiration of Christopher Goodman's book. Foxe showed his kindness by writing to the ecclesiastical commissioners on West's behalf. He does not excuse any improper language he may have uttered; but he felt compassion for one of the same school and college with himself: "hominis tamen causâ doleo, ob mutuan inter nos ejusdem et Academiæ et scholæ et Collegii Magdalenensis in quo educti atque educati sumus conjunctionem."<sup>3</sup>

(1) The Book of Compositions for Firstfruits at the New Record Office, Fetter Lane, says:—"Mensis Decembris 1564, anno Regni dominæ Reginæ Elizabeth septimo,

"Oxon. Shipton subtus Wichwood. V.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Willmus Master clericus composuit} \\ \text{pro primitiis Vicariæ predict. ex'en-} \\ \text{den. ad xvi. li. decima inde xxxij s.} \\ \text{Remanet solveodum} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nativ. Johannis 1565} \\ \text{nativ. Dni. 1565} \\ \text{nativ. Johannis 1566} \\ \text{nativ. Dni. 1566} \end{array} \right\}$	xiv. l. viii. s."	
				xii <sup>o</sup>

(2) "Divina largiente providentia contigit non ita pridem mihi dono majestatis tuæ prebendiola in ecclesia Sarisbur. Quo nomine quantum debeam munificentiss. tuæ sublimitati, aliis dabitur (Christo volente) explicandi opportunitas. Nunc vero ita habet res. Ad prebendam hanc, quam dixi, spectat parochia, in qua vicarium designavi Guliel. Masterum, virum optimum, et tuæ forsan majestati non incognitum. Jam utrique hæremus in solutione illius pecuniæ, quæ tibi pro primi anni fructibus debetur, quum neuter tamen teruncium habet ad persolvendum. Ejus pecuniolæ ut remissam nobis faciat Reginea tua pietas, rogare vix audeo verecundia, at necessitate tamen impulsu rogare vel invitari cogimur, freti deinde mansuetissima tua benignitate etsi non sine timore aliquo, audaciores tamen ad supplicandum reddimur; nihil diffisi, quin et huic audaciæ tua tacite condonabit pietas, si scia', quanto nobis detrimento quantoque obstaculo ad studia nostra sit infelix hujus æris remora. Quamquam nihil esse in studiis aut laboribus nostris haud ignoramus, quod favoris tui lenissimam partem promeremur, cui etiamnum plusquam facultates nos debere agnoscamus; attamen si serenissima tua facilitas, in remittenda hac nobis solutiuncula, gratias nostras, quum pecuniam eam deberi tibi maluerit, in altero quid fiscus tuus? . . . . (unfinisher).—Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 83.

(3) This expression may serve to throw some light on Foxe's academic course. As "Academia" is mentioned first, the "schola" as well as the "Collegium" would seem to have been at Oxford; and what "schola" more likely than that of Magdalen, which was open to all the University, and there was no such school at Brazenose? Foxe, in presenting his "Acts and Monuments" of 1563 to his

The controversy on the clerical habits still proceeded, though the majority of the original opponents had conformed to them. On this, as on other subjects, Foxe was consulted, and his interest with the queen solicited. His old friend, Humphrey, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, wrote to him to exert himself in procuring some favour or dispensation for those who hesitated to adopt the habits ordered by the queen to be worn. He says "he had not time to speak one word with him in London, and hardly a moment to write to him now; but recommends to him Nicholas Balgay, master of Magdalen school, a pious and learned man;" and, as if to ensure him Foxe's friendship, calls him "a studious reader of your 'Monuments.'" He then commends to his prayers and care the spread of religion, and the reformation of the church; and desires him to use every exertion, that the nobles and bishops should procure some exemption in the parliament then sitting (1566). He adds, at the end of the letter—"Send, if you can, by this Balgay, a copy of the *Reformatio Legum*."<sup>1</sup>

The queen, soon after this letter was sent to Foxe, visited the University of Oxford, August 30th. She was entertained, says her biographer, with the most stately welcome the muses could make; and was addressed by the Greek professor in a Greek speech, to which the accomplished queen returned an answer in the same language. Before this visit of the queen to Oxford, Humphrey had been appointed regius professor of divinity; and he now attended the queen in his professor's robes. The queen could not resist the opportunity of cheerfully rallying her subject. "Master doctor," she said to him, "that loose gown becomes you mightily well; I wonder your notions should be so narrow." Humphrey eventually conformed to the clerical habits on being appointed dean of Gloucester, March 13th, 1570: his letters to Lord Burghley on the subject will be found in Strype.<sup>2</sup>

Foxe, since his return from Norwich, had principally resided in the house of the duke of Norfolk. But after the demise of the duchess, which occurred Jan. 10th, 1564, and probably on account of the duke not coming to London, or in compliance with an invitation from John Day the printer, he removed to the house of the latter in Aldersgate-street. Many letters still extant addressed to him at that residence fully prove the high estimation in which he was now held. One, for instance, intimates his influence with Grindal, the bishop of London; and earnestly solicits him to use that influence in procuring the suppression of some great immoralities in his diocese:—

"The grace of our Lorde Jesus Christ," it begins, "and the continuall presence and assistance of his Holy Spirit be with you ever (my good brother

College (see Appendix No. VI.), says expressly: "Intelligo quid *veteri scholæ*, quid charis consodalibus, quid demum universo Magdalenensium ordini ac cœtui . . . debeam." How natural to understand this of Magdalen grammar school, mentioned in the next paragraph of the text! The most probable conclusion is, that Foxe was a commoner at Brazenose while an undergraduate, but a pupil at Magdalen school. Dr. Bloxam is of this opinion. But he cannot discover any West of Magdalen contemporary with Foxe; nor does the word "conjunctionem" necessarily mean this. He finds, however, that Richard Weste or West was elected Demy of Magdalen College in 1557 at the age of fifteen. He would as Demy certainly attend the College school: he was elected probationer fellow for the diocese of Winton July 1561; B.A. July 10th, 1562; and full fellow July 24 following, for the county of Lincoln, in which perhaps it was discovered that he was born. In 1566, Nov. 24th, "Dni Præses et reliqui officarii concesserunt Dno Ricardo West pueros instituendi cau.â apud Medston in Com. Cantia: sex mensibus quibus uti posset ad placitum." He resigned his fellowship in 1572. This may have been Foxe's wild friend, who got into trouble by abusing the licence given him in the last words of his *exeat*.

(1) "In Christo mi Foxi. Quam Londini vix uno verbo affari poteram, tum nunc præ temporis angustia vix una litera salutare. Quod autem facere non licet ut volui, diligenter id certe faciam quod possum, libenter. Summa hæc est, commendo tibi hunc meum Ludimagistrum Magdalenensem, pium, eruditum, tuorum monumentorum studiosum lectorem. Commendo precibus tuis et curæ tuæ propagationem religionis, reformationemque Eccl. (Ecclesiæ) in his comitibus, ut agas et peragas ope, opera, gratia, et modis omnibus, ut principes regni et proceres cleri moveant aliquid salutare et promoveant. Commendo ad extremum me tibi, et te Deo tuorumque omnes. Cura ut valeas. Vale in Xo.

"TUUS LAV. HUMFRED.

"Oxon. Martii 28.  
"Mitte, si potes, per hunc Balgaium Legum Ecclesiasticarum exemplar."—Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 179. See also Strype's Life of Parker, vol. i. p. 439.

(2) Strype's Annals, vol. i. chap. 41, Documents XXVII, XXVIII.

and most deare freind in the Lorde) in all your studies and laboures, and give you strengthe bothe in mynde and bodye joyfully to bringe the same to that good effect, which maye be to the glorie and prayse of his eternall Majestie, the consolacion and profett of his afflicted and persecuted churche, your owne comforte, and the strengthening and confirmacion of our faithe in him, against all the craftines and power of Satan our cruelleemie. Amen. I was bolde at my last being in London, to use your helpe to the byshoppe of London, for the obteyning of a commission to certain gent of worshippe in the cuntrye, for the examinacion of the abominable whoredom of divers persons."—Then follow the particulars of the crimes, which the writer desired to be investigated and suppressed.—"Remember me," it concludes, "in your prayers, and commende me hartelye in the Lorde to Mr. Bull, when you see him, mistresse Fox, and Mr. Randall, and to Mr. Sampson. The Lorde increase our faithe, and graunte us alwayes therby the joyfull light of his most gracious and joyfull countenance. Amen. From Bredgrowse the 19th of February, 1565.

"Yours in the Lord to command, WILL<sup>m</sup> PLAYFERE.

"To my verie friend Mr. John Foxe, at Mr. Daye's house, over Aldersgate in London." <sup>1</sup>

The following letter is curious. It was addressed to him by an individual complaining of his temptations, and seeking the advice and prayers of the martyrologist:—

"Mr. Foxe—I wish you pacem à Deo et consolationem Spiritus Sancti, whiche, I praye God, I may once fynde with you. Sir, you shall understande that I have bene of late, and am presentlye marveyulouslye troobled with my accostomed passions, et subit animum dubitatio, num filii Dei talibus tentationibus occupentur, tentatione namque desperationis cencior. I remember that of Sawle, after he was rejected, hit was thus written: Spiritus autem Jehove recessit a Saule et terruit eum Spiritus malus a Jehova, whiche wordes make me merveyulouslye afrayed, for when I consider the case wherin I stande, methynketh I am vexed even with Sawles evill sprite. There is also another place of Scripture whiche Sathan objecteth agaynste me, which is this, (Rom. ii.) his vero qui sunt contentiosi et qui veritati quidem non obtemperant, sed obtemperant injustitiæ, indignatio et ira afflictio et anxietas, etc. methinketh y<sup>e</sup> here indignatio ira afflictio et anxietas is even y<sup>e</sup> same that was in Sawle. Good Mr. Foxe for Christes sake resolve in these doubttes, and praye to youre and mye and all oure lorde Jesus, y<sup>e</sup> in mercye he will strengthen me and other his servantes with y<sup>e</sup> invincible force of his grace agaynste y<sup>e</sup> maliciouse assaultes of Sathan, for you know what S. James sayeth: confitemini vicem peccata vestra et orate invicem alii pro aliis ut servemini: multum valet deprecatio justii efficac (James v. 16): wherfore good Mr. Foxe per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum obtestor rogo etiam atque obsecro ut in precibus tuis coram Deo mentionem mei facias. Idem pro te facturum polliceor: aliquid rescribas obsecro, quicquid velis, et modo consolatorio: valeas in domino, amen. Paracletus ille tui meique sit custos, nostraque studia dirigat ad sui nominis gloriam, propriam salutem, ecclesie suæ utilitatem, amen. Datum nuberie anno 1566. 4<sup>o</sup> mensis martii.

"Tuus in Christo frater,

"THOMAS DOLLMAN.

"To my goode frend Mr. Foxe, at Mr. Dayes, over Aldersgate geve these." <sup>2</sup>

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 118.

(2) Ibid. fol. 116.

The following letters show what interest Foxe took in the welfare of his fellow-creatures, and what respect he must have been held in, when so many and so various applications were made to him both for his advice and his assistance.

“ Draught of a Letter from Mr. John Foxe to some friends, in behalfe of a poor man wronged by Stephen Bechyng.

“ *Beati Pacifici.* (Blessed are the peace-makers.)

“ Grace in Christ. Mr. Boyne, Peter Woodgat, and Thomas Petter, yf yt shal please you. Concernynge y<sup>e</sup> case of this pore man, as I understand yt, y<sup>e</sup> matter ys playn, hys vexation gret, his injurie intolerable, and suche as none of you wold ever suffer to be done to your selves. Yf yt would be so, that evyl persons by fraud and injurie may oppresse and circumvent y<sup>e</sup> simple, and no redresse in such wrongfull sufferyngs, then the Lord gyve us pacience and be merciful to thys realme. But yf yt be the parts of godly and christen men to helpe in suche wrongs and iuries (*thus*, but meaning *injuries*), and to sett peace wher disquyetnes is, and to doo for others as they would to be doen to them selves: Then I pray you aforementioned, joynyng also Edward Bareoke with you, in your zeale of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, to worke in thys matter, what ye can, to talk earnestly with Steven Bechyng, and to requyre hym in y<sup>e</sup> name of the Lord Iesus, to defraud thys pore man no longer from hys ryght, to y<sup>e</sup> gret disquyetung of hys mynd, and undoyng of hys wyfe and her children. Yf he doo, let hym understand, blessed be y<sup>e</sup> Lord, there be lawes in the realme, iustice is not al asleape: ther ys also a court of concience and a godly overseer of y<sup>e</sup> same, y<sup>e</sup> Lord Keaper, who both by hys wysedome wyl some find out y<sup>e</sup> matter, and upon hys lawful autoritie wyl see y<sup>e</sup> wronge to be redressed. And yf ther were no ryght at al here to be had in earth, yet let the saed Steven Bechyng thys understand, that y<sup>e</sup> Lord Iesus ys alyve in heaven, whose hand he can not eschape, nor yet able to abyde yf yt falle. But beste ys, that your wysdomes gently and quyetly compose the matter at home. Wherein I besече you, as a peacemaker, to do in y<sup>e</sup> matter what ye can. The zeale of the Lord Iesus dwel in you. Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Mr. John Foxe to the Lord Chief Justice, recommending Mr. J. Smythe to be made Schoolmaster of Ippeswiche.

“ Forasmuch as thys yong man, for whom I wryte, ys not so well known to your honour, peradventure, as he ys to me, by long acquayntance and continuance, to signifie therefore to your lordshyp, not only upon privat affection but upon treuth and knowledge yn hys behalfe: thys ys briefly to testifie to your good L. that if y<sup>e</sup> town of Ypswyche stand in neede of a worthy, godly, and lerned scholmaster, for all such indewments and ornaments requisite in such a function, or trew religion, learning, diligence and practise, for these, and such other gyftes of abilitie, I know not how, nor where they may be better spedd, then in receavyng thys Mr. J. Smythe, beyng hym self boru in y<sup>e</sup> same town of Ypswyche: whom both present occasion of tyme, and y<sup>e</sup> good vocation of Christ, I trust, offereth now unto them. Certefying, moreover, your good Lordship, and not only you, but also y<sup>e</sup> whole town of Ypswyche, that who soever shall receive him for guydng of their schole, shal doo no such pleasure to hym, as profyte to them selves, and commoditie to their youghth. D. Iesus tibi benedicat, et tuis. Amen.

“ Yours in Christ Iesu,

“ JOHN FOXE.<sup>2</sup>

“ Lond. Novemb. 23.

“ To y<sup>e</sup> ryght honorable and hys very good lord,  
y<sup>e</sup> Lord Cheefe Justice of England.”

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 147.

(2) Ibid. fol. 157.

From this it would appear as if the lord chief justice either had the appointment of a schoolmaster for Ipswich, or else his recommendation would be so much respected, that the person bearing it would be elected. Yet Foxe, not content with having endeavoured to interest the chief justice, wrote the following letter to the inhabitants or authorities of Ipswich, in favour of the same person:—

“Although privat affection and good wyll I beare to thys good man moveth me to doo for hym as every man wold be glad to do for hys frend, yet not so much that, as publike dewtie I owe to others, namely to your worshypes and the whole townshype of Ypswyche, to whom I am not a lytle bownde, also the consideration I have to the ryght education of youth, which I wysh in al places to be brought up in godly vertue and good letters, causeth me to wryte to your worshypes, not so much for the preferment of hym for whom I wryte, as for your own comoditie I trust, and furtherance of your youth. Understanding therefore y<sup>t</sup> you are in some consultation about placyng a mete instructor for your schole, as y<sup>e</sup> matter in my mynd requyreth good advisement and deliberat circumspection, so I doubt not but your wysdoms may have sufficient choyse of a number in dyvers places: wherein yf my opinion and censure were required herein, whom I cold commend or wold wysh unto you, I know none other.”<sup>1</sup>

The next letter is of a very different character, for it is one recommending to a gentlewoman a very godly gentleman, a friend of Foxe’s, for a husband:—

“As your discret circumspection is not unprovided of sufficient counsaill what you have best to doo in your own affaayres, to yourself best known, to me nothyng appertaynyng; so nether do I enterprise so boldly to wryte to you, as havyng any nede to be advertised by others. Yet notwithstanding for so much as we are so wyllid by the Apostle to exhorte one an other, I trust you wyll not be offended, if I shal wryte unto you by way of persuasion, in y<sup>e</sup> behalfe of a certen godly gentleman, and deare frend of myne. The same gentleman I meane, whom you dyd see not long ago with me at Mr. Moulton’s, whose syncere integritie, vertuous lyfe, myld and softe conditions, stayde and satted discretion, hys amiable lovyngnes, loved of all men that know hym, with no lesse singular affection workyng in hys hart especially towards yow, yf they were so well known to you, as they are to me, and others which have experience of hym, I shuld not nede to bestowe thys labour herein, cyther in exhorttyng of you, or commendyng of hym: yow wold soone understand yourself what ye had to doo best for your self.

“But because y<sup>e</sup> partie as yet as unacquaynted, ys not so wel known unto yow, to thentent therefore by report of others ye shuld not waynt some intelligence herof, I thought thus much to wryte in hys behalf, who nether wryteth for hym self, nether ys privye, I assure yow, of my wrytyng for hym, testyfyng to yow simplye what I do thynke, and not only what I thynk myself, but heare also testified by some others, which knoweth yow better then I doo, that yf the favour of your mynd culd be no leese inclined to hym, then the lord hath wrought in hys hart toward you, verely it is supposed a meyer matche culd not be found for you, nor wysshed unto you, al thyngs on both parts considered, both that I heare of you, and know by hym. Thus much have I signified to you what I thought, and know of hym to be trew. You for your part doo what you thynk good: better in my mind ye cannot doo, then to counsaill in thys matter with y<sup>e</sup> lord, who as he hath ordayned maryage between man and wyfe, so gyveth housbands as he pleaseth. Nether am I

ignorant, but there may be, that come to you with gretter offers, which in decde myght be somethyng for you to harken to, yf your case stode in any such neede of worldly goods. But now you havynge enough, and blessed be God abundance; what can you desyre more now, then a quyet lyfe with that which God hath sent you? And let the offerres be never so great, ye shal fynd at length trew godlynes joyned with stayed temperance more fyttre for your condition as yt standeth, then gretter supperfluytie of worldly substance. And furthermore, when all your counters shal be cast, ye shal prove yt trew, and so counte with your self, that an hundreth pounds by yeare with thrifty and prudent gudyng wyl goo further at y<sup>e</sup> yeares end, then v or 6 hundreth, with wasteful spendyng. I say no more, but as I sayd, I repete agayn, you are wise enough, ye know herin what ye have to do. The lord almyghtie disposer of all thyngs directe youre wayes and counsaills to that which best shalbe to your quyetnes and commoditie, per Christum Jesum dominum nostrum. Amen.

“ J. FOXE.”<sup>1</sup>

We may infer from the following letter what extensive influence for good Foxe had acquired by the publication of his “ Acts and Monuments;” and how fresh and fuller information relative to the late persecution was reaching him from all quarters. A complaint against a clergyman named John Day, the curate of Maidstone, was laid by his parishioners before archbishop Parker, who was a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The chief of his accusers thought their object would be better effected if they endeavoured to interest John Foxe in the matter. The accusation against Day—the account of his sermon at the burning of seven heretics—his excuse for not remembering the precise words he uttered, because of the smoke of the fire in which they were burned—his affirming, and subsequent withdrawal of the affirmation, that the persons burned denied the divinity of Christ—his levity and want of all feeling, form a most painful picture of the manners of the times. Foxe had merely related in his Martyrology the burning of the seven victims; he added afterwards the previous examination of one of them, but omitted the details contained in this letter. He was weary, perhaps, of his own sad task; and the narrative may be regarded as a specimen of the scenes of which he has only left, after all his labours, a comparatively scanty memorial. The letter is found among the Harleian papers. It is dated 1566, five years before the publication of his second English edition:—

“ John and Roger Hall to John Foxe. Information of one Day a Priest,  
Curate of Maydston.

“ It may please yowe to understande that one John Daye is curate of Maydston from the first yere of quene Marye unto this present yere 1566, of whome we besече God for his mereye delyver us, for he sheweth him selfe still not to have any feare of God at all before his eyes. In the yere of owre lorde 1557 on Wednesdaye the 16th of June, seven blessed and constant marters were burned all at one stake in Maydston in a place there comonly cauled the kynges medowe, ther names were these, Edmunde Alen and Katharine his wife, Walter Apelbe and Parnell<sup>2</sup> his wife, one Elizabeth Lewes comonly cawled blinde Besse, Jone Manninge the wife of one Robert Maŷnyng of the sayd towne, and a vertuous maiden cauled Jone Bradbregge. At the burnyng of these blessed marters, this wyked preste preached, fyrst bendyng his abhominable blasphemus talk to them, sayinge, that they were heretykes moste damnabell, and that by ther heresyce thay had separat them selves from the holy cherche as he called yt of Rome, whyche he cauled the spowse of Chryste, and Christ his misticall bodye, and therefore sayd he ye have no

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 143.

(2) Parnell is the abbreviation of Petronilla: see *infra*, vol. viii. p. 321.

part in him, but when he sawe that thay wer buylded on the unmovable Rocke of Christ his worde, who was ther swete comforte (for they kryed unto him, Away Satan, Away w<sup>t</sup> thy doctrine, Away w<sup>t</sup> thy blasfemye); in great hast and fury he tornyd bothe his face and talke to the people there assembled, sayenge, good people ye ought not in any wyse to pray for these obstinat heretykes, for luke how ye shall se ther bodies burne here w<sup>t</sup> materiall fyre, so shall ther darnnabel soules burn in the unquenchabel fyr of hell everlastinglye: and not beyng thus cōtent the nexte Sondaye folowyng whyche was the 20 of June he iterated beyng in the pulpet to his Audiēce, most abhominably that whiche he sayde the Wednesdaye before in the kynges medowe to the people. These w<sup>t</sup> innumerabel other popish blasfemyes uteryd he in quene Maryes dayes: but when yt pleased God to sende owr nobell quene to the crowne, dyvers men who all the dayes of quene Marye were in exile for ther concience came home; amonge whome one Roger Newman who was brother to John Newman who was burned in quene Maryes time for the true testimony of Christ, and one Peter Brown and Matthew Milles exorted this preste to repent and recant these his great blasfemys before sayd against the truthe of God and his saintes; he answered them that he wolde so do. And the next Sunday folowyng whiche was the Sunday next before Whytsontyde, he went in to the pulpet and thus he saide, It is reported of me sayde he, that in the tyme of quene Marye when sertayn people wer burned in the kynges his medow, I shoulde saye that thay were damnid, but I think thay do belye me that so say or reporte of me, but to say the truthe I know not nor do not remember, what I ther sayde, no nor then at that present (by meanes of the flame of the fyre and the greate smoke, that the wynde browghte so violently towardes me) eowld I tell my selfe what I sayde or spake, but this I know that some of them did deny the humanity of Christe and the equalitie of the trinitie, and no man dowbteth but such ar heretykes. Wherefore I may be bowld to say even now againe that unles by the great mercy of God and repentance thay are damned. The forsayd men herynge this it much greved them as yt did many other that hearde him, wherfore after evensonge they stayed to speak w<sup>t</sup> him at his accustomed way to the ale-howse, and asked him this question, whiche of them sayde thay amonge them that were burned at this towne wer it that denyed the humanitye of Christ or the equalitye of the trinitie, as ye sayde to day in the pulpet. At the whych he stode still and paused as one astonied, and at the laste he answered that none of them that were burned in the sayde towne of Maydston held those opinions: wherfore they asked him, wherfore he then made suche abhomy nabel lyes, and farther whether the pulpet wer mad to utter lyes and blasfemyes in (for thay well kueue as also all other that knew them do that he dedly belyed them, for none of them ever helde any such error or opinion but much abhorred all heresyces unto the death). Unto them he thus answered, asking them whether thay were not men or that thay never lyed: dyd yow quod he never lye in yowr lyves, ar ye not men, ye seme sayd he to be justifiers of your selves and hipokrytes; and thus in a fure he flunge from them to the ale-howse whych he so much frequently that he veray often goyth home dronke scant able to speak or stande on his legs. ye (yea) drynkynge bowsyng cardyng (card playing) and tabel playeng is all his hole holy exarysye all the weke from tyme to tyme: this brefely for this tyme but I meane that ye shall shortly have a cōpye of owr supplication whych we meane shortlye to make to my lorde of Cantorbury wher in ye shall more at large understand the lyfe and behaveour of this monster. Thus Jesus Christ be our comfort, and geve us after the afflyctions of this lyfe peace and joy in him. Amen.

“JOHN HALL.”<sup>1</sup>

Encouraged by the favourable reception given to his "Acts and Monuments," and the impression which it was evidently producing on the public mind, Foxe had begun to prepare a second edition. He now reverted to his original plan, hinted at in the conclusion of his 1554 Strasburg publication,<sup>1</sup> of a history of the persecutions which the Christian church had encountered for the truth's sake from the beginning. But above all he resolved to make an historical exposure of the Papacy. The course of his studies at Oxford had eminently qualified him for such an undertaking. His work, therefore, was now about to assume far larger proportions. The earlier part would consist very much of translations from works of Greek, Latin, and French writers. The account, for example, of the persecutions of the primitive church by the Roman emperors, during the first three centuries, is derived from the Magdeburg Centuriators—the conflict between the German emperor Frederick II. and the popes of his day, from Nicholas Cisnerus—that between our Henry II. and Thomas Becket, from the "Quadrilogus"—that between the French king Philip le Bel and pope Boniface VIII., from a French publication, printed uniform with the "Quadrilogus"—the sturdy resistance of our Henry III. and his barons to the papal exactions, from Matthew Paris—the history of Wickliffe, from the episcopal registers and the "Fasciulus Zizaniorum" of Walden. Assistants were engaged to make these translations; while he was collecting fresh materials for illustrating the heroic sufferings of the English martyrs during the Marian persecution.

While Foxe was thus engaged, some general restrictions had been laid upon printers and publishers. To be enabled, therefore, to proceed with his work without incurring the lash of the law, he addressed a letter to Sir William Cecil, the queen's secretary, in the name of John Day, in which he states that he, "John Day, desires his assistance and counsel:"—

"You are aware that it is provided, both by public and municipal law, that citizens and artificers (printers) should not engage in their employ more than four foreigners and strangers. If any one exceed this number, I know not how heavy a fine he is threatened with. I am not aware of the object of this law, nor am I concerned to inquire. The framers of it, wise and prudent men, saw reasons for it, which those of less foresight might not perceive. However this may be, it is of serious inconvenience to our printer, as well as to ourselves. While we are supplying materials for three presses, we cannot procure among our own countrymen fit persons to work them, and are by the law forbidden to seek the assistance of strangers. This is our complaint, and we solicit your highness to interpose your authority, so as to relieve us from the difficulty, and enable us to complete the work we have in hand. If we ourselves should not be worthy of such kindness, yet you will extend it to those pious and holy martyrs of Christ, who have so long lain in the grave, and thus will be more easily brought to light.

"Yours in all Christian obedience,

"From our printing office, July 6 [1568].

"J. FOXE.

"In addition to these, unless we appear too importunate, we solicit that to this printer, whom I have named, may be secured all those privileges which he formerly enjoyed from you, while printing the Psalms in the vulgar tongue: because from this one source alone is his family sustained.

"To the Lord Cecil, secretary to the queen,

a man eminently conspicuous for his prudence and piety."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the first attack was made on the edition of 1563 by Nicholas Harpsfield, under the name of Alan Cope. The "Six Dialogues" of

(1) See above, p. 16, note (1).

(2) See Appendix for the Latin original, No. VIII.



Harpfield were first published at Antwerp, in 1566. The first five of these were occupied with attacks on the Magdeburg Centuriators and bishop Jewel's "Apology for the Church of England:" the sixth with an attack on Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," which has been the foundation of all subsequent attacks on Foxe. Three years later Foxe wrote to Illyricus a letter, still extant in the Harleian MSS.,<sup>1</sup> soliciting his opinion whether he should reply to the "sycophant," as he styles him, or not. Foxe appears to have been recommended by Illyricus to answer Alan Cope. (See vol. iii. p. 704 of the present edition.)

The course of events brings us to Foxe's famous sermon at Paul's Cross, on "Christ crucified." In spite of his still declining the required conformity to the habits, he was commanded by bishop Grindal to preach at this celebrated spot. He very unwillingly, in consequence both of diffidence and ill-health, obeyed the injunction. In writing to Grindal he urged his incapacity. "Consider also, in fairness," he proceeds, "how unequally this will press upon me, when, as I believe, there never yet was ass or mule who was so weighed down and overdone by carrying burthens, as I have long been by literary labours; every day employed investigating and drawing forth the contents of writers, reading copies, and reading them again, and putting together materials which may be of public benefit to the church. By these labours I am almost worn out, not to speak of ill-health<sup>2</sup> and want of books. Yet, amidst all these labours and defects which I have narrated, I am summoned, in addition, to St. Paul's Cross, that celebrated spot, where, like an ape among cardinals, I shall be received with derision, or driven away by the hisses of the auditory."

We learn from another letter that he was solemnly adjured by many who appreciated his powers to preach there, whatever might be his own conviction of his unfitnes; and that bishop Grindal also gave him the subject of his sermon. "Yesterday," he writes in another letter to Grindal, "I heard, when too late, that your servant had been with Day, the printer. Had I seen him, perhaps I might have sent a different answer from the present. But although I saw him not, I now see there are friends who by no means will suffer me to refuse, what by all means I had determined to deny. I find that they will not rest till they have thrust me forward, most unwillingly, at Paul's Cross. By every means, by entreaties, threats, upbraidings, they urge, press, and solicit me. What is more painful, they pretend that you are displeased with my last letter. In addition, they solemnly adjure me in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. This, indeed, more than all besides, induces me not to refuse. Pray for me again and again. I entreat you, beloved prelate, who have laid this burden upon me, help me to sustain it. And I cannot but express a pleasing surprise that in your letters, where by virtue of

(1) "Ornatissime vir, salutem in Christo multam. Primum, quod ad ignotum scribam ignotus, id putes velim non aliunde proficisci, quam ex animo tui studioso tueque notitiæ percipido. Quamquam subest et alia causa quare te compellandum existimavi hoc tempore: Alani Copi Dialogos ante triennium editos jamdudum vidisse te non ignorare ac etiam perlegisse suspicor. Horum quinque priores dialogi ad te et Magdeburgenses vestros (ut scis) partim etiam ad Apologeticos nostros spectant. Sextus vero dialogorum liber me peculiariter et nominatim impetit. De istis dialogis quid vos istic statuatis, an sycophantem illum sine responsione omnino negligendum putetis, sive responsionem brevi exituram pareatis, scire laboro. Quod ubi constiterit ex ratione vestrà, ipsemet capiam rebus meis consilium. Hac de re si dignaberis vel tribus verbis me certiozem reddere, gratum feceris."—Harl. MSS. No. 417, Art. 36, fol. 105.

(2) The observance of Lent was a well-known rigid fast. In 1564 an order was issued to observe Wednesdays as fast-days, when fish was eaten. In 1568 a royal proclamation appeared, supposed to have been dictated by Burghley, to enforce the observance of all the old fasts, and a more rigid one of every Wednesday. (Life of Burghley by Nares, vol. ii. pp. 483, 484.) Foxe, as appears from the above letter, was in an ill state of health; and I think this the likely period when he obtained from archbishop Parker a dispensation to eat flesh in Lent. For this kindness, Strype says, Foxe addressed him in a handsome Latin letter. (Life of Parker, vol. i. p. 354; Parker Correspondence, Parker Society, p. 230.)

Erasmus could not endure even the smell of fish; and Roger Ascham obtained a dispensation from archbishop Cranmer. (Jortin's Life of Erasmus; Works, vol. v. p. 80.)

your authority this burden is laid upon me, your piety has kindly suggested a subject—that I preach Christ Jesus, and him crucified. May the Lord Jesus, crucified for us, keep your mind in perfect humility amidst the honours of your calling, and with that humility of mind may he also preserve your present dignity, for the lasting welfare of his church !”

Controversy in the present day is banished to the press, or to the platform. It seldom intrudes itself into the pulpit. At this time, however, the preacher who should have omitted all allusion to the great division between Rome and England, would have been considered as deserting his duty. He would have been deemed either ignorant, cowardly, or traitorous. We may justly believe, therefore, that the public anticipated some vehement and bitter invective against popery from the martyrologist. If they did so, they must have been much disappointed by his sermon at St. Paul's Cross. Though he was both willing and anxious to comply with the popular wish, after he had once consented to preach, of assailing the errors of the apostate church, he did not treat popery as the political enemy to the government or institutions of England. He spoke of it as the spiritual enemy of the souls of men. He contrasted the effects of the papal doctrines with those of the Christian doctrines to which they are opposed. He argues well and satisfactorily, that the popish doctrine of the continual sacrifice of the mass and the Christian doctrine of reconciliation with God, through faith in the “one, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction which was made once for all,” cannot consist together, but must destroy each other. He preached the one only doctrine, which is again beginning to be stigmatized as absurd by many learned and deeply-reasoning theologians, but which will ever be regarded by the humble-minded and wounded in spirit as the only source of comfort—justification before the Creator by faith in that one Saviour who has completed the reconciliation of the believing soul to his Father and our Father, to his God and our God. He preached a sermon which would be called “ultra-Protestant,” among those who would neutralize our opposition to the soul-destroying doctrines of the Church of Rome by inventing new terms of reproach against their brethren, to palliate their own inconsistency. Christ and his Apostles, the Fathers and the Reformers, conquered the dominion of evil by urging on their hearers the Christian, evangelical, “ultra-Protestant,” truths of the sinfulness of the unconverted nature of man—the necessity of repentance—the value of the only atonement—and the continued work of the Holy Spirit to sanctify and renew the soul. From these solemn topics they derived warning to the impenitent, and comfort to the humble believer. John Foxe followed in their train, and imitated their example. He addresses his discourse—“To all them that labour and are heavy-laden in conscience.”

After alluding, in his Epistle Dedicatory, to the means by which the Church of Rome presents the circumstances of the passion of Christ to the people, he observes, that “to know the crucified sacrifice of Christ's body to be a perfect deliverance of all his people, to be a full satisfaction once and for ever for all our sins—to be a full justification, redemption, and righteousness before God for ever, to all them that believe in him, without any other means or help adjoined to him—this is to know Christ Jesus crucified.” He apologizes for the publication of his sermon, and affirms that he only permitted it to be printed that it might give consolation to the humble and heavy-laden. “Forsomuch,” he says, “as the Lord hath a remnant of some faithful servants, which walk after their Lord and God with a perfect heart, and are not hearers, but seekers also of his kingdom; and especially for your cause that labour and are laden in conscience, wheresoever or whatsoever ye are, in whom the Lord hath wrought an earnest hunger and hearty seeking for his kingdom, for you most principally I have penned this sermon of

Christ crucified, and to you specially I dedicate and commend the same; desiring the same Lord Jesus, crucified for us, that you in reading hereof may receive such spiritual refreshing to your souls, and high courage of faith in Christ Jesus, that neither Satan may deceive you; nor the law terrify you; nor death confound you; nor sin oppress you; nor conscience captive you; nor hell-gates prevail over you; but that you, rightly understanding with all saints what is the hope of your calling, the riches of your inheritance, the greatness of his power towards you; and what is the breadth, length, and profundity, and what is the super-admirable love of knowledge of Jesus Christ crucified, may superabound in all heavenly consolation; and also, with a holy pride, may triumph in Christ Jesus."

The text which he selected was from 2 Cor. v. 18—21. He considers the sender of the message—the messengers—and the message of the gospel itself.

Many beautiful passages might be selected from these three divisions, especially the supposed address of Christ to Satan and to Death, and the final triumph of the Cross over all its enemies; as well as from the hortatory paragraphs at the conclusion. His prayer for the church has been generally admired. He concludes with a petition for the members of the church of Rome, which may still be offered with a devout and humble heart by the members of the church of England.

"And as the bishop of Rome is wont on this Good Friday, and every Good Friday, to accurse us as damned heretics, we here curse not him, but pray for him, that he, with all his partakers, either may be turned to a better truth: or else, we pray thee, gracious Lord, that we never agree with him in doctrine, and that he may so curse us still, and never bless us more as he blessed us in queen Mary's time! God of his mercy keep away that blessing from us!

"Finally, instead of the pope's blessing, give us thy blessing, Lord, we beseech thee, and conserve the peace of thy church, and course of thy blessed gospel. Help them that are needy and afflicted. Comfort them that labour and are heavy-laden. And above all things continue and increase our faith. And forasmuch as thy poor little flock can scarcely have any place or rest in the world, come, Lord, we beseech thee, with thy 'It is finished;' and make an end; that this world may have no more time nor place here, and that thy church may have rest for ever.

"For these and all other necessities requisite to be begged and prayed for, asking in Christ's name, and as he hath taught us, let us say the Lord's Prayer—'Our Father,' " &c.

A postscript to the papists follows, in which they are invited and urged to meet the weighty points of doctrine taught by the Reformed Anglican church, relative to the sufficiency of Christ's passion and atonement, either by refutation or consent.

He says, that, having an empty page, he shall write a word or two to those who hold with the proceedings of Rome, craving them to refute his propositions, or yield to the truth of the doctrines contained in them. He then lays down the chief parts of the controversy which divides the churches, to the effect following:—

I. Whether they can find by the Scripture of God, or any approved doctor, that the sacrificed body of the Son of God, suffering once upon the cross on Good Friday, is not the only material and sufficient cause of our perfect salvation, remission of sins, and justification?

II. Whether the promise of God, which is to salvation, standeth not free, without any condition of work or works to be added to that effect, save only faith in the merits of Christ?

III. Whether faith in the Redeemer is not the only mean and instrument whereby his passion is made to us effectual ?

He then calls upon them for proofs against this doctrine—to let the world hear their reasons, and to let railing, trifling, and scoffing be done with. “Persecution and blood are no way,” he says, “to find out truth, but serve to blind it. The Scriptures, in the matter of salvation, teach without trope or figure, and will quickly decide the cause.”

Repeating, then, the above three points of doctrine as undeniable verities of Scripture ; “seeing,” he says, “our justification and remission of sins stand consummated by Christ, free by promise, and assured by faith ; declare, then, I beseech you—you, who so magnify the religion of Rome—declare unto us, how standeth with God’s religion your auricular confession for loosing of sins—your satisfaction for the same—your works of perfection and superelevation, masses, trentals—your propitiatory sacrifice—praying of saints, and to saints departed—your pardons ; purgatory for cleansing of sin ; building and entering into monasteries for the remission of sins ; pilgrimages ; stations of Rome ; jubilees ; straitness of orders ; with an infinite number of such like ? All which implements of your church, to what use now do they serve ? or, how can they stand with Scripture ? but either they must derogate from Christ’s passion ; or else the passion of Christ must needs make them void.”

“For the same Christ Jesus crucified I desire you, therefore, if ye see these evidences true, then, be reconciled to the truth ; and as St. Paul desireth you, be reconciled to God. Let the religion of God stand simple, as he left it himself. In other matters add what ye list ; but, in matter and cause of salvation, Christ left nothing behind him to be added any more, either by apostles, or martyrs, or bishops, or any other. He consummated the perfection thereof fully by himself, leaving nothing therein imperfect. Whereunto he that addeth blasphemeth ; and doth no less than infringe the testament of our Lord.” These warnings and exhortations he then enforces by that strong admonition of St. Paul,<sup>1</sup> closing with hope that “the Lord of Grace might open their eyes to see, and their hearts to embrace the knowledge of his truth, to his glory, and their spiritual comfort, and their everlasting life in him.”

Such was the Sermon on Christ Crucified, preached on Good Friday, by John Foxe at St. Paul’s Cross ; and so long as the Liturgy of the Church of England is valued, or the holy Scriptures of truth are read, so long will this noble homily be esteemed by the members of the Catholic church, who can distinguish the inventions of man from the perfection and simplicity of the great atonement, which is the substance and the object of the revelation of the gospel of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

Foxe was proceeding with his Martyrology when, on the 25th of Feb. 1570, the bishop of Rome, presuming still to act as if he were the ecclesiastical magistrate and supreme ruler of the universal church, violently separated himself and his church from their communion with the Anglican church ; and, daring to pronounce Elizabeth “the pretended queen of England,” deposed her from the throne, and declared the nation absolved from their allegiance. This bull alone was the true cause of the subsequent enactments against the priests who obeyed the pope, and against the practices also of the members of the church of Rome. The real meaning of the bull was, that, as princes deposed by the popes might be rightly destroyed by their subjects, and their dominions be granted by him to any more orthodox and approved invader, every effort

(1) Gal. i. 9.

(2) The Sermon on Christ Crucified was printed by John Day in 1570, 4to.; again, newly recognised by the author, in 8vo. in 1575, and in 12mo. in 1577 : also in Latin, “*Coucio de Christo Crucifixo*,” October 1571, in 4to. It is published by the Religious Tract Society in the “*British Reformers*.”

would be made from this moment to overturn the throne of Elizabeth, and to subdue the people of England to the dominion of the bishop of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The republication, therefore, of Foxe's work at this juncture was most desirable; and the martyrologist spared no labour to expedite its completion: and the good providence of God is seen in preparing such a champion, to confront the old enemy of Christ and his true church with the accusations of history, at the very time when he was reasserting his arrogant claims against the most powerful sovereign of the Protestant interest.

The second edition of the "Acts and Monumentes" was published in the course of the twelvemonth following. No parliament had sat for four years. A parliament was called and met in April 1571. Before that time the work was printed. A letter from Mr. Norton would imply, however, that the Preface was not completed, and the work therefore not published, till the commencement of 1571. The letter is preserved among the Harleian papers.<sup>2</sup> The title to this Second Edition was—"The first volume of Ecclesiastical History, contayning the Actes and Monumentes of thinges passed in every kynge's time in this realm, especially in the Church of England, principally to be noted. With a full discourse of such persecutions, horrible troubles, the sufferiung of Martyrs, and other things incident, touchyng as wel the said Church of England, as also Scotland, and all other foreine nations, from the primitive tyme, till the reigne of King Henry VIII. Newly recognized, and enlarged by the author John Foxe. Also the second volume, from the tyme of King Henry VIII. to Queene Elizabeth, our gracious Lady now reigning. Printed by John Day, 1570," &c. The first volume contained 934 pages, exclusive of prefaces, &c.; the second 1378 pages, exclusive of index. Both the first and second volumes had many more engravings than the edition of 1563.

The prefaces to the former edition were now somewhat modified. For

(1) See on this subject the Accusations of History against the Church of Rome—Soames's Elizabethan History, the last work in which these topics are considered—the usual references to the Canon Law of Rome—and Bishop Taylor's Notes to his Sermon on the 5th of November, where the numerous authorities of the learned papal writers who defended these writings are collected. The members of the Church of Rome in the present day shrink from these opinions. They are sincere in their disavowal: but they are required by all their hopes of the reunion of Christians, and by all their hopes of credit to their professions of loyalty to a sovereign whom the laws denominate Protestant, to demand the expungement of the canons which former controversies have placed in the Canon Law of Rome, from the Conclia and pontifical codes by which their church is governed. Those laws are unrepealed, though they are disavowed as obsolete. They slumber with the weakness, they wake with the power, of Rome; if the security, the indifference, the irreligion, or the party politics of the objectors to the revival of the papal supremacy, permit the resumption of its power.

Michael Ghislieri, the commissary-general of the Inquisition, a man of high reputation as a scholar, and of blameless character, but still more highly esteemed for his "hatred to those revivals of primitive Christianity, which his church called heresy, and for his consequent severity to the upholders of every error which the church had so long sanctioned," was elected pope on the 7th of January, 1566. "He had scarcely assumed the tiara before he put forth a bull against heretics, 'in the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Mother of God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the holy host of heaven, of the archangels and angels, of the holy apostles, saints, and martyrs,' willing and authorizing all the wise and learned of his clergy to labour, endeavour, and contrive all manner of devices, to abate, assuage, and confound them; anathematizing all heretics living, trading, or travelling in any colonies, principalities, realms, and countries, subject to the see of St. Peter his predecessor; that thereby they might either be reclaimed, or a total infamy be brought upon them, by their discord and divisions; by which means they might either speedily perish by God's wrath, or continue in eternal difference."\*

In the Bull of Canonization of Pius V. 1712, among his high virtues entitling him to such honours this is one:—his "unhesitating zeal in striking with his dread anathema the impious heretic, queen Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England."

(2) George Norton to Mr. Foxe, asking for the Preface to his Martyrology.

"For that I doe rather write than come myselfe, impute I pray you to this: for that I think it pleaseth far better: and because it hathe so fallen out, it lykerthe the no lesse," &c. &c. &c. After many observations, he adds—"But to the cause of my writinge, &c. Syr, Mr. Daic willed me when he ridde forth, as this daie to come to you for the preface (the parlemente draweth nere), which yf you pleas to send by this messenger with your mind, I will doe thereafter. Vale in Christo.

"Yours to commande,

"GEORGE NORTON.

"To the worshipful Mr. Foxe, these."

Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 119.

It would appear from this letter, that Foxe was not living at this time in the house of Day: but was probably at the duke of Norfolk's; whence he afterwards removed to Grub-street.

that addressed to queen Elizabeth an entirely new one was substituted. Foxe notices in this the abuse which had been heaped upon his work, and the motives of his accusers. "When I first presented," he says, "these Acts and Monuments to your Majesty, which your Majesty's rare clemency received in such gentle part, I well hoped that these my travails in this kind of writing had been well at an end; whereby I might have returned my studies again to other purposes, after my own desire, more fit than to write histories, especially in the English tongue. But certain evil-disposed persons, of intemperate tongues, adversaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest; fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Christ to have been new-born again; and that Herod with all the city of Jerusalem had been in an uproar; such blustering and stirring was then against that poor book, through all quarters of England, even to the gates of Louvain. So that no English papist almost in all the realm thought himself a perfect catholic, unless he had cast out some word or other to give that book a blow." "They are ashamed," he says, "to hear what they have done; though they are not ashamed to do, what they now blush to hear."<sup>1</sup> Being unable to work by the secular arm ("the Lord of heaven long preserve your Majesty!" he emphatically adds), they renewed again the practice, by which they had opposed the circulation of the Bible in the reign of Henry the Eighth; they decried the book "with tragical voices, to make it appear as full of lies as lines." The foundation of all this calumny was "three or four escapes only, in that book committed; and yet some of them were in the said book amended: they neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding what they read, inveighed and maligned so perversely the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world besides." But then concerning such matters related by him as were errors indeed, he adds (for the satisfaction of all sober, unprejudiced readers, if not for the silencing of those calumniators) that, nevertheless, "in accusing these his accusers, he did not so excuse himself, nor defend his book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended;" therefore he had taken pains "to reiterate his labours, in travailing out the story again: doing herein as Penelope did with her web, untwisting that she had done before: or as builders do sometimes; take down again their buildings, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger:" so he, "in recognizing this history, had employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument he took in hand, partly also to essay, whether by any painstaking he might pacify the stomachs, or satisfy the judgments, of these importune quarrellers."

He then proceeds to congratulate the country on the peace, quiet, and freedom from persecution which distinguished the time in which he wrote. Though the doctrine of toleration was not understood, and the prince was still too much considered to be the criterion of truth acceptable to God, yet neither papist nor puritan was pursued with the severity which had marked the former reign; and the very cessation of the relentlessness of the still existing laws made the martyrologist justly call this period of the reign of Elizabeth the "halcyon days" of England. He declares, too, that his great object was not merely to commend his book to the queen and to the learned, but to consider the wants of the ignorant flock of Christ, to relieve their ignorance, and to instruct their simplicity. As the histories of the sufferers for the truth's sake in the olden time benefited the church, so he believes the church of his own day would be benefited by the histories of the modern martyrs. With some other observations of the same nature he concludes:—and he is right in

(1) "Audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est: nullus faciendi quæ audire erubescunt."

the sentiment he here expresses. His work has hitherto imbued the most unlearned, yet not less wise and clearly-judging, Christian commonalty of England with a thorough dread of the laws and principles which could induce our rulers, on any pretence whatever, to identify the canon laws of the church against heresy with the statute laws of the country; and thus to render legal the cruelty of an erroneous priesthood. And that man, even in the present day, who shall endeavour, until the canon laws of Rome are expunged from its conciliar and papal codes, to lessen our horror at its crimes of persecution, or at the claims on which the right to persecute is founded, is a traitor to his Saviour, to his country, and to the true Catholic church. If primitive Christianity was worth establishing, it was worth defending. If the Reformation—which was only the restoration of the best portions of that primitive Christianity—was worth establishing, that also is worth defending, in all times, and through all dangers.

The preface before addressed “To the persecutors of God’s truth” was never republished; probably out of regard to the personal safety of those who were chiefly concerned in the dreadful tragedies of queen Mary’s reign. The papists themselves were heartily ashamed of their leaders. Though Bonner survived till 1569, Strype asserts that he never dared to show his face abroad, for fear of encountering the popular indignation.

A new preliminary paper was now added, called “A Protestation to the true and faithful congregation of Christ’s universal church, and to all and singular the members thereof throughout the whole realm of England, wishing to the same abundance of peace and tranquillity, with the speedy coming of Christ the Spouse to make an end of all mortal misery.” This address may be called a national sermon, and a condensation into the briefest possible space of the work which follows it. It consists of thirty paragraphs, and breathes throughout the spirit of peace and love. I will endeavour to compress this beautiful preface into the shortest compass, to enable all to judge whether John Foxe deserves the exchange of the former veneration which was paid him for the cold ingratitude or affected contempt of the day in which we live.

As the glory of God, he begins (par. 1), filled the temple, which was seven years in building; so he prays (par. 2) that a blessing may be granted to this edition of his work, to which he had devoted seven years of labour. But, as in the temple of Solomon some came (par. 3) to buy and sell, to walk and gaze, to find fault and to destroy, so had many proceeded with his book. He desires all faults to be pointed out, and he will correct them: but these men (par. 4), like Cicero’s dog in the Capitol, who barked not at robbers but at honest men, blaspheme the martyrs of Christ, and canonize them for saints, whom the Scriptures would condemn as dishonourable and disloyal subjects. He leaves, however, these persons (par. 5) to address the well-minded lovers and partakers of Christ’s gospel; and to beg them (par. 6) to judge that history which was written to profit all, and to displease none. He grieved to see the simple and the unlearned (par. 7) deceived by the histories which had been written by the monks and by the clients of Rome: who had so related all things to the honour of the Church of Rome, that the generality believed there was no truth but the doctrines which Rome taught, and no true church but that over which the bishop of Rome presided. He then (par. 8) enumerates the authors to whom he refers, and instances their partiality in the suppression of truth, and in their elevating the church, the see, and the bishop of Rome. When he considered this list of authors, and the intolerable corruption of history by their means (par. 9), he deemed it to be his duty to endeavour to give a faithful history to the people, and (par. 10) to present to the world the double portrait of the Church of Rome on the one hand, and the

Church of Christ, which Rome oppressed and persecuted, on the other. In the next six paragraphs he draws the contrast between that part of the Catholic church of Christ which became corrupt, and inflicted persecution, and that part of the Catholic church which was less corrupt, and which suffered persecution. He assigns the principal dates of the greater corruptions of the church (pars. 17—19) to the ages immediately preceding and following the pontificate of Hildebrand; and then details the long and glorious list of witnesses, whom the providence of God raised up in every age to protest, before the days of Luther, against the corruptions and cruelty of the dominant usurpation over the bishops and churches of the Catholic church of Christ. This list begins at par. 20, and continues through the seven which follow; and it is concluded by the triumphant affirmation, that the church, as it had been lately reformed, is not the new, but the old continued church, to which the promise of Christ had been given, and to which, by the providence of God, that promise had never failed. Thus far this preface is amply deserving of the approbation of the critical reader. In the next paragraph (par. 28) our author betrays a tinge of credulity. He affirms, but on insufficient evidence, that God sent down from heaven, upon the garments and caps of men, in Germany, marks of his passion—as the bloody cross, the nails, the spear, and the crown of thorns—to denote the persecutions which were about to take place. But if he was mistaken in believing such portents to have occurred, he erred with Francis Mirandula, Melanethon, and other authors whom he cites.<sup>1</sup> The 29th paragraph, too, has some unreceivable notions derived from his interpretations of prophecy. The conclusion is an exhortation to the church of England—well suited, not only to the day in which Foxe lived, but to our own age also—to avoid the schism which alienates the heart of man from man; and it ends with a prayer that, in one unity of doctrine, we may gather ourselves into the true ark together. He considered rightly that the enemy to the union of all our brethren and countrymen into one true church was the Church of Rome: while he deprecated, at the same time, the incipient schism of the puritans.

Another new prefatory introduction to this edition consisted in Four Questions, proposed to the friends and followers of the bishop of Rome.

The first was, whether that part of Isaiah's description of the church, that it should not hurt nor destroy, could be said to describe the Church of Rome?

The second was, whether the exceeding hatred which was borne by the Church of Rome to those who withheld subjection to its authority was deserved?

The third, whether the description of the apocalyptic beast in the Revelation could refer to any other power than to papal Rome?<sup>2</sup>

The last question was, whether the religion of Christ be spiritual or corporeal?

In answering this question he lightly values, I am sorry to say, not merely a large mass of the observances, ceremonies, and customs of the Church of Rome, but some of the rites and opinions which are valued by the members of the Church of England. He forgot that some outward ordinances are essential to the upholding the inward and spiritual religion which he approved. He defends rightly the doctrine of justification by faith alone, as the instrumental cause of our acceptance, while the sanctification of the soul will ever be the result.

He ends his remarks on this question by briefly replying to the argu-

(1) See vol. iv. of this edition, p. 257.

(2) It has become the fashion among those of our clerical brethren who would place the happiness, peace, purity, and triumph of the true Catholic church in retrogradation, and not in progression, to deny the accuracy of this, the usual interpretation among Protestants. I refer them to the essay of Dr. Wordsworth, the present bishop of Lincoln "On the Babylon of the Apocalypse," Rivingtons, 1856.



ment of Pighius and Hosius—that the church must be always visible, and that Rome alone, therefore, can be the true church. This reasoning was subsequently adopted by Bossuet; and it has been learnedly refuted by Mr. Faber, who has proved that all the marks required by Bossuet and his brethren to meet in the true church are to be found in the churches of the Waldenses. The right answer to the supposed, not real, difficulty consists rather in this—that some portions of Christ's church apostatized, and then persecuted those who did not follow their example. The members who did not apostatize are always discernible. They can be tracked in the blood of their martyrs. They can be discerned by the fires which consumed them. The results of their labours may be found in the establishment of the episcopal Reformed church of England, and in the fearless toleration sanctioned by its ecclesiastical and temporal rulers.

The martyrologist, after these several prefaces, proceeds at once to his narrative, which he commences with a most useful Introduction on the contrast between Rome apostolical, when St. Paul alluded to its purity of faith, spoken of throughout the whole world, and Rome papal, corrupted with error, and stained with the blood of the martyrs and holy men of God. The work continued the same for substance in all subsequent editions.

The estimation in which the work in its ultimate form was held, will be hereafter shown. Foxe's College again purchased it,<sup>1</sup> and his friend dean Nowell, who survived him fifteen years, bequeathed his copy to Brazenose. Another tribute, however, was now paid to the book, which is more especially entitled to the attention of those who are disposed to submit their judgment to the authority of the church, and to receive its decisions with the respect and deference which are justly due to a tribunal, from which there ought, if possible, to be no appeal. The parliament met on the 3d of April, 1571. The convocation of the province of Canterbury, which was then considered to be an efficient, component part of the great national senate, met at the same time. They assembled at St. Paul's church. They confirmed the Thirty-nine Articles, and enacted many canons for the better regulation of the churches, and ordering of the lives of the clergy and people. Among other decrees they resolved that the enlarged edition of Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" should be placed in the churches, and in the halls and houses of the archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, to be read and studied by the people. These canons were not, it is true, sanctioned by the queen, who seemed to be resolved to permit no power in England but that which emanated from her imperial self. Neither were they enacted by the parliament. They did not, therefore, become law. They were, however, strictly adopted as canons; that is, as regulations for the churches, proposed to the clergy, and adopted, both by them and their congregations, as rules, though not laws of conduct. The books of the "Acts and Monuments" were, consequently, placed in the churches and other public situations, and were generally retained there till the time of archbishop Laud, by whose influence, as we shall see, they are supposed to have been removed.<sup>2</sup>

(1) In the *Liber Computi* of Magdalen for 1570-1 occurs this item:—"Solutum M<sup>ro</sup> Fox pro Martyrum Monumentis ex consensu Domini Presidis, vi. b. xiii. s."

(2) This book of Canons is reprinted in Sparrow's Collection, 4to. London, 1684. It is entitled "Liber quorundam Canonum Disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Anno 1571."

The decrees of the synod were—De Episcopis, De Decanis Ecclesiarum, De Archidiaconis, De Cancellariis, De Aeditis Ecclesiarum, De Concinatoribus, De Residentia, De Pluralitatibus, De Ludimagistris, De Patronis, etc., to which was prefixed this preamble:—

"Sequuntur in hoc libello certi quidam articuli de sacro ministerio, et procuracione ecclesiarum, in quos plene consensus est in synodo a domino Matthæo, archiepiscopo Cantuar, et totius Angliæ primate et metropolitano, et reliquis omnibus ejus provinciæ episcopis, partim personaliter presentibus, partim procuratoria manu subscribentibus, in synodo inchoata Londini in æde divi Pauli, tertio die Aprilis, 1571."

The decrees to which I refer are these:—

De Episcopis, p. 227.—"Quivis archiepiscopus et episcopus habebit domi suæ sacra Biblia in amplissimo volumine, uti nuperrime Londini excusa sunt, et plenam illam historiam quæ inscribitur

## SECTION V.

## THE REMAINDER OF FOXE'S LIFE, AFTER THE SECOND PUBLICATION OF THE "ACTS AND MONUMENTS," TO HIS DEATH.

A.D. 1571 TO A.D. 1587.

THE "REFORMATIO LEGUM"—CORRESPONDENCE—THOMAS THACKHAM—EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—FOXES'S PREFERENCE TO A STALL IN DURHAM CATHEDRAL—HIS INEFFECTUAL INTERPOSITION ON BEHALF OF TWO DUTCH ANABAPTISTS—THIRD EDITION OF THE "ACTS AND MONUMENTS"—SAMUEL FOXE—FOXES COMPLETES HADDON'S REPLY TO OSORIUS—HIS TREATISE ON JUSTIFICATION—FOURTH EDITION OF THE "ACTS AND MONUMENTS"—FOXES PROVIDES FOR HIS SON SAMUEL—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.

THE next great work on which we find our illustrious martyrologist to have been employed was the *Reformatio Legum*, the collection of regulations which were drawn up, after the Church of England ceased to be subjected to the Church of Rome, for its better government, under its own princes and convocations. The attempt to establish a code of ecclesiastical law, which should supersede the ancient, pontifical, and conciliar canon laws, whether those which were collected by Lyndwood, in the reign of Henry VI., or others, is interesting to us, on account of the part which was assigned to Foxe in preparing it for the consideration of the queen and the legislature.

Before the great effort which was made in the reign of Henry VIII. to emancipate the church and people of England from the yoke of a foreign bishop, the clergy of the church, either with or without the king's permission,<sup>1</sup> in conformity with the summons of the bishops or archbishops, were accustomed, according to the reasonableness of the case, and the primitive practice of the eastern episcopal churches, to meet in councils, synods, convocations, and conventions, to make canons and laws for the general regulation of the community. When communion with Rome implied submission to Rome, these synods and convocations were unavoidably obedient to the foreign influence, and many laws were enacted which clashed with the allegiance of the subject to the temporal prince: it consequently became necessary, in order more effectually to complete the emancipation of England from Rome, that the temporal prince should wrest from the ecclesiastical authority this portion of its power. This was done by the king's requiring from the clergy that the convocation should enact no laws for the subjects of the realm, without the consent of the king. The authority of the bishops to make regulations which were binding on the consciences of the clergy, but which were not a part of the law of the realm, suffered no interference. This obedience of the clergy to the king was made by the convocation in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Henry VIII.

*Monumenta Martyrum*, et alios quosdam similes libros ad religionem appositos. Locentur autem isti libri vel in aula, vel in grandi cœnaculo, ut et ipsorum famulis et advenis usui esse possint."

*Decan' Ecclesiarum Cathedralium*, p. 227.—"Eosdem illos libros, quos proxime diximus, decanus quisque curabit emi et locari in ecclesia sua cathedrali, ejusmodi in loco, ut a vicariis et minoribus canonicis et ministris ecclesie, et ab advenis et peregrinis, commodè audiri et legi possint."

"Eosdem libros illos decanus et primarius quisque residentiarius, quos appellant ecclesie dignitates, ement, suo quisque famulatio, eosque opportuno aliquo in loco, vel in aula vel in cœnaculo, locabunt."

*Archidiaconi*, p. 229.—"Quis archidiaconus habebit domi suæ et alios libros, et nominatim eos qui inscribantur *Monumenta Martyrum*."

(1) See the whole controversy respecting the origin, rights, powers, &c. of the English convocations, in archbishop Wake's *State of the Church and Clergy*, &c. folio, 1703.

For the satisfaction of those who may not have ready access to copies of the proceedings of the convocation and parliament relative to the final breach of Henry VIII. with Rome, I subjoin, in three parallel columns, *the submission of the clergy* assembled in the convocation of 1532, *the recital of the same before the parliament*, and *the final enactment*, in the parliament of 1534, founded on the submission and recital. These three together may be said to be the foundation of the *Reformatio Legum*.

*The Convocation's Submission.*

We your most humble subjects, daily oratours, and beadsmen of your clergy of England, having our special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of; and doubting nothing but that the same shall continue, and daily increase in your majesty;

*First do offer and promise, in verbo sacerdotii, here unto your highness, SUBMITTING ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will never from henceforth enact, put in ure, promulgate, or execute any new canons, or constitutions provincial, or any new ordinances provincial or synodal, in our convocation or synod, in time coming (which convocation is, always hath been, and must be assembled only by your high commandment or writ), unless your highness by your royal assent shall licence us to assemble our convocation, and to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions and ordinances as shall be made in the same, and there-to give your royal assent and authority:*

II.

*Secondarily, That whereas divers of the constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which hath been heretofore enacted, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your highness' subjects, your clergy aforesaid is contented if it may stand with your highness' pleasure that it be committed to the examination and judgment of your grace, and of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of the temporality, and other sixteen of the clergy; all to be chosen and appointed by your most noble grace; so that finally, which soever of the said constitutions, ordinances, or canons, provincial or synodal, shall be thought and determined by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, not to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, the same to be abrogated and*

*The Parliament's Recital.*

Whereas the king's humble and obedient subjects, the clergy of this realm of England, have not only acknowledged according to the truth, that the convocation of the same clergy is, always hath been, and ought to be assembled only by the king's writ; but also, SUBMITTING themselves to the king's majesty,

Have promised in *verbo sacerdotii* that they will never from henceforth presume to attempt, atledge, claim, or put in ure, or enact, promulge, or execute any new canons, constitutions, ordinances, provincial or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called, in the convocation, unless the king's most royal assent and licence may to them be had, to make, promulge, and execute the same, and that his majesty do give his mostroyal assent and authority in that behalf:

II.

*And whereas divers constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which heretofore have been enacted, being thought not only to be much prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal, and repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm, but also overmuch onerous to his highness and his subjects, the said clergy hath most humbly besought the king's highness, that the said constitutions and canons may be committed to the examination and judgment of his highness and of thirty-two persons of the king's subjects, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of parliament of the temporality, and other sixteen to be of the clergy of this realm, and all the said thirty-two persons to be chosen and appointed by the king's majesty; and that such of the said constitutions as shall be thought and determined by the said thirty-two persons or the*

*Enactment upon the Recital.*

Be it therefore now enacted by authority of this present Parliament, according to the said SUBMISSION and PETITION of the said clergy,

That they ne any of them from henceforth shall presume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in ure any constitutions or ordinances, provincial or synodal, or any other canons, nor shall enact, promulge, or execute any such canons, constitutions, or ordinances provincial, by whatsoever name or names they may be called, in their convocation in time coming (which always shall be assembled by authority of the king's writ), unless the same clergy may have the king's most royal assent and licence to make, promulge, and execute such canons, constitutions, and ordinances, provincial or synodal, upon pain of every one of the said clergy doing contrary to this Act, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment and make fine at the king's will.

II.

*And forasmuch as such canons, constitutions, and ordinances, as heretofore have been made by the clergy of this realm, cannot now at the session of this present parliament, by reason of shortness of time, be viewed, examined, and determined by the king's highness and thirty-two persons, to be chosen and appointed according to the PETITION of the said clergy, in form above rehearsed, be it therefore enacted by authority aforesaid, that the king's highness shall have power and authority to nominate and assign at his pleasure the said thirty-two persons of his subjects, whereof sixteen to be of the clergy, and sixteen to be of the temporality of the upper and nether house of the parliament. And it any of the said thirty-two persons so chosen happen to die before their full determination, then his highness to nominate other from time to time of the said two houses of parliament to*

*The Convocation's Submission.*

taken away by your grace and the clergy; and such of them as shall be seen by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, to stand in full strength and power, your grace's most royal assent and authority once impetrate and fully given to the same.

*The Parliament's Recital.*

more part of them worthy to be abrogated and annulled, shall be abolite, and made of no value accordingly; And such other of the same constitutions and canons as by the said thirty-two or the more part of them shall be approved to stand with the laws of God, and consonant to the laws of this realm, shall stand in their full strength and power, the king's most royal assent first had and obtained to the same:

*Enactment upon the Recital.*

supply the number of the said thirty-two. And that the said thirty-two by his highness so to be named shall have power and authority to view, search, and examine the said canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial and synodal, heretofore made, and such of them as the king's highness, and the said thirty-two, or the more part of them, shall deem and adjudge worthy to be continued, kept, and obeyed, shall be from thenceforth kept, obeyed, and executed within this realm, so that the king's most royal assent under his great seal be first had to the same. And the residue of the said canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial which the king's highness and the said thirty-two persons, or the more part of them, shall not approve, or deem worthy to be abolit, abrogate, and made frustrate, shall from thenceforth be void and of none effect, and never be put in execution within this realm.

Such was the substance of the celebrated Act of submission on the part of the clergy of the Church of England to their temporal sovereign. They committed all questions respecting the canons, which should receive the force of law, to the secular prince. The review of the canon law, which was now contemplated, has, it is true, never been made; and therefore all canons then existing, not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative, are still required to be used. Such limitation, however, though the Act was not carried into effect, at once superseded the old pontifical and decretal law,<sup>1</sup> and thus severed the dominion of the papal from the statute and parliamentary law of England. The Act which thus empowered the king to nominate commissioners, and enacted that the canons they approved, if sanctioned by the king under the great seal, should be the laws of the realm, was renewed in 1536 (stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15), and again in 1544 (stat. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16). In the latter case it was so far carried into execution, that commissioners were appointed, a body of ecclesiastical law digested, and a letter of ratification prepared for the king's signature. But this signature was never affixed; and the powers granted to the crown having been limited to the lifetime of Henry VIII., a fresh Act was passed with the same object in 1549. Commissioners are said to have been named shortly afterwards in pursuance of its provisions; but if this was the fact, they seem to have made little progress in the business, for a new commission was issued in October 1551 to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers; of whom eight were selected to gather and put in order the materials. "But the matter," says Strype, "was in effect wholly entrusted by the king to Cranmer, the archbishop, who associated to himself in the active part of the work Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon." And this account is confirmed by the numerous corrections in the handwriting of Cranmer and Peter Martyr, which may still be seen in a MS. copy of the projected code preserved in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> The commission (attached to the edition of the work, 1640) is dated Nov. 11, 1551, and seems to have superseded that of October for the sole purpose of substituting the names of Goodrich, bishop of Ely, William May, and Richard Goodrich, for those of Ridley, Traheron, and Gosnold. A reason may easily be found for the introduction of the bishop of Ely into this

(1) See, for a brief account of these laws, Short's Sketch, vol. i. pp. 140-2.

(2) Harl. MSS. 426, and Cranmer's Works by J. n. k. y. n. s., vol. i. p. iii.

commission, as it had recently been determined, on the disgrace of Lord Rich, to raise him to the office of lord chancellor. The code was completed by these commissioners, but not early enough to obtain the force of law before the death of king Edward.<sup>1</sup>

The premature death of king Edward having thus rendered the design abortive, an attempt was made in the year 1571 to revive the plan. The parliament having met in April, seven bills for the regulation of the church were brought under discussion. Mr. Strickland was the principal speaker. He reminded the House that the book of the *Reformatio Legum* still existed, and was now in the hands of Mr. Norton, a member of that House; and that Mr. Foxe, the martyrologist, had newly published the same.<sup>2</sup> Parker had probably selected Foxe to edit the book, or he had perhaps directed his attention to it, on account of the uncertainty of the law on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline. It is certain that he had been engaged upon it for some time previously to its publication, as appears by a letter to Cecil in favour of Daye the printer, and another from Lawrence Humphrey to himself, dated 1566. The book was printed, and placed in the possession of the members of the House. The materials had been left by Sir John Cheke, Haddon, Cranmer, Coxe, Peter Martyr; by Taylor and May, the civilians; and by Lucas and Goodrich, common lawyers, who had been employed upon it in 1551.<sup>3</sup> If any name could have commanded its adoption, it would have been that of Foxe as its editor, for his popularity was now at its height. But the members of the House of Commons who desired to bring the book again into notice belonged to the puritan party, which was now beginning to obtain influence; and it was found then, as it is now, that the most useful and undoubted truths which can be submitted to the approbation of a community are regarded neither for their usefulness nor their truth, but are valued or despised according to the estimation of the party which may propose them. So useful were the principal laws of the *Reformatio Legum* considered by bishop Burnet, that he earnestly desired their enactment.<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth, however, jealous of their supposed encroachment on her supremacy, told the Commons that she had seen their articles,<sup>5</sup> and liked them, but would do something of herself. This interference again put a stop to the proceedings. The subsequent canons of the convocation, in 1571; of James the First, in 1603; of archbishop Laud, in 1640, which excited so much opposition, have not supplied the omission; and the canon law of England still requires the alterations and revision which might recommend the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. The book, however, was published by Foxe, under the direction of archbishop Parker.<sup>6</sup>

The doctrine of Toleration, it must be remembered, was not then known. The only improvement which was made in the proposed laws, which were to regulate the formation and publication of opinions, was a diminution in the

(1) Documentary Annals, by Cardwell, vol. i. pp. 95, 96, note, 1839.

(2) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. book i. chap. 7.

(3) Strype's Cranmer, book ii. c. 26.

(4) "God grant," he exclaims, "that a day may come, in which that noted design, so near being perfected in king Edward's days, may be revived and established."—History of His Own Time, ap. fin.

(5) See Dr. Winchester's Dissertation on the Seventeenth Article, Oxford edit. 1773, p. 47.

(6) Ex Officinâ Joh. Daii, 1571, Mense Aprilis. Dr. Winchester cited an edition of 1641, which he calls the *second*. (Dissert. on the 17th Art. ut supra, p. 52.) The real second edition, which I possess, is dated 1640, "typis T. H. et R. H., impensis Laurentii Sadler habitantis in Parvâ Britannia," &c. But there are certainly copies which bear another notification, with the date 1641, viz. "impensis Societatis Stationariorum." One of these is in the Lambeth Library. It is the same book with a different title-page. Todd's Declaration of our Reformers on Free-will, Original Sin, Grace, &c. London, 1818. Preface, pp. 15—18. See also Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 57; Oldmixon, pp. 185—418; Biog. Brit. vol. iv. p. 420, art. Cranmer; Short's Sketch, vol. i. p. 406; Le Bas' Jewel, p. 187; Collier, vol. ii. pp. 326—333, where he gives an epitome of the work; Nares' Life of Burghley, vol. i. p. 338, vol. ii. p. 572; Lingard, vol. iv. p. 462; Burnet, Ref. vol. iii. p. 226; Strype's Annals, vol. ii. book i. chap. 7; Strype's Parker, book iv. chap. 5; Soames' Elizabethan Rel. Hist. p. 148. Among the commissioners for drawing up the code in Edward's time John Alasco was numbered. (Krasinski's Ref. in Poland, vol. i. p. 264.)

severity of punishment; and even these provisions would be justly considered in the present day to be utterly abhorrent to the spirit of Christianity, as it was propounded by our blessed Saviour, and is rightly understood in modern times. The church of Christ in England understands well its high privilege and duty—first to persuade, and then to suffer. It never can fulfil its office as the imitator of Christ, by believing that it may teach and punish. The abstract of the *Reformatio Legum* is given both by Collier and Soames.

One expression in the *Reformatio Legum* has given rise to a controversy whether the punishment of death for heresy was intended to be continued.<sup>1</sup> They extended the name and penalties of heresy to the wilful denial of any part of the authorized articles of faith. Burnet affirms that the old penalties were laid aside. Collier and Lingard affirm the contrary. It is difficult to decide this question. Those who denied the truth of any one article of faith might certainly be delivered over to the secular power: yet only infamy and civil disability seem in one passage to be intended; for, if a heretic were to be burned as a matter of course, it would be needless to provide, as in this chapter,<sup>2</sup> that he should be incapable of making a will, or of being a legal witness. We may wisely adopt the conclusion of Mr. Hallam,<sup>3</sup> and avoid forming a decided opinion on the matter; and we may remember the justice of Mr. Soames' remark, that those who framed the *Reformatio Legum* lived in an age of fierce intolerance, and vindicated their own severity on the ground that blasphemers were stoned under the Mosaic law. Had no extraordinary rigour been denounced in cases outraging the Catholic faith, it is scarcely doubtful that the Romish party would have represented our Reformers as indifferent to the vital interests of Christianity. Nor will serious men generally deny, that such transgressions are properly visited by some civil inflictions; for it is most important that youth and ignorance should be shielded from exposure to the contact of such baneful opinions as undermine the best principles. Still, the moral discipline proposed for England in the *Reformatio Legum* is obviously unsuited for a national church. It is derived from the earliest records of ecclesiastical antiquity, and is adapted only for a community very limited in extent. From such a society every member might be excluded, who should be found unwilling to exemplify the Christian character in all respects. Any attempt, however, to render a community so regulated co-extensive with a numerous people would lead at once to intolerable tyranny, and would quickly fail altogether.<sup>4</sup>

Some light may be thrown on this controversy, and on the manner in which John Foxe anticipated, in some measure, the axioms of a future age on the subject of toleration, by a brief analysis of his learned preface.<sup>5</sup> He commences by showing the utility and necessity of laws which shall promote the establishment of religious truth in principle, and outward discipline in practice. Such laws should be enacted with prudence. They should not breathe cruelty, as those of Draco or Phalaris, or the persecuting bishops of Rome. They should not be too numerous, lest the number of their enactments be rather burthensome than useful.

If all were Christians, laws would not be required; but now the universal experience of mankind, whether in ancient or modern times, proves their necessity. "No nation, no state," he observes, "was ever so savage and barbarous as not to have some laws, by which, if every vice was not driven away, at least some decency of manners was retained. Even our own England

(1) The following is the disputed passage:—"Cum sic penitus insederit error et tam alte radices egerit, ut nec sententiâ quidem excommunicationis ad veritatem reus inflecti possit, tam consumptis omnibus aliis remediis, at extremum ad civiles magistratus atlegetur puniendus."

(2) Cap. 10:—"De judiciis contra hereses."

(3) History of England, vol. ii. p. 318, note.

(4) Soames' Reformation, vol. iii. pp. 722, 723.

(5) This preface is printed in Appendix IX.

has not wanted her laws and statutes, wisely framed by our most prudent ancestors. This is proved by the laws of Ina, Edward, Athelstane, Eadmund, Edgar, Alured, Ethelred, Canute, and those under the auspices of other princes. These laws prevailed for a time. Afterwards, a comedian entered the stage, about to play his own production, and he was the bishop of Rome; who, having gotten rid of all others, was to have the whole stage, and every character appropriated to himself. At first leaving to the secular magistrates what appeared to appertain to secular affairs, all the rest, which pertained to morals, he transferred to himself and his ecclesiastics by a most ingenious device, whilst he gave out that he was the vicar of Christ upon earth, and the hereditary successor of the apostolic office. This he impressed upon rulers and magistrates by little and little, and thus secured opportunities of attempting greater things. Nor was his daring deficient on any occasion. Proceeding, therefore, in the comedy undertaken, after he had acquitted himself thus satisfactorily in the prologue, he applies himself to the rest of the acts, which he undertakes with no tardiness. First of all, with respect to kings and supreme monarchs, he endeavours by little and little to lessen their authority; then to raise his own on an equality with theirs; afterwards to surpass it; and, as a climax, to subject them to himself. When he had succeeded in this, he still proceeded onwards. He, who first walked with the humble sandal, now struts in the lofty buskin, and, from a bishop, comes out a tragic king. At length the ecclesiarch swells to such a pitch, that he who at first was wont to receive law from others, and to be ruled by them, now, the scene being changed, himself imposes laws upon them, and prescribes those enactments for the world which we now designate the canon law. In which law his presumption knows no bounds, so that he adds law to law, decrees to decrees, and to these again decretals, and others to others; neither is there any end of it, until, at last, he has so crammed the world with his *Clementines*, *Seatines*, *intra* and *extra-vagantes*, *provincial constitutions* and *synodals*, *small glosses*, *sentences*, *chapters*, *summaries*, *rescripts*, and *infinite rhapsodies*, that even Atlas himself, who is said to have sustained the whole heavens, would have sunk under this burthen.

“ Thus he proceeded, till he seized upon both swords, and all became worse, till under the present pontiff (Leo X.) the ecclesiastical state is so governed, that there is almost *nothing upright in religion, nothing sound in morals, no freedom for conscience, no sincerity in worship, neither is there anything in his laws, except what pertains to certain useless ceremonies, or absurd dogmas, or to increase the privileges of the ecclesiastical order.* And if there should be the appearance of justice, or an inspection of morals, yet exemption may be purchased. To such a pitch had this proceeded, that from such tribunals all political authority was driven away, and the business of the courts was centred in, I know not what, canonists and officials, the greater part of whom, living by litigation, looked more to their own advantage than to rectitude of virtue and morals.

“ Such a state of things,” says Foxe, “ required correction, and Henry VIII. appointed a commission of thirty-two to revise the laws. The king’s wish was praiseworthy; so were the endeavours of those appointed; but the attempt was unsuccessful.”<sup>1</sup>

He then proceeds to relate the details respecting the mode of compiling the *Reformatio Legum*; and concludes without passing any opinion on the severity or the policy of the enactments. The time had not arrived, when the union of laws to uphold that which the state believed to be the best form of worship,

(1) Mr. Hallam is incorrect in representing the origin of the new code of ecclesiastical law from the two curious entries in the Lords’ Journals of the 14th and 18th of November, 1549. (Const. Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 109, 4to. edit. and note.)

faith, and discipline, with the exercise of toleration, could be understood. The best and wisest of that, and many subsequent generations, were unable to fix the limits to authority. The double sceptre over soul and body had been claimed by the foreign bishop. It was now transferred to the temporal prince. Non-resistance to the pope had long been an axiom in the universal law of Europe. Opposition to this maxim was death. Non-resistance to the king succeeded as a political axiom, till a future age modified the principle, by making the legislature, or the king with his represented people, the sovereign of the state, and not the king as an individual person; and John Foxe did not, in this instance, advance beyond his age. He concludes his preface, therefore, as if he was conscious that some of the enactments were too severe; but he could not provide, or he dared not suggest, a remedy. "The Word of God," he adds, "is alone to be taken as our guide in worship, and in matters of religion." He eulogizes the memory of Edward, and trusts that Elizabeth will consent to the enactment of the laws which had been proposed to, and sanctioned by, her brother and her father; and he concludes by apologising for his boldness in editing the volume. The result is known. The queen forbade the Commons to proceed, and the design fell to the ground.

About the end of this same year (1571), Foxe was applied to for the exertion of his interest with Dr. Pierce, in favour of a young man anxious to obtain a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, so that he might be no longer a burden to his father. The letter is from the young man himself.

"I have before troubled you younge and to muche: yet consyderinge the singular benefite that your letters maye procure me, I am enforced (through meare need) to write these fewe lynes unto you, gevinge you most hartyst thanks for your gentlenes bothe to my father and me (whiche indeede should have ben in latine after a simple sorte but for the shortenes of time), desyringe you for Godes sake to write your letters to Doctor Pierce in my behalfe, that he would be so good unto me as to electe me scholer of Christechurche at this election. Nowe is the time yf ever I shall come in, for by reporte Mr. Doctor Pierce shall bring in iiij scholiers and everye Cannonne ij, there be so manye places voyde. I thinke therefore throughe your letters (consideringe his promise made to my father that I should be the thirde that he would chose in) he will remember me yf he shall electe 4. I beseeche you therfore that you would by your earnest letters put him in mynde of my case, that surely, unlesse I maye gett in by his meanes, all that my father hathe bestowed upon me shalbe to noe purpose, for I shalbe put to some other trade, because my father of himself is not able to kepe me at the universyte any longer, he hathe done for me alreadye more than he was well able consyderinge his povertye. At my firste comminge to Oxorde Mr. Doctor Cooper<sup>1</sup> then beinge deane promised to bringe me in scholer, and because that at the firste election he coude not, sendyng for my mother, promised to geve me iiij markes everye yeaere tyll suche tyme that he could electe me, but nowe these iiij markes beinge taken awaye, by reason of his absence, I am enforced to chardge my father, whome I have chardged to muche alreadye. Yt is therfore hyghe tyme that I shoulde (unless I did meane altogether to forgo the universite) seeke some further ayde, wherby my father myghte be eased of this burthen, and I by suche meanes styll applye my learninge. These things have moved me to trouble you with this my requeste for your letters, and because that bothe in wryting and in sendinge them I thoughte it not convenient or mete

<sup>1</sup> (1) Dean Cooper was consecrated bish-op of Lincoln in Feb. 1570, and translated, in 1583, to Winchester. (Godwin, pp. 302, 239; Wood, Ath. Ox.) There is no mention made of Dr. Pierce in Wood; but Gutch states, that he was elected successor to Dr. Cooper in the Easter Term of 1570.



to trouble you, I have desyred on (one) of my frendes the bringer heareof to be readye (yf it shall please you to write) to receave them and bringe them to the carriars. Thus with my hartye prayers for you, I cease to trouble you any further, desiringe the eternall God to protecte and kepe you in all your doinges. From Oxforde the xx of November, 1571.

“Yours to commaunde at all tymes,                   “THOMAS TORPORLEY.

“To the worshipfull and his singular good frende Mr. Foxe, dwellinge in Grubb Street, this be given with speed from Oxford.”<sup>1</sup>

Many other letters in the Harleian collection illustrate the influence of Foxe at this time. They are addressed to him in Grub-street; and must, therefore, though no date appears on them, have been written after 1571. A letter from Foxe to one of his neighbours, who had so built his house as to darken Foxe's windows, is curious as a specimen of religious expostulation for an injury, which possibly he could not afford to remedy by law.<sup>2</sup>

Foxe appears at this time to have been generally consulted by those who were most deeply interested in the discussions or controversies of the day. He had, some years before, been requested to answer certain questions respecting the sacraments. Application was now made to him for his opinion on the lawfulness of sponsors:—

“Mr. Fockes after my harty comendacyons this shallbe to thanke Gode for youre benevolles and lovyng leter in Chryste jesus, sent unto me. Whiche leter hathe mynistred unto me greate comfort in the merets of jesus Chryste, desyerynge youe, even for the same jesus Chrystes sake to praye unto god for me, that the comforte and faythe whyche I nowe have in the swete and comfortable promyses of jesus Chryste, maye dayly more and more be incresed in me, that I maye growe from emparfeccyon to perfeccyon, from wecknes to strength, and that god maye gyve me a thanckfull harte for his greate mercys and provydence in keypynge me in all my troubles from all the weckede and mallyshyous asalts of the spirytall enemye Sattan, for he hath gone about to desayve me by spiritall craftynes in heavenly thynges; God be thanked for his mercyes that hathe kept me from consenttynge unto him. Oh that my mouth myght be fylled with the praises of God that I myght synge of his honour and glorye all the dayes of my lyfe; and further more this shalbe to shewe you that my troubles are not so ended that nowe I feell nothyng of them. But greate and manyfowled are the troubles whiche manye tymes I have yet, yea even in the same trouble whch hath ben most troublsom unto me, but I thanke my God that hath gyeven me mor strength to bare then in tymes paste I have felt. The Lord increase it for his great mereye sake. I will not at this tyme, nayther can I as nowe, expresse all the thyng that hathe troublede me; but on thyng I besече you expresse your mynde unto me, yf you have any conveneant tyme to wryt unto me, and that as tuchynge baptysinge with god-fathers and godmothers, for that hathe bene troublesom unto me, and many ther be in the contrye aboute us that hathe ben greatly troublede for not usynge them. The causes whye they are not used are these; fyrst, for that by Godes word ther is no exsample so to doo; seconly, for that the vowes demaunded of the childe cannot of the standers by be performed; and thurdlye, for that of manye they are supurstecyously howlden as thynges appartaynyng to the sacramente, and for that as some thynke it a seremony brought in to the church by the byshope of Rome, and for these causes not to be used. And my desyar ys to knowe howe by the worde of God they maye be used, whether the word be eyther with them, or not agaynst them. In these thynges I besече you shewe me your mynde yf you convenyently can, and chuse: levynge at this tyme anye further to trouble you. I woulde have writen more

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 189.

(2) Ibid. fol. 136.

unto you yf I did not waunte wordes to expresse my mynde. I praye God gyve you the assestance of his Holy Spyrte to the increase of youre comferte and joyes in Chryste Jesus, whyche that it maye lycke wyes be increased in me, I besече you praye for me, and God willynge I will not forgete you in my prayers. Oh praye, I besече you, for the increase of my faythe. From Byckynghall in Suffucke the 4 daye of January, 1572.

“Your in Jesus Chryst,

“FRANCIS BAXTER.”<sup>1</sup>

The following letter was written in defence of a narrative in his “Acts and Monuments.” Foxe having been accused by Thomas Thackham, of Reading, of having inserted into his history a calumny against him in the relation of the troubles and death of Julins or Joceline Palmer,<sup>2</sup> Thackham drew up his own account of the transaction, and gave it to Foxe; who sent it to Mr. Purve, a grave minister in Gloucestershire, desiring him to inquire diligently into the truth of the matter: the result was the accompanying letter, bearing witness to Foxe’s accuracy, and testifying against Thackham:—

“Right reverend and beloved in the Lord, I have received your letters together with Thackam’s answer, which I perceave you have well perused, and do understand his craftye and ungodly dealing therein, that I may not say fond and foolish, for he doth not denye the substance of the storye, but only seeketh to take advantage by some circumstancys off the tyme and place, wherein yt may be ther was an oversight for lacke off perfect instructions or good remembrance at the begynnyng. He confesseth that he delyvered a letter of Palmer’s owne hand to the maior of Readinge, which was the occasyon off his imprisonment and death. Onlye he excuseth hym selfe by transferring the cryme *a seipso in martirem*. Briefly his whole end and purpose ys to geve the world to understand that the martir was gyltie as well of incontineneye, as also of wylfull casting away of hym selfe. O impudent man. The wyse and godly reader may easylye smell his stinkinge hart. He careth not though he d[ef]ace the godlye martir and the whole volume of martirs, to sa[ve] (as he thinketh) his owne honestye and good name. Howbeyt I d[oubt] not but God wyl confownd him to his utter shame, and reveale hys cloked hypocrisie to the defence of his blessed martir and the whole storye. Though many of them be dead that gave instructyons in tymes past, and now coulde have borne witness, yet thanks be to God ther want not alyve that can and wyl testyfy the truth herein to his confuson. No dyligence shall be spared in the matter, as shortly, I trust, yow shall understand. In the meane while Thackam need not be importunate for an answer. He reportethe hym selfe to the whole towne of Readinge; therefore he must geve us some space. The God of trueth defend yow and all other that mayntayne his trueth from the venemous poyson of lyers. Vale in Christo qui ecclesie sue te diu servet incolumem. From Beverston in Gloç.shere. Maii vi<sup>to</sup>.

“Yours in the Lord,

“THOM. PURVE, Minist.

“To the right reverend in God, Mr. Ihon Foxe, preacher of the ghospell in London, be thes delivered at Mr. Daie’s the printer, dwellyng over Aldersgate, beneath S. Marten’s.”<sup>3</sup>

A letter of John Moyer of Corsley, dated the 18th May, the same year, to Mr. Purve, verifies also the truth of Foxe’s statement respecting Thackham.<sup>4</sup> The whole account is given in Strype.<sup>5</sup>

That Foxe was now held in great esteem by his ecclesiastical superiors is

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 191.

(2) Acts and Mon. vol. viii. pp. 201—219.

(3) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 100. Large extracts from Thackham’s defence of himself, and Purve’s reply, are given in Mr. Nichols’ “Narratives of the Reformation.”

(4) Acts and Mon. vol. viii. pp. 721, 722.

(5) Ecclesiastical Memorials for Mary’s reign, chap. 26, document No. 59.

evident from the many attentions he received from them. Before Parkhurst was removed from Norwich, he invited him to pay him a visit, from which Foxe excused himself in consequence of ill health; yet confessing that there was none of the episcopal bench from whom he had received more kindnesses, or to whom he would come with more delight. He also states that he was compelled to put off the bishop of Lincoln, who had even sent a servant and horse for him, and he was obliged to send both away empty.<sup>1</sup>

The next transaction of a public nature in which we find the name of John Foxe was the execution of his constant friend and patron, the duke of Norfolk, June 2d, 1572. In September 1572 the duke was appointed one of the commissioners to hear the accusations against the queen of Scots; and at that time the intrigue for their marriage commenced. The duke, when on the scaffold, declared himself to be a Protestant; and this was so well known, that, though the earl of Westmoreland, his brother-in-law, promoted the scheme, it was condemned by the earl of Northumberland and others, on the express ground that the duke was not considered a good Roman Catholic.<sup>2</sup> It appears to me most probable, that the duke of Norfolk, who lost his third wife<sup>3</sup> in the year preceding his being made one of the commissioners, was deeply interested in the beauty and sufferings of the queen, and was totally ignorant of the extent to which she had pledged herself, both to the cardinal of Lorraine and the pope, to exert her utmost efforts, by all the means in her power, to restore the church of Rome in Scotland, and to lay down her life in that cause.<sup>4</sup> He did not even suspect, probably, the deep-laid schemes by which the foreigner was endeavouring to re-establish the old superstition. He confessed that he deserved to suffer because he had broken his promise to the queen. He confessed, too, that he had conversed with the papal emissary Ridolphi; but that he never consented to the political projects of the pope, nor to the invasion of England. "With respect, also," he said on the scaffold,

(1) "Quo majore desiderio animus mihi illustrissimam pietatem tuam cæterosque istic amicos mihi jam non diu visos revisere, Antistes imprimis observande ac in Christo reverende, hoc molestius mihi accidit, hoc tempore non licere quod libeat tantopere. Nam aliqui mentiar si quisquam sit hodie Episcoporum omnium, cui vel impensius debere me pro acceptis beneficiis profiteor, vel quem ubentius eram aditurus. Sed præter cæteras remoras et difficultates accedit insuper valetudinis ea debilitas quæ vix permittit tam longinquæ profectio mi committere. Consimilem etiam legationem misit ad me nuper clarissimus episcopus Lincolnienis, per famulum et equum ultro oblatum ad ædes suas accersens amantissime; cui tamen et famulum et equum rursus vacuum remittere coactus sum. Et tamen, si ferat ita voluntas Domini, experiar etque etiam anniter sedulo, fræctus Christi Domini nostri gratia ac patrocinio, temporis aliquid ociosi posthac dispicere, in quo et reverendam tuam celsitudinem cupidissime salutaturus simul et meipsum, si volet Dominus, refocilaturus adveniam. Interea Dominus Jesus pro [in] exhausta sua misericordia te cum grege universo multa pace lætum et florentem custodiat.—Ad DD. episcopum Norwicensem, ut videtur." (Harl. MSS. 417, art. 34, fol. 105.)

This bishop of Lincoln was Thomas Cooper, who had been fellow of Magdalen along with Foxe. He was elected probationer in 1539, and perpetual fellow in 1540. He was made dean of Christ Church in 1566, dean of Gloucester in 1569, and consecrated bishop of Lincoln in 1570, February 24. —Anth. Wood, vol. i. p. 265; Godwin de Pres. p. 302.

(2) "It was mislaid that she should bestow herself in marriage with the duke, for that he was reputed to be a Protestant." See the Confession of the duke of Northumberland in the very interesting Memorials of the Rebellion in 1560, by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, 1840, Appendix, p. 192. See also pp. 201, 208, 210.

(3) Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, was three times married; first, to Mary, second daughter of Henry Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel, by whom he had issue, Philip, earl of Arundel. She died 25th August, 1557, being then but sixteen years of age. (Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 324.) She was of a highly cultivated mind, and translated from Greek "Certain Ingenious Sentences, collected from various Authors." It was dedicated to her father. He married again, in 1560, Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, lord Audley, of Walden, widow of Henry, youngest son of John, duke of Northumberland. She died in 1563-4, in child-birth of William Howard, afterwards of Naworth, in Cumberland, and ancestor of the present family of the Carlises, of Castle-Howard. There were two other children alive at her death. He married, for his third wife, Elizabeth Leyburne, daughter of Sir James Leyburne, widow of Thomas, lord Dacre, of Gillesland, March 1566. She also died in child-birth, having been married to him but one year.

(4) The letters are given in Le Plat. "Profiteor," she says to the cardinal of Lorraine, "et affirmo, me victuram et morituram etiam in obedientiâ antiquâ catholicæ et Romanæ ecclesiæ, quam ego reputo esse caput," etc.—Le Plat, vol. v. pp. 660. This letter is dated Edinburgh, 20th January, 1563.

The next is to pope Pius IV., and is dated Edinburgh, in the same year. She says, "Ut tandem dignis modis sanctam agnoscant catholicam ecclesiam Romanam in eâ obedientiâ, in qua nos mori atque vivere ut devotissima filia possumus, nullis certe facultatibus, quæ sunt in nostrâ potestate, et ne vitæ quidem propriæ parcemus."—Ibid. p. 661.

“to my conscience and religion, I know that I have been suspected to be a papist. I must confess that divers of my familiar friends, and divers of my servants and officers under me, were papists. But what meaning I had in it, God, who seeth above, knoweth it. For myself, God is my witness, I have always been a Protestant, and never did allow of their blind and fond ceremonies. And now, before God and you all, I utterly renounce the pope, and all popedom; which thing I have always done, and will do to my life’s end. And to that which is the chiefest point of our belief—I believe and trust to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ only, and by none other means. For if I did, I should be greatly deceived at this instant.”<sup>1</sup> Whether this confession is fully to be believed, we know not; but every circumstance related of his character, and developed in the history of Mary, renders it worthy of credence. He acted, however, with the greatest imprudence. He was influenced by the earl of Leicester, who betrayed him. The advice of Cecil was not heeded; and he must have been aware that the promoters of the marriage were ever the most bitter enemies of the queen; nor can any reason or motive whatever justify a religious Protestant for upholding the supporters of the spiritual supremacy of a foreign prelate against his own sovereign. During the rumours relative to the intended marriage, Foxe addressed to the duke the following letter:—

“May it please your grace, ther is a great rumor with us here in London, and so farr spread, y<sup>t</sup> it is in every man’s mouth almost, of your marriage with the Scottish Queene: which rumor, as I trust to bee false, soe would I be sorry that it should be true, for two respects. The one for y<sup>e</sup> good will I beare to you, the other for y<sup>e</sup> love I beare to y<sup>e</sup> common wealth, for y<sup>t</sup> I see noe other, and many besides mee doe see noe lesse, butt y<sup>e</sup> day of that marriage when soever it beginneth, will end with such a catastrophe as wilbee ether ruinous to your selfe, or dangerous to y<sup>e</sup> tranquillity of y<sup>e</sup> realme; the peace wherof standing soe long amongst us through y<sup>e</sup> great mercy of God, God forbidd it should nowe beginn to break by you. Your grace knoweth what enimies wee have both within and without: against whome wee have always trusted, and doe yet trust, next under God and the queene, to have you a sure Scipio unto us: to y<sup>e</sup> contrary wherof thes rumors cannot perswade mee, butt y<sup>t</sup> as you have virtuously begunn, soe by y<sup>e</sup> Lord’s grace you will constantly continue still. Howbeit since y<sup>e</sup> noise and clamor of y<sup>e</sup> people maketh me somewhat to muse, and bycause true love is always full of feare, I beseech you lett mee say to you what I thinke in this matter. That in case you take this way to marry with this Lady in our Queene’s days, it will in y<sup>e</sup> end turne you to noe great good. I beseech you therfore for God’s sake bee circumspect and marke well that they bee, y<sup>t</sup> sett you on this worke, and wherunto they shoote. Ther ys no greater cunning in these days, then to knowe, whome a man may trust. Ensamples you have enough, within y<sup>e</sup> compasse of your owne days, wherby you may learne, what noble men have bin cast away by them, whom they seemed most to trust. Remember I pray you the ensample of Mephibosheth, wherof I told you being yong; howe first hee was underfoote, then again”<sup>2</sup> . . . . .

The letter is unfinished, which is much to be regretted. The incidents of his trial and execution are well known, as well as the fact that, after Leicester had betrayed him to the queen, and procured her pardon for the share he had in the conspiracy, the queen commanded the duke to make a full confession, which he did, and Elizabeth made use of it against him. During his confinement, he made application to speak with some persons, and also to receive spiritual comfort from his old master Foxe. Sir Henry

(1) See the Confession of the duke of Norfolk, Strype’s Annals, vol. ii. book i. Appendix xiii.

(2) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 97, fol. 154. See also Wright’s Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. pp. 324—326.

Skipwith, under-lieutenant of the Tower, writes to Sir William Cecil on the occasion.

"Right hon.," he says, "may it please you to understand, that the duke of Norfolk hath required me to wryt to you, for one cause more then he hath required Sr Peter Carewe to saye to you, which is, to desyre your Honor as his last request that you will helpe him to speke with Dix and Hassat, and I to here what he saiethe to them, or whom els shall please her Majestie, or your honors to appoint. I think yt be for his detts. He also longethe muche for Mr. Foxe his old scholemaster, to whom he much desyres to performe that faithe which he first grounded him in, & sure I fynd him little altered, but lyveth now in such order as he before dyd, determyned and verie well settled towards God, as ever I sawe any. And thus with my most humble dutie to your honor I take my leave: from the Tower this xviith Jan. 1571-2.

"Yf yt pleased you so to lyk of yt, the soner he were satisfied of this yt were the better in my opinion; because he might settle himself hollye towards God and frome the world."<sup>1</sup>

The duke was executed 3d June, 1572, and attended to the scaffold by Sir Henry Lee, by Nowell, the dean of St. Paul's, and by John Foxe, with other gentlemen.<sup>2</sup> After his address to the people was concluded, he spoke to Sir Henry Lee; and after taking off his gown and doublet, embraced Mr. Nowell, bowing to him even to the ground; and with him also he spoke apart. It is not said that he conversed with Foxe. He had however written to his children before his execution, and addressed it specially to "Phillip and Nan." In that memorial, when disposing of certain presents, he particularly directs "Twenty pound a yeare to be allowed to Mr. Foxe."<sup>3</sup>

In the autumn of this year James Pilkington, formerly a fellow-exile with Foxe, but now bishop of Durham, had an opportunity of befriending him, and presented him to the third prebend in Durham Cathedral. This was too distinctly asserted to be easily disbelieved;<sup>4</sup> but the evidence of it was not very clear. Many of the chapter books have long been lost.<sup>5</sup> I at length discovered an old register of dean Whittingham's which had escaped the general wreck, containing the original induction of Foxe, and his resignation of the stall at the expiration of twelve months. The documents are printed in the Appendix to this Life, No. V. I cannot reconcile his holding the prebend of Shipton and rejecting that of Durham. It is probable that the chapter of Salisbury dispensed with his wearing the habits, while that of Durham refused to do so. He could not refuse conformity to the doctrinal articles of the Church, for he wholly agreed to them. His conduct with respect to the *Reformatio Legum* proves that he consented to the canons. He only declined conformity to the habits. To the last, I believe, he refused to yield this point; which is much to be regretted, as it discouraged his friends from making any further efforts for his preferment.<sup>6</sup>

(1) Orig.—State Paper Office.

(2) See Strype, *ut supra*.

(3) Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 402, note. The entire letter is given pp. 402—412. It is the Harl. MS. 787, art. 104, folio 112.

(4) "1572. Johannes Foxe, A.M., the martyrologist, installed October 14. He resigned it within a year, being (as is supposed) quite averse to the habits of the Church of England, which were here kept up with great strictness. He succeeded Sparke in the 3d stall. Sparke died in 1571."—Cosin's MSS. in Cosin's library.

Mr. Soames, in his Elizabethan History, p. 159, has made a mistake respecting the resignation of the fifth stall at Durham. Lever was appointed in 1567, and was made archdeacon of Northumberland in 1566. He resigned this appointment in 1573, the same year in which Foxe is said to have vacated the third stall; but he died prebendary of Durham, 1585, and was succeeded by Dr. Barnes. Dr. Soames thinks that he resigned this stall in 1571, being misled by Strype's Life of archbishop Parker, bk. iv. cap. 6.

(5) See Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. ix. No. 7, folio edition.

(6) Tanner in his *Bibliotheca* states that he was for a short time vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; but his name does not appear among the list of persons paying first fruits at the Record Office, Fetter-lane. His old College friend, Thomas Crowley, was vicar there from Sept. 1565 to May 1569,

In 1573 issued from the press of John Day "the whole works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes," collected and edited by John Foxe, and recommended to the reader by an excellent preface from his pen.

We have frequently observed, in reply to the charge that the Church of England has persecuted as well as the Church of Rome, and therefore that the cruelty of the latter is to be forgotten, because of the same error in the former, that the great difference between the two churches in this matter consists in this—that the Church and State of England have rescinded all claims to persecution, and made the duty of toleration an axiom in Christian government: while the Church of Rome has not rescinded one decree or canon, one papal bull, one conciliar or pontifical law, which affirms the right of the church to govern conscience without conviction; and to punish, coerce, and compel, even by death, the resisters and oppugners of that authority. The charge of persecution against the Protestant Church of England has been sustained by the conduct of Elizabeth to some wretched sectarians in the year 1575. In the beginning of that year a conventicle of Dutch Anabaptists was discovered in Aldgate; of whom twenty-seven were seized and committed. Four recanted. Some were so firm in their opinions, that neither instruction nor punishment could make any impression upon them. They were, however, treated mercifully, and banished, without any further punishment. This encouraged others, and it was at length thought necessary to proceed to greater extremities. Foxe interceded for two of these, named John Peters and Henry Turwest Flemings, when under condemnation; and while he expressed his hatred of their principles, he strongly reprobated the putting them to death. "I have never," says he, "been annoying to any, but now I am compelled to be importunate even to the queen herself, not on my own account, but on that of strangers. I understand there are in this country, not English, but strangers, Belgians, brought to judgment for wicked opinions. They have been condemned to death by burning. In this case there are two things to look at; one pertains to the heinousness of their errors, the other to the rigour of their punishment." He wonders that any Christians could fall into such errors: but such is human infirmity without divine grace; and he is thankful that no Englishman has fallen into them. "They ought," he says, "to be restrained; but to consign them to the flames is more after the Roman example than a Christian custom. I would not countenance their errors, but I would spare their lives, because I myself am a man; and that they may repent." He beseeches the queen to spare their lives, because there are other modes of punishment into which their condemnation can be commuted—banishment, close imprisonment, bonds, perpetual exile, reproaches, stripes, or even gibbets. But this one thing I deprecate, that the fires of Smithfield, which have slumbered so long under your auspices, should now by you be rekindled. Wherefore, spare them a month or two, so that means may be tried for their conversion."<sup>1</sup>

The exertions of Foxe, in favour of these persons, were not confined to the queen alone; he addressed letters to the lord treasurer and the other

and again from May 1578 to 1588. He got into trouble about the habits in 1566 (see Parker Correspondence, P. S. pp. 275—278); and Foxe may have supplied his place *pro tempore* while he was suspended.

(1) Vide Appendix, No. X. for the letter. "A reprieve," says Collier, "being granted, and Foxe's expedient being tried without success, the forfeiture of their lives was taken." (Ecel. Hist. vol. ii. p. 549.) The same is mentioned by Fuller, who adds, "that though queen Elizabeth constantly called him her *Father Fox*, yet herein was she no dutiful daughter, giving him a flat denial." (Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 105; Heylyn's Hist. of Presb. p. 280.) Both Collier and Fuller notice the letter: the former saying it was "written in a very handsome Christian strain;" the latter pointing to it as an answer to those who charged against Foxe that he was not a Latin scholar, and therefore nicknamed him *John Lack-Latine*: this will prove that they were so many Lack-truths, as it shows his fluent and familiar language. (Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 106.) He refers to another which will be found in its place under the year 1581.

councillors, as well as chief justice Monson, and also the individuals themselves. In the former of these, after stating that the business upon which he was about to address them related not to himself, he mentions the unhappy anabaptists, and their detestable madness, in whose case the bishop of London had decided, after great care and diligence, as he ought to have done. "All were agreed that some punishment should be awarded them in consequence of their errors, but they were not agreed as to its kind. Some, chiefly papists, exclaimed, 'To the stake! to the stake!' Others, of more clemency, did not think it requisite to proceed to such extremity under the gospel as had been exercised under the influence of Rome; and would rather resort to some other remedy for the healing of wounds than the destroying of men for ever, which would unite the rigour of law with the merey of the gospel. But we know not how you, who are secular, will exercise your power, unless from the prescript of law; which if you do, I will first vehemently desire you, and appeal chiefly to your prudence, that you should consider how far you are allowed by public enactment, or the authority of law, to condemn to fire and flames those who have erred only in doctrine. Because if you appeal to the law passed under Henry IV. (for you have no law for burning), that enactment has not sufficient force, because in the framing of it the common consent of all was wanting, without which every parliamentary enactment is void. Although that law did once much prevail, yet I understand that in the beginning of the reign of her gracious Majesty it was repealed; and even if not so, I have proved from authentic public records in my 'Acts and Monuments' (where I answered Alan Cope in the life of Lord Cobham), that it has no precedent." He proceeds to say, as in his address to the queen, that the fires of Smithfield should not again be roused; and begs them not to proceed to extreme punishment which the law will not justify, as by so doing they would be establishing more than papistical tyranny. He begs them also to consider that he is a suppliant, not an adviser.<sup>1</sup>

To the individuals he writes, that he had brought their case before the queen and her council without effect. He says that by their pertinacity they appear to fight not only against the will of God, but against his plain Word, and against the pious and sacred institution and true faith of all Christians; raise foolish factions, produce scandals, bring in deadly errors, injure the church of God in no small degree, and afford matters to enemies and papists to insult and calumniate. "And by the error of your doctrine you offend not the church of God only, but even God himself, when you acquiesce not in his Word, nor bow to his truth, nor seek for his Holy Spirit promised in the Scriptures, but cultivate certain fanatic conceptions, nay rather deceptions, of your own minds; and while you contend so obstinately about the humanity of Christ, ye in the mean time hold not rightly or care not for your own salvation and remission of sins through the humanity of Christ, proposed to us by faith only." He then proceeds to argue against their opinion, and concludes by exhorting them to look again and again to what they are about; "for it is sufficiently apparent, that for long you have disturbed the church by your great scandal and offence. May the Lord Jesus by the most holy guidance of his Spirit open the eyes of your mind, and draw your hearts to the knowledge of his truth. Amen."<sup>2</sup>

Foxe, after this, addressed himself to the lord chief justice, to whom, as he says, was left the decision of the case. He sent him copies of his letters to the queen and the council, and informs him that he had written to them in their own language. He uses the same argument as he had done to the lord treasurer, Burghley, reprobating the punishment of death, and advocating milder measures; for, says he, we often fall into diseases which

(1) Appendix No. XIII.

(2) See Appendix No. XII.

kindness does more to cure than harshness, and a day's delay sometimes effects more than the hand of the medical attendant; but now I speak of those diseases which require spiritual medicine rather than corporal, since erring faith can be compelled and taught by no one; and many die true believers, who had long lived in heresy. He entertained hopes that they might be brought to the true faith if delay were granted, and hopes he would decide in such a manner as that all should perceive his desire to mingle mercy with justice, that not only the language, the writings, the histories of all good men might testify his clemency, but that even the unhappy persons themselves, being converted, might thank him.<sup>1</sup>

These writings prove how much of the spirit of the gospel Foxe had imbibed, and that how much soever he condemned the errors into which these persons had fallen, yet he still knew that the Scripture breathed the same intentions as its divine Author expressed to his disciples, when they were desirous of inflicting punishment upon the heads of the Samaritans, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." (Luke ix. 55, 56.) Every effort was useless. The sentence of death by burning was executed, July 22d, 1575; and the murder of these poor anabaptists is as disgraceful to the memory of Elizabeth, as the other martyrdoms were disgraceful to her sister Mary.

It may be doubted, however, whether the refusal of the application thus made by John Foxe to the queen did not proceed from political rather than religious motives. She wished to intimidate the puritans by reminding them that the law of burning the opponents of the religion of the sovereign was still in existence. I have examined the writ, by virtue of which they were burnt: and am sorry to say that it is worded as the old writs for burning the episcopal and other Protestants in the reign of Mary.<sup>2</sup>

This year Foxe transmitted his sermon preached on Good Friday, 1570, at Paul's Cross, translated into Latin, for more extensive dissemination, to Andrew Weckel at Frankfort: Weckel acknowledged the receipt of it, stating that he thanked Foxe for his good opinion of him; and that he would follow the advice he had given him; and would take such counsel with his friends, as the utility of the church seemed to require, and the aspect of the times would allow.<sup>3</sup>

The third English edition of his Martyrology appeared in the month of June 1576, in folio, but of smaller size and type than the previous edition. It contained 2,008 pages, exclusive of prefaces and index.

Few events occurred subsequently which can be deemed interesting to a modern reader. These may be included under those which relate to his son—to his controversy with Osorius—to some other long-forgotten publications—to his general character; and to the anecdotes which illustrate it, collected by his son.

(1) See Appendix No. XI.

(2) It is in Rymer, vol. xv. p. 741. "Vobis præcipimus" (so it ends) "quod dictos Johannem Peters et Henricum Turwest—apud West Smithfield, in loco aperto et publico—coram populo igni committi; ac in eodem igne realiter comburi faciatis," &c. &c. Dean Nowell, and the bishops of London and Rochester, I grieve to say, were on the commission which condemned them.

(3) "Libellum tuum de Christo crucifixo accepi (clarissime Foxe), tibique propter honorificam nostri existimationem tuam gratias ago, quod me eum esse arbitratum sis, cujus fidei et diligentie illius publicationem mandare ac tradere voveris. Siquam talem superioribus annis expectationem et famam concitavimus, est quod Deo gratias agamus, qui opellam nostram sua benedictione secundare non reusavit: tum etiam tam præclara bonorum de nobis sententia calcar non leve jam currentibus in posterum addet, ut eodem pede porro pergamus. Hæc habui quæ nunc tibi significanda (ut te quoque velle ostendisti) existimavi. Nam ipsum quidem Libellum vix inspicere, per eas quæ nunc pene nos obruunt occupationes, adhuc licuit. Faciam autem libentissime quod mones; et consilium, quale et ecclesiæ utilitas postulat et temporis hodierni ratio permittere videbitur, cum amicis capiemus. Tabulas enim quas ex gravissimo naufragio servare et colligere licuit, ad eum usum adhibere decrevi, quem Dei gloria promovendæ et ecclesiæ Christi ædificandæ profuturum sentiam. Bene ac fideliter vale. Francoforti, xj. Sept. 1575. "Tuus ex animo, "ANDR. WEHELUS."



But we must not forget that Foxe was a family man. Amidst all his labours for the public good he seems to have been an affectionate husband and father. His eldest son,<sup>1</sup> who was born at Norwich the last night of 1560, at three years old was brought up to London; where he "went to school, first with a Mr. Ruddock, then with one Gisborn, and lastly with Mr. Heron and Mr. Muncaster." At fourteen years of age he was entered at Magdalen College, Oxford. On this occasion his father wrote to his old friend Laurence Humphrey, the president, and tells him that he has sent his little Foxe to him, that he might become an academic, and make merchandize in that most celebrated mart, Oxford,—not that he might increase in riches, but that he might store his mind with the sciences, and cultivate his talents. He begs him to take his son under his especial care, and to extend that kindness to him which he had done to many others, if not for the merits of his father (which are nothing) or for his kind offices (*muneribus*), which are none, at least for his own sake. "Perhaps," he proceeds, "I may appear too importunate, thus loading with duties a friend engaged in so many and so great public and private affairs: but to this necessity, a sharp spur, compels me." He requests that his son may be admitted into their College, and suitable rooms assigned to him, and a proper tutor appointed. Whatever else may be wanting to defray his expenses, he himself would meet it, as well as he could.<sup>2</sup>

His son was elected a demy in 1574. Two years after, however, he went to France without acquainting his father with his intention. Foxe being anxious for his welfare, and not knowing the reason of his leaving Oxford, wrote to a friend abroad complaining of the manner in which his son had acted. Necessity, he says, compels him to write, and request his friend to assist him in his search for his son, whom he had educated to the best of his power, and who had made some progress: but he had left his College, never having consulted either president or tutor, leaving his books and letters behind, his parent ignorant of his proceedings, all his friends and relatives in sorrow. He knows not in what land he is, but conjectures, from the letter of a merchant, that he is at Paris. Still he supposes his wants may drive him to his Excellency, in which case he implores him to assist in the recovery of his fugitive son. His name Samuel, and his stature for his years somewhat large. With these marks, he again implores him, if he should discover him, to let him know where he can find him.

The letter is full of deep feeling and anxiety for the welfare of his son;<sup>3</sup> who appears to have returned soon after, and to have been again kindly received by Dr. Humphrey. We cannot now ascertain the circumstances of this case. In the old Memoir we are told, that when the young man on his return from the Continent presented himself to his father in a "foreign and somewhat fantastical garb," he addressed him, "Who are you?" "Sir, I am your son Samuel." "Oh, my son!" said the father, "what enemy

(1) See the Diary of Samuel Foxe in the Lansdown MSS. 679, fol. 80; from which several particulars of his life have been gleaned.

(2) "Salutem. Fretus divinâ ope, tum secundum Deum pietate tuâ provocatus, mitto ad vos Foxulum meum, ut fiat Academicus, atque ut istic mercaturam faciat in nobilissimo hoc emporio vestro, non ut opibus ditescat, sed ut ingenuis artibus animum pascat, et ingenium excolat. Qua in re quo magis mihi opus est præsidio tuo (præses celeberrime), hoc impensius Laurentianam hanc tuam, hoc est, vere fraternam, charitatem appello, ut qui ea facultate a Deo donatus sis ut possis, ea deinde præditus natura ut velis, quam plurimis prodesse, inter cæteros illos tam multos, quos juvisti hactenus, nostri quoque cura partem aliquam tuæ charitatis occupet; si non pro meritis nostris (quæ nulla sunt) aut muneribus (quæ nusquam sunt), at pro ingenta saltem illa candidissimi pectoris tui, quæ nullis deesse solet, pietate. Nimum forte impudens videri possim, qui amicum tot tantisque tui publicis tum privatis actionum turbis satagentem sic gravo officii. Sed huc necessitas, acre telum, adigit, ut necessario hoc abs te postulem. Quod enim postulo ejusmodi est, ut opera et beneficio tuo liceat istic apud vos filium meum sedem aliquam et tutorem (ut tibi commodissimum videbitur) adipisci. Cætera quæ desunt ex ære meo et demenso ipsemet sufficiam, quoad potero"

Ad Laur. Humfridum Præsidentem Collegii Magdalenensis.

Harl. MSS. 417, art. 55, fol. 112 b.

(3) Harl. MSS. 417, art. 69, 116 b. See Appendix, No. XIV.

of thine hath taught thee so much vanity?" We may infer from this anecdote, that the young man was guilty only of the fondness of a more gay and fashionable appearance than his father approved.

He was elected a probationer July 22d. 1581;<sup>1</sup> but somehow did not stand his probation. The discipline of the College at this time is said to have been very strict: so much so that by many it was deemed to be puritanical. We learn from Fuller that the charges against him were vague and indefinite. He was accused of an inclination to popery, and by the power of the puritanical party was expelled from College. A letter still remains, in which Foxe addresses the president of the College in the most grateful terms for the kindness which his son had received from him. He tells him, that if he had himself been president of Magdalen, and the president had been father to his son, neither of them could have wished that the duties of their respective offices could have been better performed.<sup>2</sup> Foxe, on his son's expulsion, made application for his restoration to a bishop, probably the bishop of Winchester—the official visitor of Magdalen—then Dr. Robert Horn. He did not defend his son as faultless, but urged that he was dismissed without previous admonition, or any cause assigned; and the harsh proceeding arose from internal dissensions in the College, and opposition to their president, while his son's detractors were not themselves free from faults greater than those they censured in his son. The letter is penned in a very able manner, and he speaks in it in moving terms of his own age and poverty.<sup>3</sup>

His son was restored to the fellowship by the royal mandate. It is, consequently, difficult to suppose that he was a papist, or a puritan. He was probably at this time a strict conformist to the services; and, being of frank or thoughtless habits, was offensive to his puritan coadjutors. Not one word or fact can be found, which sanctions the charge of his attachment to popery.

Though the third edition of the "Acts and Monuments" had now been published, Foxe still continued to collect fresh materials for a new and improved edition. He continued to attend also to the duties of the ministry, and the management of a laborious correspondence. He was influential in the conversion of a Spanish Jew named Nathaniel, who was baptized and received into the Christian church, at the church of Allhallows, Lombard-street, April 1st, 1577. The confession of the faith of the convert was written in Spanish, and translated afterwards into English. John Foxe preached on this occasion a sermon entitled "The Gospel Olive." It was preached in Latin, but afterwards published in English. It was translated by W. Bell. The subject of the sermon is, The Gospel Olive Tree, spoken of by St. Paul, Romans xi. 17—24. It was dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, who had requested the discourse to be repeated to him during an illness in his sick chamber. John Foxe thanks Sir Francis, in his dedication, for the benefit he had derived, in his own infirm state of health, from his French wine; and begs him, in return for the fruit of the vineyard, to accept this branch of the evangelical olive tree. He wishes every earthly and heavenly blessing to him, to his fruitful vine, and to the olive branches round about his table. The confession of faith by the converted Jew is appended to the sermon. Both have been published by the London Tract Society.<sup>4</sup>

While this sermon was going through the press, the following letter was addressed to Foxe by C. Barber, who was probably a printer in the service of Daye:—

"Sir, for as much as I can nott here of Mr. Bell and y<sup>e</sup> my presse

(1) Diary, ut supra.

(2) Harl. MSS. 417, art. 19, fol. 99 b.

(3) See Appendix to this Life, No. XV.

(4) British Reformers. Printed for the Religious Tract Society, 1831.

standeth still for want of this Epistle to my Mr., I besech you lett me crave so much of you as to english the same : as for the residue of the Boke, I dare nott fynde faultt w<sup>th</sup> him y<sup>t</sup> haith doone his good will, neyther can I juge by the latin : But I am sure it is translated in manye placis quyt frome yo<sup>r</sup> meaning and in some farr from Christianitie. But as soone as we fownde it we have bene circumspeekt. Thus I umblie comēd you to the L. Jesus and to the comforte of his holye Spiritt this 23 of June 1577.

“Yo<sup>r</sup>s to his power

“C. BARBER.”<sup>1</sup>

Whether Foxe altered any part of the translation in consequence of this criticism, is uncertain ; but it was not published till the end of the year, the dedication being dated Christmas-day.

Among other letters addressed to Foxe at this period, is another from his old friend, Laurence Humphrey, exhorting him to proceed with a work which he had long before undertaken, the completing of Haddon's answer to Osorius. Dr. Humphrey entreats him to go on, and confute Osorius, even to slaying.<sup>2</sup> Foxe, though now continually occupied with the fourth and last edition of his “Acts and Monuments,” still found time to comply with this request. The controversy to which the president of Magdalen refers may even now be interesting to the theological student.

Jerome Osorius, the author of the book to which Foxe replied, was surnamed, for the elegance of his Latin style, the Portuguese Cicero. After studying at Salamanca, he proceeded, at the age of nineteen, to Paris, where he became the intimate friend of Peter le Faire, one of the earliest associates of Loyola, whom he introduced to the patronage of his sovereign, John III. He thus procured the early establishment of the Jesuits in Portugal. From Paris he proceeded to Bologna, where he became distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew and theology ; as he had before distinguished himself in Latin, Greek, and the civil law. He was made professor of theology in the University of Coimbra, where he lectured on Isaiah, and on the Epistle to the Romans. He was subsequently made bishop of Sylves in Algarva, and performed his duties with great exemplariness and fidelity. He was much beloved by Sebastian ; whom he in vain endeavoured to dissuade from the expedition in which he perished. He was no less esteemed by pope Gregory XIII. He died in 1580. I mention these details, not only because of the controversy of Osorius with the English church, but because his library was captured at sea by the earl of Essex in 1596, and a great portion of it is now placed in the Bodleian at Oxford.

In the year 1562 Osorius published what Strype<sup>3</sup> calls a malicious libel against England and the Reformation, in an epistle to the queen. This was answered by Haddon, the master of requests to Elizabeth ; and the reply of Haddon is esteemed by Strype to be equal to Jewel's Apology. It was printed and circulated on the Continent.

The reply of Osorius<sup>4</sup> was published soon after. It repeated his invectives. The book was eulogized by his brethren. Haddon was threatened with death if he continued the controversy. To this he answered that so long as he breathed he would persist in the defence of his country. Whether he was destroyed by poison or not is uncertain ; but so it was that he died at Bruges, in Flanders, while on an embassy from England, before his second answer to Osorius was concluded, in the year 1566. John Foxe was requested to

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 192.

(2) “Perge Osorium confutare, ut confodias et jugules,” etc. Harl. MSS. 417, art. 76, fol. 118.

(3) Annals, vol. i. chap. 37 ; and vol. iii. book i. chap. 7.

(4) Hieronymi Episcopi Sylvestris in Gualterum Haddonum, &c. libri tres. Ulyssiponæ, anno 1567, 4to.

complete the unfinished essay. He was thought the fittest, both for his learning and theology, as well as for his excellent Latin style, to go on with the work. He did so; and added three more books. The work thus completed was published in London by John Day, in quarto, in 1577. It was translated into English by James Bell, and printed again in 1581, one year after the death of Osorius.

He continued to receive, at this time, from all quarters, letters on public matters, as well as on the private and domestic affairs of those who were anxious to consult him. The following is part of a letter from one under temptations to blaspheme, and requesting Foxe's counsel thereupon:—

“I have writyn a longe letter, but I will not trobell your wurshype no more but to have your avise, howe, if you were so provoked yourselfe with the orribill temptacions of blasphemye, what yowe wold do, and howe yowe wold overcome it and be thorowlie comforted and quyeted, for my feithe is not strong to overcome suche a ferfull matter, and dowtinge myche for that Syente Peter in feithe fayled in a grete dele lesse terror. But if one myghte gather this hope and comfort, that if one shold do all the syn that ever was doñ or shall be—so as he do it not of a pretenced wilfull malise and purpose agaynst the holie gost as did the Jews, but faule by fere or weknes or by fraylte, or by any other cause and combed mynde, or by temptacion obpressed—but he myghte be remytted, then thes feres and dowtes wold be mytigated, and if one faule some hope he wold gather in God's mercie, for it is wrytyn his mercie is in gretnes lyke to hym selfe and hathe no ende. And also to have your avise whatt yowe wold do if in such sorte yowe shold offende (as God forbydd); for to despeyre none maye, nor to slee themselves none maye, for that is a grete offence; and of this I desyre your counsell, for I am not in this trubel alone, but all men have that nede of counsell that I have, if suche things come into there heds and be moved therewith. And also to have your avise howe to discharge my herte from suche movings and fere: They come on me sodenlye, but they be hard to avoide and put awaye. If I maye be clered agayne and held (*healed?*) I am not abill to make yowe amends, for this is the hevest burdyn that ever was, to be in suche fere that if men falle to such things, and beinge of them selves se weke and prone, they shall have no mereye. Jobbe nor Davithe (David) were never in that case . . . .”<sup>1</sup>

“Another letter of T. H. to Mr. Fox, desiring comfort, as bying wonderfully appawled to se no frewt to follow the herynge God's worde thys 20 yers: but that rather he wexsythe worse and worse.

“For somithe, mi adopted father, y<sup>t</sup> unthankfulness ys bated of God as dothe manifestlye apere in his holy worde, and of all men hyely detested, which I may justly be charged withall consyderynge the great consolation and fatherly counsell I received at youre handes, beyng then sore deseased in sowle and body allso; the where in youre ortcharde I reseyved most happy consolation, yf grace had so governed me as the spirit oft provoked me and dayly dothe: but this old putryfied Adam, mi synfull flesh I mene, carythe styll so lofty a sayle, y<sup>t</sup> by no meanes yt wylbe made subject to the spyryt, butt evermore rebellythe and lustethe after carnale and fleshly thynges, not worthy onse to be named, as the apostell testifythe: and yt pleasythe owre Savior Crist to comand all syñers, excludyng non, to com boldly unto hym. I in truthe beyng the greatest synner in all Christendom am provokyd oft to call upon God by Christ mi only Redeemer: he of hys great mercy preserythe me from desperation, bying wonderfully appawled to se no

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 131.

frewt to follow the herynge God's worde thys xx<sup>ti</sup> yeres, but rather wexsythe worse and worse. Therefore yet ones agayne I make bold in Christ to send unto you for helpe in this mi dystres, beyng as it were overladyne with the multitude of mi synes, and greatly affheared to aprotche in yowre presense: yett so longe as lyeve endurythe, God's grace assystinge me, I wyll hope for pardon, knowynge y<sup>t</sup> God, in his good tyme, wyll sende helpe. Into whoes handes I holly comēd mi weke and synfull body and soule, requiryng pardon for my syns past, and grace to amend hereafter; besychynge you, good father, to remember me in your dayly prayers to the throne of [grace], y<sup>t</sup> at the least wyse, allthowe I am most unworthy to be God's son, yett by the dayly medyation of Christ Jhesu I may be amoung the number of his chosyn and eleet children and hyred servants: which were rewarded all alycke, as well thos y<sup>t</sup> laboured but one ower as thos y<sup>t</sup> bore the burden and heat of the hole day; for in hym we all do lyve and have owre beyng, and are to be caryed wether yt pleasethe hys goodness, and without hys spetyall grace cannot of owreselves thynke somithe as a good thought, mutche lesse do a good deed: thus you se what I am beyng left to miselfe, even a thyng of nothyng, ye in lyfe worse than a Jewe, hatynge all goodnes and doinge all that yll ys. Beloved in Christ, thus I end for this tyeme, knowynge y<sup>e</sup> you are allways occupied in good thynges: and thys mi letter shuld rather offend yowre soule and body then aniwys to perfect ether, seyinge in me no amendyment att all: butt yett herby I confesse I am greatly dysburdyned of y<sup>t</sup> longynge desyer I had and dayly have to here from you, in y<sup>t</sup> I cannot cum to you as I wold, accordynge to dewty. Good father, hereiu I have sent you a small tokyn of a great good wyll, which I pray you accept in good part, and pray for me as I do for you, allbeyt God knowythe mi prayer ys very cold, mutche enumbered with worldly vanites, even when I am most desyrus to serve me God. Vale.

“T. H.”

“To mi dere and faythfull frend, Mr. Fox, geve these.”<sup>1</sup>

Another letter is sent him from Hamburg with his friend Langerman, dated June 16th, 1579, with a work entitled “Ecclesiastes,” and an account of what would appear to have been a public wish, viz. the desire that some commercial communications might take place between that city and England: “not,” he adds, “that a kingdom so opulent, and abounding in wealth, can require any assistance from a city so poor as this; yet it sometimes happens that the eagle is benefited by the beetle.”<sup>2</sup> He receives intelligence from Thomas Barwick at Lambeth that the duke of Northumberland was reported to have died a papist; and to have used the words, “O bone Jesus, O dulcis Jesus, O Jesu fili Mariæ.”<sup>3</sup> At the same time the bishop of London sends him information, that the queen of Scots had been grievously afflicted with paralysis, and that great hopes were entertained of the young king being a good Protestant in Scotland.<sup>4</sup> While he is thus made the repository of information of every description, applications were made to him, as the intimate friend of the patrons of the day, to assist in obtaining patronage for others. The following is selected as a specimen of these applications:—

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 120.

(3) Harl. MSS. 417, art. 84, fol. 120 b. Dated Oct. 1st, 1578.

(4) “Joannes Elmerus Episcopus Londinensis ad D. Foxum.—Salutem in Christo. Accepimus Regiam Scotorum paralyti graviter laborare, vel ad desperationem, et aliis nonnullis torqueri morbis. Rex ipse, optimæ spei adolescens, parliamenti autoritate decrevit de una religione confirmanda, et papistica e finibus suis exterminanda, ita ut quisque missam auditoris primo moneatur, secundo bona ipsius fisco adjudicentur, si tertio peccaverit solum vertere cogatur. Hæc ad te scripsi, tum ut hujus boni participem te faciam, tum ut a te preces cum lachrymis Christo nostro funderem, ut nos beare et suum evangelium propagare pergat. Quæ concedat optimus Jhesus noster, quem non minus tibi familiare existimo, quam est amicus quisque amico. Ora, ora, mi frater, nam plurimum apud Christum tuas valere preces non dubito.

Harl. MSS. 417, art. 25, fol. 102 b.

“Tui amatiss.

JOHANNES LOND.”

“To the right worshipfull and his deare brother in the lorde Mr. Jhon Foxe, a painfull professor and preacher of the worde of God, Fraunces Shakelton person of St. Mildreds in the Pultrie (and preacher of the same word of truth), doth wishe grace and peace from God the father and from the lorde Jesus Christe.

“These are to besech you and require you in the Lorde (right worshipfull and dearcie beloved) y<sup>t</sup> you will not faile to do y<sup>e</sup> best you can in the preferringe of the suite of the bairer hereof Antonie Watstone, who as I am persuaded is a deare childe of God and is verie desyrous to be a profitable member in his church. If he may but have your favourable and readie speche or letters of recommendation unto y<sup>t</sup> rare and painfull pastor of our tyme Mr. Nowell the deane of Pawles : besecchinge him to retaine him and to receive him unto his chardge and tuicion as his servant during his liffe, with this petition (for y<sup>t</sup> he is desyrous to learne y<sup>e</sup> latine tonge) that he will vouchsafe of his wonted bountifulnes and acostomed clemencye to kepe him at some grammer schole or els to trayne him up in his owne howse till such tyme as he shalbe able to understand what he readeth in the latine tonge, for he is very earnestly bent to heare y<sup>e</sup> word of God, and he is also verie forward in y<sup>e</sup> principall pointes of Christian religion, which maketh me the more ready to be a suiter unto your worship for him, desyringe you againe and againe to preferre his cause so much as in you is possible. And thus I commend you unto the tuicion of God who ever kepe you from all evle. From my house in the Pultrie this present Fryday the xxvi of Februarie 1580.

“Yours in the lorde to commaunde in anie thinge I am hable,

“FRAUNCES SHAKELTON.”

“To the right worshipfull and his deare frende and brother Mr. Foxe professor of divinitie geve these.”<sup>1</sup>

These letters, and many others of the same kind, fully confirm the truth of the statement made by his son, that he was by nature an amiable man, who desired always to be friendly to others. “By good advice,” says his son, “by comfortable persuasions, or by a charitable hand, he relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires, of innumerable persons. No man’s house was more thronged with clients than that of John Foxe. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common persons of all degrees ; and very many to seek some salve for a wounded conscience.”

About this time Foxe wrote an important treatise on Justification, opening with an address to Osorius, who died in 1580 ; and to whose work “*De Justitiâ Cœlesti*,” setting forth the Romish doctrine on the subject, his own was intended to be an answer. It does not appear to have been published till 1583, by Parfutius, London. One of the chief doctrines which distinguishes the Church of England from the Church of Rome is the doctrine of justification. The work of Foxe is a defence of the evangelical view of justification, as it is so clearly expressed in the Eleventh Article of the Church of England : “We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings ; wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort.” Every student of this portion of our controversies will be benefited by the perusal of Foxe’s answer to Osorius. A brief notice of the work is given by Strype,<sup>2</sup> and an abridgment of the treatise has been published by the Tract Society in London. An analysis of it is given in the Appendix to this Life, No. XVI.

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 202.

(2) *Annals*, vol. iii. book i. chap. 17.

His labours were now drawing to a close, and he was superintending the last edition of his great work that appeared under his own correction. Hints he had from many; amongst them a packet from Mr. John Loude or Lowth, archdeacon of Nottingham, containing new materials for his Martyrology, and insisting more especially on the miserable end of divers Romish priests, as of Dr. Wyllyams; the priest of St. Margaret's, Eastchepe; &c.<sup>1</sup> He ends his communication by saying:—"Thus much I thought expedient to intimate unto yow, Mr. Foxe, having acquayntans with yow in Oxford,<sup>2</sup> in Monjoy house,<sup>3</sup> and Stepney.

"Tuus J. L. 1579.

"To Mr. John Foxe, p'chere at  
Mr. Jo. Dayes printere."

The following is on the same subject:—"I have mee hartely comended. I doe understand you doe mind to enlarge your booke of Martyrs, and to have it newly printed: God grant y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> good purpose therein may take good successe according to your expectation, and our hartye desire, that is, y<sup>t</sup> it may be printed in good paper and a faire and legible print, and not in blacke blurred and torne paper, as y<sup>e</sup> last edition is: being nether good paper nor good print. I write thus much, for y<sup>e</sup> good will I beare unto you myne old frind and acquaintance in magdalen college, and alsoe for that it is pittifull to see such a notable peece of worke to be darkned with foule paper and obscure print, and thereby halfe cast away. Thus I am bold to open my mind unto you, trusting y<sup>t</sup> you will accept of my good meaning therin. I would hartilye wish further that you would sett out all your whole discourse at large in two faire volumes; leaving out nothing ether Lattin or English, as you have done in many places in your latter edition referring your reader unto y<sup>e</sup> fyrst edition, as though every man hath or can have all the editions. Moreover I could wish that you would quote y<sup>e</sup> booke and y<sup>e</sup> chapter of everye particular authority which you doe alleadge in your worke: as alsoe in what tyme everye writer was as nighe as you can. The table alsoe is not perfecte, for divers names of martyrs are left out in the table, viz.: fo. 1105 Collins, Cowbridge, and Packington; likewise Puttedew; and Peke fo. 1106; wherof there is no mention in the table. I was present att the burning of Cowbridge at what tyme doctor Brinknell doctor of divinitie in Cambridge and at that tyme schoole master in Banbury, under Longland, bishop of Lincolne, did preach in the same place before Balioll colledge, wher the late bishops wer burned. I have delivered to this bearer my sone the names of many whome I did knowe, which if they may pleasure you I pray you to use them. Thus I take my leave, wishing unto you as to my selfe.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> old acquaintance & frind to my power,

"SIMON PARRETT.

"Oxon. 3 of February, 1582."

"Mr. Parrett y<sup>r</sup> old eleemosynarius for your groate, and nowe not only diligens lector, sed avidus Helluo tuorum librorum, hath many times wished these things reformed: whereunto I subscribe, desiring you to make it nowe a full monument of Acts for all posterity. Comend mee to good Mrs. Foxe. Your sone requests . . . . daies to goe beyond y<sup>e</sup> seas, w<sup>h</sup> I grant conditionally, if you write for him.

"Tuissimus, LAUR. HUMPHREDUS."<sup>4</sup>

(1) Harl. MSS. 425, fol. 134. Printed in 1859, in a volume intitled "Narratives of the Reformation," edited for the Camden Society by John Gough Nichols, Esq.

(2) Mr. Louthe was educated at Winchester, and elected fellow of New College, July 24th, 1540 (Anthony Wood); where Foxe knew him.

(3) For an explanation of the allusion to Monjoy House, see above, p. 9, note (2).

(4) Harl. MSS. 416, folio 203.

To the former of these correspondents Foxe probably felt himself too infirm to pay attention, as he did not avail himself of any new English materials in the forthcoming edition of his great work; but Mr. Nichols has well supplied the defect in his "Narratives of the Reformation." To the advice of Mr. Parrett<sup>1</sup> he yielded so far, that in "1583, mense Octobris," he republished his "Acts and Monuments" in two large and handsomely-printed folios, containing 2,154 pages exclusive of Prefaces and Index. As if conscious of his growing infirmities, after his name "John Foxe" on the title-page he adds, "Which desireth thee, good Reader, to help him with thy Prayer." He added to the former Prefaces "Four considerations addressed to Christian Protestants, professors of the gospel: with a brief exhortation inducing to amendment of life." In these considerations he (1) exhorts them to loyalty to the Government; (2) congratulates them on their peace and repose from persecution; (3) invites them to gratitude to God for the contrast; and (4) urges them to study peace and holiness. He concludes by wishing "peace to the preachers, grace to the hearers, and glory to Christ, their common Lord." It is in the first paragraph of this brief preface that the expression, "liberty of conscience," appears to have been first used in its modern sense. He concludes the work itself with a brief account of the bloody massacre of the Huguenots in France in 1572.

Meanwhile, his son Samuel<sup>2</sup> had quitted England for the Continent the previous Easter, March 31st, and went to study law for a year at Leipsic; thence he proceeded to Bâsle, where he spent half a year; and then a year and a half in Italy; whence he returned home through France by the end of June 1586. On his arrival, his father made provision for him by giving him a lease of the prebend of Shipton under Wichwood in Oxfordshire. It seems that Piers, bishop of Salisbury, queen's almoner, had obtained a grant of it already from the queen for himself. Samuel no sooner found this, than he applied to archbishop Whitgift in his father's name: the archbishop wrote to bishop Piers, who not only waived his claim in favour of John Foxe, but also promised to confer a prebend on Simcon Foxe when he should be qualified to hold it, and a pension while he was still an undergraduate. All this we learn from the reply of bishop Piers to the archbishop:—

"Grace and peace from God the Father, etc. I have received yo<sup>r</sup> Gr. lre the xiiijth of this p<sup>r</sup>sent month in the behalf of Mr. Fox his sonne for the p<sup>r</sup>bend of Shipton, the graunt wherof allreadie her Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath made unto me; because yt is a p<sup>r</sup>bend belonginge to the church of Sarum, in respect whereof I doe lay some claime unto yt, I thought good to procure the disposition of yt into my owne handes. Nev<sup>r</sup>theless readie I am to the uttermost of my power, to pleasure that good man Mr. Foxe. And to this point his sonne the bearer herof and I are growne. First because he thinketh some blemishe to be in the lease, for want of confirmation of the deane and chapter before the death of Mr. Rondall, to whom the lease was made; I have promised him to confirme either the same lease againe, or a newe one if this doth mislike him. For he uppon whom I meant to bestowe the p<sup>r</sup>bend is my domesticall chaplaine, and to marie my neece verie shortlie—at my comādmēt I am sure in this matter—and hath alreadie promised the p<sup>r</sup>formance herof before me unto Samuell Fox. I have moreov<sup>r</sup> promised him to bestowe some other

(1) This Simon Parrett was fellow of Magdalen with Foxe, and junior proctor of the University in the years 1545, 1546. (Wood's Fasti Oxonienses.)

(2) Since pages 80, 81, were printed off, the Editor has received from the Rev. Dr. Bloxam the following notices and dates relative to Samuel Foxe. He was sent to the Merehant Taylors' School, which accounts for the succession of masters under whom he was placed. He was matriculated at Oxford, 3 March, 1573-4, aged 13, "*Londinensis, Plebis filius*;" elected Demy of Magdalen College 1574 or 1575, probation fellow in 1579; apparently expelled in 1581; B.A. 15 Nov. 1582, M.A. 22 June, 1587. He resigned his fellowship in 1590, having married in the preceding year. (See Appendix No. XIX.)



p<sup>r</sup>bend upon his yonger brother as soone as anie falleth voyd, after he is capable of it; and in the meane season to geve him some exhibicon quarterlie toward his maintenance in the universitie. And this I trust will satisfie y<sup>e</sup> Gr. and Mr. Foxe; if not, upon the understandinge of yo<sup>r</sup> Gr. further pleasure herin, I shalbe content to yeld further to his better contentment. Mr. Walvard as yett continueth with me, the same man as he was. Thus I leave you to God's m<sup>r</sup>ciful tuicon. From my house in Sarum the xiiij of Julie, 1586.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> G<sup>r</sup> to comānd in Christ, JO. SARUM.”<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Piers had been himself a fellow of Magdalen College; and it is a strong testimony to the esteem in which the venerable martyrologist was held, that the bishop should so readily and heartily sympathise with his anxieties. It seems that Foxe's request to the dean and chapter (see above, p. 44) had not been attended to, probably only from inadvertence; and the original lease had never been properly executed. It is most likely that Foxe had a new lease drawn in favour of his son Samuel, which he took care to get properly executed. A letter of his to bishop Piers is extant (Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 107 b), dated Dec. 12th [1586], occasioned by a report that Dr. Piers was about to be translated to Winchester, and full of alarm lest his lease should fall through, and he and his family be left destitute: “*Mihi uxori et liberis meis succurrere rogo atque efflagito. . . . Sperabam te episcopo Sarisburiensi facile me obtinere potuisse quae ad res meas pertinent.*” He explains this to mean, that the bishop should himself subscribe, and persuade the members of the chapter to subscribe, the lease. Foxe's fears, however, proved groundless; as the bishop was not translated till after Foxe's death. The bishop kindly promoted his wishes; the provision for Samuel was secured,<sup>2</sup> and the lease continued in the family. Samuel Foxe possessed it at his father's death, 1587; and in the 35th of Elizabeth made a grant of the tythe of Shipton to Richard Wisdom, enjoining him to the observance of the covenant relating to the poor. This covenant refers to a clause in the original lease respecting the entertainment of the poor, viz. :—“*And furdery<sup>t</sup> the said Samuell Foxe his executors and assignes shall and will every Sunday and festivall day during the said terme, invite entertaine and have to his table at dinner and supper two couple of honest and neediest persons (being dwellers within the said parish) allowing to them sufficient meate and drinke for their relief. To the intent good hospitality may be kept and mainteyned within the same Mansion Place.*”

“This first lease made by Foxe to his sonne, Samuell Foxe, has been the pattered of all the leases renewed since, which have been alwayes exactly transcribed in the same generall words and covenants, without the least alteration of that sort, and particularly this article relating to the poure ever preserved entire.

“Samuel Foxe died in 1629, about Christmas, and left his lease, and tenant-right of the said parsonage of Shipton, etc. to his son Thomas Foxe, master of arts, and fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, and doctor in physick, who enjoyed it, by renewing, above thirty years, and in his time made severall short leases of the tythes of Shipton and Ramsey to one Thomas Skay, yeoman, who from time to time held the said tythes of Shipton and Ramsey above twenty years, being tied to the very same words and covenant concerning the poor's entertainment, as appears by the leases plainly, and particularly by the last lease made by the saide Thomas Foxe to Thomas Skay, bearing date

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 208.

(2) See the letter of Foxe to lord Burghley in Strype's Annals, book ii. chap. 14; and Life of Whitgift, book iii. chap. 14.

the 7 of June, 1660. And here it is observable that Thomas Skay was by all his leases bound to the very words of entertaining 2 couples of poor people every Sunday and festivall day at the parsonage house in Shipton still and no where else, without the least obligation of paying any summe of money to Ramsey or any other place upon that account.

“On the 20th of November, 1662, Doct. Thomas Foxe [Samuel’s eldest son] died, and left his lease and executoriall right of the said parsonage of Shipton, with all its members and appertinances, to his only daughter and sole executrix Dame Alice Willys, wife to Sir Richard Willys, of Shipton in the county of Oxon, knt. and bart.”<sup>1</sup>

Simeon, Foxe’s younger son, was sent to Eton; whence, at sixteen years of age, he was elected to a scholarship at King’s College, Cambridge, August 24th, 1583.<sup>2</sup> There is extant a letter from his father to the Provost commending Simeon to his kind patronage, August 21st [1583] (Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 125): and a very dutiful and affectionate letter from Simeon to his father dated March 14th, 1586, explaining how he had spent his “triennium” at the university (Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 211). He was admitted fellow of King’s August 24th, 1586; and B.A. in the same year; M.A. in 1591. Simeon did not avail himself of bishop Piers’ promise of a prebend, for he

(1) Harl. MSS. 419, fol. 171.

(2) The Editor is much indebted to the Rev. Dr. Okes, Provost of King’s College, Cambridge, and the Rev. Dr. Goodford, Provost of Eton, for directing search to be made in their records for information about Simeon Foxe. The following is the account of his election as scholar of King’s:—

“In nomine Dei, Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum eunctis appareat evidenter et sit notum, quod Anno Domini 1583, regni vero illustrissimæ Dominæ Elizabethæ Dei Gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hybernæ, Reginæ, Fidei Defensoris nostræ, xxv, die vero mensis Augusti xxliij, in Aula communi Collegii Regalis Sanctæ Mariæ et Sancti Nicolai, Cantabrigiæ Lincolnienensis diocesis notorie situati, coram venerabili viro Mtro Rogero Goad sacre Theologiæ Professore Præposito antedicti Collegii Regalis ibidem sedente, præsentibus tunc vice-præposito et majori parte sociorum graduatorum tunc infra Universitatem Cantabrigiæ prædictæ existentium, inque Mei notarii publici et testium inferius nominatorum præsentis constituti, literati adolescentes Gulielmus Chace ætatis 18 annorum, natus in Chesham Magnâ comitatu Buckinghamiæ, festo Paschæ; Johannes Rooke ætatis 17 annorum, natus in Monxton comitatu Southamptoniæ, festo Paschæ; Georgius Wroth ætatis 17 annorum, natus in civitate London, festo Pentecostes; Simeonus Fox ætatis 16 annorum, natus in civitate London, festo Purificationis; Edwardus Hobard ætatis 16 annorum, natus in Loddon, comitatu Norfolk, festo Nativitatis Christi; Johannes Duckett ætatis 18 annorum, natus in civitate London, festo Pentecostes; Lucas Baxter ætatis 17 annorum, natus in civitate London, festo Petri [ad] Vincula; Samuelus Johnson ætatis 17 annorum, natus in Higate comitatu Middlesexiæ, festo Bartholomæi; Galfredus King ætatis 16 annorum, natus in civitate London, festo Nativitatis; Thomas Bentham ætatis 16 annorum, natus in Leighton Bussard comitatu Bedfordiæ, festo Purificationis; et Thomas Holland ætatis 16 annorum, natus in Stayninge comitatu Sussexiæ, festo Nativitatis; lectioni quorundam Statutorum Collegii prædicti interfuerunt. Deinde, tactis per eosdem et eorum quemlibet sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis, corporale præstiterunt juramentum et eorum quilibet, videlicet unus post alium corporale præstitit juramentum, præfate Præposito idem juramentum ab eis exigente, videlicet quod ipsi et eorum quilibet agnosceret Regineam Majestatem esse et ex verbo Dei esse debere supremam Gubernatricem omnium personarum et causarum tam ecclesiasticarum quam civilium infra regnum Angliæ et Hybernæ: Et insuper quod ipsi et eorum quilibet pro parte suâ bene et fideliter observarent et observarent omnia et singula statuta prius per eosdem lecta sive audita, et omnia alia statuta dicti Collegii quatenus ipsos concernerent. Quo facto præfatus Præpositus incontinenter priusquam ad alia se divertebat antedictos Gulielmum Chace, Johannem Rooke, Georgium Wroth, Simeonem Fox, Edwardum Hobard, Johannem Duckett, Lucam Baxter, Samuelum Johnson, Galfredum King, Thomam Bentham, et Thomam Holland, ante ipsum procumbentes per manus suas accepit et in Scholares antedicti Collegii admisit ad annos probationis in eodem. Super quibus omnibus et singulis dicti Scholares sic admissi requisiverunt me Johannem Power Notarium Publicum sibi conficere instrumentum publicum.

“Acta fuerunt hæc omnia et singula, prout supra scribuntur et recitantur, sub annis Domini et Regni mensis die et loco prædictis, præsentibus tunc Johanne Cowell et Philippo Ansam in artibus Magistris et ejusdem Collegii sociis perpetuis, testibus ad præmissa videnda audienda et testificanda vocatis et specialiter rogatis. Ita testor Johannes Power, Notarius Publicus.”

It is observable, that the birthday of each of the above-named scholars is determined approximately by the feast next ensuing; Simeon Foxe’s by “the Purification,” Feb. 2d. As the feast next preceding is “the Conversion of St. Paul,” Jan. 25th, he was according to this document born in London between Jan. 25 and Feb. 2, 1567.

Among the Archives of the Royal College of Physicians is a small MS. 4to. bound in morocco, entitled “Bustorum aliquot Reliquiæ,” containing memoirs of eighty-five physicians, former fellows, drawn up in Latin by Baldwin Hamey, Jun. M.D., an intimate friend of Simeon Foxe, whose memoir is No. 40 in the list, and the longest of them all. The Editor is indebted to the kindness of Dr. William Munk, Fellow and Librarian of the College, for the opportunity of inspecting it. It begins: “SIMEON FOX, Johannis Martyrologi filius natus minimus, ortus est Londini, in ipsis Ducis Norfolkiciæ ædibus, anno superioris sæculi ‘68. Ubi in spem optimam adolescens, Gymnasio Etonensi traditur erudiendus, atque inde suffragiis Præfectorum quattuordecennis mittitur Cantabrigiam, ad Coll. Regium; ubi Scholaris et Socius non muto post admissus et secundum annales leges Baccalauri Artium Magistriæ gradum adeptus, per Philosophiæ totius castra ad medicinæ summam metam

embraced the medical profession. After quitting College, he resided for a time in archbishop Whitgift's household; but eventually went abroad, and studied medicine at Padua, where he took his M.D. degree. Returning home in 1603, he was chosen fellow of the College of Physicians, June 17th, 1608, of which he became president, as well as his nephew Dr. Thomas Foxe. He wrote a Memoir of his father in Latin, prefixed with an English translation to vol. ii. of the 1641 edition of the "Acts and Monuments." In the Preface to the Reader he informs us, that "he had written it thirty years previously" (*i.e.* in 1610); that "he had continually refused to publish it, as it was drawn up originally for his own private satisfaction; and it was now given to the world, because it was deemed worthy of publication by others rather than by himself."<sup>1</sup> Simeon seems to have attained eminence in his profession, and to have been much respected. He lived at Amen Corner. He resigned the presidency of the College of Physicians and retired from public life October 20th, 1641; and died April 19th, 1642. (See Lansd. MSS. 679, fol. 80.)

John Foxe was now (1586) in a declining state of health. This appears from a letter of Mrs. Foxe to her son; which also confirms the account of the state of poverty in which, in spite of all his intense labours, Foxe was still placed:—

"Samuell, we have us comended unto you, desyringe the Lorde Jessus to blesse youe. Conservinge the Boucke which you wryghte for, the Boucke of Marters, youre father wolde have youe to wryte to the fellowe of Salsberye to knowe yf he wyll staye tell the Boucke comme forthe, which is halfe dun all redye, and wylbe better a gret dell; and for the cronycle, yt wyll not be longe before youe comme hether yourselfe; for I promyse youe I have no money, for I have borred x<sup>li</sup> all redye; and for the boucke which youe wold have of youre fathers, I cannot fynde yt in his stoude. As for youre father he is so weicke y<sup>t</sup> he cannot gooe into his stoude, therefore I praye youe to praye for him; we wer with youre Aunte Randall<sup>2</sup> for the letter of attorneye, and she wyll not doo yt withoute her Brother Harryes counsayle and he is

porrexit; laureamque Petavii reportavit, postquam obiter stipendia aliquot in Belgio et Hiberniâ sub ducibus Norrisio et Southamptonio eques meruisset; atque omen quodammodo ex debellatis prius hostibus ad morbos aliquando debellandum magnanimus juvenis captasset. Auctus merito honore Londinium rediit anno novi sæculi tertio." Dr. Hamey afterwards says: "Consueverat ille olim, nec senior desuit, subsecivas horas terere lectione Philosophorum, Historicorum, Oratorum, et Poetarum, atque inde nancisci aliquid ad judicandum et dicendum; ita ut sive domi vitam Patris sui, Overburii, aliorumve commentaretur; sive peregrè in secessibus æstivis, Bedingtoniæ vel alibi, horiorum delicias, sylvarum umbras, fontiumve scaturigines et amica murmura, delinearet; diceret scribendo pinxisse, et pingendo ipsam rei naturam exhausisse." We cannot doubt that by the words "vitam Patris sui" Dr. Hamey refers to the Latin memoir of John Foxe prefixed to the "Acts and Monuments" of 1641, purporting to have been written by his son thirty years previously, but of which Dr. Maitland doubted the genuineness: this incidental allusion to it by his intimate friend, Dr. Hamey, establishes its genuineness beyond all question. Simeon Foxe attended Dr. Donne, dean of St. Paul's, professionally, and subscribed 100 marks towards his monument. He was himself buried in St. Paul's, and an epitaph placed over his grave by his nephew, Dr. Thomas Foxe, in which he is erroneously stated to have died in the 80th year of his age. Fifteen years later, as Dr. Hamey informs us, a bust of him was placed in the hall of the College of Physicians. See the account of him and his nephew in Dr. Munk's "Roll of the Royal College of Physicians," vol. i. pp. 138, 171.

(1) It is to be lamented that this Memoir is written without any proper attention to dates, and only in very general terms. At the same time it would be quite absurd to try this document by modern rules of criticism; and to require a degree of knowledge and exactness of detail, which the writer could not possess. Both of Foxe's sons were unborn during the earlier periods of his active manhood, and in infancy while the great affair of his life was transacting. Of his persecutions, exile, and lengthened labours in the preparation of his great work they could know nothing, save by after-narration. There is no reason to suppose that Foxe left the least record of his own labours. If the Life, published in 1641, was written, as it purports to have been, thirty years before that date, then it must have been written about 1610, which was twenty-three years after the martyrologist's own death. His son Simeon, then, if we suppose him to have been the biographer, loses his parent by death in 1587, being himself only twenty years of age. He had then enjoyed some opportunities of converse with him, in the intervals of school and college life. The leading facts gleaned from his father's conversation he sits down, *twenty-three years after*, to commit to paper. What could be expected from such a narrative but precisely what it appears to be?—a loose and vague tradition, sometimes even falling into positive error, and at best only affording glimpses of the reality.

(2) This was Mary Randall. (See Lansd. MSS. 679, fol. 80.)

not at home as yet. But her she hath sent youe a Letter. No more to youe. But the Lorde Iesus blesse youe and us all. Amen.

“Your lovinge mother,  
“AGGNES FOXE.”

Foxe adds a postscript to this letter :—

“Samuell I marvell that you were so unwyse to blabbe out any thyng of y<sup>e</sup> bok of y<sup>e</sup> Apocalypse to Doct. Humfrey. Such is my weaknes now, and hath been thys moneth, y<sup>t</sup> I can nether eate, sleape, nor wryte, nor goo up yett to my study, wherby y<sup>e</sup> boke standeth yett att a stay, in prynting. The Lord knoweth how I shall goo forward eyther for fynyshyng y<sup>e</sup> boke or dedication thereof. Wherof I pray you to make no words to any person. Pray to y<sup>e</sup> L. Iesus for me. He graunt you hys blessing.”<sup>1</sup>

And now the time arrived when the martyrologist must die. Some Christians die in humble hope—some in the calmness of holy peace, and rejoicing in God their Saviour. They know in whom they have believed. They gather their friends and their kindred around them; and their last expressions are divided between the language which describes their own quiet confidence in the revealed mercy of God, their affection to their friends, and their gratitude to the providence which has led them through the wilderness of life, and which upholds their faltering steps in the dark valley through which they are walking. Some Christians—and Archbishop Leighton and John Foxe were of the number—when the last hour of their earthly existence approaches, rejoice that the communion between the spirit parting from the body and the invisible Father of the spirits of all flesh should be undisturbed by the tears and lamentations of their weeping kindred. They endeavour to dismiss from their presence all who may interrupt the solemn and sacred composure with which the Christian awaits the moment when the consciousness of existence in this state ends, and the consciousness of existence in the next state begins—when, resigned and expectant of that great and mysterious change, the dying man prays within, “Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace!”

John Foxe foresaw the time of his departure, and would not suffer his sons to be present at his death. He would not permit Simeon to be sent for; and Samuel, who was in attendance upon him, he dismissed on a journey three days before he died. He commanded their presence at such time as he knew they would but come to weep over his lifeless body. No particulars are related of his dying expressions. We may, however, believe that they were worthy of him.

At length, not from any particular disease, but having completed the allotted term of “threescore years and ten,” and worn out with incessant but ill-requited toil, John Foxe died on the 18th of April, 1587, at his residence in the city of London. The old Memoir tells us, that upon the report of his death the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral which was made for him with the concurrence of a great multitude of people; and in no other fashion of mourning than, as if among so many, each man had buried his own father, or his own brother. This is briefly but forcibly said. There can be no doubt that the general popularity of his great work, the blamelessness of his life, the gentleness of his character, his liberality to the poor, and the zeal with which he had devoted himself to the service of the Protestant Church of England, had commended him to the love and esteem of all his fellow-citizens. He was buried, April 20th, in the chancel of Cripplegate

(1) Harl. MS. 416, folio 146.

church. This church was not destroyed in the fire of London, and the inscription to his memory placed by his son still remains.<sup>1</sup>

Of his daughters, probably none survived him: his widow was certainly living in December 23, 1592, as appears from the superscription of a letter in Lansdowne MSS. 679, fol. 80; and it is very probable that the burial of "Mother Fox," recorded in the Register of Cripplegate church under April 22d, 1605, was that of Mrs. Foxe. She appears to have been an excellent woman, devotedly attached to her husband. It was against the entreaties of her relations that she accompanied him in his exile, though pregnant at the time. By her good sense, energy, and cheerfulness of temper she strove to alleviate her husband's trials, and conciliated the esteem of his friends. Some of the letters addressed to him in after-life mention her with expressions of regard: for example one from L. Humphrey concludes with salutations "ad conjugem tuam, sed meam *matrem* Basileensem" (Harl. MSS. 417, fol. 103). She was doubtless well known to the poor of Cripplegate, and as a "mother in Israel" her virtues may be said in the quaint language of the old poet to "smell sweet and blossom in the tomb."

On the review of such a life as that of John Foxe, we must be struck with several remarkable features in his personal history.

He clearly possessed great original talent and force of character. His friends were not mistaken in imagining that they saw in him the elements of future distinction, and in making personal sacrifices to afford a suitable education for the development of a mind which promised so much.

We observe in him, also, a remarkable steadiness in adhering to his object, and making all other things subservient to the attainment of it. See this in the zeal with which he applied himself to the acquisition of learning. See it again in the earnestness with which he devoted himself, after his conversion, to propagate the truth of the gospel, and to overthrow the errors and superstitions with which it had been overlaid by the Church of Rome. Having once truly received Christ into his heart, he never hesitated as to the course which he should adopt. For His sake he was willing to sacrifice worldly honours and advantages, and to encounter poverty and exile. The principles of his academic treatise, "*De contemnendis opibus*,"<sup>2</sup> he carried into practice through life: "having food and raiment, he was therewith content;" so that he might but advance the cause which he had so much at heart.

But though he was thus eminent for his contempt of the world, he was not an ascetic, banishing himself from the society either of his equals or superiors. His intimacy with the duke of Norfolk continued unbroken from the earliest years of the duke until he was attended by Foxe to the scaffold. The lord treasurer Burghley, the earls of Bedford and Warwick, Sir Francis Walsingham, the amiable and accomplished brothers, Sir Thomas and Michael Heneage, Sir Drue Drury, and Sir Francis Drake, are enumerated among his friends. The earl of Leicester made him valuable presents; a circumstance not, indeed, surprising, as that nobleman was supposed to be anxious to conciliate those who peculiarly regarded John Foxe as the champion of the anti-papal cause. The principal ecclesiastics of the day, Grindal, Parkhurst, Aylmer, Pilkington, Nowell, were devotedly attached to him, not only as their

(1) The following is the inscription by his son:—

Christo S. S.

Johanni Foxo, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ martyrologo fidelissimo, antiquitatis historicæ indagatori sagacissimo, evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo, thaumaturgo admirabili, qui martyres *Marianos*, tanquam Phœnicæ, ex cineribus redivivos præstitit, patri suo omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo, *Samuel Foxus*, illius primogenitus, hoc monumentum posuit, non sine lachrymis.

Obiit die xviii. mens. April. An<sup>o</sup>. Salutis 1587, jam Septuagenarius.

Vita vitæ mortalis spes vitæ immortalis.

(2) Lansdowne MSS. 388, fols. 92—100.

fellow-exile, but as that good and holy person, of whom no fault has ever been alleged, and against whom none could find occasion to speak, unless, as against Daniel in the olden time, "it was found in him concerning the law of his God." These he loved in return: but he more peculiarly delighted in the learning and conversation of Fulk and Whittaker, whose labours still enrich the church, and in those of Humphrey, president of Magdalen, of Sir Thomas Gresham and Sir Thomas Roe, the wealthy and accomplished merchants of London. From these and from many others he derived the large sums of money which he was known to distribute bountifully; and to which he added so much of his own more scanty resources, that he is said to have given away the very furniture of his house, to supply the temporary but pressing wants of his poorer neighbours.

Great cheerfulness is the usual concomitant of piety united with knowledge. Many anecdotes are recorded to illustrate the cheerfulness with which he adorned the tables of his noble and learned friends. His natural vivacity of disposition, and love of social intercourse, no doubt tended to support him through the manifold labours which he imposed on himself, in the service of Christ and His church.

Another striking circumstance in John Foxe is, that while he was engaged in literary toil, which tended both to wither his graces and to dry up his sympathies towards his fellow-creatures, he was conspicuous for his lively and experimental piety, and his tenderness of heart towards the poor and afflicted. He was evidently a man of prayer, he walked closely with God in secret, and read the Scriptures for edification. His inner life was thus maintained in health and vigour. Hence it was that he was able to speak a word in season to him that was weary, and that he was resorted to by persons of all conditions for spiritual counsel.

It is observable also, that, though his life was devoted to combating religious error, he never degenerated into the bitter controversialist or the mere political partisan. It was the salvation of men's souls by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ which he had at heart. Toward the persons of those from whom he differed he manifested the utmost tenderness; praying for them, and striving to disabuse their minds of error, and convince them of the truth. Hence he took pains to prevent the execution of Edmund Campian and his fellow-conspirators on the one hand, and of the Dutch Anabaptists on the other. He repeated his efforts, till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity. "Though the Lords gave him to understand that this was a matter of state, not of controversy: that the sovereign's life, the public liberty, and the safety of the kingdom were at stake; yet for all this did Master Foxe continue in his opinion; and though he could by entreaty gain nothing, yet would he with many sighs testify his sorrow, as often as he heard that any of them had been put to death."

He also felt strongly the importance of keeping positive truth before men's eyes. He felt that we may argue conclusively against transubstantiation, or any other of the erroneous dogmas of the Church of Rome, and yet leave men in ignorance of the saving doctrines of the gospel. He gave no foundation for the charge that Protestantism is a mere negative religion. He was a most diligent preacher of the great positive truths of the gospel, and built up the people in their most holy faith.

For his firmness in refusing the surplice (probably) to the last, he is often regarded as a nonconformist. But his conscientiousness in so doing is proved by the fact, that he thus debarred himself from valuable preferment, and consigned himself to a life of great privation. His transparent sincerity won for him the respect of all parties. In the course of the controversy between

Cartwright and Whitgift, the "Acts and Monuments" of Foxe was praised by Cartwright. This circumstance elicited from Whitgift his opinion of the character of the martyrologist: "I conclude," says Whitgift, speaking to the Puritan, "with the very words of that worthy man, who hath so well deserved of this Church of England, master Foxe:—'In the ecclesiastical state we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed, or by the primitive church allowed, as archbishops, bishops, ministers, and deacons; for of these four we especially read, as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same also diversity of dignity; neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular person; for, as we give to the minister place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, to the archbishop above the bishop, so we see no cause of inequality why one minister should be above another minister, one bishop in his degree above another bishop to deal in his diocese, or an archbishop above another archbishop.'" Such are the words of Foxe, quoted by Whitgift; and the archbishop adds his own general testimony to the merits of Foxe as an episcopalian. "And I cannot but observe," says Strype, "the esteem and character that Whitgift expressed of this reverend man." "The archbishop," says his great biographer, "was not a man to speak otherwise than as he thought, and he spake of Foxe as of one that he loved and venerated."

Foxe, therefore, though he may have been to a certain extent a non-conformist, was a decided episcopalian; and treated his superiors both in church and state with the greatest deference. More than that, he highly disapproved of the intemperance of the rigid Puritans. He expressed himself to the following effect in the Latin letter written on the expulsion of his son from Magdalen College, on the groundless imputation of his having turned papist:—

"I confess it has always been my great care, if I could not be serviceable to many persons, yet not knowingly to injure any one, and least of all those of Magdalen College. I cannot, therefore, but the more wonder at the turbulent genius which inspires those factious Puritans, so that violating the laws of gratitude, despising my letters and prayers, disregarding the intercession of the president himself (Dr. Humphrey), without any previous admonition, or assigning any cause, they have exercised so great tyranny against me and my son: were I one who like them would be violently outrageous against bishops and archbishops, or join myself with them, that is, would become mad, as they are, I had not met with this severe treatment. Now, because, quite different from them, I have chosen the side of modesty and public tranquillity, hence the hatred they have a long time conceived against me is at last grown to this degree of bitterness. As this is the case, I do not so much ask you what you will do on my account, as what is to be thought of for your sakes; you who are prelates of the church, again and again consider. As to myself, though the taking away the fellowship from my son is a great affliction to me, yet because this is only a private concern, I bear it with more moderation. I am much more concerned upon account of the church which is public. I perceive a certain race of men rising up, who, if they should increase and gather strength in this kingdom, I am sorry to say what disturbance I foresee must follow it. Your prudence is not ignorant how much the Christian religion formerly suffered by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of the monks. At present in these men I know not what sort of new monks seems to revive; so much more pernicious than the former, as with more subtle artifices of deceiving, under pretence of perfection, like stage-players who only act a part, they conceal a more dangerous poison; who, while they require everything to be formed according to their

own 'strict discipline' and conscience, will not desist until they have brought all things into Jewish bondage."

Such were his sentiments on the Puritan controversy; and the events of the two succeeding reigns proved, that he had not judged rashly of the violent tempers and designs of some of the Puritans.

No less consideration was constantly expressed by Foxe even towards the Church of Rome itself. Vehemently as he expressed his righteous abhorrence of its persecuting spirit, its persecuting laws, and its persecuting conduct; he had too much learning, and too much wisdom, to deny that the Church of Rome, in its purer state, was originally entitled to the admiration of the world, or that all nations were once rightly in communion with its bishops; and his son, professing to give his father's sentiments on this subject, attributes to him a hope that the time would arrive, when there might again be communion with Rome, if Rome would so far change, that such communion should imply neither subjection to its supremacy, nor adoption of its unscriptural errors—"that the day will come, when some Italian shall arise in the bosom of its own society, under whose authority and influence the Church of Rome, and the members of the church, shall not be ashamed to confess their errors, to amend their faults, to reconsider their discipline, and be willing to part with their usurped supremacy, to secure the peace of the whole world, and the repose of the churches of the holy catholic Church of Christ."

Strange, indeed, it will appear to the majority of the readers of the "Life of Foxe," that peace with Rome, when Rome changes, should be recommended by the martyrologist himself to the churches which compose the one catholic Church of Christ. Not that we need doubt the efficacy of true repentance either in churches or individuals. The doubt is, whether Rome *ever will* change. The hope that such would prove to be the case might be more reasonably entertained in Foxe's day than it can now. Three long centuries have since elapsed, during which the preposterous assumption of infallibility and unchangeableness, the claim to supremacy, and a host of unapostolical and absurd dogmas, have been resolutely maintained; in spite of the general advance of society, deliberative senates, free institutions, an unfettered press, the general diffusion of the Scriptures, and well-disciplined churches, with the Scriptures interwoven in their services, and with liturgies which, retaining all that is venerable from antiquity, are both devotional in language and assistant to holy prayer and holy conduct. During this long period many able works on the Romish controversy have been published; and free inquiry on the points of difference has been encouraged; and much argument and entreaty have been employed to induce the Church of Rome to change: but all appeals are met with a *non possumus*; she is "infallible and unchangeable." "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed" (Jer. li. 9). Her "strong delusion" is as strong as ever. Is this not a judicial infatuation? And must we not cry, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues"? (Rev. xviii. 4.)

Moreover, if we examine the intimations of prophecy, we shall find there strong reason for believing that Rome *never will change*. It appears from a letter above, at p. 91, that the martyrologist was engaged at the close of his life in preparing a Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John: he reached chapter xvii., when his farther progress was arrested by the hand of Death. His son Samuel published the unfinished work soon after his father's death.<sup>1</sup>

(1) "Eicasmī seu Meditationes in Apocalypsin S. Johannis, edit. per filium Sam. Fox ad Joh. Whitgift, archiep. Cantuar. London. MDLXXXVII., folio, and Genev. MDXCVI., 8vo." (Tanner's Bibliotheca.)



Foxe says truly, that time and history are the best interpreters of prophecy:<sup>1</sup> and the lapse of three hundred years has conferred on us advantages for interpreting the prophecies, greater than Foxe possessed; still, he found the Church of Rome, and her abominations and her punishments, pourtrayed in those of the Babylon of the Apocalypse. Many master-minds have since taken up the same subject; and "time and history" have enabled them to trace the course and final destiny of the Papacy more accurately than Foxe could. If the "beast having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns" (chapters xiii. xvii.), represented as the eighth phase of government at Rome after the seven previous phases of government in Rome Pagan, be the Papacy, as Mr. Elliott has demonstrated; then we know its doom—*εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει*—it goeth to perdition. If "Babylon" and the "scarlet whore" (chaps. xiv. xvii. xviii.) denotes the Papacy, then is its destruction foretold. If the "1260 days" of the beast's existence mean 1260 years, then the fall of the Papacy cannot be far off. And if Babylon is to say, "I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow;" and "therefore her plagues shall come in one day, death and mourning and famine: and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her" (xviii. 7, 8): then we may expect that the Church of Rome will appear to recover much of her lost ascendancy just before she experiences her final doom. These intimations of the prophetic Word of God are invaluable; for they teach us not to expect peace with Rome, for in all probability Rome *will never change*.

The conflict in which John Foxe bore so important a part is once more renewed. The battle of the Reformation has to be fought over again. The Church of Rome is reasserting and even adding to her former claims and errors. The Trentine Church and the Trentine Creed must, will, and do again endanger the religion, the liberty, and the peace of the civilized world. It will perhaps obtain for a time yet more strength, until it dares yet further to insult and injure. Should it please God to punish the Protestant churches for their divisions, unfaithfulness, and worldliness, by allowing His and their old enemy even to suppress their testimony, it will be but for a short time, and they will know whither to betake themselves "till the indignation be overpast." At length, when God's time arrives, she will be swept away with the besom of destruction, and no longer suffered to deceive the nations. Meanwhile, let us keep before us the lessons of experience, conveyed to us by Foxe's great work: and may we be found constant witnesses for Christ, such as he was; filled with love to Christ and to the souls of men; and willing, if need be, to suffer for the truth's sake.

(1) "Quis unquam propheticos illos in Veteri Testamento typos et mysticas figuras de Christo ejusque morte et resurrectione intellexisset, nisi tempus et rei veritas in Christo sensibus aperuisset? Ita in Apocalypticâ hac revelatione, nullus efficacior interpretandi magister quam tempus existit, rerumque anteaclarum historia, et præteritorum experientia."—Eicasmî in Apoc. cap. xi. edit. Genev. p. 220.

# DEFENCE OF THE MARTYROLOGIST.

THE OBJECTORS AND OBJECTIONS TO THE GENERAL AUTHORITY AND VERACITY  
OF FOXE'S "ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH" CONSIDERED.

INTRODUCTION—I. MODERN ASSAILANTS—II. FORMER OPPONENTS.  
1. MILNER : 2. COLLIER : 3. PARSONS : 4. HARPSFIELD—CON-  
CLUSION.



## THE OBJECTORS AND OBJECTIONS TO THE GENERAL AUTHORITY AND VERACITY OF FOXE'S "ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH" CONSIDERED.

### INTRODUCTION.

I SHALL now endeavour, without undertaking the defence of every page, sentence, proposition, or opinion of the martyrologist, to prove that he deserved the approbation, which in his own day was accorded to him, of the bishops and convocation of the Church of England. It has become necessary to do so. The approbation or the disapprobation of the great principles of the "Acts and Monuments" of John Foxe is now too often made the criterion of attachment or non-attachment to the Church of England itself. Some of the best among us may be said to have been blinded by the influence which began in the days of archbishop Laud, under whose government of the church the volumes of Foxe were removed from the churches. Since that time, to despise Foxe, and to believe the rulers and senate of their own church to have erred in approving him, has been made the proof and pledge of high-churchmanship. We will proceed to consider the principal writers, who have opposed this once universal national approbation with which John Foxe was honoured. It will be impossible to notice all who have contributed to the reaction. I shall select the chief, ending the list with the antagonist to whom Foxe himself replied—the persecuting Harpsfield. We will consider the several objectors, their objections, and the replies to those objections. On one point all are united in favour of Foxe. They take for granted the received truth—that the martyrologist, so far from being deemed unworthy of a place in the catalogue of ecclesiastical historians, or of being despised as a plagiarist from his contemporaries, is worthy to be regarded as an authority to whom deference must be paid on many points. Let it be remembered that Foxe wrote at a time when, with the marvellous and superhuman exception of the language of the English Prayer Book, the style of the best writers was unrefined. References were not given with particularity. That great improvement—notes explanatory of the text—was almost unknown. The art of criticism was in its infancy. The authorities to which he alludes as the basis of his narratives have been thoroughly sifted since his age, and many of them have become for some time obsolete. His credulity was that of his age; but it was not so childish as that of many of the most eminent ecclesiastics of his own church in the second and third generations after him, who objected to the favourable estimation of his labours.<sup>1</sup> The modern believer doubts more, and believes less, than his ancestors. But the work of Foxe has retained the favour of very many in a refined, critical, inquiring age. He pleases the devout by his piety, the candid by his

(1) Ex. gr. Heylin, Archp. Laud, &c. &c. See their Biographies.

honesty, the incredulous by the evidences of his facts. The publication of his book began in his own language the study of ecclesiastical history in England; and his volumes have not yet lost their value. The time has come when they ought to be set aside by other works, which our theologians and historians may be justly expected to produce, embodying all that is desirable to be retained, rejecting whatever is objectionable, and interweaving more that is useful. But until another history is written which shall include all, and much more than all, of the facts which he has collected; and which shall be written in the same honest and fearless spirit of the love of truth, and hatred both of persecution and error—until the labours of John Foxe are superseded, instead of being calumniated—we are justified in affirming, that the publishers of this edition have been well advised to reproduce the work—that the subscribers have not acted absurdly—and that the pages of John Foxe, so far from deserving to become obsolete, still continue to be worthy of the approbation and study of the truth-seeking, religious, and Protestant people of England.

### I. MODERN ASSAILANTS.

Various writers of our own day have alluded to Foxe on some points on which they came into contact with him, and we often observe the existence of that dislike to the martyrologist which, from the days of Laud down to the present moment, has ever been a prominent feature of those who, *of the two*, prefer the decrees of Trent to the confession of Augsburg. I will name, in passing, two or three of these writers.

1. The *Rev. Edward Churton*, Rector of Crayke.—This gentleman, in a recent volume of Church History, thus characterises a book, which the whole Church of England, by her Convocation of 1671, deliberately commended and adopted:—"There are many notices of early church history in Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments;' but it must be considered as a misfortune that so much credit has been given to this writer, and that he has found so many imitators; for his style is that of a coarse satire, rather than of history." This is the mock refinement of one class of objectors. Nothing is more easy than this sort of fault-finding. But Mr. Churton should in fairness have apprised his readers, that the style in which Foxe wrote was not so much that of the *man*, as of the *age*. A period in which venerable and learned prelates could be burned to death in the open street was not likely to be one of great fastidiousness and delicacy of speech. Nor is it reasonable that a great and laborious work, like that of the Martyrology, should be judged of by modern proprieties of diction. The same remark applies to—

2. The *Rev. J. E. Tyler*, Rector of St. Giles's; who observes, in his "Life of Henry of Monmouth," that "it is *painful* to read the marginal notes of Foxe, such as—'Lord Cobham would not obey the beast;' 'Caiaphas sitteth in consistory;' 'The wolf was hungry; he must needs be fed with blood;' 'Bloody murderers;' with others, still more ungentle."

It is difficult to understand the tone and temper of mind, which can turn from the heart-rending spectacle of a gallant Christian knight, remorselessly persecuted by the Romish prelates, his sovereign alienated from him, himself represented as a traitor, and hunted up and down the country like a wild beast, and at last caught, and suspended by an iron chain over a slow fire, and so miserably murdered,—his whole crime being his adherence to the faith of the New Testament;—it is difficult, I repeat, to enter into the feelings of

writers who can turn from this thrilling sight, to find fault with the chronicler for using such "*ungentle*" terms as "bloody murderers." We have learnt, indeed, in modern days, that in writing history it is at all times desirable to be sparing of epithets. But it is idle to find fault with men of other times,—of times when hard words, and hard blows also, were of more frequent occurrence than now,—it is idle, I repeat, to impugn their narratives on such grounds as these.

Another objection or two of Mr. Tyler's will fall under the same head with that which we shall next remark upon, in the work of—

3. *Patrick F. Tytler, Esq.*—This gentleman, as well as Mr. Tyler, has indulged in a species of criticism which is founded on a mistaken view. We will adduce an instance:—Foxe gives a narrative of Mary's conduct towards Elizabeth, at the time of Wyatt's rebellion; when three knights and a troop of horse were despatched to Ashbridge, "to bring the lady Elizabeth to court *quick or dead.*" Foxe's narrative describes great violence and rudeness.

Mr. Tytler, however, in the course of his researches discovers, in the State Paper Office, a letter or despatch from these three knights to queen Mary, giving an account of their mission. This document very naturally omits all notice of violent or peremptory conduct; stating only necessary facts, and those in courtier-like style. Mr. Tytler, rejoicing in his own discovery, asserts that this despatch "carries truth upon every word of it, and *totally demolishes* the *inflated* narrative of Foxe."

Let us try the soundness of Mr. Tytler's method of reasoning by a case which will be familiar to every one.

Sir Walter Scott, towards the close of his "*Life of Napoleon Buona-*parte," had occasion to describe the Battle of Waterloo. His narrative is probably the best account we have of that great contest. In compiling it he used great pains and research, drawing his information from the highest sources, both by letter and personal converse.

Supposing, then, the present state of the world to last some centuries, and Scott to be preserved then, as Foxe is now. And let us imagine that in A.D. 2300 some new historian should, by searching, recover what might have been long lost sight of—the original despatch of the Duke of Wellington from the field of Waterloo. Immediately, if he acted like Mr. Tytler, we should find him exclaiming, "Here is a document, the authenticity of which is unquestionable, and which completely demolishes the *inflated* narrative of Scott!"

Every one can see how absurd this would be:—every one can see that the narrative of one who quietly collected, after the event, all the details, would be both more full, and also more correct, than the despatch written from the scene of action: yet Mr. Tytler prefers the latter; and alleges, that the dry and courtly report of Mary's messengers must be more credible than the narrative of Foxe, which doubtless was derived from the personal relations of some of Elizabeth's own attendants!

It is by this sort of criticism that both Mr. Tyler and Mr. Tytler have endeavoured to diminish the credit of Foxe; but a little reflection on the validity of such objections will soon replace the old martyrologist on his pedestal.

4. The late *Rev. Dr. S. R. Maitland* is the only other modern assailant of Foxe to whom I shall allude; and it can be only an allusion. He has himself, by the number of his attacks, rendered the very attempt to reply to them an impossibility. *Seven* separate publications, containing nearly *six hundred* octavo pages, of real, substantial criticism on Foxe, Dr. Maitland poured forth within five or six years. To inflict on the subscribers six

hundred pages of reply is out of the question. All that can be attempted is merely to account for, and to allude to, this vast hostile array; and to give the reader some idea of the drift of the whole. Be it observed, then:—

1. *That Dr. Maitland was not an impartial critic of Foxe.* It is necessary that this should be borne in mind; for on more than one occasion he wrote as if he were sincerely concerned for the honour and credit of Foxe, and were finding fault only with the errors of the *modern* edition.

It so happened, however, that, before a single sheet of the 1837 edition of Foxe was printed, Dr. Maitland had already resolved, as he himself tells us, on the challenge of the *Christian Observer*, “to show that the attempt to set up Foxe as an authority of any kind is perfectly absurd.”<sup>1</sup> And even when commencing his attack upon the new edition, he says, “It is due, I hope and believe, to many most sincere and zealous Protestants among the subscribers to ask them whether they have fully considered what they are doing in supporting the republication of a work which is, to say the least, characterised by (I would not wish to believe that by any it is prized for) the strain of bitter invective which runs through it.”<sup>2</sup> And in closing that pamphlet, Dr. Maitland says, “I cannot but think that the style and spirit of Foxe’s work, and its aspect towards the church of which I am a minister, are quite sufficient to justify what they call my ‘personal dislike’ of it.”<sup>3</sup>

It is confessed, then, with sufficient distinctness, that, in criticising either Foxe in all editions, or Foxe in the particular edition which was printed in 1837, and is, in a revised form, reprinted now, Dr. Maitland was not dealing with a writer like Beda, or Fleury, or Mosheim, on whose merits or demerits he could dispassionately enlarge; but with one, the circulation of whose work he deemed an evil, and the discrediting of which he regarded with peculiar gratification.

2. Accordingly he did not hesitate to *treat the author with great injustice.* This is chiefly visible in the want of all allowance for the circumstances under which the Martyrology was written.

There is scarcely a more remarkable instance extant of great industry shown in the production of a voluminous work in a short time, than is furnished by the “Acts and Monuments.”

Hume was occupied between eight and ten years in the production of his “History of England;” Gibbon was employed about fourteen years upon his “Decline and Fall.” Foxe published his Latin work in 1559: the same, somewhat enlarged, and written in English, filling more than *seventeen hundred* closely printed folio pages, in 1563; and a vast enlargement, bringing it nearly into its present form, in 1570. And the “Acts and Monuments” contains more than twice as much matter as Gibbon, and three times as much as Hume’s work.

A still greater difference is evident in the means and appliances of these authors. Modern historians write with all the aid of large libraries; generally, too, in easy circumstances, at home, and surrounded by friends and admirers. Foxe compiled the first edition of his work in exile, and the whole of it under the pressure of extreme want; unaided by libraries, borrowing a book or an old MS. wherever he could get one.

If it be asked, *why* the martyrologist did not prefer to wait for more auspicious circumstances; and *why* he rushed into print without more care and caution?—the answer is, that the necessities of the church, and the urgent call of Protestants everywhere, forced him to hasten its publication. “Great was the expectation,” says Strype, “of the book here in England,

(1) Maitland’s Review of Foxe on the Waldenses, p. 13.

(2) Maitland’s Six Letters, p. 2.

(3) *Ib.* p. 74.

before it came abroad."<sup>1</sup> Further, it must always be remembered that, while the merit of vast industry rightfully belongs to him, still the production of so prodigious a mass in some five or six years was only rendered possible by the aid of large contributions from various friends. These, in most instances, he could only gladly accept with all faults. Hence, when critics fasten upon some supposed error, it is very probable that they are criticising, not Foxe, but some of his less careful and less learned assistants.<sup>2</sup>

Most of these circumstances, and above all the fact that, as the world advances in civilization, libraries accumulate, scholar advances and improves upon scholar, and each new critic adds something to the accuracy and requirements of his age,—all this Dr. Maitland unreasonably overlooked, and found fault with Foxe as though he were a writer of our own times. But with what historian of former days could not Dr. Maitland have found fault? Would he have had any difficulty in pointing out scores of errors in Hume and Gibbon, hundreds of faults in Collier and Fuller, or myriads of blunders in Illyricus and the Magdeburg Centuriators? Has he not himself shown that it was just as easy for him to detect blunders in Strype as in Foxe?<sup>3</sup> May we not, then, complain, that he applied all the stores of his learning, and all the acuteness of his criticism, to the destruction of Foxe's character for truth and accuracy, without making the admission, which truth and justice so plainly demand,—that for an historian of the sixteenth century to write with the certainty and correctness of one of the nineteenth would have been as *impossible* as that he should have travelled, as we do, thirty or forty miles per hour.

3. The like unjust and unreasonable strictness of demand has been visible in Dr. Maitland's criticisms on the 1837 edition.

What had been called for, and what the publishers undertook, was simply a good and handsome *reprint of the work*. A revision, and the eradication of all the errors into which Foxe or his various assistants might have fallen, was not asked of them. The truth of much that Dr. Maitland wrote is cheerfully admitted. The present edition (1869) will show, how honestly and effectively the publishers have striven to turn his censures to a practical use. (See the first note in the Appendix to vol. i. *infra*.) The main question, however, relates to the value of *the work itself*, independently of any question concerning this or that edition. On this point Dr. Maitland will best be answered by exhibiting the agreement of a long series of great men, in various ages of the church, as to the high and unquestionable rank of Foxe as an historian. A chain of testimony of this kind will be given at the close of the present review.

## II. FORMER OPPONENTS.

I must now proceed to earlier antagonists.

On the mere railings of Cobbett or Eusebius Andrews I shall not waste the reader's time. The latter, who is the most voluminous and the most effective writer of the two, is well described in the *Quarterly Review*:—"His arguments bear the same relation to sound logical reason, as the scrawlings of a lunatic to the diagrams of the mathematician."<sup>4</sup>

(1) *Annals*, vol. i. part i. p. 375.

(2) "Many of the exiles were concerned in it, to supply Foxe with matter from England."—Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 375.

"Grindal supplied Foxe with collections of matters that happened before those times."—Strype's *Grindal*, p. 32.

(3) Maitland's *Notes on the Contributions, &c.*, part iii. p. 97.

(4) *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxiii. p. 8.



We arrive then, at last, at the declared and natural impugners and contemners of the book, the Romanists, Milner, Parsons, and Harpsfield, and the nonjuror, Jeremy Collier. We will attend to each of these writers in his turn.

### 1. DR. JOHN MILNER, OR MILLER, BISHOP OF CASTABALA.

He was ordained priest of the Church of Rome in 1777, and in 1803 was appointed bishop of Castabala. He resided at Wolverhampton, where he died in April 1826.

I shall briefly review the objections which Milner has collected against the work of Foxe. They are to be found in his "Letters to a Prebendary," his "End of Controversy," and his "History of Winchester."

He introduces his attack on Foxe by alleging the various excuses or apologies which are urged by the friends of Mary for the burnings of the anti-papalists. It is much to be regretted that this very influential writer did not submit to his friends and party the great truth—that the laws of the Church of Rome are all, every one, founded, established, and enforced upon the theory which ever will, ever did, ever must, end in punishing the body for the good of the soul—the theory, that the Church of Rome and the bishop of Rome have an innate divine authority, confirmed by the general councils, and especially by the Council of Trent, to enforce the canons which prescribe compulsory obedience to the church and bishop of Rome. The whole mass of the bulls of the popes, the whole ecclesiastical code of Rome, is as much founded upon the one principle, that obedience to the church is to be enforced by the church, as the law of England is founded upon the principle that the obedience of the subject is to be enforced by the state and by the king. The apologies of Milner prove the truth of this affirmation to the utmost. I insert them, therefore, with a brief notice of the fallacy of each, as the best introduction to his remarks on the martyrologist.

"As the sanguinary persecutions," says Milner, "for which this reign (that of Mary) was unfortunately too famous, reached Winchester, it is necessary to say something concerning them; and since the matter has been misrepresented by the generality of writers, for the purpose of keeping up a spirit of unchristian resentment and counter-persecution in the nation, we shall enlarge upon the subject further than would be proper, were a less benevolent object in view than the appeasing of that spirit."

Objection 1. "First, then, it is to be observed, that if Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she became so."

Answer 1. The tenets of her religion taught *obedience to the bishop of Rome at all hazards*, whatever were the conscientious or rational conclusions of the individual inquirers.

Objection 2. "At her coming to the crown, and for almost two years afterwards, while she declared herself openly in favour of the ancient religion, she as openly disclaimed every degree of force or violence against those who professed and practised any of the late systems."<sup>1</sup>

Answer 2. *She disclaimed force, but she demanded obedience in religion.* The question is, What was to be the result to the subject, if that obedience was not eventually yielded? She would not punish heretics, unless they were obstinate heretics!

Objection 3. "We have the ordinances and instructions of the pope for bringing back this kingdom to his communion: in these occur many documents and rules of forbearance and conciliation, but not a word that insinuates corporal punishment or persecution of any kind."<sup>2</sup> It is universally admitted

(1) Heylin, Hist. of Queen Jane, p. 163; Hist. of Mary, p. 25.

(2) Dodd, vol. i. p. 545, etc.

that the papal legate, cardinal Pole, uniformly expressed 'a strong aversion to extremity and rigour,'<sup>1</sup> and opposed the practice of them, as far as was in his power. In like manner it is admitted, that the Spanish chaplains of king Philip, and other Catholic preachers, publicly condemned, from the pulpit, the persecution which was then carried on; as being opposite to the Christian spirit, and detrimental to the interests of religion."<sup>2</sup>

Answer 3. Would not the pope, the cardinal, and the Spanish chaplains all have agreed that obstinate heretics, continuing to refuse to obey, should be eventually coerced? *Would persevering disobedience to Rome have been permitted?* This plea of Milner is mere hypocrisy.

Objection 4. "If, after an interval of nearly two years' toleration, the queen engaged the parliament to revive the ancient acts against Lollards,<sup>3</sup> it cannot be denied that she had many provocations,<sup>4</sup> from which she too hastily inferred that the existence of the Protestant religion was incompatible with the security of her government. These were—Wyat's rebellion; the open and avowed attempts made by Reformers upon her own life, and the lives of the established clergy;<sup>5</sup> the prayers that were publicly made in conventicles for her death;<sup>6</sup> the intolerable insults publicly offered to the religion of the state;<sup>7</sup> the political impostures practised against her government and faith;<sup>8</sup> and the seditious and treasonable books which were published by some of the leaders of the Reformation, and, amongst the rest, by our late prelate of Winchester, Poynt.<sup>9</sup> All this, however, is offered, not in excuse, but barely in extenuation of the charge brought against Mary."

Answer 4. All these pleas will neither excuse, justify, nor even extenuate the cruel burnings of peasants, artificers, and women, against whom no such crimes were alleged, and whose only offence was antipopery. Each traitorous offender, every treasonable offence, ought to have been punished; but never, never ought there to have been either with Henry, Mary, or Elizabeth, burnings for religious opinions. *We have changed; and if the propriety and reasonableness of further changes in our laws respecting religion can be pointed out, we will make further changes.* Rome must imitate our example; and not be content with apologies.

Objection 5. "If Gardiner, Bonner, and certain other Catholics taught and practised religious persecution in their days, they were not singular in this particular; the most eminent Protestant divines openly inculcated the same intolerant lessons.<sup>10</sup> In like manner, the Protestant states were no sooner established, than they everywhere began to turn the sword against

(1) Collier, p. 377. Echard, Heylin, Rapin. See extracts from Pole's letters, etc. in his *Life by Philips*, vol. ii.

(2) Philips's *Life of Cardinal Pole*. Behard's *Hist. of England*. Collier, etc.

(3) 1st and 2d Philip and Mary, c. 6.

(4) Heylin, in his *Account of the Causes of the Persecution*, says, "Such were the madneses of the people . . . the governors of the church exasperated at these provocations."—*Hist. of Queen Mary*, p. 47.

(5) Notes of Milner—"William Themas, clerk of the council to Edward VI. and a disciple of the famous preacher Goodman, plotted the murder of the queen, for which he was sent to the Tower, and afterwards executed: at which time he boasted that he died for his country.—Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* Dr. Bourne and Dr. Pendleton, preaching the Catholic doctrine at St. Paul's Cross, barely escaped—the one a dagger which was thrown at him, and which stuck in a post of the pulpit: the other a bullet that was fired at him, and grazed his person.—Stow, Collier, etc."

(6) Heylin, p. 47.

(7) "Dogs and cats, shaved and dressed like priests officiating, were suspended in the streets, or otherwise exposed.—Stow, etc."

(8) "In March 1554, a girl, called Elizabeth Crofts, was concealed in a wall, near Aldgate, and there taught to counterfeit a supernatural voice, declaiming against the queen, confession, the mass, etc.—Stow, Heylin. The year following, at Eltham, in Kent, a youth of the name of Featherstone was instructed to assume the personage of Edward VI. in order to invalidate the queen's right to the throne.—Stow, etc."

(9) "Such as the famous John Knox's 'First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,' [against which Foxe remonstrated, see above, p. 33 of the *Life*], and his other works against queen Mary of England and queen Mary of Scotland; Goodman's book concerning 'The Superiour Magistrate,' in which he invokes the spirit of Wyat as a martyr; Poynt's 'Treatise on Politic Power.'—Heylin, Collier, Ant. Wood."

(10) "Beza, the celebrated pastor of Geneva, writing in justification of the burning of Servetus by his master, Calvin, for heterodoxy in religion, which event had lately taken place in that city,

the Catholics;<sup>1</sup> and not content with that, the different sects amongst them made use of it against each other.<sup>2</sup> At the very time when Mary was burning Protestants in England, the English refugees in Germany were persecuting each other on account of their respective opinions."<sup>3</sup>

Answer 5. I have noticed these sickening recriminations. I again say, Equal crime proves equal guilt only when that equal crime is continued. *Our guilt has ceased, for our laws are changed.* The guilt of Rome is not merely that it formerly persecuted, but that its canon laws are to this day unchanged.

Let us now consider the charges of Milner against John Foxe. They will be found to be as vague and unmeaning as those of Andrews.

Objection 6. "The huge history of these persecutions," says Milner, "written by John Foxe, which has been the storehouse for all succeeding writers on the same subject, has been demonstrated to be one tissue of falsehood, misrepresentation, and absurdity."<sup>4</sup>

Answer 6. The answer to this remark is, that instead of the word *demonstrated* we must read *accused*, or *said to be*. No assailant of Foxe has *demonstrated* his work to be one tissue of falsehood.

Objection 7. "*Some* of his pretended martyrs were alive at the time when he was describing the circumstances of their death;<sup>5</sup> many of them were executed for rebellion, assassination, theft, or other crimes:<sup>6</sup> not a few of them died in the open profession of the Catholic doctrine, or only differed in certain points of no great consequence to the main subjects of controversy;<sup>7</sup> whilst the greater part either differed from the received doctrines of the established church, or differed from each other in some of the points, at least, on which they were arraigned and condemned."<sup>8</sup>

Answer 7. For "*some*" read "*one*," that is, Marbeck, to whose case I shall presently refer.

None were burnt for such crimes in the reign of Mary, who are mentioned

produces ample authorities from Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Bullinger, Capito (to whom he might have added even the conciliating Bucer), in defence of capital punishments in matters of religion. See Beza, *De Hereticis puniendis a civili Magistratu, &c. occasione mortis Serveti*. Cranmer took it upon his conscience that the young king, Edward VI., was obliged to sign the death-warrant of Jean Boucher, condemned for heresy, on account of a singular opinion concerning the nature of Christ's body.—Heylin; Collier, part ii. p. 291. He also promoted the capital punishment of other dissenters, during this reign, as he had in the preceding reign that of Protestants in general."

(1) "This is emphatically remarked, with respect to Scotland, by Dr. Robertson in his history of that country, an. 1560. The same penal laws against Catholics were about this time enacted in England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, &c."

(2) "For the persecutions practised by the Protestants against each other in the Low Countries, see Gerard Brand, *Hist. Ref. Pays Bas*. For the persecutions raised against the anabaptists and other dissenters in this country, see Stow, Collier, Neal's *Hist. of Puritans*. For the persecutions exercised by dissenters upon quakers, see Penn's *Life of G. Fox*, who complains that 3,173 Friends had suffered imprisonment under the Commonwealth; of whom 32 had died of the rigours of their confinement. In New England, four quakers, of whom one was a woman, were actually hanged. See also Baxter's '*Key to Catholics*,' p. 48, and Pref., in which he boasts that his party had the sword to punish heretics, and calls upon the protector, Cromwell, to use it against papists, seekers, and quakers."

(3) Heylin's *History of Queen Mary*, pp. 61, 62.

(4) "The innumerable falsehoods and misrepresentations of this work (new editions of which are annually published, to keep up that spirit which it was first written to produce) have been demonstrated by Alanus Copus, alias Nic. Harpsfield, by F. Parsons in his '*Three Conversions*,' and in part by Ant. Wood, Collier, and other learned and candid Protestants."

(5) "Ant. Wood says that Foxe has committed many errors by trusting to the relations of poor, simple people, and in making such martyrs that were living after the first edition of his book, though afterwards by him excused and omitted. Athen. Oxon.—It is plain, however, that these omissions only regarded such as were actually proved to be then alive by Alanus Copus: as was the case with the musician Marbeck. The same learned antiquary brings numerous proofs of remaining errors, sufficient to invalidate the credit of the whole Martyrology. See the remarkable story of one Grimwood, who was actually present in a church when the clergyman was describing, on the authority of Foxe's '*Acts and Monuments*' (see pp. 2, 100), the circumstances of his supposed miserable and preternatural death, 'his bowels, by the judgment of God, falling out of his body in consequence.' Grimwood, in return, brought an action against the clergyman for defamation.—Athen. Oxon.; Hen. Morgan."

(6) "For example, Sir John Oldecastle, Sir Henry Acton, John Only, William Flower, William Gardiner, &c."

(7) "For example, Savonarola, Rhedonensis, Thomas Bilney, William Taylor, &c. To these may be added the pretended confessors, Pius Mirandola, Erasmus, &c."

8) "See, at large, '*The Three Conversions of England*,' part iii."

by Foxe as martyrs. I have already said, if a thief be burnt, not for robbery, but for quakerism, he may be called a martyr for that quakerism. Their holding different opinions among each other, or their greater or less variation from popery, has nothing to do with the one only fact of any moment, which is, that they were burnt for antipopery.

With respect to the remarks of Milner, in the notes, I add that—

Foxe could not have committed errors by trusting to the accounts of poor, simple people, without those errors being instantly discovered. He did trust to those who reported the martyrdoms, but his narratives were instantly and closely scrutinized. The most decisive proofs of his veracity are to be found in his great anxiety to correct his accounts of Grimwood and Marbeck, one of which, as we shall see, he retained, and the other he rejected, after inquiring into the truth of the accusation that he had been in both instances deceived.

Milner then goes on to discuss the martyrdoms of Bainbridge and Philpot, who were natives or residents of Winchester. In doing so he appears to condemn the cruelties in question, by speaking of “the odious persecution;” but he so speaks of “church authority” and “obstinate heretics,” that the reader of his book very unwillingly but very rightly infers, that the bodily punishment of a heretic by his church would not be deemed to be persecution. I pass by all such observations, however, as he has not assailed the character of Foxe.

One mistake he seems to have discovered in the narrative of the death of Gardiner by Foxe. “Gardiner,” says Milner, “having opened the new parliament, in quality of lord chancellor, October 21, 1555, was two days afterwards seized with the gout, and died, in sentiments of great humility and contrition, November 12th following, at York-place, now Whitehall.” In the notes to this passage Milner adds—“Foxe, and after him Burnet, and other historians, relate, that on the day of Ridley and Latimer’s execution at Oxford Gardiner postponed his dinner until he had received an account of that tragical event, having messengers at proper distances on the road to convey him the earliest intelligence; that the old duke of Norfolk, who was then one of his guests, expressed great uneasiness at the delay of his meal; and that, on the arrival of the news, Gardiner, transported with joy, sat down to table, where he was seized with dysury, and, being carried to bed, died in great torments a fortnight after. The falsehood of this story, founded in excessive prejudice, is proved by Collier from the following circumstances: Latimer and Ridley suffered October 16. October 21 Gardiner opened the parliament, which he afterwards attended a second time. The old duke of Norfolk had been dead a year before this event; and Gardiner himself died November 12, not of dysury, but of the gout.”<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the duke of Norfolk who dined with Gardiner, it was the grandson of the duke who had died in 1554. The then young duke might be called the old duke after he had possessed his dukedom some years, and ceased to be a young man. With respect to the other alleged inaccuracy, the death of Gardiner, I answer in the language of the *Quarterly Review*:—

“As to the death of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Dr. Milner, as his high-church friend, Jeremy Collier, had done before him, endeavours triumphantly to confute Foxe’s story, that he died of dysury immediately after the burning of Ridley and Latimer, by the fact of his having opened the parliament five days after that melancholy event. But let it be remembered, that Foxe, though at that time in concealment (i. e. exile), had the best opportunities of information; and it has been suggested, that

(1) Eccles. Hist. p. 386.

Gardiner, though labouring under that malady, might really open the parliament the fifth day from its access, and return to his own house, where he certainly expired a few days after.

“A late Speaker of the House of Commons is said to have attended to his parliamentary duties under circumstances equally distressing.”<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion is, that Milner has produced nothing against “*the veracity and fidelity*” of the martyrologist. This attempt also, like every other, to impeach him of dishonest representations of facts, has totally failed.<sup>2</sup>

I shall now, before I proceed to the consideration of the other assailants of John Foxe; make some remarks upon those two cases, which have been always placed by his opponents in the van of their forces—the *cases so often alluded to of Grimwood and Marbeck*. The manner in which Foxe has been charged with error respecting these two persons must be regarded as a demonstration of the severe criticism to which his work was subjected, and the extreme fewness of the mistakes, inadvertencies, and inaccuracies, so freely but so falsely alleged against him. When we consider the extent of his work, the disadvantages under which he laboured, and the vigilant inspection which it has undergone, we may be justly astonished that so few charges can be adduced against him. Neither can we be surprised that the deficiency of matter for any just impeachment of *his veracity and fidelity* should be compensated by the general, though unproved, imputation of universal falsehood, and by unsparing and rancorous abuse.

The cases of Grimwood and Marbeck are those alone, in regard to which Foxe is charged with wilful falsehood in his statements of facts.

1. The accusation respecting his account of Grimwood is—that in the conclusion of his “*Acts and Monuments*,” in that section<sup>3</sup> where he relates the strange deaths of certain persecutors, and calls them, I must say with very questionable propriety, examples of God’s judgment, he has included among those persecutors a person named Grimwood; and affirmed respecting him—that in the harvest following his having given false witness against a religious antipapalist of the name of Cooper, as he was stacking corn in full health, fearing no peril, he suddenly fell down, and immediately most miserably died. In consequence of the publication of this story, a clergyman believed it; and quoted the death of Grimwood in a sermon, as an illustration of his argument, and as an instance of the judgment of God against all persecutors. So far, however, was the story from being true, that Grimwood was at that very moment one of the congregation; and being indignant at the charge, he brought an action of defamation against the clergyman, which is alluded to in Croke’s “*Reports*.”<sup>4</sup> The verdict was given for the defendant;

(1) Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 355 (1810).

I subjoin Milner’s account of the dying words of Gardiner:—

“Gardiner,” say Godwin\* and Parker, “died repeating these words—‘Erravi cum Petro, at non flevi cum Petro.’ In the sermon which he preached before the king and queen his words were—‘Negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed nondum amare flevi cum Petro.’ (Dodds.)”—Milner’s History of Winchester, vol. i. pp. 355—362.

(2) The reader who may wish to know more of Milner is referred, for his character as an ecclesiastical historian, to the Quarterly Review, vol. xxxii. p. 90; for his credulity, in the matter of Sister Nativité, to vol. xxxvi. p. 308, &c.; to vol. xxv. p. 142, vol. xxvi. p. 356, and to vol. iii. p. 347, for his conduct on the question of the Veto.

(3) New edit. vol. viii. pp. 630, 631.

(4) From 2d Croke’s Reports (temp. James), p. 91. In a case of slander (Brooke v. Montague).

\* Coke [meaning Sir Edward Coke, afterwards lord chief justice] in argument ‘cited a case 27th Eliz., where parson Prit in a sermon recited a story out of Foxe’s Martyrology, that one Greenwood [so written instead of Grimwood] being a perjured person, and a great persecutor, had great plagues

\* “In ipsa regia Westmonasterii podagricis doloribus absumptus, interiit duodecimo Novembris, 1555.”

Richardson’s note ibidem. “Nov. 13, Memor. Ecclesiast. Strype, vol. iii. p. 229. Decumbentis in lecto cadaver ita putridum fetidumque ante mortem fuit, ut presentibus nihil molestius ipso odore esse potuit. In ipso mortis momento hæc verba ejaculatus est: ‘Erravi cum Petro, non flevi cum Petro.’ Ita Parker in Antiquit. Britan. p. 511.”—Richardson’s Godwin, p. 237.

because no malice could be proved on the part of the clergyman. Anthony Wood charges Foxe with committing, in this instance, *a most egregious falsity*; and nearly every writer who hates the martyrologist has rung the changes on this story, as if it was an undeniable and wilful untruth.

The reply to this accusation shall be taken from Strype's "Annals of the Reformation."<sup>1</sup> The martyrologist was informed of his supposed mistake. He inquired personally into the matter; and retained the narrative in the last edition of his work, published under his own superintendence. He must therefore be as his enemies represent him—a wilful deceiver—or the story he relates is true.

Let us first examine his own account. It is contained in seven short paragraphs.<sup>2</sup> I will proceed through each.

The *first* gives an account of Cooper. The *second*, that a man named Fenning wished to purchase from him two oxen: but Cooper refused to sell them. Upon this refusal, Fenning (in the *third paragraph*) charges Cooper before Sir Henry Doyle with high treason. Cooper was carried before the magistrate by two persons; one named Timperley—the other *Grimwood of Lawshall*, a constable.

We read in the *fourth paragraph* that Cooper was indicted at Bury for the alleged treason; and found guilty, and executed. The accusation against him was supported by Fenning himself, and by two other witnesses, both of whom were suborned and perjured, whose names were Richard Whyte and another *Grimwood*—*Grimwood of Hitcham*, in the county of Suffolk.

In the *fifth paragraph* is the assertion that this last-named Grimwood died suddenly and miserably.

The *sixth paragraph* appeals to Fenning as being still alive when the account of Grimwood's death was published: an appeal, which is certainly no proof of falsehood; more especially as both in the *sixth* and *seventh paragraphs* this very Fenning is described as a wicked man, for whose repentance Foxe offers up a prayer.

It must be observed that all these circumstances are omitted by the uncandid authors, who are anxious to condemn the martyrologist, and who only mention the contradiction to his narrative.

Let us now consider the observations of the impartial and accurate Strype. In narrating all those circumstances of which he could not be an eye-witness, Foxe was unavoidably compelled, as we all are, to rely on the authority of others. John Foxe was not an eye-witness to the death of Grimwood. The only question, therefore, is, Did he invent the story? or had he authority for this narrative? and was that authority worthy of belief?

"Be it true or false," says Strype, "Foxe had the relation respecting Grimwood from William Punt, who, under queen Mary, had been a diligent inquirer into the sufferings of the professors; and, taking the same in writing, had secured the printing of them beyond sea, and then vended the books here in England. The same Punt was informed against by Tye, bishop

inflicted upon him, and was killed by the hand of God; whereas, in truth, he was never so plagued, and was himself present at that sermon: and he thereupon brought his action on the case, for calling him a perjured person, and the defendant pleaded not guilty; and this matter being disclosed upon the evidence, Wray, chief justice, delivered his opinion to the jury that it being delivered only as a story, and not with a malicious intention, the defendant was not guilty; and so he was found.\* Popham, chief justice in the main case, now reporting, affirmed this to be good law, and the decision of the court was governed by it accordingly."

(1) Vol. i. pp. 377—380.

(2) Vol. viii. new edition, pp. 630, 631.

\* This citation of Sir Edward Coke alludes, as further law authorities, to 14 Hen. VI. 14 and 20 Hen. VI. 34, but no book of reports is specified as containing these decisions.

Bonner's commissary in the parts about Colchester, as a leading heretic. This is the character of the man. But to pursue this matter further, and to search whence this Punt had his information; he had it from creditable witnesses, who gave in this account before him and Sutton, a minister of Ipswich, and one Foxe, brother to our martyrologist. After the Martyrology was printed, William Rushbrook, minister of Byldeston, a neighbouring parish to Ipswich, reading the aforesaid relation of Cooper in the said book, and knowing something of the business, perceived (as he said) several errors therein. Therefore, out of care of consulting for the credit of the author and book, he wrote hereupon to Mr. Walker, an eminent minister in Ipswich, showing wherein Punt's information failed, and wishing it had not been put into Mr. Foxe's book, and desiring him to inform the said author thereof—Cooper's punishment, as he asserted, having been justly inflicted, not so much for religion, as treasonous words against the queen. The sum of his letter was, 'That he had talked with those which he judged could best certify the truth of the matter which was reported of Cooper. That if every man indeed might be a martyr which was then punished for rebellious words, we should have many martyrs indeed. That Will. Punt was much to blame, because that he, Rushbrook, told him, more than two years past, that his paper that contained that report was untrue, which, as he had then writ it, was now put into print. That in this report he committed these faults, viz.—that Cooper was no such man that ought in commendation to be named in that book: that whereas Whyte was named to be a false witness, he witnessed truly: that Grimwood was unjustly reported to be a witness, much more a false witness: that what was said to come upon the said Grimwood was as true as the rest: that Cooper was valued more than he was worth, as to his goods, which were seized by the sheriff; a true account whereof in kine, horses, and other cattle, and household stuff, came but to 6*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*'

"When all this was understood by Mr. Foxe, he came himself to Ipswich to inform himself truly about it. Punt also went to Mr. Sutton before said, who remembered it very well, every part thereof as it was then imprinted. Notwithstanding, these two, with another honest man, went to the parties that had related it, and read the story unto them, who boldly affirmed the same to be true, and would so confess before any man, as they said. There were two that attested this, being one and twenty years of age apiece. He also procured Mr. Candish, a justice of peace as it seems, and the wife of Cooper to meet at Ipswich; whom with the children they minded to bring before Candish and others, and so to make a true certificate thereof, with their hands as witnesses of their words, and then would send it up with speed; as Punt wrote up to London, to Foxe's brother, living at the duke of Norfolk's house, by Aldgate. He wrote, also, that Mr. Sutton had and would take great pains therein. And so I leave the matter undecided to the reader's judgment and discretion. *I have set down all this at this length, to show what diligence and care was used that no falsehood might be obtruded upon the readers, and Foxe and his friends' readiness to correct any mistakes that might happen.*"<sup>1</sup> Such are the precise words of Strype. I give them at length, that the reader may be assured I have no wish to allege anything of my own in favour of the accused martyrologist. He will see that Foxe used every precaution in his power to obtain a true narrative; and after he had done so, he retained the account in his book. The fact is, there were two persons of the name of Grimwood. One died, as Foxe related; the other was present at the sermon. The clergyman was not accurate in his specification, and was wrongly supposed by his hearer to be guilty of a libel. This solution of the

(1) *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 378—380. Strype spells the name differently from Foxe, —Grimvaid for Grimwood.

difficulty is confirmed by another declaration of Strype, who positively affirms,<sup>1</sup> that he had received an assurance that the relation by Foxe of the judgment upon Grimwood was true from a very careful inquirer, whose name he mentions. "This inquirer into the truth of the matter told me," says Strype, "that he had read it in a very authentic paper, carrying so much evidence with it, that he did not in the least misdoubt it; the judgment, indeed, not falling upon that Grimwood who sued the minister, but upon another of the same name, both Christian and surname, as was well known afterwards."<sup>2</sup> Such is the remaining evidence, that Foxe did not invent the story; but that he had such authority for his narrative as he was justified in crediting. If this authority is not deemed to be sufficient, I refer the reader to the original letters from which Strype borrowed his account. They are preserved in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The accuracy, the fidelity, and the veracity of John Foxe remain, therefore, unimpeachable in that very narrative for which, more than for any others, he has been stigmatized as a false, unsafe, and unworthy historian.

2. We are now brought to the case of Marbeck, the second instance in which the calumniated martyrologist is accused of wilful falsehood.

When Foxe was accused of inaccuracy in relating the incident which he deemed to be the judgment of God against Grimwood, he went down to Ipswich to make inquiries whether he had been deceived or not. He retained, after much inquiry, the narrative in his book. In the present instance he was informed that he had been deceived. He made inquiry; and having done so, he expunged his account. How was it possible that he could have given to his readers a more perfect proof of his desire to speak the simple truth? Yet he is still denominated, in the coarse language of his unsparing opponent, "the lying Foxe," both for retaining the story of Grimwood, and for having once received into his Martyrology the story of the martyrdom of Marbeck.

The case is briefly this. Four persons, of the names of Testwood, Person, Filmer or Finmore, and Marbeck, were condemned to be burnt at Windsor, under the Act of Six Articles. One of the four was pardoned: it was Marbeck. Foxe was not present at the cruelty. The information upon

(1) Life of Elizabeth, cap. xxi. note, new edit. vol. viii. p. 631.

(2) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 377, 378.

(3) Harl. MSS. No. 416, p. 174, and v. 122. The first reference is to Rushbrooke's letter; the second is to Punt's letter, which here follows:—

"Grace and peace.

"Mr. Foxe being at Ypswich about this matter, Mr. Kelke and Mr. Walker was to Cambridge. Then went I to Mr. Sutton the minister, who was with you and me at the report of the story, and doith remember it very well every part thereof as now yt is imprinted. Notwithstanding he and I with another honest man went to the parties again and read the story again; who boldly affirmed the same to be true, and will so confess before any man. There was two of them that so verified, and both xxi years of age a-piece. Therefore this day Mr. Candish is looked for at Ypswich, and also the wief of Cooper, who with the children we mynd to bring before Mr. Candish and others, and so make a true certificate thereof with their hands, as witnesses of their words, and then send it up to you with spede. Thus moche of this. Also Mr. Sutton, who hath and will take great pains herein (for only he laboured with me), desireth me to write to you to make means to one Mr. Washbourne, my Lord Keeper's man (who delivereth the presentacions granted by my L. Keeper), and to require of him a presentacion for this Mr. Sutton of the benefice of Shelmodeston in Suffolk, by this token that they wrongeth others by the little finger, which presentacion is all paid for save his fee, which is iiis. iiijd., and that shall this bearer deliver you. Mr. Hunt may do this, no man better. And if you can treat Mr. Hunt to get the giving of this fee iiis. iiijd. given to Mr. Sutton, you shall do well, for he have deserved it in his pains about this matter I have in hand. Also he compounded the 7 of April in Mr. Godfres office for the first-fruets of that benefice of Shelmodeston, and discharged every thing due for the same: out of which office he should have had a writing; that should testify he had compounded for his first-fruets: but he had none given him, nether for ignorance he did not require it; and therefore would fane have one to go thither and demand it in his name, and that the presentacion and it might be sent him to Ypswich with spede. Now for Mr. Godfres office, your brother might do it, no man better. When you send these things, send it to Mr. Parkhurst dwelling in the Burhough to be delivered to Mr. Sutton. Thus I end, and leave you under the Lord Jesu's keeping. Amen. Further you shall hear again from me by the grace of Christ. Pray for me and my labours. From Ypswich the xx of April.

"Yours as ever,

"WM. PUNT.

"This is the iiijde day I have been in Ypswich about this matter. The Lord give me to end it, as I trust He will.

"To my loving and very good friend Mr. Foxe, in the duke of Norfolk's house lying by Aldgate at Crichurch [St. Katherine Cree's], deliver."



which Foxe relied told him that Finmore was pardoned, and that Marbeck was burnt: his authorities had deceived him; Marbeck was pardoned, and Finmore was burnt. This is the whole error he committed, and this error was corrected in a list of "Faults and Oversights," at page 1742 of *that same edition*. When his book was published, the scrutinizing eyes of his papal critics immediately detected the error, as they would have done any other, *if he had committed any*: and they loudly triumphed. The correction of the error, in the same volume, they either did not see, or affected not to have seen. Harpsfield, the contemporary of Foxe, is quite sportive on the subject. Leaving his more lugubrious, though not inelegant language, he becomes humorous over this mistake of Foxe. He had been deriding the manner in which the pseudo-martyrs, as he calls the victims of the intolerant ecclesiastics of the day, endured the violence of the fire and declared their freedom from pain. "Do not think," says the beginner of the attacks upon the martyrologist, "that I am unjust towards the pseudo-martyrs, and that I wish to lessen or extenuate these their miraculous endurings; for I certainly cannot doubt their truth, if that indeed be true which Foxe relates, that we have lately had another Polycarp among us in England; upon whom either the fire had no power, or who, his whole body having been reduced to ashes, sprung to life again, more wonderfully than Lazarus. For behold you have John Marbeck, the organist at Windsor, in the year 1543, and 28th July, 'undergoing martyrdom at the fire with cheerful constancy' (I quote the words of Foxe). But he is yet living, and chaunts as beautifully, and plays the organ as skilfully, at Windsor, as he was wont to do.' Critobulus answers, 'I am altogether astonished at this account. And now you have, according to your own confession, at least one miracle of our martyrs, which may vie with the most celebrated of those either of Christ or of His disciples.' Ireneus<sup>1</sup> answers, 'This I would most readily concede to you, if he had ever been burnt; but he was neither burnt nor brought to the fire.'"<sup>2</sup>

Before the error in his narrative had been thus uncourteously pointed out, Foxe had already adopted the only remedy in his power; he had acknowledged and corrected the error. The correction did not satisfy his assailants. He expostulates with them on this treatment;—"Be it known to all the depravers of my book," he says,<sup>3</sup> "that I repeat that Marbeck was condemned, but not burned; yet, even if I had not corrected the mistake, what gentle or courteous reader could have therein any just matter to triumph over and insult me? seeing the judicial acts, records, and registers, the bishops' certificates, and the very writ of execution remaining, did lead me to give the account in my book. He who writes histories, and who cannot be in all places to see all things, must follow the records and registers he consults. *But now, even now, that I correct the error of which complaint is made, I am still condemned; I correct myself, but I am still corrected by others; I warn the reader of the truth, still I am called a liar. Though I use my utmost diligence to prevent occasion of cavilling, I may not be indulged with the privilege which is granted to every author, to plead my own 'errata.'* If such men could be satisfied, I have said enough; if they cannot, nothing I can add will satisfy them. May God Himself amend them!"

(1) Harpsfield's work is in dialogues.

(2) "Id certe diffiteri non possum, si verum sit, quod Foxus scribit, novum nobis nuper Polycarpum inter istos pseudo-martyres in Anglia emeruisse; in quem aut ignis nihil potuit, aut qui, toto corpore in cineres redacto, admirabilius quam Lazarus revixerit. En tibi enim Joannem Marbeckum psallentem Vindilesorise anno Domini 1543, et 28 Julii 'martyrium in igne alacri' (ut Foxi verbis utar) 'constantia subeuntem.' At ille adhuc vivit et Vindilesorise eleganter, ut solet, psallit et organa pulsat. Crit.—Totus ad hanc narrationem obstupesco. Et jam habes, vel te ipso judice saltem unum martyrum nostrorum miraculum, quod cum præstantissimo, quod unquam vel a Christo vel ab apostolis editum est, contendat.' Ireneus.—'Hoc ego tibi non invitum concederem, si modo exustus fuisset; sed neque exustus neque igni unquam admotus fuit.'"—Edit. 1566, pp. 962, 963.

(3) New edit. vol. v. p. 496, 497, and notes. Edit. 1684, vol. ii. p. 469, col. i.

Yes, venerable martyrologist! so it has been, and so it will be, as long as any men are to be found who hate the pourtrayer of the effects of this one false principle—that the punishment of the body is required, to prevent the free formation of religious opinion. So it has been, from Alau Cope<sup>1</sup> to Eusebius Andrews, and his living imitators. Wood,<sup>2</sup> Milner,<sup>3</sup> Parsons,<sup>4</sup> Andrews,<sup>5</sup> and every assailant of Foxe, prove and demonstrate the general truth, accuracy, and fidelity of his Martyrology, by exhausting their energies in declamations of triumph over the mistakes of the historian, real or supposed, in the cases of Grimwood and Marbeck. It is impossible to doubt, that *precisely the same vigilance, enmity, scrutiny, and intense anxiety to discover faults, were exercised towards the other portions of his work by his contemporary foes*, who lived among the relations and friends of the martyrs; but they were all exercised in vain. No book of such magnitude ever underwent such an ordeal as Foxe's "Book of Martyrs." Many, very many, are the defects which the accumulated knowledge and the severer criticism of our own age can now discover; but there are preserved in Foxe's Martyrology alone the authenticated materials, which must ever be invaluable to the student of history. If the book had never been published, the solid foundation for a better ecclesiastical history of the Catholic church, and of its best portion, the English Church, had not perhaps even yet been laid.<sup>6</sup> I cannot defend coarseness which justly shock our modern refinement. I read some sentences which I myself condemn; but if this book had never been published, I verily believe that the heart of England had never been so permanently animated with that utter abhorrence of persecution, which has been the foundation both of our political liberty and national influence among mankind; and which has certainly given to the people a church which the Christian community may love.

## 2. JEREMY COLLIER.

The celebrated Jacobite and Nonjuror,<sup>7</sup>—the absolver at the place of execution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, who had been convicted, certainly upon questionable evidence, of a plot to assassinate king William,—the successful opponent of the immoralities of the English drama,<sup>8</sup>—the author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain,"<sup>9</sup> throughout the whole of which he seems to have had Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" before him,—is the next assailant of the labours of the martyrologist. With Dr. Maitland and Eusebius Andrews, he appears to have had a "*personal dislike*" to the book; and it was with him, as with them, that criticism founded upon this unworthy motive has sometimes led him to injustice and unfairness. As Jeremy Collier is an author whose integrity and candour, notwithstanding his severe attacks on the motives and actions of those to whom he was politically opposed, have been hitherto considered unimpeachable, I can only conclude that he hated Foxe for the same reasons which make those who are still called high-churchmen dislike the martyrologist and his pages. Foxe wrote his book at the time when the authority of the church had been abused to the atrocious persecutions which he has related. All the eloquence and energies of the historian are devoted, therefore, to the cause of the oppressed rather

(1) Harpsfield's book was printed under this feigned name.

(2) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 94.

(3) Hist. of Winchester, vol. i. pp. 357, 358, and notes.

(4) Vol. iii. pp. 61—63.

(5) Vol. iii. p. 288.

(6) I deem Collier, Fuller, and Mosheim to be inferior to him. We require, as I have repeatedly said, an edition of Foxe which shall be incorporated with Baronius, Alford, the Centuriators, Fleury, and others.

(7) Died 1726.

(8) See Johnson's *Life of Congreve*.

(9) The first volume of which was published in folio, 1702, and the second in 1714. A new edition of Collier's work was published in London in 1840—1, in nine volumes 8vo.

than of the oppressors—to the cause of the victim rather than of the judge. The abuse of which he complains was principally that of the papal authority; but because the episcopal power was not free from the modes of thinking which had been originally introduced into states and churches by the Roman canonical law, therefore it is that the opposition by Foxe to the abuses of church authority sometimes appears to be anti-episcopal. Collier was unavoidably well acquainted and even familiar with the “Acts and Monuments” of Foxe: we may believe, therefore, that he has enumerated every inaccuracy which his research enables him to mention. He has only, however, from the whole immense mass of the materials collected by Foxe gathered eighteen objections, five in the first volume, and thirteen in the second volume, of his “Ecclesiastical History,” each of which I shall now proceed to consider.

That Collier had Foxe’s “Acts and Monuments” constantly before him appears from the frequent allusions to the book, even where no fault is found with it. Thus we read, on the question whether Sawtre was the first who suffered death by burning for heresy, that “Foxe is positive on this point, and affirms that king Henry IV. was the first of all the English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ’s saints.”<sup>1</sup> Collier discusses in another place, whether a certain testimonial in favour of Wycliffe by the University of Oxford was a forgery. He gives the arguments of Wood against the document; but adds that Foxe did not doubt its authenticity, without any censure on him for his opinion; though Collier himself believes that the testimonial in favour of Wycliffe was a counterfeit. I mention these references to Foxe, to prove the probability that his work was generally kept in view by Collier throughout his history. I will now notice the objections which he produces.

Objection 1. Collier’s first objection is, that “*the opinions of William Thorp, a Lollard, who takes no notice, in his definition of a church, of the necessity of a regular mission, or apostolical succession, were approved by the martyrologist.*” Though he objects to Foxe’s opinion, he considers him, at the same time, an undeniable authority, fully to be depended upon for his statements of facts. “I shall only observe,” he says,<sup>2</sup> “that we have no reason to question the truth of the narrative of Thorp’s trial, since the whole narrative was penned, as Foxe reports, by Thorp himself.” Collier then goes on to say—that a paper called *Thorp’s testament is approved by the martyrologist*, though it contains some very objectionable doctrines. “He exhorts the people to desert the communion of the church in consequence of the misbehaviour of the clergy: a doctrine which is opposed by the 26th Article of the Church of England. Foxe calls him ‘a good man, and a blessed martyr.’”

Answer 1. A man may be “a good man, and a blessed martyr,” and hold some opinions which might be deemed objectionable. *Who will venture to say, that any one of the primitive or later martyrs, or archbishop Laud, or Cranmer, or Polycarp, or any other witness for the general mass of Christian truth, would deserve our approbation in every opinion they had possibly formed on the points controverted among Christians?* A man of holy and blameless life, worshipping Christ as divine, and holding the common faith, must be deemed “a good man, and a blessed martyr,” if he dies for religion; or no martyr ever existed. On referring, however, to Foxe,<sup>3</sup> we find only that, as he had related the whole trial of Thorp, he adds, to use his own words, “We thought it not meet to leave out a treatise which came into our hands, under the name and title of His Testament; which treatise, by the matter and handling of it, might seem to be counted a complaint of

(1) Vol. i. p. 618, col. 2, folio edition; vol. iii. p. 262, new ed.

(2) Vol. i. p. 624, col. 1; vol. iii. p. 277, new edit.

(3) Vol. iii. p. 282, new edit.

vicious priests." The paper is then given, and it proves, on inspection, to be what Collier describes it. It condemns the priesthood, but it relates to a period which, we may trust, has for ever gone by. If Collier had applied its remarks to the clergy of whom Foxe spoke, and had considered only the period to which they applied, Collier would have agreed with Foxe. The censure against the popish clergy of the time in which Thorp lived, when Arundel was archbishop, and when Thorp was tried, we may justly thank God, is not applicable to the present day. Collier applies generally the remarks which Thorp applied particularly to the clergy of his own day. Foxe does not approve, either in this instance, or in the instance of Wyclif, Huss, or any other of his martyrs, of all the sentiments they uttered. He relates their opposition to Rome, their opinions, and their martyrdom, in the same manner that Collier himself might have done: for, in the present instance, Collier himself says of Thorp, that, notwithstanding "Thorp was mistaken in some points, and his spirit too much embittered, he seems free from the impressions of interest, and boldly prepared for the worst that could happen." Collier could not say less; Foxe did not say more.

Objection 2. Collier objects to *Foxe's mode of treating the history of Sir John Oldcastle*.<sup>1</sup>

Answer 2. "Oppression maketh a wise man mad."<sup>2</sup> If a man wished to worship his God and Saviour only, and not a saint or the Virgin, he was deemed a heretic and a traitor, and deserving death. There was a meeting of the oppressed. The oppressors called the meeting a rebellion. The public records prove the fact of the meeting of a few men, but they do not prove the crimes of intended treason or regicide. The matter has been already discussed even to tediousness. "Foxe," says Collier, "by questioning the proofs" (and, he might have added, justly questioning, and therefore throwing great doubt upon, the proofs) "does but discover the strength of his wishes, and the bias of his inclination. I have no desire to charge this historian with insincerity; yet it is plain that his prejudices and passions governed his pen in some cases."

Objection 3. Collier censures *Foxe for the manner in which he has discussed the narrative of Augustine's conversation with the British bishops*. "Foxe," says Collier, "acknowledged that Augustine wrought miracles; and then he speaks of him with very coarse language for not rising to the Welsh bishops, in calling Augustine 'his lordship so high, so heavy, and so proud.'"<sup>3</sup>

Answer 3. Foxe's credulity in believing Augustine's miracles justified him in anticipating from Augustine greater humility. There is a want of philosophy in this conduct of Foxe which Collier has not noticed, and which I shall not stop to discuss. But, without losing any of our respect for Augustine, as the ecclesiastic who, with all the faults of his age, had all the goodness of his age, we are compelled to confess that his demeanour towards the Christian prelates who, as bishops, were equal, by the ordinance of Christ, either to the bishop of Rome, or to Augustine himself, was not very conciliatory. There were seven bishops present; no bishop accompanied *him*.<sup>4</sup> It was at least ungracious in him not to rise on their approach, and they might well argue, that a man who would thus act towards them would soon assume the authority of a master. His answer to them, upon their refusal to receive his mission, is most intemperate. Gregory himself appears to have found it necessary to keep in subjection this spirit of Augustine, by reminding him that he had no authority over the Gallican bishops, and "that he ought not to put his sickle into another man's corn."<sup>5</sup> He was also cautioned

(1) Vol. i. p. 646; vol. iii. p. 324, new edit.

(3) Vol. i. p. 646.

(4) Beda, H. E. ii. 2.

(2) Eccles. vii. 7.

(5) H. E. i. 27.

against being too much elated with his success.<sup>1</sup> These historical facts, we may believe, had not escaped Foxe, and they might draw from him the sentence with which Collier is so scandalized. Yet Collier himself admits that Augustine "had some of the infirmity of human nature about him; that he gave too broad signs of his superiority, and pushed his claims too far."<sup>2</sup> Foxe expresses this very same sentiment, but he uses more plain language than Collier.

Objection 4. "Foxe states that king John, among divers conditions belonging to him, had one which is not in him to be reprehended, but commended rather, for when the king saw a fat stag broken up, he said, 'How easily and happily he has lived, and yet, for all that, *he never heard any mass.*'"<sup>3</sup>

Answer 4. What Foxe meant to approve was, not so much the profane jest, as the freedom it argued in king John from that superstition, which led most men at that period to believe a doctrine so insulting to the human understanding as the doctrine of the mass: or to use his own words,<sup>4</sup> "that being far from the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subject to, he regarded not the popish mass." But Collier informs us, in the next paragraph, of the reason for which he thus criticises the language of the martyrologist, and it is only another specimen of the unfairness with which Foxe was treated. "I had passed over," says Collier, "these exceptions against Foxe, if he had not taken the freedom to blemish the public records." This accusation made me search very carefully to see whether Collier alleged any one single proof whatever of its truth. He mentioned none—not one! I therefore deem the assertion itself, after the opposite testimony which I find, to be no evidence of its truth. Collier, like the great majority of his school, had a "*personal dislike*" to Foxe's book. He goes on in the same paragraph to insinuate, for he does not affirm, that Foxe did not carefully distinguish between "martyrdom and treason;" he meant to say, between heresy and treason; which he well knew could not be done, for the laws of Henry IV.,<sup>5</sup> the ecclesiastical authorities, the people, and the influence of the priesthood upon the people, had identified the two crimes; and the act of parliament at Leicester identified them by the public law.

Objection 5. "Foxe says that a council may depose a pope, and illustrates it thus: 'For like *as oftentimes kings which do wickedly govern the commonwealth and exercise cruelty are deprived of their kingdoms*, even so 'tis not to be doubted but that bishops of Rome may be deposed by the Church.'<sup>6</sup>

Answer 5. Collier was a Jacobite, and believed, with certain of our modern Oxford theologians, that the people of England had committed a sin when they placed on the throne their deliverer from the assumption of irresponsible authority in church and state, and therefore from tyranny and despotism, instead of James the Second. *Foxe does not tell us that kings ought to be deposed*; though he certainly infers that such deposition is not criminal when they violate their own laws. This question is one of those on which silence is better than discussion. Our theory, that the king can do no wrong, will ever, I trust, prevent the future necessity of such discussion. We may hope that no popishly-affected sovereign will ever again call forth the national indignation and jealousy; more especially as we are not governed by an individual or person only, but by three estates of the realm, of which an

(1) H. E. i. 31.

(3) Collier, vol. i. p. 646; vol. iii. pp. 325, 326, new edit.

(2) Collier, vol. i. p. 646.

(4) New edit. vol. ii. p. 340.

(5) The review of these objections might lead to endless discussions. Collier goes on to accuse both Fuller and Foxe of error, in maintaining that treason and heresy were identified, because the blood was not corrupted as the punishment of both. But Collier quotes only the act of Henry IV. anno 2. See Fuller, Ch. Hist. b. iv. 167, and Hume, vol. iii. p. 558, both of whom assert the fact.

(6) Collier, vol. i. p. 661; vol. iii. p. 358.

individual is but one ; and the ordinances of men to which we are required to submit, as Christians, for the Lord's sake, make the individual sovereign supreme, according to known laws and well-defined institutions. But Foxe was not wrong in the principle which his Jacobite critic condemns,—“ that, in every well-ordered kingdom, it ought especially to be desired that the whole realm should be of more authority than the king, which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdom, but a tyranny.” Collier calls this a republican topic. It is the truth, which has been abused to republicanism, and to all kinds of folly and wickedness ; but it is the truth which is implied in every text of Scripture, which gives duties to the sovereigns as well as to the people ; and it is the foundation of all the greatness, freedom, and prosperity of the English monarchy itself ; which is so protected and so limited by the laws, that while it can do no wrong, it can do much right, and secure the love, without incurring the hatred, of the people.

Objection 6. “ *Foxe,*” says Collier, “ *misrepresents Wolsey, by charging him with using the expression, ‘Ego et rex meus ;’* whereas he was charged only with the presumption of uniting the king's name with his own, and even then placing the king's name first ;—‘The king and I *would you should* do this.’”

Answer 6. *Foxe charges the cardinal with using the expression in his letters to Rome.* Collier refers to the articles of impeachment ; Foxe to the popular accusation. Foxe gives only the summary of the allegations against Wolsey in eight short sentences.<sup>1</sup> Collier gives the whole impeachment in more than four folio double-columned pages.<sup>2</sup> The only error of Foxe is, that he mentions the popular accusation, as if it had been one of the actual articles of the impeachment.

Objection 7. Foxe is censured for *representing cardinal Wolsey as the pattern by which we are to judge and censure the hierarchy in general.*<sup>3</sup>

Answer 7. If Collier had observed the marginal note in Foxe, he would have seen Foxe's meaning more plainly. Bilney, of whom Foxe is speaking, was indignant at the “ pomp and pride of the pope and cardinals,” and from them he turned to censure “ the bishops and clergy.” *Both Bilney and Foxe, if they did censure the hierarchy, could only refer to the contemporaries of Wolsey ;* and I am sure that Collier himself, if he had reflected, would have joined in that condemnation.

Objection 8. *Foxe says, that those who murdered cardinal Beaton were stirred up to do so by the Lord ;*<sup>4</sup> and Collier justly asks, whether the Lord stirs up men to wrest the sword out of the magistrate's hands, and whether stabbing a nobleman is a proof of divine impulse ?

Answer 8. *Foxe calls the crime a murder, and therefore he condemned it.* But Foxe, in common with some men in all ages, was too much accustomed to attribute *any* unexpected retribution to the immediate interposition of God. He uses the common language of all parties in the day in which he lived, in thus assigning to the providence and agency of God the actions of men which seemed to inflict a punishment corresponding to the greatness of a crime. I condemn all such language, as most unjustifiable.

Objection 9. “ *Foxe calls Gardiner ‘an insensible ass,’ and says that he had no feeling of God's Spirit in the matter of justification.*” Collier mentions this because there is a vein of satire and coarse language running through the “ Acts and Monuments.”<sup>5</sup>

Answer 9. Foxe wrote with the impetuosity of a man who felt the importance of his subject, remembered the past, and trembled for the future.

(1) Foxe, vol. iv. new edit. p. 614.

(2) Collier, vol. ii. p. 43 ; vol. iv. p. 120, new ed.

(3) Collier, vol. ii. p. 45 ; vol. iv. p. 126, new ed., compared with Foxe, new ed. vol. iv. pp. 616, 620.

(4) Collier, vol. ii. p. 209 ; vol. v. p. 154, new ed.

(5) Collier, vol. ii. p. 233 ; vol. v. p. 218, new ed. Foxe, vol. vi. p. 433.

It is certainly considered coarse language *now* to call a bishop "an insensible ass." When he said that Gardiner "had no feeling of God's Spirit in the matter of justification," *Foxe perhaps meant that the bishop's conduct proved that he was not accepted in the sight of God.* I can only observe that the language of all controversialists at that time, with few exceptions, would not be endurable at present. *I am defending Foxe's veracity, not his taste.*

Objection 10. Foxe is censured for *comparing the alarm which took place among the guards, at the execution of the duke of Somerset, to that which seized the officers of the high priest when they seized our Lord.* Collier calls this an odd, not to say profane, parallel.<sup>1</sup>

Answer 10. This was the style of writing of the time. The simile *is between the alarm which arose in both cases, and not between the person of our Saviour and the duke.*<sup>2</sup>

Objection 11. Foxe is charged *with being inconsistent,* in sometimes praising the duke of Somerset, sometimes pointing out defects in his character and conduct.<sup>3</sup>

Answer 11. *This is a proof of his sincerity; he praised what was laudable, and censured what was blameworthy.*<sup>4</sup>

Objection 12. Foxe is censured for *having been so calm* when describing Wyatt's rebellion.<sup>5</sup>

Answer 12. He calls it a *rebellion;* that marks his opinion of its character. The exact mode of dealing with a subject, especially negatively, is no ground of criticism.<sup>6</sup>

Objection 13. *Foxe is censured for attacking the duke of Suffolk's servant, and calling him "traitor."*<sup>7</sup>

Answer 13. Is not that man a traitor who betrays a trust imposed in him? The man might be no traitor to the Crown, since it was his duty to reveal treason; but *he was a traitor to his master,* and that doubly, since he had promised to keep his secret.<sup>8</sup>

Objection 14. Foxe is censured for affirming that the insanity of judge Morgan was a punishment for having condemned lady Jane Grey.<sup>9</sup>

Answer 14. This is another instance of the feeling mentioned before, respecting Beaton; and the same answer applies.<sup>10</sup>

Objection 15. Foxe is censured for *ridiculing the prayers* made when it was supposed that queen Mary was likely to present the nation with a prince.<sup>11</sup>

Answer 15. He *ridiculed the mistake,* not the prayers: others did so; there were satirical verses composed on the occasion.<sup>12</sup>

Objection 16. Foxe is *censured for the marginal note* placed opposite the passage last mentioned. It was, "Cry up louder, you priests; peradventure your God is asleep."<sup>13</sup>

Answer 16. *This custom of clothing our political opinions, or controversial conclusions, in the language of Scripture, is common to the bulls of the popes, the sermons of Puritans, papists, high churchmen, low churchmen, and to every sectarian who ever formed an opinion either in religion or politics, and who took that part in public discussions which entitled him to address his brethren.* The bulls of the popes more especially abound with this mode of affirming the conclusions or opinions of the writer.<sup>14</sup> Foxe's allusion is made to Elijah's reply to the priests of Baal. I pass no opinion on the expediency

(1) Collier, vol. ii. p. 316; vol. v. p. 453, new ed.

(2) Collier, vol. ii. p. 317; vol. v. p. 454.

(3) Collier, vol. ii. p. 362; vol. vi. p. 59.

(4) Collier, vol. ii. p. 362; vol. vi. p. 60.

(5) Collier, vol. ii. p. 363; vol. vi. p. 60.

(6) Collier, vol. ii. p. 374; vol. vi. p. 93.

(7) Collier, vol. ii. p. 375; vol. vi. p. 93.

(8) Collier, vol. ii. p. 375; vol. vi. p. 93.

(9) Collier, vol. ii. p. 375; vol. vi. p. 93.

(2) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 294.

(4) Foxe, vol. vi. pp. 213—295.

(6) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 414.

(8) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 414.

(10) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 425.

(12) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 581.

(14) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 583.

(14) See the Bullarium Romanum Magnum, passim.

of this custom, because the right, or wrong, of so quoting the Holy Scriptures must depend on each particular instance when the quotation is made; but Foxe only observed the universal custom of every party; and he ought not to be too severely condemned. Even lord Clarendon quotes the sacred writings in that manner which illustrates his own views of historical events; as the Puritans, against whom he wrote, quoted other texts to illustrate more ignoble views.

Objection 17. Foxe is censured for *misrepresenting Ridley's letter respecting auricular confession*. Ridley approved of the practice. Foxe, in the margin, says that confession is to be made by way of asking counsel, and thus gives a different colouring to Ridley's meaning.<sup>1</sup>

Answer 17. Foxe has *not meddled with the text*, but left it to speak for itself. Ridley and Foxe agree in the main points, viz. that confession is expedient, not absolutely necessary; and that the priest is the adviser, not the judge, of the penitent. In these points, both differed from Rome. Foxe's "asking counsel," too, is implied in Ridley's terms, "instruct, correct, comfort, and inform:" how could the latter be done without the former having taken place? I see no contradiction. I see only a marvellous anxiety to prove Foxe in the wrong.

Objection 18. Foxe is censured for *praising Elizabeth for her forbearance*, though she had permitted Sampson and Humphrey to be deprived.<sup>2</sup>

Answer 18. I see *nothing to censure here*; if it be meant by Collier as a censure, it is a very pointless one.

This terminates the objections of Collier; and I rejoice to find that, though this nonjuring divine disliked the labours of John Foxe, he was too honest to lavish upon him the abuse which that "*personal dislike*" originated with Andrews, Parsons, and others. In the single instance in which he accuses him of destroying documents, he gives no proof of the truth of the charge; and my respect for Collier compels me to believe that he too hastily credited the slander of Parsons. He justly condemns the deficient taste, and the unmeasured language, which sometimes characterise the pages of Foxe; *but he has said nothing to disprove "his veracity and fidelity"*—the points in which alone the reader is interested, and with which alone I am concerned to deal. I accept the silence of Collier on these points, as a proof that nothing of any great importance could be alleged by him against either; and the martyrologist, therefore, escapes from this ordeal also, unharmed and scatheless. His authority is not shaken. His book is not proved to be valueless. Our fathers and their sons who esteem it are not yet proved to be fools.

### 3. ROBERT PARSONS, OR PERSONS,

the contemporary, and the most unsparing and inveterate of the enemies of the Church of England, and of the antagonists, therefore, of John Foxe, is the next on my list of the assailants of "*the veracity and fidelity*" of the martyrologist. I beg the more especial attention of the reader to the labours of this remarkable Jesuit. Distinguished, when tutor of Baliol, for six years,<sup>3</sup> as the most learned and zealous of the opponents of popery, and as the most indefatigable introducer of Protestant books into the College library, he changed his religious principles, and became the consistent and conscientious papist. He transferred to the Church of Rome the same zeal and devoted attachment which he had hitherto dedicated to the Church of England. He believed, and he

(1) Collier, vol. ii. p. 368; vol. vi. p. 124. Foxe, vol. vii. p. 432.

(2) Collier, vol. ii. p. 501; vol. vi. p. 416.

(3) From 1568 to 1574.



acted upon the belief, that the bishop of Rome was the divinely-appointed head of the Church of Christ, and that he possessed, as such, the power to excommunicate, not only subjects, but kings and princes, if they refused submission to his supremacy. It was beautifully said of Fletcher of Saltoun, that he would have given his life to serve his country, but he would not have done a base thing even to save it. With Parsons and the other Jesuits half the saying is true—they would have given their lives to serve Rome, but they believed they might do many base things both to serve and to save it. *The mistakes of the conscientious are the tares in the field of the church.* Such was Parsons. He believed that if the bishop of Rome excommunicated a prince, such prince is from that moment deposed, and his subjects are freed from all their oaths of allegiance; and not only so, but that they might and ought to remove him from his authority, as an apostate, a heretic, a forsaker of Christ, and an enemy to the commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> This doctrine, as I have elsewhere formerly shown,<sup>2</sup> was taught in the canon law—preached by the Jesuits—approved by their superiors—and acted upon by their agents and partizans. The queen of England had been excommunicated by the bishop of Rome. The curse of Pius V. had been denounced against every member of the Church of Rome who obeyed her as queen after the 25th of February, 1570. Dr. Story was executed in the same year, for a plot to organize a foreign invasion of England. The Spanish ambassador fled the country in the following year, on having been detected in a plot against the life of the sovereign to whom he had been sent as the messenger of peace: conduct which violated the law of nations. Rebellions were planned and broke out in Ireland, on the same account, in the year 1574, two years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris, and in the very year when Parsons changed his principles, resigned his tutorship, and proceeded to Louvaine, Padua, and Rome. The history of the reign of Elizabeth derives its principal interest from the fact, that England was the protector of the Christianity of antiquity and of the Reformation against the novelties and the unchanging errors of Rome,—and that one universal war, both of secret conspiracy and open violence, was maintained against her, to restore the ascendancy of Rome and the supremacy of its bishop over the church and state of England. And England never fulfils its high destiny more certainly as the benefactor and example to mankind, than when it thus acts as the defender of the true faith against the “world in arms.” Three times already it has thus been honoured. It defended Christianity against popery, though all the power of the Continent was arrayed against it, in the reign of Elizabeth. It protected the same faith against the same enemy, and against the armed Continent, in the reign of William. It rescued the common Christianity against another enemy—the French infidelity—when the Continent was again armed for the destruction of England. It is greatest in the hour of the greatest danger, when it thus remembers its lofty rank. Many, however, even of its own subjects, in the reign of Elizabeth, did not comprehend this high destiny of their country; and the *danger of the sovereign was greater at one period from the domestic traitor, than from the foreign enemy.* One bond of religious agreement united both. Both were sincere. Both were the enemies of Protestant England. The papist of the Continent was joined together with the papist of England. Both believed that the end justified the means. Both imagined that he who killed a royal heretic, did God service. Both changed their “religion into treason, and their faith into faction.” Both were convinced that they would save their

(1) See the references which justify my opinion of the character of Parsons in Foulis, Chalmers, and Dodd's Church History. It is customary (see the *Quarterly Review*, more especially) to speak of Parsons as a profligate hypocrite. I believe him to have been a conscientious traitor.

(2) “Accusations of History against the Church of Rome,” second edit. p. 285.

own souls, and the souls of others also, if they could overthrow the heretical state and the heretical episcopacy of England. Both were persuaded that the destruction of Protestantism in the church, state, and people of England was essential to the happiness of mankind, and the honour and glory of God; and that such destruction, therefore, was to be accomplished by all means, and at all hazards.

No one individual, with the exception perhaps of Edmund Campian, was more deeply impressed with these convictions than the Jesuit Robert Parsons, after he forsook the Church of England and his tutorship at Oxford. Having been admitted into the society of the Jesuits in the year following his leaving Oxford,<sup>1</sup> he devoted his great talents, his profound learning, his fierce zeal, his restless turbulence, and his ardent piety,<sup>2</sup> to the cause of the canon law, and the bishop of Rome, as the rule of the discipline, and as the supreme head, of the Church of Christ. He is the most illustrious instance on record, that the Romanists are most zealous in their hatred of the Church of England, when they are most pious and most religious: and, therefore, that, in the same proportion as they are to be respected for their sincerity, they are to be dreaded, *till they change*, for their mistaken enmity to the true Christianity of the Gospel and Church of Christ. Parsons, immediately on his change of principle, surrendered his soul and body to the work of destroying the purer religion so successfully established in England. He procured the changing of the hospital at Rome, founded in the reign of Mary, into a college or seminary for English students: where an oath was taken by the pupils to assume holy orders, and to return into England to convert the English to Romanism. He then ventured, at the risk of his life, to come to England with Campian, to communicate to the adherents of the Church of Rome a dispensation for their outward obedience to the queen, till the time arrived when they might throw off the mask; but he entirely put an end to the custom of attending the parish churches, which had hitherto prevailed among them in spite of the bull of Pius V. absolving the subject from his allegiance to the queen. The Romanist laity would have remained the quiet obeyers of the laws, if the influence of the Jesuits and of the priests had not been exerted to render them disobedient and rebellious. Having succeeded in these great objects, and being in danger of apprehension through the vigilance of Burleigh, he returned to the Continent, and to the college at Rome, of which he was now made the superior; and in the year 1587, while the Armada was being fitted out for the destruction of the church and state of England, he went to Spain to encourage the invasion of England, to assert the title of the Spanish Infanta to the crown of Elizabeth, and to require the English students and priests in Spain to support the Spanish claim. He procured the expulsion of the English youths from the Jesuit colleges who refused to be employed against their country; and when the Armada, with its thumbscrews and other instruments of torture, had, by God's mercy towards us, totally failed, he endeavoured to form a Continental league against England, in favour of the queen of Scots. He attempted to induce the king of Spain to make another effort: and when that failed, he was no less indefatigable in endeavouring to excite rebellions in England, and to organize confederacies against his own country under the duke of Parma, the king of France, and the king of Spain. When the chief Romanist ecclesiastic in England, the archpresbyter of England, as the bishop of Rome styled him, Blackwell, had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy to James the First, father Parsons, as the prefect of the English

(1) July 5, 1575.

(2) "The Christian Directory" of Father Parsons, in one closely-printed thick octavo volume contains as perfect passages of devotion as "The Christian Year."

mission, deprived him of his office. He obtained a brief from Paul V. to deprive all priests who took the same oath. He increased the jealousy of the government against the papists. He prevented the possibility of union among the English, by rendering the more moderate of his own party hateful to the more zealous; while the common people, who abhorred the thought of popery, identified the moderate with the zealous. He obtained more influence over the members of his church than any ecclesiastic of his age; and the effects of that influence still remain in the institutions for the education of the partizans of Rome at Douay, St. Omers, Lisbon, Rome, and Spain; yielding a constant supply of agents for that schismatical and papistical intrusion into the dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which is impertinently called "the English mission."

Against the efforts of such men as father Parsons and his successors the English people not only opposed, with success, the laws of the state, the discipline of their church, the freedom of their institutions, and the intense love of truth which has ever characterised the Saxon race; but they opposed also the *one deep conviction which was principally enforced upon the public mind by the labours of John Foxe*, that the dominion and supremacy of Rome were alike fatal to liberty, religion, and the common happiness; that it always had persecuted, whenever it was able; and that it always would persecute, by punishing with bodily torments blameless opinions, or undoubted truths, if it again had the power to do so. While the labours of John Foxe, therefore, remained unassailed, the zealous Jesuit perceived that he must despair of succeeding in his endeavours to recommend the supremacy of Rome to the common people. The Continent was arming; the Armada was sailing;<sup>1</sup> but Foxe was read in the churches and in the houses of the people; and the voice of lamentation, mourning, and woe, which sounded from the

(1) May I subjoin here, for the admiration of the devoted friends of the Anglican Protestant Church, the beautiful and eloquent prayer which was offered in the royal chapel, and in English churches, when the Armada was preparing?—

"O Lord God, heavenly Father, the Lord of hosts, without whose providence nothing proceedeth, and without whose mercy nothing is saved; in whose power lie the heart of princes, and the end of all their actions; have mercy upon Thine afflicted church; and especially regard Thy servant Elizabeth, our most excellent queen: to whom Thy dispersed flock do fly in the anguish of their souls, and in the zeal of Thy truth. Behold! how the princes of the nations do band themselves against her, because she laboreth to purge Thy sanctuary, and that Thy holy church may live in security.

"Consider, O Lord, how long Thy servant hath laboured to them for peace: but how proudly they prepare themselves unto battail. Arise therefore, maintain Thine own cause; and judge Thou between her and her enemies. She seeketh not her own honour, but Thine; not the dominions of others, but a just defence of herself; not the shedding of Christian blood, but the saving of poor afflicted souls. Come down, therefore, come down, and deliver Thy people by her. To vanquish is all one with thee, by few or by many; by want or by wealth; by weakness or by strength. O! possess the hearts of our enemies with a fear of Thy servants. The cause is Thine; the enemies Thine; the afflicted Thine; the honour, victory, and triumph shall be Thine.

"Consider, Lord, the end of our enterprises. Be present with us in our armies. Terrify the hearts of our enemies, and make a joyful peace for Thy Christians.

"And now, since in this extreme necessity Thou hast put it into the heart of Thy servant, Deborah, to provide strength to withstand the pride of Sisera and his adherents, bless Thou all her forces, by sea and land. Grant all her people one heart, one mind, and one strength, to defend her person, her kingdom, and Thy true religion. Give unto all her council and captains wisdom, wariness, and courage, that they may speedily prevent the devices, and valiantly withstand the forces, of all our enemies, that the fame of Thy gospel may be spread unto the ends of the world. We crave this in Thy mercy, O heavenly Father, for the precious death of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ. Amen."—*Strype's Annals: Appendix to Book II., No. liv.*

May I add, too, the contrast to this prayer; those which were offered to God, and to the Virgin Mary, on board the fleet, for the success of the papal efforts against the heretics of England?—

Litanie et preces pro felici successu classis regis nostri Philippi cædebat Angliæ hereticos, 1588. fidei impugnatores. De mandato serenissimi principis cardinalis excedebat Antonius Riberius, 1588.

"*Versic.* Exurge Domine.—*Resp.* Et judica causam tuam. Kyrie, eleison. Christe, eleison. Kyrie, eleison. Christe, audi nos; Christe, exaudi nos, &c.—Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei Genetrix, ora pro nobis. Sancta Virgo Virginum, ora, &c. Sancte Michael, ora. Sancte Gabriel, ora. Sancte Raphael, ora. Omnes Sancti Angeli et Archangeli Dei, orate pro nobis. Omnes sancti Beatorum Spiritum ordines, orate. Sancte Joannes Baptista, ora pro nobis," &c.; and then naming each saint distinctly with the petition *Ora, &c.*; and so to the end of that part of their Litany. And then are proper Psalms appointed for each day in the week, beginning at Sunday; for which is Psalm iii. "Domine, quid multiplicati sunt, qui tribulant me! Multi insurgunt adversum me," &c.

Then follow certain versicles and responses, and after them some collects composed for the occasion; which were these:—

"Da, quæsumus, ecclesie tuæ, misericors Deus, ut Spiritu Sancto congregata, hostili nullatenus incursione turbetur.

scroll of that prophet, awakened alike the patriotism, the fears, the gratitude, the piety, and the sterner courage of the people. Foxe fanned the flame at home, which darted forth its fires of indignant bravery, and armed the nation both against the Spanish invaders and the papal traitor. When Parsons, therefore, perceived that every intrigue had failed—that the Armada was defeated—that plans of foreign invasion and of domestic treachery had proved alike abortive—he attempted, but too late, to destroy the reputation of the book which had so long excited the people to the love of antipapal freedom and antipapal truth. Parsons was already well known as an author, and was justly reckoned among the best writers of the age. He had published his “Discourse on the Reasons why Catholics should refuse to go to their Parish Churches;” his “Defence of the Mission into England;” and the “Christian Directory.” He had published also that book, which, from that time to the present, has rendered his name most familiar to the students of the political history of England, the “Conference of the Next Succession to the Crown of England.”<sup>1</sup> He now resolved to attack the ponderous volumes of John Foxe, to proceed through the whole work, and to undeceive the people, if he could prove the martyrologist to be in error. If it had been possible to have shaken the confidence of the English in the details given by Foxe, it would have been done by father Parsons. He had abundant opportunity to collect materials from among the surviving relations, friends, or enemies of the victims of the Marian persecutions. Talent, zeal, the command of the public attention, bitter hatred against the church and cause he had deemed it right to forsake,—all combined to render him the fittest person to test the “*veracity and fidelity*” of the martyrologist; and he has compiled a work from which nearly all succeeding writers against John Foxe have borrowed their chief materials. It is comprised in five volumes, written with great care; and it is essential to the completeness of this survey of the assailants of John Foxe to review the whole work of father Parsons. The subject indeed is exhausted, but I will proceed with the details of this principal attack on the martyrologist as briefly as possible.

The five volumes were published, with the licence of his superiors, in 1603. The slavery in which the papistical authors rejoiced did not allow them to obtain the privilege of publishing controversial works without permission. He did not, however, prefix his own name to the volumes. He had written

“Concede nos famulos tuos, quæsumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere, et gloriosa Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis intercessione, a præsentis libera tristitia, et æterna perfrui lætitia.

“Ecclesiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, preces placatus admitte; ut destructis adversitatibus et erroribus universis, secura tibi serviat libertate.

“Deus, omnium fidelium pastor et rector, famulum tuum N— (quem pastorem ecclesiæ tuæ præesse voluisti) propitius respice. Da ei, quæsumus, verbo et exemplo quibus præest proficere; ut ad vitam, una cum grege sibi credito, perveniat sempiternam.

“Quæsumus, Omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus Philippus, rex noster (qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula), virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa. Quibus decenter ornatus, et vitiorum monstra devitare et ad te (qui Via, Veritas, et Vita es) gratiosus valeat pervenire.

“Deus, qui conteris bella et impugnatores in te sperantium potentia tuæ defensionis expugnas; auxiliari famulis tuis implorantibus misericordiam tuam; ut hæreticorum et omnium inimicorum suorum feritate depressa, ineffabili te gratiarum actione laudemus.

“Deus noster, refugium et virtus adeo (? adesto or attende) piis ecclesiæ tuæ precibus, Auctor ipse pietatis. Et præsta, ut quod fideliter petimus, efficaciter consequamur.

“Hostium nostrorum, quæsumus, Domine, elide superbiam, et eorum contumaciam dexteræ tuæ virtute prosterne.

“Libera, quæsumus, Domine, a peccatis et hostibus tibi famulos supplicantes, ut, in sancta conversatione viventes, nullis afficiantur adversis.

“Protector noster, aspice, Deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum et hæreticorum defende periculis; ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti, liberis tibi mentibus serviant.

“Omnipotens sempiternæ Deus, mæstorum consolatio, laborantium fortitudo, perveniant ad te preces de quacunque tribulatione clamantium; ut omnes sibi in necessitatibus suis misericordiam tuam gaudent affuisse. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

“*Versic.* Exaudiat nos, Omnipotens et Misericors Dominus.

“*Resp.* Et custodiat nos semper.”—See Strype, ut antea, No. lii.

(1) Dodd denies that Parsons was the author of this work. It was compiled by cardinal Allen, Ingfield, and other papists. These committed their materials to Parsons, who prepared the book for the press.

or compiled, in 1594, the "Conference on the Succession of the Throne," under the feigned name of Doleman. In 1599 he published a reply to a treatise of Sir Francis Hastings, under the title of "A Temperate Wardword." He combined the feigned name and the allusion to this last-named treatise in his title-pages to the five volumes, and published them as the work of N. D., author of the Wardword. It is difficult to assign reasons for his doing so, as the name Parsons was as well known as Doleman. As to his attack on the "Acts and Monuments," it resembles that of other Romish assailants. *He does not discover*, as we might have expected, *errors in the facts or narratives of John Foxe*,—the point in which we are principally interested. He deals less with *facts* than with *opinions*. He takes for granted the certainty, infallibility, orthodoxy, antiquity, and undoubted truth of every opinion he has formed, and every conclusion at which he has arrived; and he freely expresses his no less undoubted conviction that all who differ with him in these conclusions are in damnable error. His work is compiled, therefore, against the opinions rather than against any discovered errors of the martyrologist; and Foxe is dealt with throughout, not according to his conclusions, not according to his researches, not according to his facts and narratives,—but according to his agreement with father Parsons.

The title to the first volume of Parsons is—"A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganism to Christian Religion; the First under the Apostles in the first age after Christ; the Second under Eleutherius and Lucius; the Third under Gregory the Great and King Ethelbert; divided into three parts, and dedicated to the Catholics of England, with a New Addition to the said Catholics on the News of the late Queen's Death, and succession of his Majesty (King James the First) to the Crown of England. By N. D., author of the Watchword." Dent. iv. 23 is quoted as the motto—"Inquire of antient tymes before you," &c. &c., or, as it is rendered in our translation, "Ask now of the days that are past, which were before you," &c. &c. It is the text which is usually quoted by those who would clothe in the language of the Scriptures their opinion that the fathers were wiser than the sons, in retaining opinions which the sons may be supposed anxious to reject. Foxe's name is not mentioned in the title-page.

The book opens with an account of the general contents of the treatise, which he divides into three parts, all of which he declares to be written against Foxe. The first part, concerning the three conversions, he informs us "was begun against Sir Francis Hastings, but it is enlarged against John Foxe his false 'Acts and Monuments.'"

The second part "searcheth out the beginning, state, and progress of the Protestant religion from age to age, and is against the whole course of John Foxe his said 'Acts and Monuments,' from Christ's tyme to this, especially against the former part thereof, from the primitive church downward to the tyme of king Henry the Eighth."

The third part "examineth more particularly the second volume of Foxe his 'Acts and Monuments,' wherein he treateth of new martyrs and confessors of the church, placed by him in an ecclesiastical calendar."

The whole of Parsons's five volumes, therefore, are expressly written against the work of John Foxe: with what success we shall now proceed to examine.

Vol. I.—He dedicates the first volume to the Catholics of England, meaning by the word "catholic" the *papal*, not the *antipapal*, *Christians of the country*; the true episcopal anti-arian Catholics. In this dedication he lauds their "loyal behaviour of duty towards their temporal prince in all worldly affairs." Yet he calls Elizabeth their "old persecutor," and expresses his hope, in an additional paper, that James would become a convert to papalism.

After a preface on the general subject of Christianity, he begins by stating, that the scope of the work is to show that, upon three several occasions, England has received the Christian faith from Rome; first, under the Apostles; secondly, under Eleutherius; and thirdly, under Gregory; and that the faith received at each period was identically the same as that of modern Rome.<sup>1</sup> The *argument* is this. St. Peter came to Rome in the third year of the reign of Claudius; Claudius went to Britain; there *probably* were many Christians at Rome at this time; it is *probable* that some of them would go with him into Britain. Christianity would necessarily extend in England in proportion with its extension in Rome. At page 14, he conjectures that St. Peter himself may have preached here.

This is the amount of his proof, upon which we need not waste many words; for, admitting that all his conjectures, as to the fact that some Christians came from Rome to Britain, were undoubtedly true, as I believe they were, we have not the shadow of a proof that they taught any other doctrines than those which the antipapal Church of England teaches. This is not the place to discuss the question; yet I shall observe here, that even Baronius, A.D. 35 (§ 5), quotes a MS. in the Vatican, which says that Joseph of Arimathea founded our church. Gildas says that the light of Christianity reached us “tempore summo Tiberii Cæsaris.” Now, Tiberius died 17 cal. April A.D. 37 (Sueton. in Tiber. cap. lxxiii.); and Baronius fixes the origin of the Church of Rome 15 cal. Feb. A.D. 45 (§ 1). The Church of Christ, therefore, in England, is the elder sister of the Church of Christ in Rome, according to the very best papal, not Protestant, authority.

Parsons then enters upon a long discussion, the object of which is to prove that the Britons did not at the beginning differ from the Romans in the celebration of Easter, but that this error arose at a comparatively late period of their history. It is unnecessary to follow him through all this.

The second part begins with an account of the conversion under Lucius by pope Eleutherius. The whole history is mysterious. Its truth depends upon the authority of Gildas. From him it is adopted by Beda. Ussher has already shown the chronological difficulties with which it is beset, and his work should be consulted. It seems strange that, if Lucius had Roman teachers, and conformed to the Church of Rome, there should have been such a prejudice in the minds of the British bishops against Augustine, and that there should have been such striking differences in doctrine and discipline. The speech of Colman<sup>2</sup> gives us a key to the whole, by referring the origin of the British mode of celebrating Easter to St. John. From Ephesus it came to Gaul, and from Gaul to Britain.

All the subsequent discussion upon this question may be safely omitted, for we cannot argue upon the doctrines of Lucius when we have no documents whereon to rest a single opinion; though Foxe is called the “jangling Foxe”<sup>3</sup> for rejecting the supposed tradition.

The conversion under St. Augustine follows,<sup>4</sup> and it is the most important discussion of all, so far as Foxe is concerned. At the outset it must be admitted that Augustine and Gregory have scarcely had justice done them by Foxe. He seems to have been afraid of them. It is very important for us to admit the authority of Gregory, since he is a highly valuable witness against Rome as she is now. Yet Parsons admits<sup>5</sup> that Foxe sometimes did Augustine justice. On the next page he is displeased with Foxe’s impartiality in first praising what he considered a miracle, and then finding fault with his hauteur towards the British bishops. Yet this is the true way to estimate character; Foxe neither blindly praised nor blindly censured.

(1) Page 12.

(4) Page 151.

(2) See Beda, iii. 25.

(5) Page 156.

(3) Page 130.

I may add here, in reference to the miracle mentioned by Beda (and admitted by Foxe), that the person on whom Augustine performed it was an Angle; that the proposed proof of the superior claim of Augustine was suggested by Augustine himself;<sup>1</sup> and that the Britons were unwilling to have their orthodoxy tested by such a criterion. If all Augustine's miracles were of a similarly doubtful character, they do not make out a strong case for him.

At page 206, Parsons enters upon his proof that we all owe our religion to Rome, through Augustine. Even if this were true, it proves nothing: but it is not true; for he carefully conceals the fact that, excepting Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, the whole of England was converted by the Scottish monks, who were essentially the same in doctrine and discipline as the British. There is also another error which runs through the whole argument; it is this—he argues for the truth of modern Romanism from the truth of primitive Christianity. (See pages 216, 217, &c.) Foxe is abused in every page for affirming an opposite opinion; but his facts are not disputed.

Parsons now passes rapidly over the history of England from Augustine to William the Conqueror, pausing only to notice the liberality of Canute in the building of monasteries, &c. He forgot to mention that Canute's bad title made him glad to have the aid of the clergy. At the beginning of his reign he had seen bishops and abbots in the field of battle against him, and he knew their influence too well to despise it. Nor do we hear anything of the liberties which Canute took with the clergy in legislating for them in spiritual matters, such as celibacy, fasts, and festivals, &c.

The remainder of the volume is a general outline of what is afterwards to be discussed in detail. The only thing which appears to be worthy of notice is the quotation made from Riche's speech,<sup>2</sup> which is said to prove that "the heart of the people was wholly against these innovations in religion, at the commencement of the Reformation." If the quotation and inference are correct, we may set against them the better testimony of Tunstall, in his letter to cardinal Pole, where he says that the body of the English nation was weary of the papal yoke. Yet even in this very page, where the opinion of Foxe is condemned, he is quoted as an authority, whose "*veracity and fidelity*" may be depended upon, when he relates the facts of history.

Vol. II.—We come to volume the second. The arrangement of Parsons's materials is here somewhat confused. He professes to inquire where the Protestant church was up to the time of Henry VIII. The volume exhibits the usual assumptions, false premises, false conclusions, &c. which the Romanists always employ when treating this question.

In page 277, he discusses the importance and value of the apostolical succession, against the notions of Foxe and others, on the invisibility and visibility of the church. As we by God's mercy have retained the succession, without its errors, it is unnecessary to enter upon the question, which, as far as Foxe and Parsons are concerned, is rather one of metaphysics than theology.

Parsons reasons absurdly<sup>3</sup> about the relative bulk of the different parts of Foxe's history. His history is of course fullest upon those passages respecting which he had the fullest information.

The next hundred pages are taken up in an attempt to show that the faith generally professed in Europe (not in England particularly, for Parsons owns that there are no documents for this) was the same as the modern Romish doctrine. This belongs to the general question between the two churches, and is not concerned with Foxe.

At page 352, Parsons begins with Gregory and Augustine; and at page 362 he proceeds to test Foxe's historical accuracy, by examining his account

(1) See Hist. Eccl. p. 100.

(2) Page 259.

(3) Page 300.

of the proceedings of one council, and detects two errors at the outset; one in the date, A.D. 680, instead of 673, and another in the place—Thetford instead of Hertford. In the first, Foxe is certainly wrong; he probably confounded the Council of Hertford with that of Hatfield, which last was held A.D. 680; in the second it is doubtful, for the place is not exactly known, and “Herutford,” as written in the MS., might have been as like “Thetford” as “Hertford;” and Henry of Huntingdon says “Thetford.”

Here I meet with the first charge of any real importance against Foxe. *It is the accusation of a wilful falsehood.* The case is this:—

The Council of Whitby had decreed that Easter should be observed in England in the manner adopted in the Church of Rome. The Council of Thetford, or Hertford, or Herutford, confirms that decision. Easter-day was commanded to be the first Sunday after the fourteenth day of the new moon, in the first month of the year. The words of Beda<sup>1</sup> are—“*Ut sanctum diem Paschæ in commune omnes servenus dominica post quartam decimam lunam mensis primi.*” Foxe relates all the decisions of the council in an abridged form. Parsons accuses him of so translating the above words of Beda, as to lead his readers to believe that the council decided against the Roman custom of keeping Easter; thereby to justify the Oriental error. “*Foxe,*” says Parsons, “*without shame or conscience, putteth in, or putteth out, what he thought best, to make these fathers speak in favour of a condemned heresie.*”<sup>2</sup> This is a serious charge. Let us first extract the very words of Foxe. The decree of the council was, says Foxe,<sup>3</sup>—“*That Easter-day should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole realm, upon one certain day, videlicet prima. 14 luna mensis primi.*”

The accusation of Parsons is, that “Foxe leaves out the word ‘dominica;’ and then for ‘post quartam decimam lunam,’ written at large in Beda, he putteth in ‘prima 14 luna,’ short, in numbers only, to make it more obscure, adding ‘prima’ of his own; and putting out ‘post’ from the words of the council, thereby to make the sense more clear in favour of the heresy. For that *prima 14 luna mensis primi*, the words do signifie the fourteenth day of the first moone of March expressly. And moreouer, he addeth of his owne these words, *upon one certayne day*, which the decree hath not. Meaninge thereby that this 14 day must be obserued with such *certainty* as it may not be altered or differred to any Sunday; but must be obserued as an immouable feast.”<sup>4</sup>

I accept these remarks of Parsons as a proof of his anxious desire to find some undoubted inaccuracy in Foxe; and of the difficulty of his doing so. Foxe has not really falsified Beda. When he says “upon one certain day,” he means by “day” *day of the week*, or “*feria;*” and by putting a full stop after “prima” he meant to refer to “*feria,*” and “*feria prima*” is the same as “*dominica.*” But this was the gist of the dispute between the Asiatics and the Romans. The Oriental opinion respecting Easter-day was, that it might fall on *any day of the week*, provided only that it was observed on the third day (post 14 lunam primi mensis) after the fourteenth day of the moon in the appointed month. The Romans observed Easter-day on the *Sunday*, post 14 lunam primi mensis. So far, then, from doing what Parsons insinuates, Foxe, in selecting for mention that Easter-day was to be always kept on a *Sunday*, actually took pains to make it clear that the council enforced the Roman usage. No doubt “14 luna” is an inaccuracy for “post 14 lunam,” but it was a mere slip of the pen, as neither party kept Easter-day on the fourteenth day of the moon, but *after* it. To say that writing “14” instead of “quartam decimam” obscures the matter, is sheer nonsense. *Parsons’s allegation is therefore an indefensible mistake.*

(1) Stevenson’s Beda, vol. i. p. 449.

(2) Parsons, vol. ii. p. 365.

(3) Vol. i. p. 356.

(4) Parsons, vol. ii. p. 366.



In page 367, we are presented with what Parsons calls one of Foxe's garbled quotations. Foxe is quoting the proceedings of the same council, on the subject of the celibacy of the clergy. The council decided that no man should put away his wife, but for the gospel reasons; and if he did even this, if he wished to be considered a more perfect Christian, he would not take another. Foxe omits the latter part of the decision of the council. He might otherwise have been led into the discussion of the doctrine of celibate perfection so curiously maintained by Rome; for the words of the council were, "si Christianus esse recte voluerit nulli alteri jungetur," &c. Here is no garbled quotation. He quoted sufficiently for his purpose, and proceeded to other matters.

In page 370, Parsons is angry with Foxe for omitting the proceedings of another synod. It might have been inserted for aught of Romanism that it favours.

Now page follows after page, of most indefinite and vague matter respecting the faith of the Church of England. A few quotations from contemporary authors would have been worth all this declamation. He goes on without alluding to anything which tells against the popedom; nothing of William's answer to the pope, nothing of Henry II., nothing of Grostete, nothing of Edward I. nor Edward III. All are avoided; and nothing is said to invalidate Foxe.

In page 487, we have Wyclif's erroneous doctrines carefully pointed out, but nothing is said on those errors in faith and practice of the Church of Rome which Wyclif censured.

In page 547, Parsons commences his survey of the reign of Henry VIII. Parsons here attempts to prove the inconsistency of Foxe in first calling Henry a Reformer, and then showing that he persecuted the Reformers. Both facts are true. He was a Reformer, because *he threw off the papal yoke*; and yet he was not a Reformer, for he *retained all the doctrines of Rome*, excepting some very important ones respecting the use of the Scriptures.

In page 576, there is the same matter as we shall find in Harpsfield about Colyns, Cowbridge, Erasmus, Mirandula, &c.; and the remainder of the volume is a general history of the times. He does not attempt to deny one single martyrdom mentioned by Foxe, nor to show that in any one statement connected with those cruelties he has departed from the truth; and this is the only question which is in the least degree interesting to the modern reader.

Vol. III.—We are brought to the Third Volume. The general object of the whole of this volume is to prove, that those individuals whom Foxe has inserted in his calendar as martyrs (witnesses of the truth) were, in reality, executed either for opinions which *we* would reject as heretical, or for treason, or for some crime against the government of the land. I have already commented on the use of the word "martyr." Foxe calls Wyclif a martyr. In the usual acceptance of the word, the Reformer was not so; he was a confessor. Yet he may be justly called a martyr.

The temper with which this volume is written will appear from a few extracts. On the account of John Tudson, whose martyrdom is placed by Foxe in his calendar on the 14th of January, Parsons observes,—“John Tudson, falling to be a gospeller, was so obstinate and arrogant as the *bishop of London was forced at length to condemn and burne him*, under queen Mary.” And of another poor victim he says,—“Being obstinate in divers hereticall opinions, but especially about the sacrament of the altar, he was burnt also for the same, in Smithfield, after many means first used to reclayne him.” And again,—“A poor labouringe man, borne at Histon, . . . married at London, and there becoming a gospeller, fell to be so forward in

sowing and defending Calvinian opinions, as lastly he was burnt for the same, in Smithfield." And again, we read of "a poor woman burned at Canterbury, under queen Mary;" the next were "two wilfull poore women, also burned at Canterbury." Of other victims, "the first was an artificer, the second a poore ignorant woman, and burned for like opinions with the former." And so we might go on, page after page, noticing the poor ignorant men and women put to death. No fact recorded by Foxe is denied. The victims are ridiculed and despised, because they were poor, vulgar, mean, and low. The wretched bigot could not see, that many whom the world most scorns, God most honours; many whom the world most hates, Christ most loves.<sup>1</sup> See especially, at the end of the "Foxonian Calendar" in this volume, a notice of the lowly condition of these witnesses, so put as to excite contempt or ridicule.

Parsons now sets about justifying these enormities, and this he does by laying down two propositions, viz.—

1. It was necessary justice, and no cruelty, to punish such wilful and malignant people.

2. Constancy in a "sectary" is not constancy, but pertinacity.

He then proceeds to justify the second of these positions, by proving that it was the theory of the fathers; and to do this he quotes several passages from their writings. All is penned on the radical error of assuming that the Romanists are the church, and the Protestants are without (*extra*) the church.

That Foxe was faultless we are not concerned to maintain. Thus, he did not (in my opinion) do justice to More, to say that he well deserved his bloody end. It was not judicious to compare Tyndale and Frith to St. Paul and Timothy. Yet I do not see that Parsons brings any proof of inaccuracy, still less of fraud, against Foxe; the differences are the differences of the Churches of Rome and England; and here Foxe may be permitted to have his opinion as well as Parsons. At page 524 he accuses Foxe of "sundry kinds of falsehood and untrue dealing, and divers kinds also of lies, some historical, some doctrinal, and other like." We have a specimen of the nature of these at p. 527, such as "the following 4 lies about justification, 2 about hope and charity, 10 about good works by the pope's law, 3 about freewill and good works, etc." In all these, the only "lie" consists in a differing from the doctrines of Rome. The "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are still unimpeached; and there are no other observations on the martyrologist worthy of notice till we may close the volume.

Vol. IV.—The Fourth Volume proceeds with the continuation of the examination of Foxe's "Calendar," with that of the Church of Rome in juxtaposition, from July to December inclusive. Prefixed is "The Epistle Dedicatory to the glorious Company of English Saints in Heaven," who are supposed to be dreadfully scandalized by the bad company into which Foxe has brought them. They are supposed also to have attained heaven by "fasting, watching, large prayer, lying on the ground, and other such chastisements;" but not one word on the merits of our Saviour. On the next page there is a sneer at *faith*.<sup>2</sup>

The "Calendar" itself goes on as before; there are no charges of any inaccuracy brought against Foxe, excepting such as having written *Brenbridge* instead of *Brenbricke* (31 July); Robert Purcas instead of William Purcas (20 August).<sup>3</sup> This is satisfactory as showing how little could be corrected, and that nothing could be denied. Parsons is not accurate; *e.g.* he says that Ridley was a native of Northamptonshire.

(1) 1 Cor. i. 26—28.

(2) See also pages 207 and 370.

(3) In my observations on Harpsfield, I have collected some of these alleged inaccuracies.

Parsons takes care to repeat the caution to the reader, guarding him against sympathising with these poor men and women thus put to death: he says that it was necessary justice and no cruelty, and further, that they were influenced by *pertinacity*, not *constancy*.

I find very little which requires notice after this, excepting the mode in which Parsons deals with the history of Marbeck. Parsons has the candour to admit that historians "may have many false informations." He goes on to say that he does not often bring accusations against Foxe upon matters of *fact*, (would he have hesitated had he been able?) but is most indignant about his lies, "which lyes cannot any wayes be excused, whereof you shall see above 120 in one chapter afterwards (see page 412), taken out of less than three leaves of his 'Acts and Monuments,' and thereby perceive the credit that may be given to John Foxe his narrations." These "*lies*" are those differences on points of doctrine which have been already noticed.

In page 362, he commences a long disquisition upon the power, the right, and the obligation of punishing heresy with the sword; and affirms, that this sword is in the church. Parsons professes, indeed, to have been moved with compassion for the sufferers, but he suppressed the feeling as improper. If the question be raised at all, it is only in reference to the *expediency* of the case; and this expediency is questioned *only* from the want of success of the persecutions under Mary. His interpretation of the parable of the tares is the necessity of caution in rooting up the heresies, which are the tares. This is the most important passage in the whole treatise. His interpretation is defended from Augustine.

In page 397, Parsons attributes the supposed errors of Foxe to want of judgment, or to mental weakness, rather than to malice; and mentions some infirmities of mind to which the martyrologist was subject, such as that he imagined himself to be glass, or earthenware, or a bird,—circumstances which proved his brain to be diseased. These things are not mentioned by Foxe's other biographers, and we have now no means of ascertaining their truth. In page 400, speaking of Foxe's errors, he says that many of them have already been specified (we have seen how many!); and that further proof is given of his errors in the XIXth chapter. This chapter contains the above-mentioned charge, that Foxe has told one hundred and twenty lies in three pages. These lies, we have seen, are not perversions of facts, but alleged misstatements of doctrines. All the charges of Parsons are equally vague and unfounded.

In pages 400 and 403, are some passages worthy of remark, as showing the result of Foxe's work, which would appear to have been great. At page 401, the fact of its being placed in the churches is mentioned. Parsons attributes the success of the book to the variety of the history itself,—the plagues of the martyrdoms,—the hypocrisy of the writer, which is clothed in seeming frankness,—the speeches attributed to the martyrs,—the greatness of the book,—and the placing it in the churches. He assures us, that this miserable man, John Foxe, and his abettors, will have to yield a strait and heavy account to their Redeemer, at the most dreadful "accounting day," for the infinite spiritual hurt which they have rendered to the souls of their countrymen. He assures us (page 404) that one effect of Foxe's book is to make men have no religion at all; while in page 405 he informs us that this Foxden book is only fit to make madmen of fools, and heretics of ignorant people; and he exhorts his countrymen to lose no more time in reading his vain pages. This advice his poor foolish countrymen have not hitherto followed. One reason may have been, that it was then submitted to them by the papists. *The same advice has been lately enforced upon them by their brother Protestants, who hate the name by which the public law describes them, and prefer*

the opinions of Robert Parsons to those of John Foxe. I make no remarks on the coarse language which the Jesuit has sometimes adopted; only commending it to the notice of the Churtons and Tylers, who find Foxe's language so "painful." And thus we close the fourth volume.

Vol. V.—The Fifth Volume of Parsons is occupied solely with an account of the disputations mentioned by Foxe as having taken place between the Romanists and the Reformers. According to Parsons, the former are always right and the latter always wrong. On these I shall only observe, that, in page 17, Parsons could get no other copies of these disputations besides those preserved by Foxe: and this very fact proves to us the great value of Foxe's work as a storehouse of materials. The whole volume is entirely dogmatical and polemical, having nothing to do with Foxe. It requires no special notice. And so the whole subject ends. No great facts are overthrown. The "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are still unimpeached; and we may justly believe, that if the attack of Parsons, his inveterate and learned contemporary, has failed to depreciate his work, they will still remain, not only unimpeached, but absolutely unimpeachable.

With respect to the character of Robert Parsons, I have assigned to him the credit of high motive and good intentions. I am not ignorant that pope Clement himself is said to have called him—a knave; the Jesuit Fitzherbert—a hypocrite; the secular priests—the worst of villains;<sup>1</sup> and that the *Quarterly Reviewer*,<sup>2</sup> Southey,<sup>3</sup> the Protestant writers generally, and even the greater number of the papal authors,<sup>4</sup> have deemed him to be unworthy of approbation. I believe that *he was sincerely convinced that he was doing God service by every act of treason which he committed against his native country and against the Church of England.* I am convinced that he believed the truth of the passage I have already quoted from his work on Foxe; that he believed in the damnation of Foxe and of his abettors; and that he thought that he should be the cause of saving many souls from everlasting perdition, if he could have surrendered England to Spain, rendered the Armada successful, and made his native country a province to the King of Spain, and its church a tributary to the bishop of Rome. The same principles have uniformly led to the same results. The more zealous adherents to the Church of Rome, who always obtain the ascendancy over their more quiescent brethren when controversial excitement is greatest, have ever regarded their obedience to the laws of God as identified with their own submission to the foreign bishop; and they have as uniformly believed that it is no less their bounden duty to convert their countrymen to the same opinion, and to reduce them to the same yoke. They have been convinced, with Parsons, of the truth of the papal maxim,<sup>5</sup> that it is necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome. They believe, with father Parsons, that the Council of Trent, in its catechism, as it is still taught at Maynooth, in Spain, and by Dens, speaks but the truth, when it declares that heretics and schismatics are still under the jurisdiction of the church. The belief in these and similar principles sent the Armada against England, and excited numerous rebellions and insurrections in England and Ireland from the reign of Elizabeth to the reign of George III. Such belief on the part of the papists demands, even to this hour, on the part of the Protestants, the most vigilant and persevering jealousy against the holiest, the best, most pious, and worthiest Romanist. Even now, in our own day, language has been used respecting the propriety of appealing to the foreigner,—of withholding assist-

(1) Robert, Abbot. *Antilog.* fol. 14, 2, ap. the *Life of Father Parsons*, in Foulis's *History of Popish Treasons*, Let. x. chap. 1, p. 506.

(2) Vol. xxxiii. pp. 7, 8, 16, 21, 32, &c.

(3) *Vindiciæ Eccles. Anglic.* I think,

(4) See Dodd, Chalmers, the references in Foulis's, and the Lansdowne MSS. 983, fol. 165.

(5) *Bonif. Extrav. lib. i. Tit. I. de Major. et Obedientia.*

ance, in the event of a war, from our own sovereign,—and of bringing England once more under the yoke of Rome,—language which I will not repeat, as I wish to say nothing which may appear to relate to the peculiar divisions of the day in which we live; but if Rome does not, will not change,—if the same principles, which our fathers believed to be the “worst of superstitions and the heaviest of all God’s judgments,”<sup>1</sup> are continued,—if the worst maxims of the ancient canon laws are still taught,—if the general conviction be true, that a class of zealous, enterprising partizans are ever actively employed, secretly, yet perseveringly, to imbue the minds of all whom they can influence with the doctrines in question;—if these things are so, then let England beware, lest other domestic enemies be found who shall imitate the example of the Jesuit Parsons, and betray their country to a foreigner, to please God and to extend the Church of Christ. *If Rome does not, and will not, change* the principles on which this man acted; and if similar religious principles, always, in the same circumstances, produce the same effects; then the experience of the past requires us to continue our ancient jealousy,—to beware of popery,—and to value, next to the Holy Scriptures and the sacred Liturgy of our Protestant Episcopal Church itself, those writers who paint in their proper colours the consequences of the adoption of the principles of papistry. *If Rome does not, and will not, change*, every day and every hour deepens the conviction, that jealousy of Rome is still a duty; and the study, therefore, of the volumes of John Foxe, and of all who, like him, enforce the evil consequences of the dominion of Rome among us, is still both a duty and a privilege.

#### 4. NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD,

the learned Greek professor at Oxford, in the reign of Mary; archdeacon of Canterbury; brother of Bonner’s chaplain; one of the defenders of the papal cause in the Conference held at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth; but more especially distinguished for his knowledge of the canon and civil law; is the last whom I shall mention among the assailants of the “*veracity and fidelity*” of the martyrologist. His zeal and bitterness against Foxe were equal to his learning.<sup>2</sup> He refused, at the accession of Elizabeth, to comply with the queen’s injunctions, and was deprived of all his preferments: he was committed to the Tower, where he remained twenty years, and died in 1583. Dodd assigns no reason for his imprisonment.<sup>3</sup> He would have us to infer that it was the result of the cruelty or caprice of the queen. Chalmers tells us that his zeal for popery occasioned the loss of his appointments; and that he appears to have been afterwards imprisoned. Chalmers,<sup>4</sup> like Dodd, assigns no cause for his punishment. Fuller says he was imprisoned for denying the queen’s supremacy.<sup>5</sup> This does not, however, seem to be a sufficient cause; as many denied the supremacy who were not molested for their opinions. The mystery appears to be solved by a passage from the Lansdowne MSS. We there find, among the notes and additions to Anthony Wood’s memoranda on Harpsfield, a letter from the Council to Sir Thomas Fynch, and George Maye,

(1) Milton.

(2) “He was,” says Leland, “Atticæ linguæ interpres fidelis, disertus, aptus,” etc. etc. ap. Dodd, vol. ii. p. 63. Brussels edition, folio. I have not seen the new edition of Dodd.

(3) Dodd, vol. ii. p. 63.

(4) Biog. Dict. vol. xvii. p. 158.

(5) “Nicholas Harpsfield,” says Fuller, “bred first in Worcester school, then in New College in Oxford, where he proceeded Doctor of Law, and afterwards became archdeacon of Canterbury. Under king Edward VI. he banished himself; under queen Mary he returned, and was advanced; and under queen Elizabeth imprisoned for denying her supremacy. Yet such was his milde usage in restraint, that he had the opportunity to write much therein, and among the rest his Ecclesiastical History, no less learnedly than painfully performed; and abating his partiality to his own interest, well deserving of posterity. He died at London, in prison, after twenty years’ restraint, leaving behind him the general reputation of a religious man.”—Fuller’s Church History, xvi. cent. book 9, p. 143.

one of the aldermen of Canterbury, that Harpsfield was guilty of disorderly and seditious conduct. We may therefore justly infer that it was on this account Harpsfield was apprehended and committed to the Tower; for the queen was certainly never guilty of any unnecessary harshness; and she desired, especially at the beginning of her reign, to conciliate and not to irritate the papists.<sup>1</sup> While he was in prison he wrote the celebrated Six Dialogues against the Reformation and the Reformers generally. The first five were written principally against the "Magdeburg Centuriators." The sixth was chiefly directed against Foxe. Harpsfield was imprisoned soon after the queen's accession, in the beginning of 1559. Elizabeth came to the throne on the 17th of November, 1558. "The Magdeburg Centuriators" appeared very early in the reign of Elizabeth; and one of the first copies, therefore, must have been conveyed to Harpsfield in the Tower, together with the first edition of Foxe. We have no means of ascertaining what number of books were collected by the prisoners for religion in the Tower at this time; and what portion of the references, therefore, were made from memory, or from inspection: but the work is a wonderful production, under such circumstances. It is, indeed, possible that some part of it was compiled by the editor, Alan Cope, under whose name it was published<sup>2</sup> at Antwerp in 1566, and whose name, as editor, is in the title-page. At the end of the book<sup>3</sup> are printed ten large Roman capitals; they are—

A. H. L. N. H. E. V. E. A. C.

They are thus interpreted:—Auctor Hujus Libri Nicholaus Harpsfeldus, Edidit Vero Eum Alanus Copus.<sup>4</sup> It does not appear that the suppression of

(1) Notes of additions and corrections to Mr. A. Wood on Nicolas Harpsfield, Archdeac. of Cant. deprived, who died in 1583.

1498. 13 Cal. Maii. Bulla Alexandri Papæ concedens Nicolao Harpsfeld, rectori ecclie Ashrengue Reignesash in dioc. Exon. ut duo alia beneficia quæcumque cum ecclia prædictâ tenere possit. (Autogr. penes Decan. et Capit. Cant.)

1554. 31 Martii. Nicolaus Harpsfeld institutus ad archidiaconatum Cant. per destitutionem Edmundi Cranmer, clericus conjugati.

1554. 27 Apr. Nic. Harpsfeld coll. ad. preb. de Harleston per deprivationem Johis Hodgkins episc. Bedford; qui denuo restitutus obiit ante 7 Jul. 1560. (Reg. Boner.)

1554. 29 Apr. Nich. Harpsfeld adm. ad eccl. de Laingdon cum capella de Basildon com. Essex. per deprivat. Johis Hodgkyns, episc. Bed.

1554. 14 Maii. Magr. Johes Harpsfeld, S. T. P. coll. ad. eccl. de Laingdon. per resign. Nichi. Harpsfeld, LL.D.

1558. 28 Octob. (Reg. Pole 31.) Mag. Nich. Harpsfeld, LL.D. factus est officialis curie Cant. literis Reginaldi Poli, Cant. Arepi, et decanus de Arcubus literis ejusdem sub. ead. data.

1555. 23 Maii. Nic. Harpsfeld adm. ad eccl. de Saltwood vac. per deprivat. Robti Watson clericus conjugati.

1558—9. Jan. 29. 1 Eliz. At opening of the convocation Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeac. of Cant. chosen a prolocutor. (Parker, Synodalia MS.)

xi Feb. 1558—9. A letter from the council to Sir Tho. Fynch and George Maye, one of the aldermen of Cant. that where the lords are informed that Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Cant. hath used himself of late very disorderly in stirring the people, as much as in him lyeth, to sedition: and that it is also reported by some of the servants of the college in Christ Ch. Cant. that religion could not nor should not be altered; they are to examine these matters.

1 R. apud Westmon. 2 Apr. reg. 1, 1554. Nicolaus Harpsfeld, clericus, in legibus licentiatius, habet literas reginæ Mariæ de præsentatione ad archidiaconatum Cant. (Rymer, xv. 381.)

1557. 24 Martii. D. Arepus contulit magro. Nicho. Harpsfeld, LL.D. eccliam de Bishopsbourne Cant. dioc. vac. per mort. dni. Rici Thornden, nuper episc. suffragan.

1558. 1 Nov. Arepus contulit magro. Nicho. Harpsfeld, LL.D. canonicum et preb. in ecclia Xti, Cant. quos magister Ricus Parkhurst dudum habuit. (Reg. Pole Cant.)—Lansdowne MSS. 982, p. 37.

(2) The title of the book is—"Dialogi Sex contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticæ Vitæ, Sanctorum, sacram Imaginum Oppugnatores, et Pseudo-martyres:—

"In quibus, præterquam quod nonnulla, quæ alii hæctenus vel attigerunt leviter, vel penitus omiserunt, paullo uberius et plenius explicantur; Centuriatorum etiam Magdeburgensium, auctorum Apologiæ Anglicanæ, pseudo-martyrologorum nostri temporis, maxime vero Johannis Foxi, et aliorum, qui adulterino evangelio nomina dederunt, varis fraudes, putidæ calumniæ, et insignia in historiis Ecclesiæ contaminandis mendacia deteguntur:—

"Nunc primum ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam et catholicæ religionis confirmationem ab *Alano Copo Anglo* editi, cum triplici indice, primo auctorum, altero capitum, tertio rerum et verborum. Psalm xxvii.: 'Unum petii a Domino, hoc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ: ut videam voluntatem Domini, et visitem templum ejus.'

"Antverpiæ, ex officinâ Christophori Plantini. MD.LXVI. Cum privilegio."

(3) Page 1002.

(4) In the beautiful copy of Harpsfield now in my possession, in the handwriting of some former owner, apparently contemporary with the publication of the book, the letters are thus interpreted:—"Auctor hujus libri, Nicolaus Harpsfeldus, episcopus Vintoniensis electus, archidiaconus Cantuariensis."

the name of the author prevented the general knowledge of the fact that Harpsfield was its writer. A letter is still extant among the Harleian manuscripts from Laurence Humphrey to Foxe, informing him of the publication of the book; in which he mentions Alan Cope's name, but not that of Harpsfield.<sup>1</sup>

Foxe knew that the work was written by Harpsfield, for he entitles a part of his reply to the Dialogues "A Defence of the Lord Cobham against Nicholas Harpsfield, set out under the name of Alanus Copus."<sup>2</sup> As this work was printed very soon after the publication of the Martyrology, by the bitter enemies of its author, while the contemporary witnesses of the principal matters which are related by Foxe were still alive, it is, I think, evident that the zeal, activity, rage, and hatred of the papal party would have collected any facts which would have destroyed the reputation of the work. The language of Harpsfield against Foxe is everywhere most abusive. The "Acts and Monuments" are said to abound in blasphemies and lies. The blasphemies are the antipapal propositions. The lies are the reports of the courage, constancy, sufferings, and testimony of the papal victims against the faith and discipline of Rome.<sup>3</sup> I shall go through the whole dialogue, by giving first the abstracts of the forty-six sections of which it consists, and then by considering the principal charges which he alleges against the accuracy of the narratives of the martyrologist. Foxe deeply studied the pages of Harpsfield, and replied to his chief accusations. It will be seen that the result of our examination of the charges of Harpsfield, the more immediate contemporary and severest enemy of Foxe, will afford us the last and most triumphant reply to all the attempts to depreciate the value of his pages. Whoever will take the trouble to read Harpsfield, will find that he is very diffuse and indefinite, as well as abusive, and that his indefiniteness renders it very difficult to meet his objections. Vague and general expressions, accusing the author of lying, blasphemy, misrepresentation, injustice, and other literary crimes, proves only the hatred or anger of the writer who uses them, unless they are supported by specific facts and instances. The survey, therefore, of the table of the contents of his sections, and the consideration of the particular circumstances to which he may allude to prove their truth, will enable us to decide whether

(1) "Salve, mi Foxe," says Humphrey, "in Christo fratre et servatore nostro. Alanus Copus quidam Magdalenensis, cum nos Magdalenenses non lacessitus lacerat, tum libro dentato satis, insulso tamen, mortuos inquisitive persequitur. Ille *μάρτυρομαχεσθαι* egregie suis partibus functus est: tuum est nunc vicissim te præstare *μάρτυρ-μάρτυρα* et fortem et aculeatum, ne quis deinceps audeat mordere mortuos, et sanctorum cineres turbare. Moverunt et alii hanc Cam-rianam, cum omnibus undique aucto-ri scriptores Martyrologium tuum legendam mendacem et sterquilinum fetidum appellent. Sic indices cres-cunt animi adversariorum; sic ubique sævit per suos satellites Satan; quem ô si Christus spuma oris sui tandem aliter conterat. Nostre res quo in statu sunt, in quo lubrico et scopuloso loco versantur, non ignoras, audis, vides, ingemiscis: quibus autem modis tanta miseriæ sublevari possint, quomodo tot malis salutaris medicina adhiberi queat,—non rep-rio, non invenio, nescio. Tu si quid nosti, communi-a: ne desis causæ bonæ, officio tuo, laboranti ecclesiæ. Si quid Ducis Norfol. literæ, opera, gratia, auctoritas, valere possunt, age effice, ut vel scribat ad suos serio et sæpe, vel præsens cum aliis instet, urgeat. Miseret me fratrum: aliorum, qui summi et priui esse volunt, pudet.

"Dux, cum essem Norwici, longæ et prolixæ pollicitus est omnia. Dominus sic illi dixit, sic regat et flectat alios, ut, congruentibus animis, de studiis in causam honestissimam sed deploratissimam incumbant. Ultimum et præstantissimum refugium est adrens ad Deum hominum bonorum compræ-catio pro Reginâ serenissimâ, pro consiliariis honoratissimis, pro episcopis, pro ecclesiâ. Tu, mi Foxe, ora, intercede, clama, ac vale in Domino, qui tuos omnes labores sanctificet ac fortunet, uxorem et liberos conservet.

"T. Totus LAURE. HUMFREDUS.

"Angliæ, ex ædibus D. Warcoppæ piæ et lectissimæ viduæ. Mali 20."

—Harl. MSS. 416, fol. 177.

(2) Vol. i. p. 647; vol. iii. p. 348, new edit.

(3) I select one specimen of the style of Harpsfield. He is railing against Foxe for inserting the names of the victims in a calendar. After saying that no pope, however ambitious, ventured thus to act, nor did ever any one of the heretics themselves arrogate such power, he adds—"Novos enim novus iste papa factos, novas martyrum apotheoses, et tam admirabiles pro sua amplitudine excogitavit, ut nescias impudentiam et impietatem hominis, an stultitiam magis demeritis, edito nuper libro, quem tu degustasse videris, ingenti quadam inguram, mendaciorum, et blasphemiarum mole onerato, non Latine ut prius, sed Anglice: in quo solo aliquod prudentiæ specimen ostendit: De eo enim fortassis fiet, ut impietas et stultitia illius minus per reliquum christianum orbem, et in solâ iere Angliâ, celebretur."—Page 819.

Harpsfield has been more successful than any of the assailants of Foxe whom we have already considered.

The forty-six sections of the Sixth Dialogue occupy two hundred and sixty-two closely-printed Latin quarto pages. They are the chief foundation of all that Parsons or Andrews have written, and much of them has, therefore, been already considered. The briefest possible statement of the contents of the sections will be sufficient to show the indefiniteness of which I complain.

Chap. 1.—The cause, not the fortitude of the victim, makes the martyr. In what true fortitude consists.

2. Foxe enrols criminals among his martyrs; as in the case of lord Cobham and his followers.

3. The pseudo-martyrs commit themselves to death to obtain the praise and glory of martyrdom.

4. They ought not, therefore, to be called martyrs.

5. But to be detested.

6. They are not conscious that they are heretics.

7. Why one error makes a heretic.

8. Though Cyprian might err without heresy.

9. The folly of the declaration of the Reformers, that the whole world began to see the true light.

10. On the cause of the multiplication of sects.

11. They will decline as the Manicheans and others in former times.

12. The martyrs and pseudo-martyrs contrasted.

13. Why the title of martyrs ought not to be given to the opponents of Rome; and whether the ancient prophets, the Maccabees, and the Innocents, are entitled to that name.

14. Sectarians, mutually opposed to each other, cannot call each other martyrs.

15. The absurdity of denying the greatness of the differences between the Zuinglians and Lutherans.

16. Yet Foxe blends all opponents of Rome in one mass, and eulogizes Lutherans, Zuinglians, other heretics and criminals, in one indiscriminate mass as martyrs.

17. Falsehood of Foxe in the case of Cowbridge.

18. The Lutherans cannot be martyrs, because Luther recalled from the bottomless pit many ancient heresies.

19—25. The follies, &c. of Luther and of Lutherans.

26. Foxe is ridiculed for his respect for Erasmus.

27. And for including Mirandula among his martyrs.

28—30. Foxe's account of Wyclif condemned.

31—35. Attack on Luther and the foreign Reformers.

36. Credulity of Foxe condemned.

37. Eulogy of Foxe on Cobham condemned.

38. Some improbabilities in the accounts of the martyrs censured.

39. On the story of Baynham.

40. Comparison between the martyrs of Foxe and of antiquity.

41. On the Hussites.

42, 43. On the controversies respecting the headship of the church.

44. On the martyrs for the Church of Rome.

45. That true martyrs are found only in the Church of Rome.

46. On the true Catholic Church. Arguments from Augustine to strengthen the weak and confirm the wavering. The manner in which heretics are to be treated.

Such is the brief abstract of the chapters of which this Sixth Dialogue is



composed. It will be seen from this how little of the whole treatise is devoted to Foxe. Even of the small portion which is thus given to the martyrologist, much has been answered by Foxe himself.

I will consider throughout the replies of Foxe, and the arguments (if the objections of Harpsfield may be justly called by that name) which his antagonist has adduced against him.

At the end of the Fifth Dialogue Harpsfield anticipates many of his subsequent remarks by deriding the account of the patience, joy, and self-possession related of many of the martyrs by Foxe. It is useless to record how one clasped his hands three times above his head in the flames; another remained unmoved, as a token to his friends of his adherence to the conviction of the truth of the opinions for which he was condemned; others gave other expressions of their attachment to their opinions in their most intense sufferings. Harpsfield, like Andrews and Parsons, derides such narratives. Foxe compares, and exults in the comparison, such sufferings with those of the martyrs of antiquity. Harpsfield is very indignant at this. It is, however, impossible to discover the difference, either in the suffering, the endurance, or the cause, between the two. Harpsfield calls it an unjust comparison,<sup>1</sup> and surnames the victims mentioned by Foxe pseudo-martyrs; but he assigns no reason whatever for his doing so.<sup>2</sup>

After some preliminary remarks on the nature of true martyrdom,<sup>3</sup> and refusing the glory of martyrdom to the pseudo-martyrs, and calling them the slaves of the devil,<sup>4</sup> rather than martyrs, we come in the Sixth Dialogue to the accusation against Foxe, *that he is guilty of falsehood, for placing among his pseudo-martyrs the names of men who had no claim even to the honour of such martyrdom* as he would assign to them; for they suffered for crimes, and not for opinions. Harpsfield enumerates the following names,—*Cromwell, Hales, Randal, Tonley, Sanders, Cranmer, Cobham, Acton, Wyatt*. These are inserted by Foxe among those who bore witness to the truth of antipapalism, but who are called by Harpsfield traitors, thieves, and rebels.<sup>5</sup>

With respect to *Cromwell*, Foxe tells us that with his last breath he declared that he died in the Catholic faith. The distinction between Catholic and papist was very frequently maintained at that time as well as at present. Many, who were apprehended and burnt for antipapalism, called themselves Catholic; and were still condemned for denying some of the anti-Catholic doctrines maintained by the Church of Rome. Cromwell is called by Foxe the “noble and worthy lord.” Foxe disbelieved the charge of treason, which was never proved; and ranked him among the witnesses against Rome. Harpsfield does not venture to say that the “*veracity and fidelity*” of Foxe’s narrative of the actions and death of Cromwell are erroneous; and this is the chief point we have to consider.

*Judge Hales* drowned himself in madness, vexation, or despair, on account of Mary’s treatment of him. He was sent into the Marshalsea—removed to the Counter—then to the Fleet; where he was so agitated at the report of the cruelties reported by the warden to be contriving against the antipapists, that his reason fled. He endeavoured to destroy himself with a penknife. He was afterwards released; but he never recovered his reason, and drowned himself.<sup>6</sup> Hales was the only judge who had refused to sign the instrument which gave the crown to lady Jane Grey. He was imprisoned for charging the justices of Kent to conform to the unrepealed laws of Edward; that is, he

(1) “*Iniqua pseudo-martyrum cum veris martyribus comparatio.*”—Margin, p. 736.

(2) See page 737.

(3) P. 731.

(4) “*Quos rectius diaboli mancipia quam martyres appellaris.*”

(5) “*Qui nobis non modo terribissimos hæreticos, sed et fures, homicidas, atque etiam divinæ et humanæ majestatis in: minutæ reos tantum non pro martyribus adorandos objicit.*”—P. 746.

(6) Burnet, tom. ii. p. 248, ap. Rapin, vol. ii. 33, note 3.

was imprisoned for being a Protestant. Did not Foxe rightly eulogize him as a martyr—as a witness for the truth of the gospel, as it is now professed and taught in the Anglican, Protestant, Reformed Episcopal Church?

*Randal* hanged himself; and therefore Foxe is condemned by Harpsfield for placing his name also among the martyrs for the truth. He was a "kinsman" of Foxe, who cites his case as analogous to that of Richard Hunn, for the circumstances under which he was found hanged were such as to prove that it was not his own act and deed, but done for him by those who "hated him for his love of Scripture and sincere religion."

*Foxe is condemned for inserting Tonley among his list of martyrs, whereas Tonley was hanged for theft.*

This appears to be a most serious charge; yet it is capable of explanation, and that explanation is a complete vindication of the martyrologist.<sup>1</sup> John Tooley, as Harpsfield informs us,<sup>2</sup> was executed for a robbery attended by violence. Yet he is placed by Foxe among his martyrs. Harpsfield is quite right. *Tooley was hanged for theft; and Foxe has made him a martyr;* and if the two facts are thus put together without any further explanation, the martyrologist appears to have been guilty of the greatest possible absurdity. Let us, however, consider all the circumstances which Harpsfield

(1) Harpsfield spells the name of the person of whom he is now speaking Tonlæus. I looked in vain for the English name in Foxe's list, which corresponded with this word. It is evident that the word ought therefore to have been written in English Tonley, or Tunley, or Townley. The word Tonlæus, however, is a misprint for Tooleius. Harpsfield is referring to Tooley, who as he justly reports was hanged for theft. This is but a specimen of the vexatious manner in which the reader of the several works which attack John Foxe is baffled, in the attempts to discover the truth of the charges against the martyrologist. The printing of the names both of places and persons appears to have been left to the printers. I subjoin the manner in which some names of the same persons are spelt by Foxe, Parsons, and Andrews. It will enable the reader to judge of the difficulty of always ascertaining who are meant by the references of the three writers.

	FOXES.	PARSONS.	ANDREWS.
	Anne Albright, <i>alias</i> Champnes .....		Anne Allbright. John Claydon.
Feb. 3.	John Phaidon .....	John Claidon .....	Richard Turmin.
4.	Richard Turmine .....	Richard Turmyne .....	Robert Farrer.
27.	Robert Farrar .....		26. John Huggleine.
March 4.	John Hougley .....		Peter Flessidius.
5.	Petrus Flestedius .....	6. Petrus Flessidius .....	Thomas Hilton.
8.	Thomas Hilton .....	9. Thomas Hylton .....	Daniel Foster.
10.	Davy Foster .....	11. David Foster .....	Father Batt.
13.	Father Bate .....		John Spicer.
23.	Robert Spicer .....		N. Archer and N Hawkins.
April 2.	Archer and Howkins .....	1. Archer and Hawkins .....	N. Wrigsham.
3.	Wrigsham .....	Wrigsham .....	John Awcock.
7.	Jo. Awoke .....	John Ancock .....	Joan Beach.
14.	Joan Bech .....	16. Joane Beach .....	John Hallier.
15.	John Hullier .....	17. John Hullier .....	Elizabeth Thackwell.
May 16.	Elizabeth Thacknel .....	Elizabeth Thacknell .....	Nicholas Belenian.
June 2.	Nicholas Belman .....	Nicholas Beleman .....	Thomas Chamberlayne.
4.	Nicholas Chamberlain .....	5. Nicholas Chamberlayne .....	John Oswald.
6.	John Oswald .....		Henry Wye.
11.	Henry Wye .....		John Morris.
17.	John Morice .....	16. John Morrice .....	Benson's Wife.
25.	Benden's Wife .....	Bendon's Wife .....	John Floyd.
29.	John Loyd .....		Henry Vose.
July 1.	Henry Voz .....	Henry Voes .....	John Eske.
	John Esch .....	John Esch .....	8. Margery Pulley.
7.	John Pelley .....		John Frankiske.
11.	John Frank .....		Thomas Askaine.
18.	Askine .....	Atkins .....	Stephen Wright.
29.	Stephen Wight .....		Robert Mills.
	Robert Willes .....		Thomas Benbraike.
31.	Thomas Benbrick .....	Thomas Benbricke .....	Patrick Pakingham.
August 5.	Patrick Patingham .....		Richard Smith.
14.	Richard Smith .....	Robert Smith .....	Elizabeth Felkes.
25.	Elizabeth Folks .....		William White.
Sept. 2.	William Wright .....		5. Roger Coe.
4.	Thomas Coe .....		John Gorey.
12.	John Goreway .....		Robert Piggot.
Oct. 17.	Robert Pygot .....	Robert Pyggot .....	Gregory Parke.
22.	Gregory Packe .....		Richard Mekings.
Nov. 2.	Richard Mekings .....	Richard Mekinges .....	Alice Perkins.
5.	Alice Potkins .....	Alice Potkins .....	22. Elizabeth Driver.
21.	Elizabeth Driver .....		

(2) "Tonlæus capitali supplicio propter furtum violentum affectus."—P. 747.

has omitted. Tooley, while he was in prison, or before his execution, was brought to a better state of mind. Immediately before he was hanged he addressed the people, and declared that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of His most precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which he said were mere idolatry and superstition. He added much more to the same effect; and appealed to the people who agreed with him to say Amen,—which they did three times.

If the matter had rested here, nothing would have been so absurd as for Foxe to have canonized a thief, because he declared himself an antipapalist. But this was only the beginning of the matter. The queen's council heard of the dying words of the culprit; and they were actually guilty of the unpardonable folly (Fuxe believes under the influence of cardinal Pole) to do in the case of the dead body of Tooley the same as was done at Oxford respecting the dead bodies of Bucer, Fagius, and of the wife of Peter Martyr. They issued a commission to Bonner the bishop of London, to inquire into the matter, and to proceed to the making out of the process provided by the ecclesiastical laws in that behalf.<sup>1</sup> The bishop of London acted upon the mandate. He issued a writ or mandate to the clergy of London—called Tooley the son of perdition and iniquity—and charged them to summon the relations of Tooley to show cause why the dead man should not be excommunicated; and after certain depositions and attestations of witnesses, the dead body was actually excommunicated, unburied, and burnt. *All this Harpsfield has omitted. Foxe does not say one word to eulogize the man.* He merely records the facts from the registers to which he refers; and places the name of Tooley among his list of witnesses against Rome, to direct the attention of the reader to the follies and absurdities connected with the observance of the old canon law in the instance of the exhumation of the criminal. In a part of his reply to Harpsfield, Foxe expressly says that his table of names against Rome was never intended to denote that ALL whom he enumerated were holy persons; but that the reader, by seeing their names, might be reminded of the facts he has related.<sup>2</sup> Does not this explain the whole matter? Does the martyrologist deserve censure, even when the name of a thief, under such circumstances, is found among his list of witnesses against the papal follies?

*Sanders, Cranmer, Cobham, Acton, and Wyatt*, whom Foxe has also added to his list, are called by Harpsfield rebels, and therefore not martyrs.

*Laurence Sanders* is called a rebel, I believe, because he rightly and justly refused obedience to the queen, when she commanded the clergy of the Apostolic Church to cease from preaching. He not only refused to obey, but *he persevered in preaching against the errors of the papistry, which was so rapidly returning to curse the Protestantism of England.* He refused to leave England. He preached the one only true doctrine, which is in itself the sole refutation of all popery—the justification of the spirit of the sinner by the faith which is founded upon evidence, and is the motive to obedience.<sup>3</sup> The bishop of London sent an officer to charge him to attend him, on pain of disobedience and contumacy. When Sanders obeyed, the bishop accused him of treason for disobedience to the queen's proclamation, questioned him on the old test of papalism or antipapalism—the doctrine of transubstantiation; and concluded the conference by committing him to prison. The result is well known. His beautiful letters are still preserved. His distrust of his own

(1) See Foxe, new edit. vol. vii. p. 92, for the letter and proceedings.

(2) "If master Cope cannot abide the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverley, who were hanged as he saith for treason, to have the name of martyrs, then let them bear the name of witness-bearers of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimony of their faith; seeing there is no difference in the names, all is one to me, by which they are called."—Vol. iii. p. 384, new edit.

(3) See Foxe, vol. vi. p. 615.

firmness,—which, however, endured to the end,—when Pendleton, the boaster, who assured him of his own superior firmness, fainted and apostatized; his perfect freedom from everything like enthusiasm; his sober zeal for the truth; his dying salutation to the stake, “Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!”—all combine to prove to us that he possessed the only true spirit which can ever conquer the threatening domination of the now reviving papacy, and preserve the primitive Christianity which is still established among us. Harpsfield, in this instance also, does not deny the accuracy of the narrative of Foxe. With this we must be contented; though he calls Sanders a rebel.

*Cranmer*, too, was a rebel. I shall say no more of his melancholy and well-known story, than to observe that Cranmer was murdered by the papists—Laud was murdered by the Puritans. May the archbishops of Canterbury study their lives, avoid their faults, and be prepared for their deaths, in defence of the same church which still holds its place between the Puritan and the papist, and deserves the homage of its children and servants, even to the death of the stake, or of the block! The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. The seed of the Church of England is the blood of antipapal and antipuritan martyrs. May the flowers and the fragrance of learning and of truth ever spring from that seed! and may the fruit of the seed of the blood of the martyrs, and the flower and fragrance of its learning and its truth, be holiness to the Lord—holiness on the mitres of its rulers—holiness on the robes of its priests—holiness on the bells of the horses and the bowls of the altars<sup>1</sup>—holiness on the heads and hearts of the sovereign, clergy, and people!

*Cobham* and *Acton* were rebels; and, therefore, they also could not be martyrs.

I am sure that the reader of this protracted examination into the charges which have been made against John Foxe will rejoice to be referred to the defence which Foxe himself has made against the accusations of Harpsfield in the case of lord Cobham. I had promised to proceed through the whole detail; but I am sure my doing so must unavoidably prove uninteresting. The question is, Was Cobham arraigned as a traitor or as a heretic? The answer of the papal party is, that he was executed as a traitor, because of the affair in St. Giles's Fields. The antipapal party derive the notion that the meeting in St. Giles's Fields was a political meeting of twenty thousand men suddenly gathered together, as Walsingham and others affirm; but declare it to have been a religious meeting of comparatively few numbers. They assure us, also (and the evidence upon this latter point cannot be contradicted), that heresy was identified with treason; so that he who was guilty of opposing any one doctrine taught by the church was held to be guilty of an act of treason against the sovereign. The question has already been discussed. I must be contented to refer the reader for further details to Foxe's discussion of the case of lord Cobham against Harpsfield.<sup>2</sup> He refers to the original indictment,<sup>3</sup> and proceeds to inquire into and to demonstrate the improbability that lord Cobham intended or desired to destroy the king, or the estates of the realm. He shows how treason and heresy had long been identified by the priesthood. He examines the accounts of the several witnesses against Cobham—Fabian, Polydore Virgil—and points out their disagreement with each other. To the general accusation by Harpsfield, that his book was full of lies, he answers,<sup>4</sup> “I would to God that, in all the whole book of ‘Acts and Monuments,’ all the narratives of this nature were false, all were lies, all were fables; I would to God the cruelty of you Catholics had suffered all them to

(1) Zechariah xiv. 20.

(2) Vol. i. p. 647, edit. 1684. Vol. iii. p. 348, etc. new edit.

(3) P. 351, vol. iii. new edition.

(4) P. 383.

live, of whose death ye do now say, that I do lie. I deny not but that in my book many things may have escaped me, yet I have bestowed my diligence, to profit all men, but to hurt none."<sup>1</sup>

The question of the calendar is then discussed. Foxe declares, that he arranged the names of his martyrs according to the days of the month, to serve as a table, by which to remind his readers of their testimony, not to displace from the other calendar the names of the truly wise, good, and holy men, who may have been justly placed there. Parsons and Andrews, as well as Harpsfield, exhaust every epithet of vituperation on Foxe, for his thus arranging the names of his victims in a calendar. Yet on this point also his reply is unanswerable.<sup>2</sup> Harpsfield accused him of thrusting God's saints out of heaven into hell. No! he answers, I thrust none down to hell. Yet I am not like the great godmaker of Rome; I exalt none to heaven. You are the men who, like the giants of old, would scale heaven; and then place there the traitor, and the enemy of God;<sup>3</sup> and make even Becket's popish blood a ladder to enable men to climb there also: while you thrust down from heaven the true saints of God, even those who die to serve Him, and lay down their lives against His enemies. I am sure that neither the names of the archbishop Thomas Becket, nor of the archbishop Thomas Cranmer, deserved to be placed in the same calendar with the holy evangelists and the apostles; but if we are compelled to have either, the days are at hand when we must decidedly prefer Becket or Cranmer. You encumber, says Foxe, your calendar with saints. You place among them men of the most questionable character; and you derogate and degrade the honour of Christ as the only Mediator, when you beg these canonized traitors—whose only claim to notice, as in many cases mentioned, was their slavery to Rome—to intercede at the throne of God for the dupes who worship and pray to them. As to the accusation, that in printing the names of his martyrs some were printed in red letters, he assures us that this was done at the discretion of the printer. After some further general defence of his book, and solemnly asserting (I have already quoted the passage) that if "a lie be a wilful intention to deceive, then I protest to you, master Cope, and to all the world, that there is not a lie in my book."<sup>4</sup> And after some observations on the manner in which the Church of Rome has perverted the testimony of the fathers, he goes on to prove most unanswerably, against Harpsfield, that treason and heresy were identified by the statute law<sup>5</sup> of the land before the execution of Cobham; as they had long been identified by the bishops, and, under their influence, by the people, before his arraignment. He quotes the words of the letter of Walden, the provincial of the Carmelites, to pope Martin, that *all the followers of Wyclif, as being equally traitors to God and traitors to the king, should be punished with the double punishment of burning at the stake on account of God, and hanging at the gallows on account of the king.* In his book on the Catholic

(1) I may here observe that Foxe (vol. iii. p. 384 of the present edition) informs us that the English translation of his work from the Latin was made by others, while he was employed in preparing fresh materials for new editions. This will account for some errors which Dr. Maitland has pointed out: but as Foxe saw the translations, or at least published new editions of his work in which these translations were retained, he is justly to be deemed responsible for every error.

(2) "As in the first beginning and preface of the said book of 'Acts and Monuments,' I so diligently and expressly do warn all men beforehand, first that I make here no calendar purposely of any saints, but a table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to show the day and month of their suffering. My words be extant and evident, which are these, 'Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inseruntur in calendarium,' etc.; and declaring afterward, how the same calendar doth stand but instead of a table, my words do follow thus: 'Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat, suum cujusque martyris mensem et annum designante, lectori ad usum atque ad manum serviat.'"—Vol. iii. p. 386.

(3) I am endeavouring to condense the meaning of the long paragraphs of Foxe. He is sometimes very diffuse and verbose.

(4) Vol. iii. p. 393.

(5) "Nec mora processit, quin statutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanavit edicto, quod omnes Wiclevistæ, sicut Dei proditores essent, sic proditores regis, proscriptis bonis, censurerent et regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter Deum, suspensio propter regem," etc.—Vol. iii. p. 396.

faith, the same writer exults in the same conduct of Henry the Fifth. The illustrious king, he says, decreed, that every man who was proved to be a Wycliffite should be punished as guilty of treason.<sup>1</sup> The same undoubted fact may be proved by other quotations. I subjoin only two more from the historian Roger Wall. The noble king, Henry V., he says, reputing Christ's enemies to be traitors to himself, to the intent that all men might without doubt know that, so long as he lived, he would be a true follower of the Christian faith, did enact and decree, that whosoever should be found followers and maintainers of this sect, which is called the Lollards, should be counted and reputed guilty of treason against the king's majesty.<sup>2</sup> The king in consequence of this very statute, and of his inveterate hostility to the Wycliffites, was called by the ecclesiastics of his age the Prince of the Priesthood. "O true friend!"<sup>3</sup> says his eulogist, "who taketh and reckoneth that injury done to himself which is done to his friend; who reputeth that to be to his own prejudice which is done to the prejudice of his friend." That is, *Henry treated the actions, opinions, and worship, which he was taught by the priesthood of his day to believe to be against the cause of Christ, as treason against himself as the friend of Christ and of His Church*: and thus heresy and treason were, as Foxe proves, identified.

But it may be said, by some one who is ignorant of the details of the lamentable period of which we are speaking, Perhaps the king was right. What were the Wycliffites? and of what crime were they guilty? The answer is, They were guilty of reading the Scriptures<sup>4</sup> in their own language, without the consent of their ecclesiastical superiors. Those who studied the Scriptures, perceived the contrast between the revelation of God and those ordinances of men which were called the decrees of the Catholic Church. They protested against the enactment of those ordinances of man. They were punished for doing so. They refused, because of such punishments, to cease from such protesting. The severity of the punishments was increased to conquer the supposed crime, till we actually read of the burning of men to death for having read four of the epistles of St. Paul; the persons who heard them read being put to open penance; a bishop, yes, a Christian bishop, first preaching to the victims at the stake, in the presence of their own children, who were commanded to set fire to the faggots, which were placed round their suffering parents! We read, I say, of a bishop of Christ's holy Catholic Church preaching to the victims, who were expecting the flames which their own children were to kindle, that whosoever they were that did but move their lips in reading those chapters, they were damned for ever! Oh, God of mercy! these were the members of Thy holy church! and *now, even now, in this land, where these things were done, it is deemed to be illiberal to man, uncharitable to Thy people, and unjust before Thee, to remember and to mention these things!* We have forgotten at what hazard the people of the

(1) "To confirm the said sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in another place of the aforesaid author, tom i. lib. ii. 'De Doctrinali Fidei Ecclesie Cathol.' cap. 46, where he writeth in these words, 'Et tamen jam cum regnare cepisset illustris rex Henricus V., qui adhuc agit in sceptris, de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene doctos legem statui fecit, ut ubique per regnum Wiclevista probatus, reus puniretur de crimine læsæ majestatis,' etc. That is, 'And yet when the noble king Henry V., who as yet doth live and reign, began first to reign, he caused to be set forth a law, by his learned catholics who were about him, against the falseness of these men; so that whosoever was proved to be a Wiclevist, through the whole realm, should be punished for a traitor,' etc. What words can you have, master Cope! more plain than these? or what authority can you require of more credit, who lived in the same time, and both did see and hear of the same things done?"—Vol. iii. p. 396.

(2) "In hoc etiam parlamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere universis, quod ipse absque ejuscunq̄ fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verus et perfectus Christianæ fidei æmulator existeret; statuit et decrevit, ut quotquot ipsius sectæ, quæ dicitur Lollardorum, invenirentur æmuli et fautores, eo facto rei proditorii criminis in majestatem regiam haberentur," etc.—Vol. iii. pp. 396, 397.

(3) "O verus amicus! qui amico illatam injuriam sibi inferri consimiliter arbitratur, præjudicium illi intentum reputat esse suum, et ad ejus onera conferenda auxiliatiois humeros supponere non veretur," etc.—Vol. iii. p. 397.

(4) "Wicleviani vero dicebantur, quicunque id temporis Scripturas Dei suâ linguâ lectitarent."

Church of Christ wrested back the Holy Scriptures from the hands of an ambitious priesthood, and plucked forth the sacred volume from the fires of their persecuting tyranny. Many there are among us, who are again beginning to place the traditions of men on the throne of revelation; to give to the church the sceptre of its ruler; to lessen the value of the Scriptures; to forget the records which relate the eventually certain consequences of such apostasy; and to call those men bigots and fools, who would learn from the past, to direct the present and to secure the future. Treason and heresy were one crime. The bodies of men were hanged and burned at the same moment, that the double punishment might be inflicted at the same moment, for the double yet identified crime; and if such crimes of the ecclesiastical and civil rulers of the past are ever palliated or forgotten, the curse of the causes which occasioned them will return also. *That statesman was wise who uttered the undoubted aphorism, that if the English people should ever cease to hate popery, they will cease at the same time both to love truth and to value liberty.*

Wyatt took up arms against Mary. He acted in the name of the Protestant religion: he committed a great crime: he was justly punished for actual, undeniable treason. If he had confined his mode of objecting to the queen's marriage with the Spaniard to remonstrance and petition, he would have obeyed the law, maintained the liberty of the subject, and upheld his loyalty to the prince. Christianity requires neither the confused noise of the battle of the warriors nor the garments rolled in blood. Wyatt was a rebel. Foxe pities, but does not defend him.<sup>1</sup>

I read on, with much patience, many most unquotable sentences<sup>2</sup> on the characters of many persons who were burned for their antipapalism, and who certainly cannot be defended for the actions which immediately occasioned their punishment, whatever be our opinion of the principles which excited them to injudicious conduct. Gardiner, for instance, after many cruelties, was put to the horrid death of having an iron hoop round his waist, to which one end of a rope, which passed over a pulley, was tied, while the other end of the rope was held by a man opposite to the victim. The pulley was inserted by a staple in the cross-beam of a gallows. His hands were cut off. In that state the sufferer was drawn up by the rope to the top of the gallows. A fire was kindled below him; he was then slowly let down into the fire. After he had been burnt for some short time, he was again drawn up into the air. After he had thus hung some time, he was again let down. This fearful operation was repeated, while the sufferer continued to pray aloud, as they pulled him up and down with the rope, till the rope was burnt by the fire, and the body fell into the flames. All this was horrible, and because Gardiner incurred all this fearful torture for having expressed his conviction that the sacrifice of the mass was an abomination, Foxe inserts the name of Gardiner among his list of martyrs. Harpsfield objects to his doing so; and no Protestant upon earth can justify the conduct of Gardiner, by which he displayed his antipapal zeal, and brought upon himself the indignation of the priesthood. Gardiner,—it was in Portugal,—rushed through the people when mass was being celebrated by a cardinal, in the presence of the king and his nobles snatched the wafer from the priest, stamped it under foot, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. Foxe speaks of the outrage as a history no "less lamentable than notable," and eulogizes the most constant suffering of the victim. The inhuman severity of the punishment would by many be deemed only proportionate to the crime. Harpsfield so considered it. Harpsfield spoke of the crime, Foxe of the cruel punishment. Nothing is said by Harpsfield against "the *veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe. On the contrary,

(1) For an interesting account of Wyatt, see Ainsworth's work on the Tower.

(2) Especially in p. 749.

he takes for granted, throughout, that Foxe has related these sad narratives truly. I again say, this is sufficient. I am not defending the taste, the judgment, or the opinions of the martyrologist; I am asserting only the credibility and the certainty of his histories. With respect, however, to the philosophy of these attacks of Harpsfield, I can but add that he has quite mistaken the whole question. *The detestation of the cruelty of a punishment does not imply the approbation of the conduct of the sufferer.* We condemn the burning of Servetus; we pity his sufferings; we are compelled to abhor the error or duplicity of the great and good John Calvin. Yet who in his senses can imagine, because we do so, that we approve the opinions of the denier of the blessed Trinity, and the impugner of the divinity of Christ? The death of Servetus made him, in one sense, a martyr; for he died as a witness to his conviction of the truth of an error. We may quote the death of Servetus against the cruelty of committing the body to the flames because of the mistakes of the judgment: but we do not therefore approve the mistake, though we pity the victim.

The same mode of reasoning will apply to *Robert Debenham, Nicholas Marsh, and Robert King*, who were executed for the felony of taking down and burning the rood at Dover Court. They are called martyrs by Foxe, and criminals by Harpsfield. Their act was rash. Their consciences were burthened, says Foxe, to see the honour of the living God given to an idol; therefore they took it down and burnt it. They derived no benefit to themselves from their conduct; they hazarded their lives to the death, and they lost their lives. The words they addressed to the people at the scaffold edified the people more than many sermons. Is not Foxe more justified in calling them martyrs, than Harpsfield in abusing them for nefarious impiety?<sup>1</sup> They bore their testimony against Rome, and were added to the catalogue of witnesses who died in bearing witness against her. No narration of Foxe is contradicted. The truth of all his facts is taken for granted, even where Harpsfield places in the margin of his well-printed pages,<sup>2</sup> that Foxe is convicted of the most evident lying.<sup>3</sup> The expression is used in reference to the character of the persons whom Foxe eulogizes, not in reference to the facts he relates; and so it is throughout. Because the names of the victims are mentioned in the calendar, to the apparent exclusion of the saints of the Roman calendar, Foxe is charged, as I understand the argument, with raising the martyrs to the rank of saints, in the sense of such saints being intercessors for men, or mediators between God and man; as Thomas à Becket, Dunstan, St. Swithin, and other questionable characters, are entitled saints by the Church of Rome. This is an entire misapprehension of the reasoning of Foxe. Some, and the great majority, of the victims to the severity of the church are rightly and justly called saints, and holy and godly martyrs; for they were persons of blameless lives, pious motives, and sincere believers in the truth of the gospel of God: others, however, though they suffered the same cruel death of the stake and faggot, were not men of this character, and Foxe, therefore, does not speak of them in the same manner. His eulogies are not indiscriminate. Harpsfield abuses Foxe for inserting the names of *Collins* or *Colyns* and *Cowbridge* among his martyrs. Collins was burnt for lifting up a dog above his head in imitation of the act of the priest when elevating the wafer,<sup>4</sup> to insult the popish ordinance. Foxe is condemned for inserting his name among his martyrs. Cowbridge was burnt by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, for holding many most absurd and strange notions, very

(1) "Nefariâ impietate."—P. 850, edit. 1684.

(2) The book is an honour to the press, in type, clearness, and beauty. It was printed at Antwerp, at the press of Christ. Plantinus.

(3) "Foxus apertissimi mendacii convincitur."—P. 753.

(4) "Dum sacerdos de more hostiam attollebat, spectante populo, caniculum pedibus arreptum supra verticem ad sacramenti contumeliam erigebat."—Pp. 749, 861.



contradictory to each other. They are omitted by Foxe, but are given by Harpsfield; and a proof is thus afforded us of Harpsfield's power to have discovered any falsehoods in the Martyrology, if Foxe had written any.<sup>1</sup> Among them are such propositions as these:—that Christ is not the Redeemer, but the future deceiver of the world; <sup>2</sup> that all who believe in Christ shall be damned.<sup>3</sup> These, and ten more, are omitted by Foxe; and Harpsfield imputes his silence to the desire to misrepresent the orthodox Oxford theologians, who had so piously discharged their duty of causing such a wicked heretic to be burnt.<sup>4</sup> It certainly does appear, at first sight, that Foxe has acted unwisely in elevating these two men to the rank of martyrs, and that, in this instance, Harpsfield has decided rightly. If we refer, however, to the account of Foxe himself, we shall find that in these, as in his other narratives, he has carefully distinguished between the testimony of the wise and of the unwise, of the pious and questionable, of the persons whom he certainly places in his calendar as witnesses against Rome, but not necessarily, therefore, approvable as the undoubted saints of God.

*Collins* is described by Foxe as a madman, who was driven to insanity through his being deserted by a fair and beloved wife.<sup>5</sup> He was a student of law in London. He came by chance into the church, where a priest was saying mass. His dog was with him. He held it up by the legs; was apprehended, condemned, and burnt.<sup>6</sup> Foxe mentions the fact as an instance of the cruelty of his judges, in burning a madman. "I do not," says Foxe, "recite this man as one of God's professed martyrs; yet neither do I deem him to be sequestered from the Lord's family; and, though the flock of the bishop of Rome account him to be a heretic, and condemned and burned him, I would on that very account esteem him as belonging to the holy company of saints." Foxe was wrong in speaking thus; for, though a man might be burned as a heretic unjustly, he might have still been an erroneous and wicked man. But Foxe does not canonize him, as Harpsfield represents. Foxe has expressed himself obscurely, and meant, I believe, that, as no other action was urged against him but this of holding up the dog, which he considered to be a proof of insanity, and as he was burned for that only, he therefore considered him as probably one of those who might be regarded, when sane, as among the pious opponents of the errors of Rome.

Foxe has spoken in the same manner of *Cowbridge*.<sup>7</sup> He tells us that Cowbridge was out of his senses. His father, the head-bailiff of Colchester, had left him great wealth, which Cowbridge resigned to his sisters, and wandered about the country, seeking out learned men, and instructing the ignorant. For thus acting as a priest, without a licence to teach, he was apprehended, sent to Oxford, and imprisoned. Famine and loss of sleep, in the Bocardo, deprived him of his reason. "In his insane moods he uttered," says Foxe, "many unseemly and indiscreet words." Dr. Smith and Dr. Coates, the Oxford professors of divinity, and the other divines of the University, reported that there was a heretic at Oxford who could not bear the name of Christ to be uttered, and therefore that he ought to be burned; and so thereupon condemned him. He was sent up to London; and the articles upon which he was condemned were sent up also. Foxe assures us that he could not obtain a copy of them, which were, that in the Creed the words "in

(1) Page 859.

(2) "Christum non esse mundi Redemptorem, sed futurum mundi decēptorem."

(3) "Universos qui in nomine Christi crediderunt, in inferno damnatos."—P. 859.

(4) "Habes jam tandem perversa Coubrigii dogmata, quæ cur Foxus reticuerit, veram, ni fallor, causam reddidi. Qui nullo modo ferendus, quod theologis Oxoniensibus, qui tam pie officio functi sunt, tam impie calumniatur, quasi falsis criminibus hominem innocentem circumventum obruerit."—P. 860.

(5) Vol. v. p. 251.

(6) In the reign of Henry VIII. 1538, who continued in communion with the Church of Rome till his death.

(7) Vol. v. p. 251.

Jesum Christum" ought to be "in Jesum Jesum;" and that every poor priest in the church hath as much authority as the pope, or any other bishop. In reply to this, Harpsfield gives us twelve articles. Foxe replies to them all by saying, "that, as the man was mad, if the articles were so horrible as Cope, in his Dialogues, doth declare, he was more fit to be sent to Bedlam than to be had to the fire in Smithfield. But such is the manner and property of this holy mother-Church of Rome, that whosoever cometh to their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must go. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect that they will consider, as by these two miserable examples of Collins and Cowbridge doth appear, who should rather have been pitied than been burned."<sup>1</sup>

Who will not agree with Foxe? Who will not now (thanks be to God for the labours of the martyrologist, which have so greatly contributed to the improvement in the public mind) approve the opinion of Foxe, rather than the arguments of Harpsfield; and pity, rather than burn, either the sane or the insane heretic? Foxe does not canonize the madman. He does, however, tell us, that "when he came to the stake, he called upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ: and with great meekness and quietness he yielded up his spirit into the hands of the Lord." He had recovered his senses; and he is justly reckoned, therefore, by Foxe among those who, though they were not elevated to the rank of the saint-mediators of Rome, bore their testimony against the cruelty of the priesthood, and are rightly denominated martyrs.

The time would fail me to go through the long list of names which Foxe mentions, with praise always for their testimony against Rome, though not always with approbation either for their opinions or conduct; and whom Harpsfield, Parsons, and Andrews as uniformly speak of with hatred, contempt, or detestation. Joan of Kent, Peter the German, John of Vesel,—all of whom held notions which the Church of England, as well as the Church of Rome, condemns,—with Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, Barnes, Lutherans, Calvinists, Zuinghians, Wyclif, Frith, and others, are all classed by Harpsfield<sup>2</sup> with the Manichees, the Donatists, and the enemies of God. Foxe is supposed to be the indiscriminating eulogizer of all heresies and all heretics. The same vague, general, unmeaning abuse, *which spares his facts as unassailable, while it impugns his motives, opinions, and conclusions*, is given by Harpsfield which we have read in Parsons and Andrews, and the same general answer must be given to it; that while the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are proved to be unimpeachable, we are not required to defend his taste, his language, nor his errors. I shall only, therefore, go on to examine whether any specific falsehood is produced by Harpsfield, to justify the frequent appellation, both among the papal and Protestant enemies of the martyrologist, of "the lying Foxe."

It will be said that *Harpsfield, in his index, alleges seven specific falsehoods against Foxe*. He does so: and when I mention them, the absurdity as well as the nature of the accusation will be seen at once. *The first is that Foxe calls heretics martyrs*;<sup>3</sup>—this has been sufficiently considered. *The second, that he makes Eleanor Cobham and Roger Onley martyrs, and not sorcerers*; a charge which he discusses at some length, and which I shall certainly leave to the student, as Foxe himself has replied to the accusation at great length.<sup>4</sup> It would indeed be most absurd to inquire, in this age, of the probability of the witchcraft and sorcery, by which Roger Onley, the knight or priest,<sup>5</sup>

(1) Vol. v. p. 253.

(3) P. 753, vide supra.

(2) Ibid. pp. 820—827, &amp;c.

(4) Vol. iii. p. 704 of the new edition.

(5) Harpsfield condemns Foxe for calling Onley "knight." Foxe confesses he was in error, and calls Onley "priest" in the subsequent editions. See vol. iii. p. 705.

laboured to consume the king's person by way of necromancy;<sup>1</sup> or whether the painted chair, upon the four corners of which hung four swords, and on every sword an image of copper, were the true instruments of magic; and whether lady Eleanor Cobham, who desired in her treason to take the king's life, employed Onley as her coadjutor; or whether these accusations were invented, and the real crime of both Onley and lady Cobham was not, as Foxe from other authorities relates—an attachment to the principles of Wyclif. I think it probable that every reader in the present day will believe the evidence which convinced Foxe, that these people were guilty of holding certain opinions in religion which the priesthood of the day condemned; rather than that they practised the king's death by melting an image of wax with arts magic and necromantic.<sup>2</sup>

It was wittily said of some person, that he drew on his imagination for his facts, and on his memory for his fancy. Those who believe Harpsfield in preference to Foxe, may draw on Shakspeare for their facts, and on Harpsfield, Parsons, and Andrews for the arguments with which they may defend them. I would as easily believe the "hallowed verge" and the "conjuro te," the "adsum" of the invoked spirit, and the answered "asmath" of Margery Jourdain, as they are so graphically related by our splendid poet,<sup>3</sup> as believe in the legends of the dark age on which his dramatic scenes are written; or depend upon the authority of the papal antagonists of the martyrologist. In the very same page in which Harpsfield accuses Foxe of falsehood and of depraving history,<sup>4</sup> by partially citing authorities in the case of the duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, he dares to accuse him also of making Margaret Jourdain, the reputed witch of Eye, the supposed assistant, and the supposed sorcerer, in his supposed ceremonies. The indignant answer of Foxe is,<sup>5</sup> "I never spake, nor thought, nor dreamed of the woman, till you yourself mentioned her in your book. So far is it off that I, either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her." But so it has always been. When Rome wishes to usurp domination over others, its claims to that domination always begin with doleful lamentations over the grievances it professes to suffer from heresy and heretics. When Rome accuses its adversaries of falsehood, it generally becomes itself the Cretan it describes its antagonist to be. The world has never witnessed a greater heresy than that of Rome, nor worse heretics than its adherents. Foxe is only called a liar by those, who themselves excel in the peculiar accomplishment which they profess to discover in the martyrologist; and which Harpsfield, Parsons, Andrews, and their followers, have found to be so peculiarly useful in producing the conviction that their own falsehoods are truths.

*The third alleged falsehood<sup>6</sup> is, that Cobham and Acton were not guilty of treason. The fourth,<sup>7</sup> that men were put to death only for reading the Bible. The fifth<sup>8</sup> is the repetition of the charge that Foxe acquitted Lord Cobham of sedition. The sixth<sup>9</sup> relates to an error in a date. The seventh,<sup>10</sup> that Foxe denies, excepting in three instances, the heterodoxy of the martyrs.* I quote these instances of alleged falsehoods, because they are more especially pointed out to us in the copious index of Harpsfield, as the peculiar falsehoods of the "Book of Martyrs;" but they do not appear to require further notice. I might make some remarks on the fourth charge. Harpsfield tells us, that because no man was permitted to read the translations of the Bible in the

(1) Parsons and Andrews (who wrote but fifteen years ago) gravely repeat the charge.

(2) See Foxe's unanswerable reply to all the nonsense of his accuser. Vol. iii. p. 706.

(3) Second Part of King Henry VI. Act i. Scene 4.

(4) "Sceleratæ historiæ depravationis."—P. 830.

(5) Vol. iii. p. 706.

(6) Page 834.

(8) Page 835.

(7) Page 877, "impudens mendacium."

(9) Page 856.

reign of Henry VI. which had been made by the Wycliffites, without permission of his diocesan, they could not be burnt merely for reading the Bible. They read it, either with or without permission. They would not be burnt for reading it with permission. If they were burnt for reading it without permission, they were not burnt for reading the Bible, but for disobedience to their diocesan; and *therefore*—yes, gentle reader—*therefore Foxe is a liar, for affirming that the perusal of the Scriptures was the crime of the martyrs.* The reader smiles at this folly; but it is the most impressive of all warnings to us. All the controversies respecting religion among Protestants are decided by the Holy Scriptures. All the controversies between Rome and the Protestants are to be decided by the Church. When the partisans of the two tribunals seem to clash, the two tribunals seem to clash. One tribunal must therefore destroy or tolerate the other. The Scriptures destroy Rome. Rome tolerates the Scriptures. But, in all matters of toleration, the assumption of the power to tolerate implies the power to remove the toleration, if those who are tolerated rebel, or appear to rebel, against the tolerator. So it is with Rome and the Scriptures. The partisans of Rome are permitted to read the tolerated Scriptures; but if the tolerated Scriptures appear to teach that partisan of Rome to rebel against the Church of Rome, then the toleration is withdrawn from the Scriptures. The sanction of the diocesan is withdrawn from the reader, and the rebel is punished, not for reading, but for disobeying the command which forbids him to read. By what name is such reasoning to be called? One of the greatest crimes, one of the most intolerable usurpations of the Church of Rome, is the daring claim of intruding itself between the light from heaven and the darkness upon earth; and demanding the power of granting or withholding to the blind and fallen soul the Scriptures of the eternal truth of God. If the bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness shine upon the people, it dares to tell that people, who are beginning to emerge from their darkness into that marvellous light: "You shall not see at all. You shall not direct your steps to heaven, nor guide them upon earth, by that light, unless you put on the blue, the green, or yellow spectacles, which we will give you, to enable you to understand better the true nature of the light itself, and to see more clearly the road, through the wilderness, to Canaan."

We are next brought to the story of *Hunne*. No one of the narratives of John Foxe has been so much discussed as this. To repeat the arguments by which one party would prove to us that Hunne was murdered in prison, while another would prove to us that he hanged himself, would occupy too much time and room. No additional evidence can be found in the present day to that which is given by Foxe in his history, by Harpsfield in his reply, by Foxe in his rejoinder to Harpsfield, and by Parsons, who discusses the whole subject at great length.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lingard in his "History of England,"<sup>2</sup> writing of the persecution of the Lollards,—and saying, with the utmost calmness and serenity, of the numbers brought before the primate and the bishops of London and Lincoln, "Almost all were induced to abjure: and a few of the most obstinate forfeited their lives,"—adds, in a note: "I have not noticed 'the legend of Hunne,' who was found dead in prison. To the accounts given by Hall and Foxe may be opposed that of Sir Thomas More." The smooth manner in which this historian speaks the sad truth, and prevents the possibility of our declaring him to be in actual error, while he despoils history of its utility by his mode of writing, is peculiarly conspicuous in this account. It forms one of the best illustrations of his mode of so writing history, that the reader, before he is aware, is made to take for granted the very proposition, the truth of which may be under discussion. It is certain that Hunne was found dead in prison; but the question in what manner he died is

(1) Parsons, vol. iv. Dec. 10.

(2) Vol. vi. p. 364.

left undecided. The historian speaks of "the legend of Hunne." What is a legend? It is something read, which is of doubtful authority. It is a narrative, not so certainly true as an authenticated history. It is a story which may be rejected.<sup>1</sup> Contempt of the story, too, is implied in the very word. Lingard, therefore, implies that the account of Hunne, that is, the usual narrative of his death, is doubtful. Dr. Lingard's work was written to produce an impression unfavourable to the Reformers; we may infer, therefore, that he means to tell us, that the opinion that Hunne was murdered by the papists is a legend. If his book had been written on the opposite principles, we should have inferred that he meant to tell us, his suicide was a legend. The account of Hall and Foxe is, that Hunne was murdered. Sir Thomas More affirms that he believes he committed suicide. The two accounts are opposed to each other. Dr. Lingard has not told us, as he ought to have done, that Foxe was attacked by Harpsfield, and that the martyrologist has replied throughout to his assailant, in a manner which has been considered unanswerable.<sup>2</sup> Foxe has answered throughout the whole mass of the reasoning both of Harpsfield and of Sir Thomas More, so entirely, that no abuse, either of Parsons or Andrews, can, I think, produce the conviction that Foxe has been guilty of falsehood in affirming that Hunne was murdered, and did not commit suicide.

I refer the reader to the account given us by Foxe himself; but I submit to him the summary of the narrative as it is compiled by Burnet:—

"One Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor in London, was questioned by a clerk in Middlesex for a mortuary, pretended to be due for a child of his that died five weeks old, the clerk claiming the bearing-sheet, and Hunne refusing to give it; upon that he was sued, but his counsel advised him to sue the clerk in a *præmunire*, for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign court; the spiritual court sitting by authority from the legate. This touched the clergy so to the quick, that they used all the arts they could to fasten heresy on him; and understanding that he had Wickliffe's Bible, upon that he was attached of heresy, and put in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's, and examined upon some articles objected to him by Fitz-James, then bishop of London. He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had said some words sounding that way, for which he was sorry, and asked God's mercy and submitted himself to the bishop's correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoined penance, and set at liberty; *but he persisting still in his suit in the king's courts, they used him most cruelly.* On the 4th of December he was found hanged in the chamber where he was kept prisoner. Dr. Horsey, chancellor to the bishop of London, with the other officers who had the charge of the prison, gave it out that he had hanged himself. But the coroner of London coming to hold an inquest on the dead body, they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his neck had been broken, as they judged, with an iron chain, for the skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of blood about his body, besides several other evidences, which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had charge of that prison; and by other proofs they found the bishop's sumner and the bell-ringer guilty of it; and by the deposition of the sumner himself<sup>3</sup> it did appear that the chancellor, and he, and the bell-ringer, did murder him, and then hang him up.

"But as the inquest proceeded in this trial, the bishop began a new process against the dead body of Richard Hunne, for other points of heresy; and

(1) The fourth meaning of the word "legend" in Johnson is—"an incredible, unauthentic story."

(2) Vol. ii. pp. 8—17, edit. 1684; vol. v. pp. 183—205.

(3) See all the depositions in Foxe.

several articles were gathered out of Wickliffe's preface to the Bible, with which he was charged. And his having the book in his possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an heretic, and his body delivered to the secular power. When judgment was given, the bishops of Duresme and Lincoln, with many doctors both of divinity and the canon law, sat with the bishop of London; so that it was looked on as an act of the whole clergy, and done by common consent. On the 20th of December his body was burnt at Smithfield."<sup>1</sup>

Such is the summary of Burnet. I refer the reader to Harpsfield,<sup>2</sup> Parsons,<sup>3</sup> and Andrews,<sup>4</sup> for the animadversions on Foxe's defence. They produce nothing new—refute no assertion—overthrow no fact. They abuse Foxe for enrolling him among the martyrs, though Foxe carefully avoids eulogizing the religion of Hunne, and tells us that he was not "*a full Protestant, but took his beads with him to the prison.*" Foxe relates the history as a proof, that the atrocities and cruelties of the papal holders of power and authority disgusted even their most faithful adherents; and thus contributed to prepare the way for their own overthrow, and for the establishment of the Reformation.<sup>5</sup>

As I do not find that Harpsfield has been able to prove that the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are assailable with success, my task may be considered as nearly concluded. The reader cannot be more interested in any discovery of the deficiencies of Harpsfield, than in those of the more modern antagonists of the martyrologist. I might otherwise point out the absurdity of his attempting to prove, by a quotation from Augustine, that every one of the pseudo-martyrs, without exception, deny that Christ has come in the flesh; because such persons have not charity, and he who has not charity makes this denial.<sup>6</sup> Who can reply to such a reasoner?

*Foxe places Erasmus among his witnesses against Rome.* Harpsfield<sup>7</sup> is very angry at this, and quotes many passages to prove that Erasmus spoke well of the Romanists.

Harpsfield is right in thus affirming; but Foxe is no less right. Erasmus fluctuated much in his opinions. Both parties claim Erasmus as their advocate. He spoke truths which they both received. He denounced errors which they both rejected. But that Foxe was more right than Harpsfield in deeming him to be an antipapalist may be proved from other Romanist writers, when they had no such object in view as Harpsfield when he wrote his Sixth Dialogue. Bellarmine<sup>8</sup> for instance, ranks him among the semi-Christians. In another place<sup>9</sup> he says, "*Quid quæso Erasmus Roterodamus? Annon Luciani impietatem longo intervallo superavit?*" And again,<sup>10</sup> he says that "*the doctrine of Erasmus was not far distant from that of Wickliff and Luther.*"

(1) Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 21, 22. I might quote here Collier, Fuller, Oldmixon, and others, who all designate the death of Hunne murder, and rely upon the evidence of the coroner's inquest. Foxe indeed copies that evidence word for word, and refers to the bishop's registers as authority for the greater part of the story. Burnet and Strype have both attested that his account, when taken from such sources, is not to be doubted.

(2) Pages 847—849. By an error of the printer in this Sixth Dialogue of Harpsfield, page 847 follows page 836. The mistake is not rectified throughout the book.

(3) Vol. iv. Cal. Dec. 10.

(4) Vol. iii. p. 473.

(5) I add here Fuller's brief view of the case of Hunne:—

"Richard Hunn, a wealthy citizen of London, imprisoned in Lollards' Tower, for maintaining some of Wickliff's opinions, had his neck therein secretly broken. To cover their cruelty, they gave it out that he hanged himself; but the coroner's inquest sitting on him, by necessary presumptions found the impossibility thereof, and gave in their verdict, that the said Hunne was murdered. Inasmuch that *Persons* hath nothing to reply, but, that the coroner's inquest were simple men, and suspected to be infected with Wickliffian heresies. But we remit the reader to Mr. Fox for satisfaction in all these things, whose commendable care is such, that he will not leave an *hoop of a martyr behind him*, being very large in the reckoning up of all sufferers in this kind."—Fuller, book v. p. 166.

(6) "*Quisquis,*" says Augustine, "*non habet caritatem, negat Christum in carne venisse.*"

(7) Pp. 904—909.

(8) De Verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. 9, p. 33, edit. Ingolst. 1586.

(9) De Sanctorum Beatit. p. 1971, same edit.

(10) P. 1380.

Erasmus himself has amply proved that he was no Romanist. In the "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," can. 6, is the following passage:—"Admiror potestatis et domini ambitiora vocabula ad ipsos usque pontifices summos et episcopos invecta fuisse.—'Apostolus,' 'pastor,' 'episcopus,' officii sunt vocabula, non dominatûs. 'Papa,' 'abbas,' caritatis cognomina sunt, non potestatis. Sed quid ego mare illud vulgarium errorum ingredior? ad quodcunque hominum genus se converterit, multa ubique videbit homo vere spiritualis quæ rideat, plura quæ fleat. Plurimas opiniones deprehendet depravatissimas, et a Christi doctrinâ longe lateque dissidentes."<sup>1</sup> . . . The whole of his treatise "De Concordiâ in Religione" proceeds upon the assumption, that the truth of the gospel had been debased by the Romanists, and that it might be purified.

In another place *Harpsfield condemns Foxe for wishing that in some respects the Reformers were as good as the Romanists.*<sup>2</sup>

Harpsfield ought to admire his candour. Foxe throughout his work seeks peace and truth, and can therefore afford to speak with fairness and candour.

Harpsfield<sup>3</sup> *condemns Foxe for inserting the name of Mirandula in his Catalogue of witnesses against Rome.*

Here also Foxe is right. Did Harpsfield never read the language of this nobleman to the emperor Maximilian, in 1500?—"Reliquum est, maxime Cæsar, ut quâ te fide et pietate possum deprecari, ut sanctissimum illud propositum tuum vindicandæ in pristinam libertatem Christianæ reipublicæ, quam citius fieri possit, adimpleas. Concutitur ab externis hostibus, ab internis laceratur; et Iesu Christi Domini nostri sanguine circumseptum et consecratum ovile pejus multum perpressum est, indiesque patitur, a lupis sub ovinâ potius quam sub propriâ pelle grassantibus. Age igitur jam, Cæsar, optime; et excitis quâ ratione potes Christianis regibus, te Christo omnium regi, oves suas tam ab hostibus quam a perfidis pastoribus jamjam liberaturo, fidum ministrum exhibe."<sup>4</sup>

In the year 1406 the University of Oxford is said to have honoured itself by giving a solemn testimonial to Wycliffe of their approbation of his labours, zeal, and learning, and to have sealed it with their common seal. Foxe publishes these letters, and believes them to be genuine. *Harpsfield reminds him that letters of the same University condemned the errors of Wycliffe; and the inference is therefore drawn, that the letters in question were forged.* The last biographer of Wycliffe is unable to pronounce the evidence sufficient to decide, whether the letters of testimonial to Wycliffe were spurious or genuine.<sup>5</sup> "Considerable suspicion," he says, "hangs over the authenticity of the document; and it has been affirmed that one Peter Payne stole the University seal, and wrote the letter." It is not probable that the seal of the University could have been thus stolen; neither is it probable that the University could stultify itself by approbation of a writer and by disapprobation of his writings. It is possible that, during the vacation, a majority of Wycliffe's friends in the senate may have ordered the writing of the letters; and that this surreptitious use of the seal may have occasioned the subsequent order, that the seal of the University should be appended to no document, but in full congregation of regents in full term, or in full convocation of regents and non-regents in the vacation, and that nothing should be sealed till after one day's full deliberation. We cannot now decide whether the letters were forged or not; but the very fact that Lewis and Le Bas discuss the doubt proves to us, that the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are not to be questioned, because he believed in and defended the authenticity of the document in question.

(1) Opp. v. 49, edit. Clerici.

(2) Page 905.

(3) Page 910.

(4) Opp. Pici Mirandulæ Joan. et Joan. Francisci, Bas. 1601, tome ii. p. 846.

(5) See Le Bas's Wycliffe, p. 309.

Harpsfield<sup>1</sup> resumes his attacks on Foxe by deriding the accounts of the dying words, the patience, the zeal, and heroism of the antipapal witnesses, who were burned for protesting against the errors of the Church of Rome. He derides them; and a spurious liberality affecting gentlemanliness, and despising as enthusiastic, or nonsensical, all those higher thoughts and feelings which are peculiar to the sincere and zealous believer in the truths and sanctions of Christianity, despises them also: both are the enemies of the loftier aspirations of the soul of man. Because the martyrs were not papists, this learned but wretched fellow does not and will not see, that their deaths were as glorious as their faith was pure, as their lives were holy, or as their motives were worthy of their Christian convictions. I trust that the people of England will never be influenced by the earthborn, creeping learning, which resolves the higher aspirations of the soul after the truth for which it is willing to give the body to death into the mere ravings of the fanaticism of the blinded or infuriated partisan. I trust that the Church of England—the people of England—the *Protestants* of England—(long may the antipapal epithet, in spite of our own brethren who would despise it, retain its honourable estimation among us)—I trust that the nation and the state of England will never forget the dying words of the martyrs, upon which such men as Harpsfield would throw contempt and scorn. “See,” said Baynham, whom Harpsfield mentions with indignation and ridicule,—“see,” said the dying witness, “ye look for miracles. Here is a miracle. I feel, in this fire, no more pain than if I were on a bed of down. It is to me as a bed of roses!”—“I will never pray for thee, thou art a heretic,” said the Sheriff to Rogers at the stake. “But I will pray for thee,” was the meek answer; and while the flames were consuming him, he waved his hand in triumph.—“The blessed gospel is what I hold,” said Sanders, when they offered him a pardon if he would recant: “that do I believe; that have I taught; that will I never revoke.” And that blessed gospel, by God’s continued mercy, is still taught among us.—“Life is sweet, and death is bitter,” said Sir Anthony Kingston to bishop Hooper, when the queen had requested him to induce the bishop to recant; and when he with many tears, therefore, entreated his friend to live. “True it is,” said the bishop, “that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet!”<sup>2</sup>—“I have taught you nothing, good people,” said Taylor, on his way to the stake, “but God’s holy word, and the lessons I have taken from the Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal that truth with my blood!” And he kissed the stake when he came to it. “Merciful Father!” he prayed, “for Jesus Christ’s sake, receive my soul!” and the learned, the eloquent, the facetious, and the pious man (the qualities by which I describe him are not incompatible with each other) dies as the antipapal witness to the antipapal truth.—“I will give you the stewardship of my palace and forty pounds in money, if thou wilt recant,” said the bishop of London to poor Hunter. “I cannot turn from God!” was the victim’s answer; and he lifted up his hands to heaven, as his head sank down in the flames—“Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit!”

*Is it bigotry, is it intolerance, is it a want of liberality, as even Protestant divines are beginning to assert, to remember these fearful scenes, when the very power which taught the people that these scenes were necessary for the honour of Christ, and the benefit of the Catholic Church, still aspires to rule, and still refuses, up to this very hour, to change one doctrine, rescind one decree, or alter one law of its church:—and, what is still worse, has strengthened and confirmed all the most objectionable errors since the martyrs*

(1) Pp. 959—962, 963, etc.

(2) See present edit. vol. vi. p. 654.



suffered? While others may affect to forget, we, who study the history of the past to learn instruction for the present and the future, must never forget the record of the testimony to the truth of our present antipapal form of Christianity, established among us. I, for one, will ever be so bigoted, if the word must be applied to me, as to remember how Ferrar, the bishop of St. David's, kept his word in the flames, after he had told his friend, "that if he saw him stir from the pain of the burning, his doctrine might be disbelieved;" and he stood up in the fire without shrinking, patient to the last. Some may call his language presumption. I deem it to be the faith of a martyr, conscious of Divine support.—"I would gladly accept my pardon," said George Marsh, "if it did not tend to tear me away from God."—"Be of good cheer, brother Ridley," said old Latimer to his more accomplished and courtier-like brother-bishop, "and play the man!" And Ridley suffered with the same heroism and fortitude as the poorer and more ignoble victims, to prove to us, that the witnesses to the antipapal cause were to be alike derived from the gentlemen of the court, as from the loom or the plough.—"The Bible," said poor Bartlett Green, when he was reproached by his judge with opposing his opinion against those of the ancient fathers and prelates of the realm, "is of more authority than all fathers, all prelates, and all churches; it is the test by which all their opinions must be tried." And if the people of England, after their great deliverances in church and state, ever forget this truth, they will again deserve to see their holy priesthood changed into an unholy priestcraft; and to have the curse, and not the blessing, of the Inspirer of the Holy Scriptures rest upon them.—"That unworthy right hand! that unworthy right hand!" said the still hated, still abused, still calumniated Cranmer; and the weakness of his recantation is still remembered by the papal writer, to the dishonour of the archbishop, when his dying prayer is ridiculed, though he spake it in common with the first martyr, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"—"Be of good cheer!" said the lame man to the blind man, when he threw away his crutch, and was fastened to the stake; "my Lord of London is a good physician: he will cure thee of thy blindness and me of my lameness."—"We believe in the holy Catholic Church," said others;<sup>1</sup> and when one of the bystanders told them that he rejoiced at this part of their faith, "We believe not in the papal Catholic Church," was the answer, "but in the Catholic Church of Christ."—If it be said that many of these persons died for their own general, undefined, and sometimes therefore erroneous views of the conclusions derivable from the word of God,—it is true, I answer; *but the greater part*, like Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Ferrar, and others, *died for the very church which still remains*, by God's great and undeserved mercy upon us, still established, in their blood, by our Protestant laws, among us. Many of them, like Hillier or Hullier, who pressed the Prayer-book to his heart, when it was scornfully thrown to him, thanked God in the flames for bestowing on the kingdom that precious gift.—I feel, however, that I need not proceed to relate their dying committals of their souls to God, their prayers for mercy, their ejaculations of praise, their hosannahs and their hallelujahs to the God of Christianity, who accepted the oblations of their martyred bodies upon the altars of Smithfield, Oxford, and Colchester, and other towns, honoured by their noble deaths for the cause of the Catholic Church, and for the religion now established in England.—Harpfield could not forget them. He lived among the eye-witnesses who beheld these things. He rejoiced with his brother, the chaplain of Bonner, to do God service, by putting the Protestant members of the Church of England to death; and he laughed in triumph over their agonies,

(1) See the martyrdoms of Spicer, Denny, and Poole.

and derided, when he could not deny, the mournful narratives of John Foxe. He despises them all; but he is more especially angry with the story of Baynham, and with the exclamation, that the fire that consumed him was as a bed of roses. These words, as well as all the other expressions which I have cited, appeared to Harpsfield—and they may appear to others also—to be only the result of enthusiasm, boasting, or mockery. “They boasted,” says Harpsfield, that “they felt no pains in the fire.”<sup>1</sup>

Much railing, also, is vented against Foxe,<sup>2</sup> which requires no notice. He is abused, after much irrelevant matter, for admitting that the supreme power over the church might be in the hands of a layman.<sup>3</sup> As this question must be decided by the meaning of the two words “church” and “head of the church,” it may not be advisable to discuss its details at present. Harpsfield is scandalized at an erroneous assertion of Foxe, that eight only of the Romanists died for their faith; whereas many more could be enumerated, whom Harpsfield mentions and eulogizes. Foxe would have said, that many whom his antagonist praises as martyrs, suffered rather as traitors and rebels. But into this sad and painful recrimination I shall not now enter.

HERE, then, I end my review of the assailants of the “*veracity and fidelity*” of John Foxe. None of them, whether ancient or modern, have proved him to be an unfaithful or unfair historian. None have demonstrated that our ancestors acted unwisely in deeming the martyrologist to have been the most useful servant which the *University of Oxford* ever yet produced, without any one exception, to warn the people against the consequences of the papal supremacy over the laws of England, and over the consciences and persons of the people. None have disproved his incalculable value, in warming the hearts of his countrymen to meet the dangers which threatened them in the reign of Elizabeth; in animating them to meet with bold and unquailing resistance the Sabbath-breaking, press-persecuting folly of Laud; or in preserving the fire on the altar of God, and on the hearth of true liberty, when the last of the Stuarts dispensed with the Protestant laws, and aimed at the restoration of the ascendancy of Rome. None of his assailants have appreciated his real value, even at this moment, as the bequeather of a solemn warning to us and to our children, never to permit the domination of the unchanged papal party, or the influential revival of the unchanged papal principles which our ancestors so justly condemned. That same unchanged power would now hope to succeed, by courtesy, flattery, and an assumed liberality, which once ruled by severity, terror, and fear. It still aspires to govern us. It must necessarily, therefore, still be watched. It must be ever guarded against, with jealousy, vigilance, and courage, whether it wage its open war upon us, or whether it creep silently, slowly, and invisibly into the paradise of our Reformed Church and free state, among the fogs and mists<sup>4</sup> of our liberal opinions, foolish divisions, or revived appeals to the spurious traditions which our fathers rightly undervalued, as unworthy of comparison with the holy light, “offspring of heaven first-born,” of the written and inspired revelation. None of his assailants have convicted John Foxe of intentional mistakes, or of any error but such as might have been anticipated in volumes so numerous and extensive, and such as are common to every author and historian who has ever attempted to instruct the world. The result of every attack we have considered has been to demonstrate some excellency in his invaluable pages. Whatever be the defects of the humble

(1) “*Jactitabant se nullos in igne dolores sensisse.*”

(2) Especially in page 977. (3) Page 989.

(4) “So saying, through each thicket dark and dry,  
Like a black mist low creeping, he held on  
His midnight search,” etc.—*Paradise Lost*, b. ix. line 179, etc.

agent who has arranged the witnesses against him, and enabled the reader to examine their evidence, to compare it with the defence, and to decide on the merits or the demerits of the martyrologist; the labour will, I trust, be so far deemed to be successful, that no man from this time forward will dare to impugn the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe, nor call him by the opprobrious epithets which designate the affirmer of deliberate and wilful falsehood. To produce this effect is the task which was undertaken, and I trust it has been effectually accomplished.

But are there no faults in the volumes of John Foxe? And is he to be ranked among our historical authorities? These two questions naturally or unavoidably present themselves on the conclusion of this treatise. I will answer each question briefly, and so bid my reader farewell.

*Are there no faults in Foxe?* Ay, truly are there. But he has done his best, and there is not one wilful misrepresentation of a fact. His faults are these:—too great carelessness in the printing of the titles of men and the names of places—too careless revision of the translations, which he tells us in his reply to Alan Cope, or Harpsfield, were frequently left to others, while he prepared fresh materials for new editions. Still that carelessness is indefensible. He has other faults. He is too credulous. He speaks of Hildegardis, for instance, as if she had been endued with the miraculous gift of prophecy. He expresses himself incautiously respecting many things which the Church of England has sanctioned, and which, like the Lord's Prayer, were common to the Early Church and the Church of Rome, such as church music.<sup>1</sup> He speaks too disparagingly of such eminent men as More and Fisher; though it must be remembered that both these men were guilty of the common crime, the persecution which Foxe abhorred. He mentions the crucifying of children by the Jews, as if he believed the common fable: yet it is not impossible that some fanatical Jews may have sometimes given cause for the popular conviction. It is difficult to vindicate him from the charge of Puritanism. It is certain that if he could have effected a further reform in the Church of England, he would have conducted it further from Rome. It is difficult to distinguish between his opinions and those of the persons of whom he is speaking; this is a great defect. These are the chief popular objections; yet these are not insisted upon by the assailants whom I have noticed. I have heard these mentioned in conversation, and have seen them suggested in various notices of his merits or demerits. They are all great faults; yet they affect neither his "*veracity nor his fidelity*," and may be dismissed therefore without further notice.

But the second question is—*Ought John Foxe to be regarded as an historical authority?*

Dr. Maitland has represented the idea as absurd. Let us consider, as our best answer to the question, neither his opinions, nor his motives, nor his objects; but the vast storehouse of materials he has collected, and the mass of undisputed facts which he has related, and which are not to be found in the volumes of any other work. We shall then, I think, come to the conclusion, that he still is, what our fathers esteemed him to be—one of the first, most valuable, and unsuperseeded authorities in the English language.<sup>2</sup>

John Foxe first made generally known to the public the value of the historical manuscripts, which he consulted before they were printed. The first English edition of Foxe was printed in the early part of the reign of

(1) See the examination of Thorpe, vol. i. p. 610, col. 2, ed. 1684; vol. iii. p. 269, new edit.

(2) I omit the references to Foxe as an undoubted historical authority, which are to be found in Strype, Memorials, vol. iii. 1680 edition, with the testimony of that writer to his accuracy, p. 401; his diligence, p. 458; the citation of Foxe's MSS. pp. 60, 79, 102, 104, 138, 259, 273, App. pp. 19, 28, 66, 91, etc.; the specification of his materials, pp. 66, 145, 457; his impartiality, p. 258, etc. Strype's Memorials ought to be in the possession of every student.

Elizabeth. He makes constant use of Matt. Paris, which was first printed in 1571; of William of Malmesbury, William Huntingdon, R. Hovenden, Ethelward, and Ingulphus, which were first printed in 1596; and of Matt. of Westminster, which was printed in 1567. He quotes from manuscripts the epistle of Boniface or Winfrid;<sup>1</sup> the letter of Charlemagne;<sup>2</sup> the letters of Aleuin;<sup>3</sup> the laws of Athelstan;<sup>4</sup> the laws of Egelred;<sup>5</sup> the oration of Edgar.<sup>6</sup> All these were printed for the first time, and added to the public store of our literature, by Foxe. We cannot be surprised that all, every one of the antagonists who assailed him, excepting those who live in this more liberal age, venerated his researches and his learning, and always quote him on every point (but that to which their controversial discussions may have led them) with respect and deference as an undoubted authority. Foxe printed from the records in the Tower the charters of king William.<sup>7</sup> He confirms his statements from the registers of Hereford.<sup>8</sup> He analyses the manuscript account of the miracles of Becket.<sup>9</sup> He refers to the manuscript account of the pacification between pope Alexander and the emperor Frederic;<sup>10</sup> and to letters printed from the Tower.<sup>11</sup> The French chronicle of Thomas Grey is cited (in the same page with the letter of king John to the Pope from the Tower rolls);<sup>12</sup> and one copy only of this manuscript now remains, in the library of Christ's College in Cambridge. It was not printed till the year 1838. The eulogium of the monk of Canterbury, quoted by Foxe in the same page, is not yet printed. All these, as well as the extracts from the episcopal registers,<sup>13</sup> might not have been printed to illustrate the truth of our common histories to this very day, if John Foxe had not collected or transcribed them for the general use.

The history of the rise and progress of the Reformation is more fully and clearly illustrated by the labours of John Foxe, from the most unexceptionable contemporary authorities, than by any other writer on that ever-interesting subject. He has collected and printed numerous original documents from the registers of the bishop of London;<sup>14</sup> from those of the bishop of Lincoln;<sup>15</sup> from those of the archbishop of Canterbury;<sup>16</sup> and, what are more valuable still, from the registers of the archbishop of St. Andrew's. No one episcopal register of that period is to be found in all Scotland; so complete has been the devastation of such records in that part of the empire. When Foxe wrote, that devastation had not destroyed the registers. Foxe refers to them. "We express here," he says, "the articles against Hamilton, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers."<sup>17</sup> Very curious are some of the documents which Foxe has thus collected. Among the most so, are the letter of thanks from Louvaine to Scotland,<sup>18</sup> Hamilton's "Treatise on Justifying Faith,"<sup>19</sup> Sir Ralph Sadler's "Oration to the King of Scotland on the Papal Supremacy,"<sup>20</sup> "Articles against Borthwick and others."<sup>21</sup> Many

(1) Vol. i. p. 143, edit. 1684.

(2) Vol. i. p. 145, col. 1, edit. 1684.

(3) Vol. i. p. 146, edit. 1684.

(4) Vol. i. p. 166, edit. 1684; vol. ii. p. 44, new edit.

(5) Vol. i. p. 181, edit. 1684; vol. ii. p. 78, new edit.

(6) Vol. i. p. 189, edit. 1684.

(7) Vol. i. p. 192, edit. 1684; vol. ii. p. 51, etc. new edit.

(8) Vol. i. p. 211, edit. 1684; vol. ii. p. 150, new edit.

(9) I commend to the modern apologists of this sainted traitor vol. i. p. 255, col. 1, edit. 1684; vol. ii. pp. 250, etc. new edit.

(10) Vol. i. p. 257, col. 2, edit. 1684; vol. ii. p. 257, new edit.

(11) Vol. i. p. 283, edit. 1684; vol. ii. p. 322, new edit.

(12) Vol. i. pp. 287, 887, col. 1, edit. 1684.

(13) Vol. i. pp. 571, 563, 531, etc. edit. 1684; vol. ii. pp. 131, 192, 226, etc. new edit.

(14) Vol. ii. ed. 1684, in pp. 4 et seq. 203, 212, 217, 225, 235, 239, 246, 247, 260, 485, 486; vol. v. p. 399, new edit.

(15) Pp. 22 et seq. 195, etc.; vol. v. p. 454, etc. new edit.

(16) Pp. 497—509, 531, 532; vol. v. pp. 648, 649, etc. new edit.

(17) Vol. ii. p. 162, col. 2, ad fin. edit. 1684; vol. iv. p. 560, new edit.

(18) Vol. ii. p. 183; vol. iv. p. 561, new edit.

(19) Page 184; vol. iv. p. 566, new edit.

(20) Page 295.

(21) Page 512, ex regist. et instrumentis à Scotiâ missis. See also pp. 528, 529; vol. v. p. 625, new edit.

other records of the same date are cited by Foxe alone, which are essential to every student of history, and which assist in making his work what our fathers esteemed it to be—the completest ecclesiastical-historical library we possess. Among these may be enumerated the conference between the cardinal and the almoner of queen Catherine;<sup>1</sup> the oaths of Gardiner, Stokesley, Lec, Tunstal, &c. renouncing the papal supremacy. These are printed from the originals, and were probably taken from the proceedings of the convocation, which are now lost.<sup>2</sup> Foxe prints, too, many letters of Henry VIII. and Wolsey,<sup>3</sup> which would have been otherwise lost. He has omitted many on account of the size of his book, which can now never be recovered.<sup>4</sup>

This brings us down to his own times. Much of the history of that period was founded upon written contemporary authority. The story of the three men, *King, Debenham, and Marsh*, who were hanged for burning the rood at Dover Court, was taken from the letters of a living witness, who might therefore be referred to when Foxe's book was published.<sup>5</sup> Tindal's letters to Frith;<sup>6</sup> Bonner's letters to Cromwell;<sup>7</sup> the characteristic conference between Brusierd and Bilney on image-worship;<sup>8</sup> the highly important document from Bonner's own handwriting against Gardiner, and the letters of Lambert, were all in the possession of Foxe, and all were printed from the originals. The story of Garret,<sup>9</sup> of Barber,<sup>10</sup> of Brown,<sup>11</sup> were all printed from the affecting narratives of eye-witnesses. In the paper respecting priests' marriages from Parker,<sup>12</sup> he cites<sup>13</sup> very many old charters from their originals; which demonstrate that the marriages of priests were allowed by the ancient laws of the kingdom. Foxe is no less to be considered still useful also to the reader of history, for the information he has given to us from original sources of the foreign affairs of the kingdom. His information from Ecolampadius,<sup>14</sup> and from Spain,<sup>15</sup> appears to have been from manuscripts. He communicated also with Calais before it was lost to England; and collected from thence many interesting narratives.<sup>16</sup> In these memoranda I notice only those documents respecting which Foxe himself has given us any details; and as he generally quotes his documents without informing us of the particular sources from whence they are derived, they form but a very small portion of the invaluable and original matter which is scattered through his laborious pages. Burnet, Strype, and all our best historians have derived their principal information and documents from John Foxe; and many hundred letters, all derived from authentic sources, and only now to be found there, illustrate the period of which he writes; and prove his work to be indispensable to every one who desires both genuine and accurate knowledge of the painful subjects of his history. Raw-head and bloody-bone stories are supposed to be the subjects of his "Acts and Monuments" by the thoughtless and ignorant alone. Those who have studied his pages will never dispense with his book.

As this statement may appear strange to many, in spite of all I have said, I will still confirm my opinion of the value of John Foxe by referring to other original and most valuable documents, which are indispensable to the right understanding of the times in which he lived, and to the general illustration of English history. The record of the proceedings of the convocations in England, for instance, were destroyed in the fire of London,

(1) From a MS. in Foxe's own possession.

(3) Page 202; vol. iv. pp. 600—608, new edit.

(5) Page 250; vol. iv. p. 706, new edit.

(7) Page 315; vol. v. p. 150, etc. new edit.

(9) Page 428; vol. v. p. 421, new edit.

(11) Page 551.

(13) Page 407; vol. v. p. 340, new edit.

(15) Page 185; vol. iv. p. 594, new edit.

(2) Pages 279, 280; vol. v. pp. 71—73, new edit.

(4) Page 201.

(6) Page 307; vol. v. p. 131, etc. new edit.

(8) Page 215; vol. iv. p. 628, new edit.

(10) Page 453.

(12) Page 393; vol. v. p. 312, etc. new edit.

(14) Pp. 89, 90; vol. iv. pp. 369, 371, new edit.

(16) Page 477, col. 1, and p. 476, col. 2.

1666. Foxe gives us extracts from them, of the utmost utility.<sup>1</sup> The speech of queen Mary, at Guildhall, was taken down by one who heard it, and given to Foxe.<sup>2</sup> The documents connected with the history of lady Jane Grey are original. The curious oration of Bonner to the convocation, on the dignity of the priesthood,<sup>3</sup> was reported to Foxe by a hearer. Ridley's manuscript account of his discussion with Feckenham;<sup>4</sup> the documents exhibited by Cranmer on his examination;<sup>5</sup> the papers prepared by Ridley for his defence;<sup>6</sup> Ridley's own account of his treatment;<sup>7</sup> were all committed to Foxe, and used by him in the compilation of his work. So also the account of Bonner's actually striking, in his passion, a gentleman of rank,<sup>8</sup> with other extravagances of anger, were testified to Foxe, by those who were present. The oration of cardinal Pole, the proceedings of the council, the submission of England to the pope, and the absolution of the Lords and Commons on their knees before the cardinal, are most graphically related by Foxe;<sup>9</sup> who gives us also the autograph letter of Philip to the pope, with the letter of the cardinal. The sermon on the following Sunday at Paul's Cross, by Gardiner, is also given<sup>10</sup> from manuscript notes, "as they came to my hands," says Foxe, "faithfully gathered." Those who speak slightly of the "*veracity and fidelity*" of John Foxe cannot have studied these things. They cannot have read his constant references to original documents, and his no less constant appeal to the contemporary testimonies, by which, or by whom, the truth of his narratives was confirmed. Accumulative proofs of his "*veracity and faithfulness*" of this nature will not be valued by some. Others will demand still more proofs of his diligence, and anxiety to give relations of the events which took place in the reign of Mary; and on their account I will still continue my observations.

The accounts, then, of the examinations of some of the prisoners, drawn up by themselves, "left in writing, remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth, recorded and testified by his own writing."<sup>11</sup> The memoranda respecting bishop Hooper, who was "spare of his diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time,"<sup>12</sup> are given to Foxe by those who knew him. The original of Ridley's letter to Hooper,<sup>13</sup> the originals of Hooper's examinations,<sup>14</sup> and of Hooper's letters,<sup>15</sup> with the manuscript letters of Taylor,<sup>16</sup> Philpot,<sup>17</sup> Cranmer,<sup>18</sup> and Careless,<sup>19</sup> were all in Foxe's possession. Other proceedings against the supposed heretics were copied from the registers.<sup>20</sup> The public records also are cited.<sup>21</sup> The letters of Ferrar,<sup>22</sup> of Bradford,<sup>23</sup> of Ridley,<sup>24</sup> and of Latimer,<sup>25</sup> were collected by Foxe. The examination of George Marsh, who states that he read the English Litany every morning on his knees,<sup>26</sup> the process against Bland,<sup>27</sup> the final examinations of Ridley and Latimer,<sup>28</sup> were all communicated to the martyrologist, who anxiously endeavoured to collect original and authentic documents from all quarters. He proves his extreme candour, in his estimation of the value

(1) Vol. iii. p. 16, edit. 1684; vol. vi. p. 395, new edit.

(2) Vol. iii. p. 25; vol. vi. p. 414, new edit.

(3) Vol. iii. p. 33; vol. vi. p. 433, new edit.

(4) Vol. iii. p. 34; vol. vi. p. 434, new edit.

(5) Vol. iii. p. 39; vol. vi. p. 445, new edit.

(6) Vol. iii. p. 55; vol. vi. p. 470, new edit.

(7) Vol. iii. p. 74; vol. vi. p. 532, new edit.

(8) Vol. iii. edit. 1684, pp. 86, 87; vol. vi. p. 563, new edit.

(9) Vol. iii. pp. 89—91; vol. vi. pp. 568—574, new edit.

(10) Vol. iii. p. 92; vol. vi. p. 577, new edit.

(11) These are Foxe's words, spoken of Rogers; other prisoners also gave their papers. Vol. iii. pp. 98, 103, 107, 110, 111, 114, 115; vol. vi. pp. 591—626, new edit.

(12) Foxe. See the beautiful character given of Hooper, p. 120, vol. iii.; vol. vi. p. 637, new edit.

(13) Page 121; vol. vi. p. 640, new edit. (14) Page 123; vol. vi. p. 644, new edit.

(15) Page 129; vol. vi. p. 659, new edit. (16) Pages 140, 141; vol. vi. p. 685, new edit.

(17) Pages 459—499; vol. vii. pp. 681—711, new edit. (18) Page 563; vol. viii. p. 91, new edit.

(19) Pages 599—615; vol. viii. p. 171, new edit. (20) Pages 155, 208; vol. v. p. 715, new edit.

(21) Page 184, col. 2. (22) Page 178; vol. vii. p. 26, new edit.

(23) Pages 255—301; vol. vii. pp. 196—268, new edit. (24) Page 368; vol. vii. p. 424, new edit.

(25) Page 385; vol. vii. p. 473, new edit. (26) Page 185; vol. vii. p. 39, new edit.

(27) "Seeing," says Foxe, "we have his own testimony concerning his whole life and doings," p.

301; vol. vii. p. 288, new edit.

(28) Page 416; vol. vii. p. 540, new edit.

of these documents, by the manner in which he speaks of the account given of Cranmer by his friend Dr. Martin. "Such as that report is," says Foxe, "I thought good to let the reader understand, that he may use therein his own judgment and consideration."<sup>1</sup> His frequent appeals to eye-witnesses of the things he relates;<sup>2</sup> the manner in which the declarations he received from the persecuted of their examinations and sufferings are affirmed by him not to be credited for their own words only,<sup>3</sup> even though in one remarkable case the narrative of their sorrows was written with their own blood, and not with ink<sup>4</sup>—all these things prove to us that Foxe is worthy of our confidence, and that his "*veracity and fidelity*" cannot be assailed with either truth or honour. Disgrace has followed every attempt to destroy its value. *If Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" had not been written,*—and this is the best criterion of his merits,—*no book in the English language can be mentioned which would supply its place.* Whoever will but impartially and candidly consider the mass of the materials collected, and remember that this work was the first attempt to give to the common reader a history of the Church of Christ, as well as a narrative of the evil consequences of the one false principle, that the soul of the Christian is to be governed by authority that is fallible, on the supposition that such authority is infallible, unchangeable, and divine, must, I think, acknowledge, that the work of John Foxe is still one of the most useful, most important, and most valuable books we possess. It has never been superseded. Its loss could not have been supplied. He will also, I think, confess that our ancestors were justified in their admiration of the volumes of Foxe; and that we can name no other work, on the subjects treated upon by John Foxe, which so certainly deserved their favour, and which still continues to deserve the approbation of their sons. To appeal to the decisions of our fathers, to speak to the present age of the "wisdom of our ancestors," I well know to be, among many, the undoubted criterion of narrowness of intellect. The very expression—"the wisdom of our ancestors"—is ranked by Jeremy Bentham among the fallacies which prevent the free exercise of our judgment, in matters both of political or religious inquiry. I cannot say how this may be. I am too unlearned to fathom the wisdom of our ancestors; but I am sure that their folly in abhorring and disavouring papistry was much less than the folly of their sons; who, in spite of the experience of the past, are once more employed in reviving its power, in encouraging its usurpations and pretensions, and in depreciating and deriding the value and estimation, the "*veracity and fidelity,*" of the martyrologist, John Foxe.

The testimonies that might be adduced, to the value, the faithfulness, and the laborious integrity of the martyrologist, would be burdensome to the reader from their number and extent. I shall merely select a few, from the pens of men who were competent to form an accurate judgment, and who would not lightly have affirmed more than they knew to be true.

To commence with the highest ecclesiastical authorities of his own time, we must regard archbishop Parker as the real author of that injunction which emanated from the convocation of 1571, over which he presided,—that "in the halls and dining-rooms of all bishops, and other dignitaries, there should be kept the great Bible, and the 'Book of Martyrs'" of John Foxe.

Nor was it a slight mark of estimation, that when a code of ecclesiastical law was to be propounded (although Elizabeth's indisposition to it prevented

(1) Vol. iii. p. 549; vol. viii. p. 54, new edit.

(2) *E.g.* pp. 591, 629, 637, etc.; vol. viii. p. 159, etc.

(3) Page 663; vol. viii. p. 315, new edit., *Case of Gratwick*; and p. 672; vol. viii. p. 334, new edit., *Narrative of the Trouble, etc.* of Richard Woodman.

(4) See the case of Ralph Allerton, p. 705; vol. viii. p. 406, new edit.

its final enactment), the duty of editing that work (the *Reformatio Legum*) was confided, most probably by the archbishop, to Foxe.

Of Grindal, Parker's successor in the primacy, we need only observe, that, as has been already mentioned, he was one of Foxe's chief assistants in the compilation of the Martyrology.

Archbishop Whitgift, the next in succession in the see of Canterbury, styled him "that worthy man, who had so well deserved of this Church of England;" and he tells Mr. Cartwright, that "he had read over his 'Acts and Monuments' from one end to the other." And in another place he thus speaks: "Mr. Foxe, who hath very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter (of archbishops and metropolitans), and searched out the truth of it, as learnedly as I know any man to have done."<sup>1</sup>

The great Camden thus writes of him: "Ex eruditorum numero obiit Joannes Foxus Oxoniensis, qui Ecclesiasticam Angliæ Historiam, sive Martyrologium, indefesso veritatis studio primum Latinè postea Anglicè auctius magna cum laude contexit."<sup>2</sup>

"We now come," says Fuller, "to set down those particular martyrs that suffered in this queen's reign (Mary). But this point hath been handled already so curiously and copiously by Mr. Foxe, that his industry herein hath starved the endeavours of such as shall succeed him, leaving nothing for their pens and pains to feed upon. *For what can the man do that cometh after the king? Even that which hath been already done*, saith Solomon. And Mr. Foxe, appearing sole emperor in this subject, all posterity may despair to add any remarkable discoveries which have escaped his observation. Wherefore, to handle this subject after him, what is it but *to light a candle to the sun?* or rather (to borrow a metaphor from his book), *to kindle one single stick to the burning of so many faggots?*"<sup>3</sup>

"I desire my 'Church History' should behave itself to his (John Foxe's) 'Book of Martyrs' as a lieutenant to its captain, only to supply the place in his absence, to be supplemental thereunto, in such matters of moment which have escaped his observation."<sup>4</sup>

Bishop Burnet, who lived one hundred years after Foxe, says, "Having compared Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments' with the records, I have never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness."<sup>5</sup>

Strype<sup>6</sup> also bears witness to the accuracy of Foxe in transcribing, and contradicts the accusation of Parsons. "Foxe," he says, "was an indefatigable searcher into old registers, and left them as he found them, after he had made his collections and transcriptions out of them; many whereof I have seen and do possess. And *it was his interest that they should remain to be seen* by posterity; therefore we frequently find references to them in the margins of his book. Many have diligently compared his book with registers and council-books, and have always found him faithful."

And again—

"The credit of this book of Mr. Foxe is mightily undermined by the papists, and most professedly and earnestly by Parsons, in his book. I leave it to others to vindicate him; but yet he must not go without the commendation of a *most painful searcher into records, archives, and repositories of original acts*, and letters of state, and a great collector of MSS. And the world is infinitely beholden to him for abundance of extracts thence, communicated to us in his volumes. And as he hath been found most diligent, so most

(1) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 310; Oxford, 1824. See "Whitgift's Works," Parker Soc. vol. iii. pp. 333—336.

(3) Fuller's Church History, book viii. p. 16.

(5) Hist. of the Reformation, Preface.

(2) Annals of Elizabeth, p. 551, 8vo. ed.

(4) Fuller, book v. p. 231.

(6) Annals, vol. i. p. 376.



strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions. *And this I myself in part have found.*"

And "several passages in his book have been compared with king Edward's council-book, lately discovered, and found to agree well together."<sup>1</sup>

"Mr. John Foxe, the martyrologist," says Oldmixon, "a grave, learned, and painful divine, and an exile for religion, employed his time abroad in writing the 'Acts and Monuments' of that church, that would hardly receive him into her bosom, and in collecting materials relating to the martyrdom of those that suffered for religion in the reigns of Henry VIII. and queen Mary; all of which he published, first in Latin, for the benefit of foreigners, and then in English, for the service of his own country and the Church of England, in the year 1561. *No book ever gave such a mortal wound to Popery as this.* It was dedicated to the queen, and was in such high reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in the churches, where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion that shed so much innocent blood. The Oxonian (Ant. Wood) is not contented with saying, He was a very bitter enemy in his writing to the Roman Catholics (vol. i. p. 186), but copies that profligate libeller, Parsons the Jesuit, in abusing him as false, impertinent, and ignorant; and this learned and good man has met with many an ill word from some ecclesiastical writers, purely on account of his aversion to certain ceremonies and habits."<sup>2</sup>

"When Foxe's book was first published," says Mr. Lewis, "he was thought to have done very exquisite service to the Protestant cause, in showing, from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes and papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men, in all ages and all countries, against them; and especially under king Henry VIII. and queen Mary here in England; preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and His gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines and superstitions. *It has been found, by those who have searched the records and registers that Foxe used, that he is always faithful.* Nay, this has been owned by Collier, who takes all opportunities to depreciate his character, and undervalue his work."<sup>3</sup>

Such was Foxe's estimation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And, although a fashion has sprung up, among men of Dr. Maitland's school, of decrying Foxe as neither learned, nor accurate, nor even trustworthy, there is not wanting a goodly list even of moderns, to bear witness to his merits and value.

Dr. Wordsworth, the late master of Trinity College, Cambridge, may begin the honourable catalogue.

"I am well aware," he says, "that by the extent to which I have availed myself of Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments' I fall within the sphere of such censures as that of Dr. John Milner, in which he speaks of 'the frequent publications of John Foxe's lying Book of Martyrs, with prints of men, women, and children, expiring in flames; the nonsense, inconsistency, and falsehoods of which (he says) he had in part exposed in his 'Letters to a Prebendary.' I am not ignorant of what has been said, also, by Dr. J. Milner's predecessors in the same argument, by Harpsfield, Parsons, and others. But neither his writings nor theirs have proved, and *it never will be proved, that John Foxe is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all*

(1) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 377. In vol. ii. p. 44, Strype calls Foxe a "grave, learned, and painful divine."

(2) Oldmixon, History of the Reformation, pp. 336, 337, folio, London, 1739.

(3) Lives of Wieland and Pecoek, Preface, p. 13.

*historians.* We know too much of the strength of Foxe's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by Dr. John Milner's censures than to charge them with falsehood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Foxe's narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken. And surely we are indebted to the popish ecclesiastics of that day for having thus faithfully recorded the opinions for which they persecuted these '*brethren in Christ*;' and let it be remembered, that it is from their own registers that Strype, Foxe, and other historians have drawn the greater part of the particulars they relate. How great, then, is the effrontery of those writers who attempt to persuade us, that the accounts given by Foxe are forgeries of his own devising!"<sup>1</sup>

To Dr. Jenkyns, my brother prebendary at Durham, the editor of the works of Cranmer, I wrote on the same point of the martyrologist's fidelity and truth. He replied in these terms:—"I had occasion, in editing '*Cranmer's Remains*,' to compare several of the papers printed by Foxe with the original documents; and, on such comparison, I had good reason to be satisfied with the martyrologist's fidelity and accuracy."

Mr. Prebendary Soames, himself one of our best ecclesiastical historians, writes:—"Of publications tending to wean Englishmen from Romish prejudices, no one probably had a more extensive operation than Foxe's Martyrology. The first portion of this important work, which is principally an historical exposure of the Papacy, was originally printed in Latin on the Continent, whither the author had fled from the Marian persecution. Having arrived at home soon after Elizabeth's accession, Foxe was encouraged by various members of the hierarchy to crown his former labours, by adding to them copious accounts of those who had perished as religious delinquents under the late queen. Every facility was afforded to him for the completion of this task in the most satisfactory manner; and he showed himself fully worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Invariable accuracy is not to be expected in any historical work of such extent; but it may be truly said of England's venerable martyrologist, that his relations are more than ordinarily worthy of reliance. His principal object being, indeed, to leave behind him a vast mass of authentic information relating to those miserable times which it had been his lot to witness, he printed a vast mass of original letters, records of judicial processes, and other documentary evidence. The result of this judicious policy was a work which has highly gratified the friends of Protestantism, and successfully defied its enemies. Numerous attacks have been levelled at the honest chronicles of Romish intolerance, but they have ever fallen harmless from the assailant's hand."<sup>2</sup>

Professor Smythe adds his testimony:—

"The real presence in the Eucharist was the great point on which the lives of men depended. The student should, by all means, turn to Foxe's '*Book of Martyrs*;' let him look at the doctrines for the affirmation or denial of which men, and even women, were thrown into the flames; particularly, let him look at the disputation held before Henry VIII., and again by Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, at Oxford; he will see, and if he is inexperienced in such subjects he will see with astonishment, the preposterous manner in which logic and metaphysics were made the ceremonies that preceded the execution and agonies of those eminent martyrs. Let him consider again what were the reasons, for which Cranmer himself had before tied his victims to the stake.

"I do not detail the points upon which the prelate disputed, or the *reasons*

(1) Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biography*, Preface, pp. 21, 22; London, 1818.

(2) Soames's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iv. pp. 721, 722; London, 1828.

for which he put an unhappy woman and an inoffensive foreigner to death. They are to be found, the first in Foxe, the second in Burnet. I cannot detail to you particulars of this nature."<sup>1</sup>

"Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' should be looked at. It is indeed in itself a long and dreadful history of the intolerance of the human mind, and at the same time of the astonishing constancy of the human mind; that is, it is at once a monument of its lowest debasement and its highest elevation.

"The volumes of Foxe are also everywhere descriptive of the manners and opinions of the different ages through which the author proceeds.

"Foxe may always be consulted when the enormities of the papists are to be sought for."<sup>2</sup>

Other testimonies, and very many, might be adduced; but the list shall be concluded with the following most reasonable recommendation of the work by Dr. Samuel Waldegrave, the present bishop of Carlisle, who says:—

"The Convocation of the English clergy did wisely when, in the days of Elizabeth, they enacted that every parish church in the land should be furnished with a copy of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.' For—chained, perchance, lest it should be lost, but unclasped that all who would might read—that chronicle kept well in the people's memory the true character of the tyrannous apostasy, from which they had been so mercifully rescued at the blessed Reformation. On those pages Rome was pourtrayed by her own acts—her *facta* not her *verba*. And, when she was tried by that criterion, there could be no questioning the assertion that she was indeed that Babylon of which it is written, 'Come out of her, My people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' (Rev. xviii. 4.) For does not our author prove that Rome is, and ever has been, 'drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus'? And is not this a distinguishing mark of the apocalyptic Babylon? (Rev. xvii. 6.)

"We should do wisely in the days of Victoria to outvie the Reformers of the sixteenth century, by placing a copy of the 'Book of Martyrs,' not indeed in every church, but in every house, yea, and in every hand. And is there not a cause? Rome is labouring, with redoubled effort, for the subjugation of Britain. She attacks us openly from without, while there are traitors ready to open our gates from within. And the people have forgotten that she is a siren who enchants but to destroy. It is time that the mask should be torn from her face, and that she should be recognised once more as 'Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth.' (Rev. xvii. 5.)

"Happy, thrice happy, each mother's son who refuses to drink of the cup of that sorceress! Happy, thrice happy, each mother's son who receives not the mark of the Beast, either visibly on his forehead, by avowed submission to Rome, or covertly in his hand, by adopting the tenets and doing the work of Rome, even while nominally protesting against her usurpations! For such are on the Conqueror's side; and though the strife be fierce and the battle be long, such shall one day wear the conqueror's crown, as the vaults of heaven re-echo the conqueror's song: 'Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God: for true and righteous are His judgments: for He hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of His servants at her hand.' (Rev. xix. 1, 2.)

"SAMUEL CARLISLE."

(1) Professor Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, vol. i. p. 252. London, 1840.

(2) Ibid. vol. i. p. 263.

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## APPENDIX. No. I.

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THE following extract from, or rather remnant of, a letter is found among the Harleian MSS., and endorsed "John Foxe to a noble person to receive his wife." The circumstances alluded to in this letter are supposed to have been the origin of the first work of John Foxe:—

"But yow wyl say, thys offence is heynous, and unpardonable. Yf yow can shew me any offence, w<sup>ch</sup> beyng repented not to be pardonable w<sup>t</sup> God, or yf in y<sup>e</sup> whole course of your own lyfe, wel examined, you fynd not as grett provocation of God hys severite, as thys, than is it somethynge y<sup>t</sup> you objecte; but if other wyse then I besече your honorable good lordship for y<sup>e</sup> Lord Christs sake, to lerne of hym aboue, how to doo here in earth. Yf S. Paul calleth matrimonie between mā and wyfe, a sacramēt of y<sup>e</sup> inseparable cōiūction betwen Christ and y<sup>e</sup> church hys spouse, to whose repentance he dalye pardoneth many and grett transgressions; then let thys example of hym breede in your godly breste some lyke imitation, to do not what flesh and bloud peraduēture wold suggeste unto yow; but what christian pietie and clemētie, w<sup>ch</sup> superexalteth iudgmēt, as S. Iames saieth, through y<sup>e</sup> Lords spiritt doth persuade you: in w<sup>ch</sup> so doing I doubt not, but your honorable goodnes shall find at length y<sup>e</sup> same to turne to y<sup>e</sup> beste for both partes; for her, in releaving her sorrowful restless oppressed soule, sufficiently hetherto afflicted; for yourself, in eschuyng such scruples and perturbations, w<sup>ch</sup> may peraduēture hereafter encōber y<sup>e</sup> inward quietnes of your mynd, when yt wyl be layte to helpe. Nether do I wryte thys eyther to terrifie you, or to diminish or excuse y<sup>e</sup> fall of that lady, w<sup>ch</sup> I confess indeed to be great, and to great, if yt had pleased God otherwise for her state and nobilitie; but yet as great as yt is, greater I fynd in y<sup>e</sup> gospel, w<sup>ch</sup> notwithstanding hath found grace and faouore, as thys also may fynd w<sup>t</sup> you, as I well hope by y<sup>e</sup> Lords grace yt shall, be-seachyng his almyghty mercy, so to work in your noble hart, that her ladyshyp may fynd no lesse faouour w<sup>t</sup> yow, then she fyndeth w<sup>t</sup> her Sauour in heauen, who no doubt deliteth in nothing more then in y<sup>e</sup> conversion of a synful synner; yea, what if yt so pleased hym to suffer thys inconuenience . . . unhappy castyng down to lyght upon her, therby to wyñe hys servant to a better lyfe hereafter. As comonly we see so to fall out none to be better then such whom from iniquitie grace reclaimeth to better reformation, for they comonly stand faste for ever. Although in verie truth yt had been rather to be wysshed, if yt so pleased the Lord, thys falle neuer to haue happened. Notwithstandyng seyng such falles do ouertake mans fraylite sometymes, better it is in my mynd to ryse agayn w<sup>t</sup> humilitie, than to stand w<sup>t</sup> pride: he goeth farre, they saye, w<sup>ch</sup> neuer returneth agayn; and deape is y<sup>e</sup> falle, that neuer aryseth; but wher arysing is by grace and amēdmet, y<sup>e</sup> falle hurteth nothyng, but causeth y<sup>e</sup> partie to stand more faster. Yf S. Paul consydering y<sup>e</sup> cōuersion of Onesim, some tymes a wicked seruāt, wrote to Philemon hys master for hym to be receaued: in asseamble wise, why may not I wrytyng to your good honour, not for your seruāt but for your owne wyffe, use the lyke speach for her, as S. Paul dyd for hym? What yf she slypte from yow for a tyme, y<sup>t</sup> you myght receave her agayn much better then euer she was before, beyng now both a trew seruāt unto her Sauour, and

a true faythful wyfe to you for euer? w<sup>ch</sup> hope unlesse upon ryght sure argumets I certenly I cōceauved of her ladyshyp, I would not haue enterprised thys my trauayle and sute in her behalf."

In another hand,

"Joh. Fox to a noble person to receive his wife."<sup>1</sup>

*De non plectendis Morte Adulteris Consultatio Ioannis Foxi. Impressum Londini per Hugonem Synghletonum, sub Intersignio D. Augustini. Anno Domini MDXLVIII.*

GENEROSO VIRO THOME PICTONO I. FOXUS SALUTEM ET PACEM  
IN CHRISTO.

Ut semper ab omni contentionis studio natura fui alienissimus, nihil non ferme malens concedere, quam contentionis funiculum cum aliis trahere: ita nullo modo peccatorum causam possum deserere, pro quibus tam lubenter mortuus est Christus, quin simul cum Samaritano sancium illum semianimum oleo sumptibusque adjutem quod possim. Quanquam scio equidem non defuturos, quibus caussam parum hic plausibilem aut favorabilem videbor sustinere. Plerique ita omnes ad condemnandum quam ad ignoscendum sumus procliviores. Nimirum tam atrox res peccatum videtur omnibus, tot patitur oculos, tot habet iudices, tot animadversores sustinet, cui nec ipse patrocinari in præsencia aut possim aut velim. Sed miror hanc probationem, Christianorum etiam, inhumanitatem dicam aut philautiam, qui cæteros usque adeo abhorrere solent in vitia prolapsos, quasi Dii ipsi terrestres sint, aut ab iisdem notis prorsus immunes. Neque quisquam fere, ut nunc sunt mores, invenitur, qui in traducendis alienis offensionibus non cupit suam nobilitate probitatem. Atque ut hoc in Deo justissimum esse potest, certe in hominibus nimis quam incivile ac inhumanum videtur mihi. Iam vero cum neque Deus ipse in nos eam exerceat severitatem, qui libenter nobis condonavit omnia, ac quotidie condonat collabentibus. Quanto tum æquius mortales ipsos mitiores in se esse iudices existimandum est; moderatam reprehensionem aut publica magistratuum officia non improbo. Cæterum odium hoc, hæc tam acerba indignatio in privatis professoribus etiam, non solum in vitia, set et in homines ipsos, nescio an hominibus convenit, certe Christianorum parum respondet professioni, cujus adeo vis omnis quid aliud est tandem, quam inexhausta quædam erga peccatores charitas et tolerantia? præsertim qui natura non voluntate mali sunt. Alioqui enim justis ac insontibus quorsum Christo opus erat, aut redemptione? Verum longe diversa est humani iudicij censura. Quos bonos videmus, hos libenter amplectimur. Contra si quis quid paulo gravius admittit per vitæ imbecillitatem, quanto supercilio, quam censoria majestate in miserum destomachamur, quam execramur, etiam viri consortium abominantes! Attamen ita humano iudicio nobis obsequendum est, ne Evangelicæ charitatis interim prætereamus disciplinam, quæ quoniam ubique nunc adeo frigere incipit apud Christianos, non putavi dissimulandam sententiam meam: in qua si quid à me vel imprudentius assertum sit, aut à vero dissimulandum, totum id tibi, mi Picto, limandum deferro, ac corrigendum summitto. Opto tibi cum omnibus christianis fratribus pacem et gratiam christianam. Tuus I. Foxus.

DE NON PLECTENDIS MORTE ADULTERIS CONSULTATIO.

Si in libera Christianorum ecclesia liberum sit animi mei declarare sententiam, equidem nec utile nec necessarium iudico, ut in adulterio deprehensi mortis supplicio afficiantur. In qua tamen sententia hoc mihi primum præfandum est, neque me aliorum sententiis præiudicatum velle, tum neque contra politica jura aut civilem administrationem ullam hic instituere disputationem.

(1) Harl. MSS 416, art. 99, fol. 158. It must be observed that the letter bears an endorsement in a different hand:—"To my verie good friend Mr. John Foxe in Grub Streete." This endorsement, however, is inconsistent with the contents of the letter.

Quod si ita reipublicæ ratio suadeat, ut moriantur adulteri, hocque consultissimum esse videatur ad publicam humanæ societatis tranquillitatem, nihil reclamo, quin civiles magistratus præscribant sanxiantque in iis rebus pro arbitrato suo. Gestant enim legitimum gladium, quem nobis nullo pacto ipsis è manibus extorquere licet, quibus adeo omnem obedientiam præcipit christiana professio. Cæterum si id agant ecclesiastæ doctoresque evangelici, qui zelo tituloque ecclesiæ huc instigant principes, quasi Christi negotium agentes, id primum videant, ne, suum magis zelum quam evangelicam disciplinam secuti, impediunt potius Christi causam quam provehant. Utcumque enim in rebus hujusmodi arbitraria est principum potestas statuendi ac decernendi pro re nata, minime hæc profecto sævitia in ecclesiasticum doctorem competit, qui legum horrorem ac asperitatem delinire deberet, non excuere principum animos; ad lenitatem ac christianam christotita subhortari, non classicum accinere severitatis, non faces præbere ad incendia, non iræ materiam suggerere. Etiam in priore testamento diserte testatur Dominus, non velle se peccatoris mortem, sed ut convertatur ac vivat potius. Quanto id ipsum luculentius expressit Filius Dei Christus tot exemplis concionibusque suis, addita insuper redemptione per sanguinem suum, qua non justos sed flagitiosissimos etiam quosque, quicumque aliquando ad se converterent, è Mosaica obligatione mirabili triumpho expedit. Hic si se tam exorabilem ac propitium ostendit in ignoscendis peccatoribus, in redimendis etiam, cur tum non expriment, non initantur indolem ac disciplinam illius, qui illius se profitentur discipulos? Si sæculi hujus indies accrescens libido ac impietas tantopere eos commovet, quæso quæ tempora unquam fuere inquinatiora quam et cum Christus eum apostolis suam inchoabat prædicationem? Atqui magis hoc nomine opus erat istorum vigilantia in resecandis vitiis. Infeliciter medetur morbo qui vitam aufert ægotanti. Alioqui si morte illico sit occurrendum mortalium vitiis, quorsum opus pastorum cura aut ministerio, quando id per magistratus confici facillime poterat? Quo tum attinet pastorum institutio nisi ut horum salubri cura humanæ imbecillitati consulatur? quæ alioqui natura sua plusquam præceps in omne flagitium ruit. Tolle doctrinæ præsidium, tolle pastorem functionem, quid habet humana fragilitas quo foveatur, quo instituat? pastores enim ac præsides verbi quid aliud sunt vulgo, quam patrum vice erga filios tenerimos? Quis unquam pater filium aberrantem occidit? at paterna potius indulgentia castigat ad meliorem resipiscentiam. Quod si patres ipsi in tyrannos vertantur ac iudices: quid spei amplius superest filiis si quando usu veniat ut prolabantur? Et quis nostrum non est aliquando lapsus, et adhuc labitur sæpenumero? Exempla etiam petamus à sanctissimis. Quid Davidis sanctimonia integrius? quid Solomonis prudentia sublimius? et tamen turpissimi ipsorum lapsus abunde nos docere possunt, quid in quemque mortalium queat cadere. Atque illi tum etiam hæc commiserant, sub Mosaico adhuc testamento abstracti, nondum evangelica gratia orbi prodita, in quos tamen non usque adeo sævierunt prophetæ, nec quicumque illis deferebant aliud, quam quod à Domino aperta voce acceperunt: neque enim tum quicumque agebatur nisi ex sententia Domini, hæc sola expectabatur à populo, sine hac nulla edebatur prophetia, nec propheta prædicabat. Atque utinam pari religione id observatum nunc esset apud pastores evangelicos, ut nemo adferret quicumque in suggestum nisi sermones Dei, ut ait apostolus, ac ea quæ à Doctore Spiritu audita ac comperta essent. Quanquam ne tum quidem defuerint personati prophetæ, qui commentitia oracula occinebant populo, sed ii suam non Domini sententiam enunciabant. Atque equidem omnibus votis optarim nullos extare hujusmodi in populo christiano, qui *eiki physioimenoï hypo tou noos tis sarkos autou*, ac frustra sufflati in iis quæ nunquam viderunt, quicquid ipsis cerebri sui iudicium aut mentis devotio suggerit, continuo autumant pro evangelico oraculo obtrudendum populo. Mysticus ac divinus est grex, Christi populus, proinde non nisi divinis ascendens sermonibus. Suspectum esse debet quicquid humanum est, quantumvis alioqui plausibile, aut rationi abbladians: Dei vox, veritas ipsa, fallere non potest, in qua sola consistit omnis reipublicæ christianæ administratio: graviter itaque Paulus ministros propheticos ad suum exemplum provocat, ne quis dicturus in ecclesia loquatur, nisi ut sermones Dei intelligens mirum nullam recipiendam doctrinam quantumvis probabilem aut verisimilem in ecclesia spirituali, nisi quæ è verbo Dei aut Spiritus illius certissimo instinctu proficiscitur. Alioqui multa afferri possunt ab humano iudicio ac

Magistratibus non resistenda.

Ezechiæ xviii.

Vitiis occurrentium est ecclesiasticis.

Pastores patres populo.

1 Kings xii. Nihil agendum pastoribus nisi ex consensu domini.

Col. ii. 18



ratione petita, et æqua, et salubria, quæ tamen non ut sermones Dei nobis admittenda sunt. Quod quisque à Deo certiore aliqua fide aut instinctu acceperit, vel tuto efferre potest, juxta Davidicum illud: "Credidi propter quod locutus sum." Alioqui fallere potest quidquid ædferat humana opinio quantumvis æqui aut veri simile. Ita justum fortassis ac equum videri possit, ut moriantur adulteri, si penes humanam rationem sit judicium rei: cæterum in iis rebus non humana ratio sed voluntas Dei adhibenda est in consilium, quæ non iudicii nostris sed Spiritu ac verbo suo metienda est. Sæpe enim fit, ut quæ nobis recte ac legitime facta videantur illius iudicio non ita approbentur, et è diverso: quæ nos pro indignissimis habemus atque explodimus, iis applaudit Deus, atque in gratiam recipit. Sic Judæi olim superciliosi virtutum suarum persuasione turgidi, reliquas gentes et publicanos ceu execrabiles fastidiebant. Sic hodie superbus mundus afflictos, squalidos, calamitosos ridet ac nauseat ut catharmata, qui tamen apud Deum sunt fortassis inter acceptissimos. Tantum interest inter Dei iudicium et hominum. Quemadmodum merito audimus apud Esaiam: "Quantum distat cœli terræque intercapedo, tantum discrepant viæ meæ à viis vestris et cogitationes meæ à cogitationibus vestris, dicit Dominus." Ideo fit quod mens humana à principio vitata non aliter caligat in illius rebus, quam noctua ad solem, quod dicitur, unde recte propheta clamat alibi: "Ubi scriba, ubi sapiens hujus mundi?" Satis superque nos commonefaciunt antiqua exempla, quorsum evasit illorum temeritas qui in hierarchia christiana humanum adeo admiscentes iudicium tot præscriptiones, tot onera, tot sanxionum sarcinas obruserunt plebi, quibus dum ornare studebant rempublicam Christi, quid aliud quam deformarunt ac vastarunt omnia? Quo magis nobis omnibus oculis advigilandum est, tum maxime pastoribus ecclesiæ, ne quid præcipiti iudicio agamus, præsertim in iis rebus quæ non habent apertum Scripturæ firmamentum. Scio quanta severitate per Mosen mulctata sunt adulteria in lege veteri, sed cur illam appellamus veterem, nisi recentior subiisset lex, cui par est priorem cedere? Alioqui si nihil arbitrentur in rebus hujusmodi mutatum esse, cur duo edita sunt testamenta? Cur non prius perduravit, si nihil in eo inesset, quod à succedente posteriore antiquari oportuit? Sin ipsi non poterint inficiari, quin jam aliter mutantur res, quid igitur mutatum sit, aut non mutatum, ipsi definiant. Sed scio quid Scholastica Theologia mihi ilico obganniet, quæ cum in tres partitiones Mosaicum instrumentum distinguit, nihil aliud præter ceremoniam duntaxat partem nunc abrogari putat. Verum cur tum Jesus patriæ legis secutus iudicium, non jussit lapidari adulteram manifestariam? Cur Paulus incestum excommunicatum Corinthiis restituit? Cur idem palam profitetur nos mortuo prorsus priore marito, in legitimo conjugio nupsisse alteri? non unam videlicet legis partem, sed ipsam universam legem intelligens, quæ non tantum in ceremoniis continebatur, sed etiam in decretis nobis adversabatur; neque enim ceremoniæ nobis quicquam obfuerunt, verum iudicia et chirographum præceptorum Dei, adeoque hoc ipsum dicit sublatum è medio suffixum cruci Christi. Quamobrem si non jam secundo marito nupsimus, nimirum à priore sævitia in alterius testamenti jus ac libertatem traducti, cur tum superiores constitutiones revocamus, veluti à Christo ad Mosen, à calcaria (ut aiunt) in carbonariam delapsuri? Quis tam inscius est Scripturarum, qui nesciat veteres illas sanxiones legis Mosaicæ non ita datas, ut perpetuo duraturas, verum pro tempore promulgatas illi populo scilicet, veluti pædagogici vice, propter transgressionem, donec adveniret ipsemet domus Author, patriæque Pater, Christus, moderaturus videlicet familiam suam pro arbitrio atque imperio suo. Non aliter ac si Tyranno cuiquam Areopagitarum intolerabili novus aliquis, molliorque rex succederet, non necesse haberet omnia pro illius decretis placitisque agere, at ipsi liceret legitimam rempublicam pro ratione facilitateque sua temperare. Non quod censeam Mosen Christi in familia ministrum quasi tyrannum injustis legibus rempublicam Dei administrasse. Quid enim justius lege Dei, aut æquius, quæ ab ipsa justitia proficiscitur? Neque omnia quæ severa sunt, ilico pro injustis ducenda sunt. Tum quid si Deus cum populo suo severius egit in coercendis ac puniendis illorum flagitiis, pro temporis illius ratione justam iram suam de cœlo patefaciens, severe is quidem, at non injuste egit. Cæterum ea nunc temporis difficultate defuncti sumus, aliisque in imperium successit Princeps, qui superiores leges non abolet, ut injustas, sed lenitate severitatem illarum ac rigorem temperat: ut jam usu exerceant, non damnt vigore, regant, non obligent, pungant, non occidant Christianos

perinde ac si serpenti aculeus eximatur, manet quidem serpens, ac sibilare potest, at veneno inficere nequicquam poterit. Cujus rei luculentum apud Mosen ipsum constat documentum. Quippe in Hebræo populo, primum multos peremerat serpentum virulentia, tamen postquam æneus serpens suffigebatur, prorsus adempta illis est omnis lædendi facultas. Hoc quid aliud adumbrat nobis quam venturum Christum, qui soluto pro peccatis pretio legem esset enervaturus, ejus lethali maledicto mortales omnes succumbebamus. Verum quid retulit tanto sudore comparasse nobis hanc à lege immunitatem, nisi comparatam nos retinuerimus? Quid aliud tot retro sæculis moliti sunt episcopi, pontifices, ac scribæ hujus sæculi, quam ut publica hæc novi testamenti libertas ad quam paucissimos pateret, dum tot vinculis ac repagulis misera adstrinxerant conscientias, quas Christus tanto pretio vindicavit ad libertatem, quod jam olim etiam Augustini temporibus perspectum est, unde merito vir ille conquestus dicitur, paulo minus tolerabiliorem Judæorum fuisse conditionem, quam Christianorum. Et quid aliud nunc quam exempla illorum quodam modo imitatur, qui non cessamus adhuc legibus tam cruentis cumulare ecclesiam Christi, in qua peccatores plerique sumus certe infirmi omnes. Non hic ago patrum carnalis licentiæ, quo impunitius peccent ii qui nunquam meditantur resipiscentiam. Nec vellico politicas ac ordinarias leges, quæ reipublicæ nomine pacisque publicæ salubriter à magistratibus imponuntur. Verum non probo istam in theologis importunitatem, qui sic acuunt civiles leges præter omnem necessitatem, certe longe præter professionem. Horum erat gratiam evangelicam quam latissime disseminare, populum invitare ad resipiscentiam, infirmos spiritu lenitatis ducere, præfractos à peccatis, non à vita abducere, denique ita gregem christianum instituere, ut quam minime opus esset legibus. Id autem non vi ac morte efficient, sed Spiritu ac vigore verbi, non si plurimorum occiderint corpora, sed si internum peccatorem gladio Spiritus confoderint. Siquidem altius penetrat in medullas ossium fortiusque rapit vox verbi efficax, quam mille leges aut ulli gladii. Hæc illa panoplia est, qua concionatores belligerare debent, hæc unica via ac medela est, si adulteris vitam humanam repurgari volueris, nimirum ut mœchos ad continentiam non ad mortem duxeris. Neque enim vitium est in carne, sed profundius latet in concupiscentia: hæc primum medenda pars est, qua semel curata, facile corrigitur quicquid in carne contrahitur. Ea si vitiata manet, nihil efficit legum externarum severitas. Coercere fortassis externam possit licentiam, sed quid hoc ad vitæ christianæ correctionem, dum nihilominus mens non cessat mœchari, manetque adultera. Spirituale hoc hucus, spiritualibus proinde pharmacis medicandum. At qui occidit, non is medicatur: qui corpus aufert, non adfert resipiscentiam. At quo tandem ista subservit concionatorum professio ac institutio, nisi ut collapsos erigant, confractos consolident, oves errantes moneant, ægras consolentur, perditas restituant. Et prohibet Dominus in Evangelio resecari arborem jam computrescentem, at limo fimoque foviri vult spe sanioris fructus. Alioqui quorsum opus esset illorum cura atque opera in ecclesia christiana, si oneratis non est inserviendum ac laborantibus? Validis enim non est opus medico, juxta sententiam Domini. Jam quo pacto subserviunt imbecillitati fraternæ, qui morti adjudicandos censent eos qui prolabantur? Quis unquam medicorum operam ministrat ægrotanti occisurus eum quem in tutela salutis suscipit? Et quid ecclesia evangelica est aliud, quam myrothecia quædam omne genus alexipharmacis exuberans? quid aliud ministri Christi, quam medici? et populus, quam colluvies languentium, laborantium, cæcorum, claudorum, paralyticorum, quos quisquis propter ægritudinem deserit, is confiteatur nescire se quid est ecclesiam agere. Olim ea Christianorum vigeat charitas, ut quo plus quisquam auctoritatis teneret in ecclesiam id potissimum exerceret in servandis quamplurimis. Talis erat Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus. Talis Babylas Antiochonus, quibus laudi summæ vertebatur, quod principum sævitiam colibentes, præcibusque suis intercedentes pro facinorosis, quosdam è judicum manibus expederunt alioqui perituros. Et quid aliud tot concionibus agit Christus quam curam discipulis injicit ad tuendos ac fovendos suos, dum eos salem terræ, lucemque mundi appellat, dumque Petro tanto studio commendat ascendendum infirmum gregem? Ita admonens eos, "Quemadmodum me misit vivens Pater, ita ego mitto vos." Non mittebatur ille ad malorum perniciem, sed ad salutem, ne arundinem quidem quassatam proterens, nec fumigans linum

Num. xxi

Officium  
pastorum.Ratio  
purandi  
adulteria.Pastorum  
professio.

Luc. xiii.

Luc. v.

Ambrosius.  
Babylas.

Mar. v.

Joan. ult

extinguens; non malum malo rependens, sed pro inimicis etiam mortuus est; non vindicans mortalium scelera, cum id illi iustissime licuisset, sed gratiam ac ignoscantiam concedens omnibus, respicientes ultero amplexus est, pervicaces reliquit pœnitentiæ. Porro doctrinam hanc tot insuper exemplis comprobatur, dum peccatores ac peccatrices toties excusatur apud pharisæos, dum publicanis comminatur, filium profugum obviis amplexibus recipit, septies septuagenariam remissionem Petro imperat, zizania sinit crescere, Petrum jubet gladium recondere, adulteræ patrocinator, cujus causam si non tutandam suscepisset, cur non simpliciter legis subscribit sententiæ? cur tam potenti miraculo illius profligat accusatores, relictam cur absolvit, cur dimisit absolutam? Quid si istis nunc rediturus Christus sceditates ac adulteria itidem inscriberet in frontibus, qui tanta aviditate adulteros vocant ad supplicium; aut quid si ipse Mosaica severitate lapidibus committeret, quoscunque novit hujus noxæ reos, exorsus primum ab istis; miror si omnes in hunc diem superessent, qui hanc legem tantopere expetunt à magistratibus. Nullius carpo mores, nec vitam cuiquam invideo, sed quam inique faciunt, qui sibi misericordiam adeo expetunt à Domino, ipsi nullam conservis suis exhibent. Non sentio de magistratibus. Tantum de iis loquor qui se evangelicæ gratiæ dispensatores profitentur, omnisque eorum doctrina converti debet ad salutem populi, censors atque aristarchos tam rigidos agunt in ecclesia. Quod si quid sit in vulgi moribus, quod graviorem exigat animadversionem, habet politia magistratus ac præfectos suos, qui si id iudicent expedire reipublicæ, ut tollantur adulteri, modo secuti interim rationem reipublicæ non necessitatem legis Mosaicæ, quanquam et hi meminerint suis quoque legibus Paulinum illud *to epietikes* adtemperandum esse, non debent profecto iis adversari pastores evangelii. Cæterum ipsos faces præbere, atque huc classico suo instigare principes, (nescio quam sit usitatum,) certe parum respondet professioni. Si civilis duntaxat causa sit, alienum faciunt ab instituto. Si spiritualis sit, proferant in evangelico testamento locum unum ubi Christus, aut ullus Christia postolus, trucidari jubeat adulteros sive etiam consentiat. Scio quid dicat lex Mosaica: sed parum isti advertunt officium Moseah, aut mysterium voluntatis Dei intelligunt, qui ducem illum ecclesiæ nostræ constituunt. Quid enim aliud Moseah, quam prophetica umbra Christi? Quid aliud dux ille plebis Mosaicæ deliniabat, quam ducem verum illum orbis venturum Filium Dei? Quid lex illius tabularis, nisi typus quidam fuerat Christi veræ ac spiritualis legis per Spiritum Sanctum in cordibus nostris inscribendæ? Illius tot iudicia ac minæ quid aliud designant, nisi acerrimam ac sempiternam Dei ultionem iis inflingendam, qui Filii sui præceptis non sunt obtemperaturi? Denique quid illius res gestæ scriptæque adeoque omnis vita erat, nisi figurata ac mystica quædam imago Christi secuturi, in hoc nobis à Deo prodita, ut certiore nunc fide apprehendamus revelatum, quem tot figuris demonstrabat adventurum? Quamobrem ut Mosem equidem fateor principem fuisse prophetarum Dei, ita non alio tamen in ordine ac numero eum collocandum existimo apud Christianos, nisi ut prophetam illum accipiamus, hoc est, ut minister sit Christi, non magister ecclesiæ. Id honoris soli debetur Christo, cujus si isti nunc discipulos se profitentur, ex illius præscripto agentes omnia, qua fronte id ausint attentare, cujus nullum in præceptore unquam exemplum viderint? Neque vero quæro, num per Moseah legem animadvertere licet in mœchos, sed quid in hac re statuit evangelium, quid dicat disciplina apostolica? Quod si adeo apud nos pollere debet Mosaici testamenti autoritas, tot sæculis nobis præcessit Christus, præcesserunt apostoli, multaque ab iis gesta audimus, in quibus non omnia quadrant ad Mosaicam disciplinam, cur non istos æque obligabat testamenti illius autoritas? Immo cur tam libere interdum resili-erunt, nonnunquam aperte etiam negligentes illius præscriptiones, si tanta religione nobis illum recipiendum arbitramur? Quot illi peccatores procumbentes agnoscebant flagitia aperte à Moseah condemnata, quos tamen ille nihilominus legitima autoritate indemnes dimiserat, nos videlicet admonens, quales oporteat esse erga peccatores. Alioqui si Moseah adhuc irrefragabilis stat autoritas, quid hoc vult in evangelio, ubi Dominus palam testatur sese etiam Dominum esse sabbati? Et tamen sabbatum celeberrimum honorem in præceptis Mosaicis habuit, ex quo facile liquere potest, quid de universo illo testamento sentiendum sit, ubi Christi accedit autoritas. Itaque Paulus toties de lege disputans, quid aliud appellat eam nisi pædagogum Judæis usque ad Christum, innuens videlicet nihil esse in lege tam sublime, aut divinum, quin

Lucæ v.  
Lucæ xv.  
Mat. xviii.  
Mat. xiii.  
Ioa. xviii.  
Ioan. viii.

Moses  
nihil  
aliud  
quam  
typus  
Christi.

Matt. xii.

Gai. iii.

Christi multo esset superior futura autoritas. Præterea cur non idem Corinthium illum incestum abominando adulterio detestabilem tradebat ilico licitori? Postremo quid facit in republica christiana excommunicatio, aut quorsum inducta ab apostolis, si Moseah adhuc judicem in Christianis plectendis sequemur? Quorsum tam sollicitè Paulus hortatur *tous pneumaticous*, ut si quem deprehenderit in delicto, restaurarent hujusmodi spiritu mansuetudinis *scopoutos seautous*, ne et ipsi tententur? Ingens quippe est humanæ carnis imbecillitas, et quod cuiquam contingit, cuivis evenire possit. Nec alium fere impotentius impetit Sathan, quam qui maxime christianæ studet sinceritati. Quid tum si quis sua victus infirmitate prolabatur in turpitudinem? Et quis adeo sui certus est, qui nusquam impingat? Non jubet Paulus istos ilico rapi ad lanienam, at spiritu mutæ mansuetudinis corrigi ad respicientiam. Jam quam longe ab hoc spiritu abest pastorum quorundam violentia, qui tanto impetu feruntur ad condemnandos adulteros. Ad hanc imaginem olim affecti videbantur Christi discipuli adhuc carnales, qui repulsi ab ingratis Samaritanis incendio ac fulmine exoptaverunt illorum flagrare civitatem. Sed quid tum illis Dominus? "Nescitis," inquit, "cujus estis spiritus." Vehemens inerat illis ardor, studiumque tuendæ præceptoris gloriæ, et tamen non probat hunc in illis affectum Dominus, quia charitate vacabat evangelica. Ita et isti pium quidem ostendunt animum in vindicandis peccatoribus: quem non omnino improbarim, sed quia non conjungunt simul eum spiritum, quem Christus tantopere in suis requirit omnibus, tum maxime pastorum, non est quod zelo illorum faveamus. "Ita fugienda Sylla est," juxta proverbii consilium, "ne in Charybdim incidamus." Ita temperanda sunt pastoribus evangelicis consilia sua ut ne quid peccent interim aut divaricent ab illo spiritu, ad cuius regulam ceu ad scopum omnis vita actioque nostra dirigenda est. Itaque merito laudatur illa Pauli vox: "Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt." Ad cuius itidem exemplum nobis quoque perpendendum est, non quid liceat, non quid permittat jus nostrum, non quid ferant tempora, sed quid expediat fieri. Scio quidem hanc Christianorum plusquam ferinam licentiam, scio stupra hæc atque adulteria, non tam late quam impune grassantia, non aliud promereri, quam ut legum strictissimis cancellis coerceantur. Cæterum non necesse est doctores evangelicos ilico exerere vim suam quam suadet humana ultio. Sed spiritu lenitatis sese moderari, reputantes apud se non quid licet, sed quid in quaque re expediat. Quicquid licet magistratibus, externæ reipublicæ aut apud illos expedit, non expedit continuo apud ecclesiastas ecclesiæ spirituales. Habet quoque res ista decorum suum non minus quam comœdiæ, quod imprimis illi observandum est, quisquis in mundi scena hac personam susceptam cum laude obire nititur. Utcunque zelus hic vindictæ in aliis probandum est, nihil in virum ecclesiasticum aptius competit, quam charitatis affectus quæ nec sævit nec lædit quemquam, sed cuiusque salutem servit spe infatigabili, etiam perditissimos quosque meliorum expectatione tolerans. Non quod perpetua impunitate malorum licentiam fovendam existimem, aut magistratibus non esse exercendum gladium, si quando huc adigat necessitas, sed ministros evangelicos suum officium doceo, quos si lues ac corruptela temporum hæc tanta, quanta antehac opinor nunquam in Christianorum moribus visa est offendit tantopere, debent tamen non in homines, sed in vitia ipsa bilem suam expuere. Hæc modis omnibus jugulanda ac resecanda sunt spiritu, ac potentia verbi; hic erat illis omnis exercenda potestas, si quam habent. Qua in re si suis diligenter partibus defuncti essent pastores mystici, minus haberemus profecto in Christianorum moribus quod nunc corrigamus. Nam si rei veram causam scrutari ac fateri volumus, unde tot supra hæc, tot adulteria, tot omnis sexus fœditates, unde diluvium hoc atque oceanus malorum omnium tam late inundavit in orbem christianum, nisi ex incitata vitioque pastorum, sive quia non eam adhibent diligentiam in exequendo munere, sive non ea adest illis enargia, ac potentia cœlestis Spiritus, sine quo nihil potest esse felix, quicquid in his rebus agitur. Ea olim viguit vis verbi ac potentia, ut ad apostolorum efficaces conciones ingens ubique sequeretur et religionis et morum conversio, neque enim unquam magis ferbut inter Christianos probitatis studium. Erat tum Christus tam efficax in ministris suis, nec minus etiamnum futurus efficax in suis ecclesiastis, si audiri possent. Neque enim desunt hodie Christi ecclesiæ veri ac apostolici pastores, nec unquam

2 Cor. vii

Excommunicatio.  
Gal. vi.

Humana infirmitas.

Luca. ix.

1 Cor. vi.

Charitas in ecclesiastis.

Culpa in pastoribus.

defuerunt. Sed nostra culpa fit, qui explosis, atque interfectis iis, quos mittit Christus, nullis præbemus aurem nisi quos duntaxat ad id muneris humana admittit electio. Quod si soli essent sacerdotes, qui sibi peculiari aliquid jure devinctum haberent Spiritum Sacrum, suoque duntaxat juratum ordini, equidem non indignos hosce arbitrarer hoc privilegio. Verum ut ingenue confitear semel quod sæpe expertus sum. Nullos video nec accommodos minus ad hanc provinciam, nec magis à Spiritu Christi alienos quam unctos rasosque istos, quos sacerdotum titulo appellamus. Non omnes incesso sacerdotes, inter quos non-nullos scio feliciter diligentes, quosdam doctos atque opipara etiam eloquentia præditos. Sed quid hæc in re humana sedulitas præstabit [aut] eloquentia, nisi efficax illa cooperantis Christi vis virtusque accesserit, quæ quam latissime sese diffundit per omnes hominum ordines atque ætates, non obligata nominibus aut personis hominum, libere aspirans ubi lubet. Quæ tum hæc Christianorum est incogitantia, qui sacerdotibus solis suggestum aperiant, reliquum laicorum vulgus ut effectum sterileque excludunt, quasi præter istos sint omnes fungi ac asini, quasi nulla usquam prophetia, nulla cognitio, nullum spiritus secretioris charisma, nisi solis in sacerdotibus inveniatur. At longe aliud perspiciebat propheta ille, qui indubitato vaticinio prædixit fore, ut omnes essent theodidacti, doceretque quisque proximum. Quod si verum sit, nostrisque insuper temporibus comprobatum, cur liberam prophetici spiritus dispensationem uni huic sacerdotum alligamus, cæteros omnes ab illius ministerio submoventes, non admodum Judæis illis dissimiles, apud quos vix erat tolerabile quenquam dogmatisten agere apud populum, nisi qui scriba esset, aut Pharisæus legis candidatus. Non incuso sacerdotes omnes, sed quod compertum est, liquido me posse affirmare arbitrator, complures esse laicos (quorum etiam novi non-nullos), quorum fidei, vigilantia, ac doctrinæ summæ, si functionis ecclesiasticæ administratio committeretur, (absit invidia veritatis,) aut ego fallor, aut ecclesiam aliam, quam nunc habemus, essemus habituri. In iis etenim situm est qui verbi præfecturam gerunt, qualis sit futurus populus; qui si recta via ac exemplis præeant plebi, non potest non illa consequi. At quo pacto illi de judicio Dei, de evangelio, de gratia, de pietate, sive de re ulla concionabuntur aliis, qui nunquam sunt in eadem ipsi exercitati? Quo pacto afficient, rapient, concutient securas mentes, quantalibet vi eloquentiæ præditi, qui nullam secum vim spiritus adducunt ad persuadendum? Res hæc ut humana non est, ita non nisi divinos requirit artifices, qui non lingua adeo, non voce, non lateribus, non acumine valent, aut scripturis quamplurimis cumulandis, at spiritu potius efficaces, afflatu potentes, scriptura felices ac opportunos, denique divinam in se vim ac numen spirantes, quo non modo feriant externas aures, sed intimos animorum recessus penetrant ad ossium ac compaginum usque divisionem, adeoque totam hominis vitam in novum quandam habitum transformant. Hæc illa deinosis est non humanæ eloquentiæ, sed virtus in nobis agentis Christi: quam vel iis omnibus inesse optarim, qui præsentur docendo populo, aut eos saltem acciri ad docendum, quibuscunque hæc sit majori mensura collata à Domino. Ea ratione non dubium est, quin ecclesia christiana multo felicior genuinæ puritati restitueretur, simulque purgatio undique redderetur non solum in moribus officisque vitæ, sed etiam in religione, qua nihil aliud est profecto in vita nostra corruptius. Interim si publicæ regni hujus utilitatis videbitur interesse, severius aliquid in adulteros statui, sunt vincula, sunt exilia, sunt carceres, sunt inustiones, est excommunicatio, qua effrenis libido restringi, atque etiam fortassis sauari potest. Continuo autem ad mortem ipsam progredi, nisi de gravissimis et maximis causis, non est disciplina christianæ. Certe nulla est religionis necessitas, quæ huc Christianos adigat. Dixi pro tenuitate mea.

Joel ii.

Laici pas-  
tores.

FINIS.

## CORONIS AD ADULTEROS.

Te quæso, mi frater, me non aliter accipias ac sentio. Vitia nullius foveo, ne quis hac defensione abutatur ad majorem mœchandi licentiam. Tantum hic evangelicæ libertatis negotium ago, contra quosdam, qui Mosaicæ legis necessitatem videbantur reducturi. Quo major nunc tibi incumbit sollicitudo,

ne tam obviam hanc Christi beneficentiam rapias ad occasionem carnis, sed ad gratiarum actionem atque respicientiam. Ut ne nescias enim, non vocavit nos Deus immunditiæ causa, sed puritatis, nec alio spectat hæc nostra consultatio: quæ si quid te ad mutandam vitam flexerit, nil quæro amplius. Sin minus, scias te non à magistratibus quidem tuis, sed ab exoticis illis duntaxat Judæorum legibus vindicari. Vale, ac respisce per Christum.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solut..

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APPENDIX No. II. Page 19, note (1).

“PERUSING of some papers of our predecessor Matthew Parker, we find that John Calvin and others of the protestant churches of Germany and elsewhere would have had episcopacy if permitted: but could not, upon several accounts, partly fearing the other princes of the Roman-catholic faith would have joined with the emperor, and the rest of the popish bishops, to have depressed the same; partly being newly reformed, and not settled, they had not sufficient wealth for to support episcopacy, by reason of their daily persecutions. Another, and a main cause was, they would not have any popish hands laid over their clergy; and whereas John Calvin had sent a letter, in king Edward the Sixth's reign, to have conferred with the clergy of England about something to this effect, these two bishops, Gardiner and Bonner, intercepted the same, by which Mr. John Calvin's overtures perished; and he received an answer as if it had been from the reformed divines of those times, wherein they checked him, and slighted his proposals: from which time John Calvin and the church of England were at variance in several points, which otherwise, through God's mercies, had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered unto the queen's majesty during John Calvin's life; but being not discovered until about the sixth year of her majesty's reign, her majesty much lamented that they were not found sooner, which she expressed before her council at the same time, in the presence of two of her majesty's great friends, sir Henry Sidney, and sir William Cecil, lord Burghley.”—“The hunting of the Romish Fox,” etc. by Robert Ware, *Gent.* pp. 91—93. Dublin, 1683.

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APPENDIX No. III. Page 28.

THE following is the title of the work called “Christus Triumphans, Comœdia Apocalypica: Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Accessit, in Christum Triumphantem Autoris ejusdem Panegyricon. Apocal. xxii. ‘Spiritus et sponsa dicunt, Veni Domine.’ Basileæ, per Joannem Oporinum.”

At the end is this colophon:—“Basiliæ, ex Officina Joannis Oporini, anno salutis humanæ M.D.LVI. mense Martio.”

Prefixed is the following dedication:—“Clarissimis viris, D. Bynksio, D. Æscoto, D. Kelko, cumque his universo Mercatorum christianæ pietati faventium sodaliti, Joannes Foxus salutem, atque æternam cum Christo societatem.

Si in nuncupandis opusculis, spectari illud à viris literatis solet, ut lucis vel ornamentum aliquid adjungant iis, quibus studiorum suorum monumenta destinant: fateor longe ab eo abesse ingenii nostri fœturas, ut cuiquam splendorem afferant, ipsæ potius aliorum egentes adjumentis. Sin ea vero ratio eorum est, quo promptæ voluntatis gratitudinem, officiumque hoc pacto erga eos expriment, quibus se obstrictos credant: multæ sunt et graves causæ (viri ornatissimi et spectatissimi (etiam collegam vestrum D. Waltonum eadem jungat epistola), cur inter cæteros multos, quibus multum debent bonæ literæ, meam erga vos observantiam, literario hoc munusculo in primis testari debeam: vel quia seorsim singulari vestræ benignitati, pro non vulgaribus in me officiis, debeam non mediocriter: vel etiam magis publico literarum nomine, quibus adeo exornandis, ac provehendis, mirificos vos Mecænates præstare intelligo. Præterea hic reliqua laudum vestrarum decora, singulare pietatis studium,

pectoris cordatam prudentiam, cum rara copulatam modestia, mentisque piæ possessionem; et quid ego singulas virtutum vestrarum dotes enumerando explicem, quibus multo estis, quam opibus, feliciores? Postulant hæc non epistolarem operam; et nos brevitati studere cogunt urgentes nundinæ. Tantum de literis nunc ago, quas si vel favore saltem vestro utcunque benevolo dignaremini, equidem eximia id laude dignum in hominibus mercatoribus ducerem. Solebat enim hoc hominum genus, quæstuariis addictum artibus, cum philologiæ studiis minimum habere commercii. Nunc permutatis rerum vicibus, quos primarios potissimum Atlantas habere conveniebat, ab his fere desertæ politiores literæ, religionisque sinceræ cura, nusquam magis quam apud hunc ordinem vestrum, patrociniū sibi atque asylum reperiunt. Quod quum ex aliis vobiscum, tum ex vobis sane cum primis liquere poterit: quibus satis non est, honestas artes honesto favore, ac propensæ voluntatis studio, ceu benigna quadam aura fovere, nisi et impensæ insuper vestræ iisdem subleandis accedant, quas quotidie in laboriosissimo hoc literarum ac linguarum cursu desudantibus subministratis, ea liberalitate, ut nemo fusius: ea porro modestia, et simplicitate, ut vix præter vos ipsos sciat quisquam, quæ tanta cum laude geritis. Etsi vero in hoc laudis genere non soli sitis, quin et alios complures tum Argentinæ, tum Francfordiæ mercatores, ejusdem virtutis comites habeatis: his tamen alius dabitur prædicandi locus, et materia forsitan uberior. Hæc interim vobis liberius tribuenda existimavi, partim quo nonnulla ad vos debitæ gratiæ portio redeat: partim, ut alii vestro evocati exemplo, non modo eximiam pietatem vestram pervideant, sed eandem insuper in fovendis studiosorum literis studeant imitari. Venit ergo ad vos, vel, si permittitis, ad universum etiam Mercatorum ordinem "Christus Triumphans." Utinam et idem omnibus veniat triumphans, non in theatro, sed in nubibus: non sub ænigmate, sed in conspicua majestate sui Patris, cunctis conspiciendus. Quod nec diu fortasse aberit, quanquam id nostræ certitudinis non est, quam maturè affuturus sit ille. Illud liquido dixerim, eò nunc prolapsum esse rerum humanarum *σχῆμα*, ut nunquam adesse posset opportunius. Cæterum hæc quæ nescire nos voluit, illi permittentes, id interim quod nostrum est agamus sedulo: ita se quisque in eum diem ut pareat, ne Sponsus subito irruptens, nos supine stertentes, aut impure dissolutos adoriatur: tantoque id maturius nobis agendum arbitror, quod expletis jam omnibus fabulæ partibus, mundi hujus scena properare videtur ad supremum illud, Valet et plaudite: sicque imminente rerum omnium catastropha, emensisque prorsus vaticiniis, ut nil restare videatur, nisi vox illa Apocalyptica, de cælo mox audienda, Factum est. Paulus quondam ad Thessalonicenses scribens, tot abhinc sæculis Sponsi adventum expectantes jussit, ne cito animis permoveantur, quasi ille instaret dies: haud prius venturum illum admonens, quam patefiat perditissimus ille Antichristus, Spiritu Divino profigandus. At nunc si viverent Thessalonicenses, quanto magis adventum illum expectarent Domini, velut in foribus imminente: præsertim quum filium iniquitatis illum tam conspicue, non solum revelari, sed ubique in animis pene omnium evanescentem cernerent? Et tamen perinde quasi nunquam sit adfuturus triumphalis ille Christi dies, tot nominibus promissus in arcanis literis, aut perlongo absit intervallo, tot argumentis vicinus, mirum quam altum interim mundus hic dormit securitatis lethargum. Adeo ubique crapulæ, luxui, ambitioni, rapinis, atrocitatis, malitiæ, virulentia, sycophanticiæ, ac sordidarum rerum curis passim indulgetur à christiano populo: charitate interim sic refrigerante in animis hominum, cum hujus comite modestia, ut vix tenue ejus, fere inter natura etiam conjunctos, vestigium reperias. Denique eò res rediit, ut si quis è sublimi velut specula demissis oculis res hominum fixius conspiceretur, quaquaversum nunc maturos terræ botros, tempusque esse vindicatori angelo falcem mittendi judicet. Quocirca non abs re facturus videbar, si inter cætera studiorum nostrorum exercitia, hujusmodi pararem aliquid, in quo propositis temporum periculis, nostros aliquo pacto ad majorem hujus vitæ contemptum, futuræque curam expergefacerem. Quanquam non licuit in hoc Dramate, singula vitiorum genera, atque crassiora vulgi flagitia, more veteris comœdiæ flagellare. Id enim in Asoto, reliquisque doctissimæ Germaniæ comœdiis, tum potissimum in concionibus quotidianis, abunde est præstitum. Nobis tantum Apocalyptiam historiam prosequentibus, satis erat, ea duntaxat è literis sacris in theatrum transferre, quæ ad res potissimum ecclesiasticas pertinebant. Primum futuræ immortalitatis certitudinem confirmamus, introducta

animæ et corporis ὑποτυπωσει, adversus Epicureos quosdam ventres, si qui de immortalitate nostra ambigant. Deinde in Nomocrate vim legis totam adumbratam dedimus, in hoc, ne plus, minusve ei, quam par est, tribuatur. Quo in genere sæpe à multis graviterque peccari video, post Martini Lutheri tempora: ut ne frustra in libris toties vaticinatus videatur, sese vereri dicitans, ne se extincto, vera illa justificationis disciplina prorsus apud Christianos exolescat. Nam ut dissolutos istos, nimisque laxæ licentiæ voluptuarios, damnat etiam profana philosophia: ita nec hi mihi probandi videntur, qui simplices ac imbecilles conscientias legis perpetuo metu captivas detinent, semper cum Deo secundum virtutes suas ac vitia, submoto fere Mediatore, agentes: indeque cæteros omnes judicantes, utinam et sibi non placentes quidam. Non quod legi omnem prorsus metum detrahamus: sed nec Christo rursus sua detrahenda suavitas, aut minuenda gratia est: et pavidis conscientiiis necessario interim consulendum. Plures fateor esse, quibus vivit adhuc Moses. At sunt rursus, quibus sub Josua ductore militantibus, Moses veteris militiæ dux sepultus est, ut ejus nesciatur sepulchrum. Quanquam iidem meminimus, nunquam nisi cum honore illum sepeliendum. Atque utinam sic omnium affulgeret mentibus Christi gloria, ut Moses omnis splendor exolescat: utinam sic ubique vigeret justitiæ amor, sic omnes forent justii, si nulla sit illis lex posita: utinam sic omnes cum Paulo mortui, ut in sese nemo, in omnibus solus viveret Christus. Sed de his loco opportuniore. Potissimum autem in Ecclesiæ persecutionibus describendis versatur comœdiæ nostræ materia, quibus infelix ille veterator, ex quo è cælo per Christum exturbatus est, nunquam destitit sponsam Christi fatigare. Semper enim ab initio, capitalis ille accusator generis nostri fuit: nec unquam ingentium in nos odium mutat, etiamsi ministros furoris sui subinde mutet. Primos olim tumultus dedit per Pharissæos: deinde per Cæsares tyrannos, et proconsules: tunc per episcopos et pontifices, mundum non dicendis tragædiis exagitat: id quod in primis testari hodie Anglia nostra poterit. Dominus pro pietate sua dignetur horrendos hos fluctus in serenitatem aliquando vertere. Idque indubie hoc faciet maturius, si nos simul cum precibus enixissime profusis, vitam in melius commutatam addiderimus. Verum ne diutius vos loquaci præfatione detineam, etiam atque etiam vos, eximii ac observandi Domini, rogatos velim, simul cum ejusdem sodalitatibus vestræ collegis integerrimis, ut hoc qualecunque nostræ in vos observantiæ *μνημόσυνον*, pro candore vestro et vobis gratum esse, simul et aliis vestra approbatione commendatum velit. Majora ac nitidiora ab aliis accipietis, majori doctrinæ ubertate tinctis ingeniis. Nobis quoniam majora in præsentia non licuit, hoc interim pauperis agelli flosculo qualicunque, hybernis his dieculis apud nos vernante, vobis vel gratificari, vel certe meum erga vos in Domino studium testari libuit. Dominus Jesus snam in vos pietatem in-dies magis accumulet, ac negotia vestra feliciter secundet in omnibus.

In Christo multis nominibus vester,

J. Foxus.

Laurence Humphrey prefixed some commendatory Latin and Greek verses, which do not require further notice than to observe, that they contain a long application to England of that passage in the Psalms in which the church is compared to a vine whose hedge is broken down by the wild boar of the forest. Foxe replies in some stanzas, in which he expresses his conviction that the calamity would not be of long duration, and that peace would soon be restored to Britain.

The Dramatis Personæ are these:—

*Eva.*  
*Maria.*  
*Satan.*  
*Psychephonus,* } lictores.  
*Thanatus,*  
*Adopylus,* servus.  
*Nomocrates,* tyrannus.  
*Anabanius,* nuncius.  
*Christus.*  
*Psycha,* anima humana.  
*Raphael,* angelus.  
*Petrus,* apostolus.

*Saulus,* qui et *Paulus.*  
*Archiercus,* pontifex.  
*Nomologus,* sacerdos.  
*Polyharpax,* scriba.  
*Diocetes,* persecutor.  
*Pseudannus,* antichristus.  
*Pornapolis,* meretrix Babylon.  
*Ecclesia,* mater.  
*Africus,* } adolescentes.  
*Europus,* }  
*Hierologus,* concionator.  
*Chorus* quinque virginum.



It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the drama, nor could it be done except at great length. It may be enough to state, that it represents the fortune of the church, prosperous as well as adverse, from the fall of Adam to the Last Judgment. The following extract may show how the subject is managed :—

Act iv. Sc. 8. *Ejusdem rationis.*

PORNAPOLIS, *meretrix Babylon.* PSEUDAMNUS, PSYCHEPHONUS, ECCLESIA.

Vos hinc revertite, abite. proh summum Tonantem, quantum in hac Nunc forma ac magnificentia est, quod gestiam? *Pseu.* Quos huc mea Fert plausus Pornula? *Por.* Pseudamno χαίρειν. *Pseu.* Snaviolum meum, Quidnam istuc gestiens adeo quod advenis? *Por.* Quod vix tibi Credibile sit, si narrem. *Pseu.* Quidnam? *Por.* Quanto in pretio ac honore sim,

Ubicunque sim, omnibus. *Pseu.* Narra quæso. *Por.* Quippe dum me effero E foribus ad te veniens, summam per plateam affectare viam Visum est. Hic ubi primum conspicua sum, concurrunt ceu ad Deum. Undique Forum ac vias omnes obstipari multitudine. Mirari, sciscitariæ à meis quæ sim. Ecclesiam, inquirunt, Omnipotentis Dei, Agni sponsam, veritatis column. Procumbere omnes ilico, adorare oppidò: quin et pedum Porro osculari vestigia. Mox tres fiunt Reges obviam: Iis propino cyathum fornicarium huncce. Vinum ubi Concaluit, vultus primum labascere omnium: simul Inter se consusurrari invicem, inde ut submoveam rogant Famulos: semovi. Soli ubi sumus, occipiunt, forma quæ Mea, ætasque sua: amoris pariter quam impotens telum siet. Quorsum inquam hæc? Vin' scire? Admodum.

Arcanum at id esse: etsi pudeat haud, Posse haud fateri tamen. Aurem do: faciem quo magis (inquirunt) Spectamus hanc, minus hoc ferre quimus. Quid tum? Unius ut Concedas noctis copiam. Quod ni impetrent, nullos fore. Sudent, orant, obsecrant, suspirant. Hic ego vultum, oculos, Ac gestus hominum attendo satis, lustroque singula. Ubi serio agere video, cœpi detrectare primulum, Suevimus ut meretriculæ, cupidos cum cupimus magis esse, qui Nos ambiunt: demum ignescere ubi cerno, magis memet dare His familiarius. Postremo, quid verbis opus? Annui Pignus cepi, cras ut redirent jussi. Siquidem diem tibi, ut Dixi, hunc Pseudamne datura sum. *Ps.* Vah, ut dulci te osculo capio, Mea lux. *Por.* At unus restat nodus. *Ps.* In scirpo fors. *Por.* Ecclesia hæc Quæ latitat, nos ne prodat tandem. *Ps.* Aquilam ex filice metuis.

Sine, hos ego gryphos depulverabo facile. Tu interim Telam pergas Porna hanc porro pertexere. Reges temeto tuo Temulentos faxis, nobis ut se obstringant, suaque omnia; nihil Cuiquam legitimum sit, nostro ni initiato caractere prius. At quæ illinc mulier eminet pexa, ac vultu turbido? *Ec.* Horresco misera id quid sit, Byzantii quod aiunt, væ hodie Ecclesiam jvasse Dei, è cælo auditum clare. At filii Ubinam hic sint, quos cupiam? *Pseu.* Hæc quidnam portitat? heus mulier sodæs Quæ sis? *Ec.* Ecclesiæ equidem nomen fero. *Ps.* Proh anathema. *Por.* Audin' hanc?

*Psy.* Hæretica. *Pseu.* Tun' te Ecclesiam esse? *Ec.* Negabon' esse, quæ Siem? *Psy.* Schismatica. *Por.* Miseret me. Canis quis te mulier Commorsit rabiens? *Psy.* Lymphatica. *Ec.* Quidnam tibi hic mecum rei'st? *Por.* Mihi loquitur. *Psy.* Vuycelevista. *Pseu.* Apage sis cum sordibus Hinc: tun' Ecclesia ut sies? *Psy.* Anabaptistica. *Ec.* Anabaptista non Sum, Ecclesia sum orthodoxa. *Pseu.* Proh polum arcticum atque antarcticum. *Ec.* Quid clamitas? *Pseu.* Quæ si pergas, næ ego te dabo, ubi neque polum Videas arcticum, aut antarcticum. *Ec.* Quid vis tibi? *Pseu.* Dico te Ecclesiam non esse, te esse dicito. *Por.* Ecclesiam ego Me esse inquam, sponsam Christi. *Ec.* Tune? *Por.* Tu negas? *Pseu.* Ita senties.

*Ec.* Ecclesiamne te? *Por.* Aio. *Ec.* Asiæ, Africi, ac Europi matrem  
 Esse, ego quæ siem? *Por.* Quid agimus? *Pseu.* Hem, hæccine fieri schismata?  
*Psy.* Origenista. *Pseu.* Mulier, dico ego tibi, præstiterat hos non fieri  
 Fucos. *Ec.* Eho, redigitis me, ut quæ sim, nesciam. *Pseu.* Imo quæ sies,  
 Scimus satis. *Ec.* Quænam? *Psy.* Paupercula de Lugduno quæpiam.  
 Nam Ecclesiam, qui te videt, an quisquam putet? Ac jam audies.  
 Heus Symmistæ, Decretistæ, Canonistæ, Cosmosophoi  
 Codicillares, Holoporphyri, vos Ptochopluti ordines,  
 Copistæ, Sigilliferi,  
 Adeste: hæccine nobis Ecclesia est, an non? *Chor.* Est. *Pseu.* Iam vides.  
*Ec.* Stat firma Dei electio, habens signaculum hoc: Scit ille, qui  
 Sunt ejus. *Por.* Quid ait? *Pseu.* Quid ait? *Psy.* Here, prorsus vero insa-  
 nit hæc  
 Corybantica. *Pseu.* Sic videtur, heus tenete inquam repagulis  
 Lunaticam hanc, atque ad Bethlemitas insanam abducite,  
 Meque hinc sequimini.

Appended to the work is a long "Panegyricon," in which the author, after having exhorted all men to take refuge in the death of Christ, and advanced many arguments why they should do so, concludes with a passage which it may be expedient to transcribe

Una nobis satis pro multis erit Romana ecclesia, quæ quamdiu sub persecutoribus tyrannis, sub cote acuebatur, pietatis et continentiæ eximia quædam magistra conspiciebatur, ubi omnes christianæ vitæ et evangelicæ doctrinæ dotes cumulatissime inclauerunt. Post vero, commutatis in diversum vicibus, ubi pro periculis et laboribus, opes, potentia, fastus, luxus, hujusque comes ignavia in ecclesiam corripuere gradum, jamque episcopi pro martyribus martyricæ cœperunt fieri, evangelicæ disciplinæ paulatim languescente vigore, quo tandem sordium prolapsa nunc est, apud se quisque æstimando cogitet: ego ut rem ipsam pro atrocitate satis explicem, non reperio. Satis in re tam conspicua exemplorum videri potuit. Sed non permittit locus hic, quamvis aliqui festinantem in hujusce argumenti cursu, Britanniam, patriam gentem tam commode sese aperientem, prætervehi. Quæ nuper sub auspiciatissimo Eduardo principe, dum paululum à persecutionum respiraret procellis, quo demum turpitudinis reciderat, referre pueret, nisi res se ipsa occultare non posset. Nunc quod tot concionatorum continuæ voces efficere non poterant, id asperam quidem, sed salubrem hanc ecclesiæ il ius castigationem, vel hactenus perfecisse, vel brevi effecturam, nihil addubito: quippe sic nos mortales, sive natura produxit, sive formavit educatio, ut nisi malis expergefacci, vix unquam oculis attollamus ad Dominum: tam necessaria res in ecclesia Dei afflictio est, præsentissima adversus omne malorum genus antidotus. Quemadmodum contra rerum successus, affluentia et securitas, cum virtutum cæterarum tum potissimum religionis compages luxat, et nervos frangit. Age, circumductis paulisper oculis perlustremus velut è Platonis specula res vel omnium publicas, vel privatas singulorum; in monarchis insedabile bellandi studium; in aulicis turpissimam adulationem; in Symmistis ecclesiasticis ad regum usque strepitum luxuriantem ambitionem; Theologorum, omnia in sectas et contentionem pertrahentium, odium tenax, nec minus præceps leviculis de suspicionibus judicium; in laicis omnis generis corruptelas; opificum imposturas; in summis pariter et minimis inexplabilem habendi ingluviem; in omnibus fere impotens mundi hujus studium: ut crassiora interim vulgi flagitia, stupra, ebrietates, adulteria, perjuria, fraudes, rapinas, cædes, tumultus, cæteraque id genus supprimam, unde hæc tot quæso malorum scaturigo, nisi quia plerique nulla afflictionis asperitate, quæ nos in timore Dei atque intra nostrarum rerum curam satis cohibeat, non incessimus? Quo fit, ut pauci in suis constituendis moribus solliciti, omnes in alienis erratis vel observandis simus curiosi vel flagellandis morosi fere videamur. Dum hic injuriam interpretatur, quod forte jus est proximi: huic nihil placet, quicquid dicit alter, aut facit: ille ex festuca trabem, ex musca elephantem faciens, si quid in alio nævi conspiciat, ad tragicam usque exaggerat *ὑπερβολήν*: alter in fratris famam Theonino rictu nunquam latrare desinit, forte quem non satis novit, aliquando et immerentis, nonnunquam etiam bene meriti. Est, qui quicquid usquam terrarum geritur adusque Gades, unde-

P. 115.  
 Romana  
 Ecclesia.

Britanni-  
 ca eccle-  
 sia

cunq̄ue omnes captat rumusculos: interim quid intus in sui pectoris larario geritur, nihil sollicitus. At quanto æquius et christiana dignius professione fuerat, quum quisque suum habet judicem, cui aut cadet, aut stabit, si cum timore ac tremore, juxta Paulinum consilium, suæ quisque salutis satagat, ut aliorum nec vitii attendere, nec virtutibus invidere vacet? Tum si qua festuca in oculo fratris emineat, operam nostram flagitans, eam ita adhibeamus: ut sanandi studio, non contendendi, secum agi videat, semper interim mansuetudinem et charitatem exprimentes, quæ sola ædificat ecclesiam Dei: sed nimium ego mei oblitus, qui dum cæteros intra rerum suarum curam cohibere studeam, vix memet satis cohibens longius fortassis extra rem propositam pro-  
 vectus sum. Ut igitur eò, unde defluxit, redeat oratio: vides, christiane frater, quid pro te effecerit Christus: qui mortis, Satanæ, maledictionis omni excussa tyrannide, qui denique chirographum adversus te in decretis situm exautorans, principatus ac potestates expoliavit, palam triumphans de illis per semetipsum, at non propter semetipsum: Imo in tuam gratiam hæc omnia ab illa suscepta perfectaque intellige, ut tibi beneficiis, omnique illius victoria, non uti modo, sed et tuo quodam jure vendicare liceat: jamque non accessum modo ad Patrem, sed cum fiducia etiam aditum ad eum habeas. Ad mortalem principem si cui libera contingit admissio, quam suæ applaudit felicitati! At majoris id felicitatis, ad Deum omnis potestatis fontem intronitti: quem alioqui nemo videbit mortalium, et vivet. Jam vero, quum ad tremendum illum montem, ad inconspicuum Dei majestatem penetrandi facultas, non dico cum libertate, sed cum fiducia etiam conceditur: id ego non solum felicitatem omnem superare, sed cum imperio etiam quodam conjunctum arbitror. Quod quum ipsum tale sit, ut nos altius ducere Christus ipse non possit, ego quo te longius, christiane lector, oratione deducam, non video. Quapropter ad nos ipsos revertentes, ubi Christus Dominus tot tantaque causa nostra peregerit, vicissim quid nostri sit officii facere persequamur. Quidnam ergo, inquires? Si proximum respicias, multa, plena enim officii est charitas. Sin Deum, unum est duntaxat quod agas, sed idem oppido permagnum: tantum ut in Christum credas, Dei Filium, qui pro peccatis tuis mortuus est, et pro justificatione resurrexit. At hic protinus obstrepentes quorundam sententias, ac propemodum dicam theologiceam mihi inscribentes audio, quibus nimis forsitan exiliter, angustisque finibus tam immensum salutis negotium terminare videor. Principio, non hic agimus de iis quæ in proximum, sed quæ ad Deum referuntur. Deinde, nec clam me est, permulta esse quæ præterea exigat à nobis Deus, timorem, dilectionem, etc. Sed aliud est ad obedientiam, aliud ad salutem requiri. Distincte enim, dispositeque (quoniam in hanc incidimus disputationem) propter morosa hæc tempora incedendum est. Ab hærede filio multa exigunt parentes, in quibus præstandis obsequens quidem ille patri filius, at nequaquam hæres eò dicitur. Id enim ab ortu, non operibus, à natura, non conditione proficiscitur. Non secus in nobis legis obedientia laudem quidem invenit, vel plagas evitat potius apud Dominum: ad salutem nequaquam accipit. Quod igitur natura in hæredibus, id fides est in justificationis evangelicæ causa. Siquidem in uno hoc omnis nobis est salutis, gratiæ, et felicitatis ratio proposita, tantum ut apprehendamus Christum Jesum Dominum nostrum. Neque ideo putet quisquam nimis arcte conciseque hæc à me de salutis negotio comprehendi (ac si quis delphinum pelvi contineat) qui hic nil requiram aliud quam fidem tantum in Christum. Scio rem arduam esse æternam vitam, et quæ naturæ nostræ propria non sit. Eoque sola Christi apprehensione eam constare dico; quod nihil in mundo hoc magnum arduumque sit, nisi sola in Christum fides. Quemadmodum nemo unquam Patri placuit præter Christum, ita in illo Patri adeo complacitum est, ut ejus causa charos habeat, quicumque sunt ejus. Nemini igitur opera sua, quamlibet eximia, sic fiduciam attollant, quasi non sit omnino inutilis, etiam quum omnia fecerit. Solus Christus operibus magnus, nos fide in illum sola magni sumus. Opera itaque ad Christum, ad nos proprie fides spectat: certe quæ apud Deum valere possit. Sed fenestram, inquis, hoc pacto cæteris ad licentiam aperis, alioqui natura plus satis ad laxissima quæque profusis. Imo quicquid apertum hic est, aperuit Deus, aperuit evangelium; non nos, qui testes duntaxat doctrinæ sumus. Cum illo postulandum, si quid hominum judicio displicet. Aperit quidem ille, non nequitiae fenestram, sed cælorum regnum. Quod si qui tam studiose mali sint, ut ex salutari ostio sibi fenestram faciant improbitatis, culpa est non dextre

aperientis, sed sinistre ingredientium. Nunquam cum humanis rebus secus actum est, quin pars semper major fuerit, rebus optimis pessime abutentium. Postremo si reliqui omnes, quicquid est mortalium, doctrina hac abuti velint; ac decem tantum in mundo scirem, quibus profutura hæc sit consolatio: equidem nihil in hac causa dissimulans, ob hos ipsos testarer confidenter quod dico. Necessarium est enim, ut doctrina hæc in ecclesia retineatur, quam diu apud Christianos extinctam, nuper per M. Lutherum excitavit sublimis Christi Spiritus: nunc eadem denuo in ecclesia nescio qua temporum infelicitate flaccescere incipit, insidiosa videlicet arte Satanæ, qui dum aliis contentionum ac factionum parergis orbem christianum ubique involvit, id interim quod unice præcipuum est nostræ salutis caput, fere extorsit è manibus. Sed vivit Christus illo potentior, qui sponsæ suæ nunquam est defuturus.

FINIS.

## APPENDIX No. IV. Page 32, line 1.

PRÆPOTENTI ac pietate non minus quam generis claritudine ornatissimo Principi D. Thomæ Duci Norfolkicæ, supremo regni Ang. Archimarschallo, etc. Mecænati suo, Joan. Foxus perennem in Christo cum salute felicitatem.

Si in nuncupandis libris cæteri fere scriptores ad suos quique patronos et Mecænates vel veteres confugere, vel novos sibi conquirere gaudeant, quibus industriæ suæ et ingenii monumenta addicant (Thoma Dux, Britannicæ nobilitatis decus non infimum) admonet profecto me cum publica hæc consuetudo hominum, tum tua in primis in me merita, studium, candor, et voluntas tam propensa et singularis, quid me sequi in his tribuendis Commentariis oporteat. Nam si splendorem nominis restimemus, quis me facilius attrahere? Si officium spectetur, quis tandem inter homines quidem patronos justius me sibi vindicare possit, si quid tamen sit in me, quod quisquam vindicare ac non aspernari potius debeat? Accedit porro ad hæc philtra, quod multo adhuc arctius meum in te et studium devincit, et officium provocat. Quo fit, ut in te quoque aliqui mihi vindicare liceat; quippe quum in tenera formanda ætate tua, si non optimam, at primam tamen Divina ordinatione, operam posuimus. Quanquam haud me lateat, quam parum mihi hoc nomine tua Celsitudo debeat, quando tam parum in te præsterim: et tamen ut nunquam defuit mihi majora præstandi voluntas, ita vetus illa voluntatis conjunctio adhuc apud me residet, perinde ac si jam contulisses, quæ animus in te collocata voluisset. Accipies igitur (mi Thoma) vel à veteri præceptore, vel si mavis à novo nunc cliente tuo, literarium hoc, quod sub Christo communi præceptore nostro tuæ inscribere amplitudini libuit, monumentum: quam te dignum nescio, certe ab eo profectum animo, quem tu fastidire hand omnino debeas. Neque porro accipi solum, atque in manibus esse; sed in oculis etiam versari, ac perlegi, otiumque tum et cogitationes hic sedulo et religiose distineri pervelim: tamque distineri diu, quoad te, quantos hic profectus facies ad pietatem, non pœnitebit. Quod si non gravabitur C. T.<sup>1</sup> digna cum attentione facere; nihil diffido, quin in reliqua vita tua recte et cum virtute instituenda, vice pædagogi non pœnitendi tibi esse poterit. Porro non abs te solum hos de rebus ecclesiæ Commentarios legi, sed à cunctis tui loci et nobilitatis hominibus; denique ab universis summis pariter ac imis, publicis privatisque, nec in Anglia solum, sed quibuscumque etiam undelibet Christianis, spectari atque notari cupiam. Quippe res ipsæ etsi intra unam modo Angliam gestæ sint, hujusmodi tamen existunt, ut earum exempla non minus pateant vaste, quam ipsa Christi communis nostra parens pateat ecclesia. Solebat quondam apud Græcos vice proverbii hominibus in os objci, in re præclara parum scite versantibus: "Proba quidem materia, si probum nacta fuerit artificem." Ac de artificis quidem manu liberum erit statuere cuique quod volet. Quod enim ad me attinet, ut reprehensionem nullius valde deprecor, si merear: ita nec laudem venor cujusquam vehementer. Dies erit, quando laus erit cuique à Domino. Dummodo illius accrescat gloria,

(1) Celsitudo Tua.—Ed.

cum suis martyribus Satanæ decreseat tyrannis, abunde est votis meis factum satis. De re autem ipsa et materia, quoniam ad me nihil attinet, sed ad Christum ejusque ecclesiam spectat in universum, si dicam audacius, liquido, id me posse arbitror: quum ea sit materia hæc, ut quamlibet inelegantem sortita artificem, satis tamen ipsa per se tuis omniumque oculis sese queat ac debeat commendare, tum pro amplitudine rerum gestarum, tum pro fide ipsa et veritate historiæ, tum ipsa personarum porrò gravitate: sive insuper oblectationem animi christiani, sive utilitatem lectionis, aut temporum necessitatem consideremus. Primum enim quæ jucundior esse possit contemplatio, quam, è sublimi velut specula Platonis circumferentem oculos, tot tantasque temporum in tam brevi spatio mutationes considerare; tantam videre plebis instabilitatem, ut “mobile mutetur semper cum principe vulgus;” tot prospicere heroas, et summates viros, duces, comites, equites, et patricio genere nobiles, tot generosos, episcopos, archiepiscopos, archidiaconos, ministros, tot doctos pariter et indoctos, tanquam in theatro orbis publico prodeuntes, pro sua cujusque persona partes agentes tam fortiter et mirabiliter; tantum spectare chorum lectissimorum martyrum, summe Jesu, quanta constantia pro Christo depugnantium, quanta fortitudine morientium, quanta disputantium prudentia? Deinde quàm non inamœnum illud præbebit spectaculum, divinam in suis castigandis asperitatem, rursusque in eripiendis clementiam, quandoque in vindicando sanguine mutuum talionem perpendere? Quis non jurè miretur in Moro et Roffensi divinæ ultionis vim: qui, condemnato paulo prius Frytho, mox ipsi plectuntur capite? Neque non juvabit et illud nostrorum fortasse animos, quum multi in his historiæ monumentis suos reperiant, alii parentes, alii filios, nonnulli uxores, pars maritos, quidam cognatos aut affines, plurimi vicinos aut amicos; de quibus hic legere aliquid, velutique loquentes audire, pro suo quisque affectu avebit. Quemadmodum et tibi ipsi, Dux inclyte, de his si quos Northfolcia tua vicinis habuerit hac in historia cognoscere, sive de præstantissimo viro D. Cobhamo, vel de excellenti comite D. Thoma Cromelio, deque disertissimo regni Cancellario Audleo audire, scio non injucundum fore. Nec dubito clarissimi ducis Somerseti clarissimæ spei filiis gratum similiter fore, de optimo et mitissimo suo parente legere. Sic et ecclesiis quibusdam volupe erit fors an tantissimorum pastorum veterem sibi reficari memoriam. Quemadmodum Cantuarienses, de archiepiscopo suo; Londinenses cives, de Bradfordo ac suo Sanderò, lubenter audituros non dubito. Quid de Edmundo Grindallo meo, quem Edmundo Bonero nunc suffectum et episcopum Londinensem declaratum audio: an illi non adlubescet Ridley sui, viri doctissimi, hinc memoriam repetere, ejusque in his libris disputationes spectare? in quibus nos recolligendis, variisque collatis exemplaribus restituendis effecimus fortassis aliquid. Longum esset de Roberto Glouero, Thoma Hauxo, Gulielmo Gardinero, Causono, Hygbeo, cæterisque referre: quos omnes etsi æstus persecutionis in favillas redegit, tamen ne res gestæ illorum memoriae interiret, à nobis pro virili præstitum est. Quum igitur tot modis, uti diximus, possit te delectare hujus cognitio historiæ, tum verò utilitas amœnitatem ipsam pluribus profectò nominibus exuperat, quippe quæ juveniles annos tuos poterit non solum utilissimis exemplis inflanmare ad pietatem, timorem Dei, mundi hujus contemptum, etc., sed etiam præceptis imbuere sanctissimis, ad Christianæ doctrinæ cognitionem. Habes hic enim utriusque ecclesiæ propositam ob oculos idæam, ut de utraque jam judicare sine magno labore possis. Habes tot sanctorum doctissimorumque Martyrum, de gravissimis controversiis judicia, testimonia, rationes, atque argumenta, ut nullus posthac errandi relictus sit aut ambigendi locus: quum præsertim ad rationes eorum cæteras accedat insuper sanguis, validissimum sine dubio et efficacissimum testimonium. Porrò neque simplex hæc utilitatis ratio fuerit, quòd in his commentariis adversariorum omnia ferè omnium objecta, allegationes, distinctionesque et argumenta cunctis appareant; ut quum ipsis posthac nihil sit quod objiciant amplius, nunc quid iis ipsis insit objectionibus excutiamus. Quæ res aded non ad rem mihi facere non videtur, ut si vertant posthac tempora, aut non vertant etiam, librum hunc non tam jucundum tibi aut utilem, quàm necessariam cunctis fore, rem cum hoc nomine genere habituris, existimem. Volebam præterea de iis apud te multo plura: sed vix dieculæ pars mihi ad compellendam sublimitatem tuam dabatur, ita festinabant typographi, et urgebant nundinæ.

Dominus Jesus, principum omnique celsitudinis Princeps, celsitudinè

tuam diu nobis velit incolumem: teque cum martyribus et sanctis suis sanctificet in regnum gloriæ suæ, simulque ad publicam reginæ patriæque tuæ utilitatem. Basileæ, anno 1559, Septembris I.

Tuæ Cels. multis nominibus devinctus addictusque in Christo,

JOAN. FOXUS.

APPENDIX No. V. Page 76.

UNIVERSIS Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis Decanus et Capitulum Dunelmensis Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Christi et Beatæ Mariæ Virginis salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra nos literas reverendi in Christo patris et domini, domini Jacobi, Dei gratia Dunelmensis Episcopi, sub eo qui sequitur verborum tenore inspexisse.

Jacobus, misericordia Divina Dunelmensis Episcopus, dilecto nobis in Christo venerabili viro magistro Willielmo Whittingham, in sacra theologia baccalaureo, decano ecclesiæ cathedralis Dunelmensis, et capitulo ejusdem, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Cum nos dilecto nobis in Christo discreto viro Johanni Fox, artium magistro, ac sacri verbi Dei professori, canonicatum et tertiam prebendam in ecclesia nostra cathedrali Dunelmensi predicta, per mortem naturalem nuper reverendi patris Thomæ Sparke, Barvicensis episcopi, ultimi canonici et prebendarii eorundem, jam vacantem et ad nostram collocationem pleno jure spectantem, intuitu charitatis contulimus, et ipsum canonicum et prebendam eorundem canonicatus et tertie prebendæ cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis instituvimus et investivimus, prout per literas nostras patentes desuper sibi factas et sigillatas latius liquet et apparet, Vobis igitur committimus et mandamus quatenus Johannem Fox, sive ipsius procuratorem quemcumque legitime in hac parte constitutum, in realem, actualem, et corporalem possessionem predictorum canonicatus et prebendæ, juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum, realiter et cum effectu inducatis inducive faciatis, ac ipsum sic in eisdem canonicatu et tertie prebenda inductum quantum ad vos attinet defendatis: Ceteraque peragere, facere et exercere quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio: Et quid in præmissis feceritis nos debite certificetis, cum ex parte predicti Johannis Fox congrue requisiti fueritis. Data sub sigillo nostro apud manerium nostrum de Awkeland, secundo die mensis Septembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo secundo, et nostræ consecrationis anno duodecimo.

Memorandum quod de mandato dictorum Decani et Capituli Dunelmensis, viz. magistri Willielmi Whittingham decani, magistrorum Roberti Swifte, Willielmi Benett, Johannes Pilkington, Willielmi Stephenson, Rodolphi Leaver, Adam Holydaye . . . prebendariorum in ecclesia cathedrali Dunelmensi, xiiii<sup>to</sup> die mensis Octobris, anno Domini 1572, Eisdem in domo capitulari Dunelmensi capitulariter congregatis, idem magister Johannes Pilkington, (ut asseruit) procurator et nomine procuratorio superscripti magistri Johanni Fox, per Michaellem Patenson, unum ex minoribus canonicis dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis Dunelmensis, vice ejusdem magistri Johannis Fox, in realem et actualem possessionem tertie prebendæ in eadem ecclesia, et in stallum in choro ejusdem ecclesiæ eidem prebendæ solitum et consuetum, ac in locum et vocem in capitulo eidem solitum et consuetum, inductus erat et collocatus, presentibus tunc ibidem in choro dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis Johanne Hakinis, Ricardo Johnson, et Ricardo Marshall, notario publico registratore dictorum Decani et Capituli et multis aliis.

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis et audituris Willielmus Whittingham decanus et capitulum Dunelmensis cathedralis ecclesiæ Christi et Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, salutem in Domino Salvatore. Noverit universitas vestra nos literas reverendi in Christo patris et domini, domini Jacobi, Dei gratia Dunelmensis episcopi, et mandatum ejusdem, xiiii<sup>mo</sup> die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo tertio recepisse tenorem sequentem complectentes. Jacobus, misericordia Divina Dunelmensis episcopus, venerabili viro magistro Willielmo Whittingham in sacra theologia baccalaureo,

decano ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis Dunelmensis, et capitulo ejusdem, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum nos dilecto nobis in Christo Roberto Bellamy, artium magistro et in medicina doctori, canonicatum et tertiam prebendam in ecclesia nostra cathedrali predictam, per liberam resignationem discreti viri Johannis Fox, artium magistri, ultimi canonici et prebendarii eorundem, in manus nostras factam et per nos admissam, jam vacantem, intuitu charitatis contulimus, etc.—And then follows the mandate in the usual form to induct Bellamy, who was so inducted, October 13, 1573.

APPENDIX No. VI. Page 42, note (1).

Foxe's Latin Letter to the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, accompanied with a copy of his "*Acts and Monuments of the Church.*"

*Multis magnisque dotibus ornatissimo viro, D. Laurentio, Collegii Magdalenensis Præsidi: pariter cum universo Choro reliquorum Juvenum, lectissimisque ejusdem Collegii Sociis, Joannes Foxus salutem et pacem in Christo sine fine.*

Etsi nihil erat in rebus meis dignum atque idoneum quod Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, veteris hospitæ ac nutricis meæ, pixidi mitterem; at viduæ tamen Evangelicæ opulentam illam imitatus penuriam, has qualescunque lucubrationum nostrarum minutias, pro veteri meo erga vos studio, vel officio potius (eximie idemque Doctissime Laurenti, præsidum decus, vosque pariter universi ejusdem sodalitatibus collegæ conjunctissimi) in publicum ærarium vestrum conjiciendas censui. Vos in admittendo libro statuetis, pro libero arbitratu vestro, quod videbitur. Mihi, ut ingenuè fatear, indignius quiddam, ac jejunius esse videtur, quam ut in chartophylacium vestrum recipi debeat, præsertim quum eo sermonis genere conscripta historia nullum magnopere usum studiis vestris præstare queat. Et tamen huc me, nescio quo pacto, pertraxit, vinceis pudorem et judicium meum, Garbrandi Bibliopolæ<sup>1</sup> pellex oratio, sic ad persuadendum instructa, ut non frustra in tali tam diu Academiâ videri possit enutritus. Auxit porro nonnihil hanc mittendi fiduciam tacita quædam et jam olim insita mihi erga collegium illud propensio, vestræ deinde erga me humanitatis, simulque mei vicissim erga vos officii recordatio. Intellego enim quid veteri scholæ, quid charis consodalibus, quid demum universo Magdalenensium ordini ac cætui, sed præcipuè quid ipsi imprimis charissimo collegiarum, viro ornatissimo, D. Laurentio debeam, cui quot quantisque sim nominibus devinctus nullo modo oblivisci aut præterire potero. Præter hos stimulos accedit denique, quòd quum historiæ hujus bona magna que pars Oxoniensem hanc vestram attingat Academiâ, unde, ceu ex fonte, prima non solum initia sed et incrementa sumpsit ac sumit quotidie felix hæc et auspicata reformatæ per orbem Christianum religionis propagatio, idcirco rem facturum nec vobis ingratam, nec meo indignam officio videbar, si de rebus maximè Oxoniensibus conscriptam historiam ad Magdalenæum gymnasium vestrum, hoc est, ad primarium ac nobilissimum Oxoniensis Academiæ collegium, velut in arce quadam studiorum ac literarum penes vos asservendam commendarem. Hoc unum dolet, Latinè non esse scriptum opus, quo vel ad plures emanare fructus historiæ, vel vobis jucundior ejus esse posset lectio. Atque equidem multo id maluissem. Sed huc me adegit communis patriæ ac multitudinis ædificandæ respectus, cui et vos ipsos idem hoc condonare æquum est. Habetis rationes et causas, quibus ad mittendam historiam sum provocatus. Nunc historiam habete ipsam, quam veluti pro tesserâ Foxianæ erga vos voluntatis mittimus. Eam pro candore vestro, rogo etiam atque etiam, benigne susceptam velitis. Atque ne nihil aliud quam historiam nudam et incomitatam mittere videamur, en simul cum historia, inter cæteros, quos in hoc multiplici et numero Christianorum militum satellitio Oxonia vestra, tanquam felix mater, tum imprimis Magdalenæ felicissima fecunditas, produxit, Jocelinum vestrum Palmerum,<sup>2</sup> è choro vestro proximis his annis ereptum, denuo ad vos tanquam redeuntem et restitutum recipietis, simulque cum eo cæteros, nec paucos, nec vulgares Oxoniæ vestræ quondam alumnos, nunc illustres Christianæ militiæ Agonistas, tanquam veterem suam

(1) Garbrand Herks was a native of Holland, and a bookseller, living in St. Mary's parish in Oxford. See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 241. Ed. 1721.—AUBREY.

(2) Palmer was a Fellow of Magdalen College, and burnt at Newbury, in the reign of Queen Mary.—AUBREY.

revisentes scholam, gratis animis suscipite, et Christum in suis martyribus glorificate. Quod superest, quoniam Chartæ arctamur angustiâ, rogo (præstantissimi Juvenes) ut Dominus Jesus istum vobis Præsidem, vos orbi et ecclesiæ Christianæ, diu servet incolumes, vestraque studia in dies in majus ac melius provehat ad nominis sui gloriam.

Vester in Christo,

Londini, Maii, 2do. [1562]

JOANNES FOXUS.

*From the MS. in Magdalen College, Oxford, whence a facsimile has been taken expressly for this Edition, of which a Lithograph Copy is inserted in this Volume. See also Aubrey's Letters, Vol. II. pp. 42—45.*

APPENDIX No. VII. Page 48, line 2.

AD ELIZABETHAM REGINAM.

QUUM non alia res in his terris existat, quæ summi numinis majestatem propriè representat, magisque nobis exprimit imaginem, quam principum recte gubernantium autoritas (Principum flos ac decus, Elizabetha Regina serenissima) tum meo quidem judicio, iidem principes nulla re alia simulachrum æternæ illius majestatis verius efficaciusque referunt, quam propitio et continuo quodam miseros mortales juvandi studio. Quemadmodum enim Deus ipse, rerum opifex ac "luminum pater, a quo cuncta è sublimi defluunt quæcunque dona optima et perfecta sunt," nullius ope cum egeat nec accipiat a quoquam, nunquam tamen desistit ipse de suo impartire quo possit universis; consimile quiddam et iis qui vices illius quodammodo gerentes in Republicâ cum laude imperant monarchis usuvenire solet, quorum quum omnes favore et beneficentia subditi indigeant, atque ab ipsis ditantur multi, ipsi tamen suis abunde bonis opulenti nullius nec ope egent, nec ditiores cujusquam fiunt beneficio. Nam siquid præstet princeps in subditos, id ego beneficium esse interpretor; siquid vero ipsi in Principem vicissim collocent, etsi bene quidem ab ipsis fit quod faciunt, non tamen beneficii sed officii potius aut debiti rationem subit. Atque de cæteris quidem Monarchis omitto in præsentia plura dicere: inter quos Majestas tua, peculiari quodam fato tuo velut in plurimorum nata utilitates, ita prælucere videtur, ut non modo ipsis spectandum esse ad conferendum, sed ad imitandum etiam regula videri poteris. Quanquam immensum hoc pellagus (*sic*) laudum ac virtutum tuarum, quid incipiam hic ego attingere, quum et universa hæc Anglia tua, quanta quanta est, cui imperas, si una voce ei daretur singulorum cogitationes exprimere, non solum non gratias suis meritis pares agere sed nec beneficia ipsa, genere tam varia, tempore tam opportuna, amplitudine immensa, numero pene infinita, possit enumerando consequi.

Nam ut vulgaria illa præteream, quod in ipsis statim felicissimi regni tui auspiciis tot perichitantes cives et homines extorres ab exilio revocaris, quod patriam ipsis, nec solum ipsis, sed patriam quodammodo patriæ reddideris, Angliamque jamjam pœne expirantem luci ac vitæ suæ restitueris, quod pacem tuis illis auspiciis partam pergas quotidie studiis ornare et artibus; bonis legibus suum vigorem revocas, noxias tollis, salutares sufficis, nocentes et otiosos in ordinem redigis, atrocinita et prædonum agmina, quibus regnum tuum scædis modis hodie exundare dicitur, compescis, miseros exaudis, collapsa restauras, nec monetam solum depuratam, sed mores hominum multo magis deformatos, repurgas; postremo, cuncta suo, et plusquam suo, nitore restituis, ac cætera id genus permulta. Quæ, etsi per se beneficia levia non sint, et permagna etiam in aliis monarchis videri queant, tuarum tamen laudum (*written laudum*), nescio quo pacto, nondum satis magnitudinem expriment.

Certo multo majora hæc omniumque maxima sunt, quod inclyta tua celsitudo rem ecclesiasticam non minus quam publicam propugnans tam fortiter, quod religionis curam atque defensionem in te suscipis tam clementer, quod sævas persecutionum faces extinguis, conscientias diu interclusam libertatem aperis, templum Dei et evangelicæ doctrinæ gloriam illustras et provehis; videlicet, modis omnibus hoc agens, ut, profligatis sensim veteris superstitionis reliquiis, sincera evangelii veritas ad nativum suum nitorem redeat. Declaravit id nuper egregia vox illa ac responsio majestatis tuæ ad quorundam preces



reddita theologorum, de modo videlicet vestiendi; qua voce quantam uno in die universæ ecclesiæ pepereris faustitatem, quantum piorum omnium animis solatium, quantum posteritati beneficium, quantam omnibus temporibus lucem, tum tuo insuper nomini quantum quamque immortale decus, quovis ære perennius, attuleris, vix æstimari poterit. Ingratæ omnium Anglorum linguæ et literæ futuræ sunt, si patiantur tam divinum hoc, cæteraque multa tuarum virtutum trophæa, ulla temporum vetustate obolescere.

Accedit ad hunc cumulum singularis porro majestatis tuæ erga literarum studia favor; in quibus excolendis provehendisque nunquam tam propensam te declarares, nisi ut ipsa in iisdem exulta tam eleganter et perpolitâ fuisses. Sensit id nuper felix Cantabrigia: nec dubito quin olim et Oxonia nostra idem expectatura sit. Persensimus præterea et nos, etiamsi illinc abfuimus, ex oratione majestatis tuæ Latina Cantabrigiæ tum habita, quæ nuper ad manus meas inter cætera historicarum rerum monumenta pervenit, non indigna, ut mihi videtur, quæ transmittatur posteritati: atque etiam transmittetur, siquidem tua patiatur sublimitas. Interim hoc unum mihi dolet, quod quum plenam quandam historiæ tuæ descriptionem meditemur, multaque habeamus congesta, at multa rursus desunt, quæ, adhuc nobis incognita, non nisi per tuam ipsius majestatem sciri possunt; et si possent, nullius possent melius quam tuo ipsius commentario describi: quod utinam ab excellenti ingenio tuo per hoc vitæ tuæ tempus et spatium possit impetrari. Sed de his excellentiæ tuæ præconiis alias (volente Christo) nobis videndum erit.

Accedo nunc ad rem ipsam quæ præcipue hanc mihi subministravit scribendi materiam. Est hic quidam Gulielmus Masterus tuæ sublimitati, opinor, non omnino incognitus. Divinâ sic providentia evenit, ut nos duos conjungeret unius simul ecclesiæ communio, et societas. Me etenim Majestas tua paulo ante fecit Præbendarium: ego illum nuper ejusdem parochiæ feci vicarium. Jam utrique hæremus in solutione illius pecuniæ quæ tibi pro primi anni fructibus debetur, quum tamen neuter ne teruncium quidem habet ad persolvendum. Ejus pecuniolæ ut remissam (*sic*) nobis faciat reginea tua pietas, etsi rogare vix audeat verecundea (*sic*), at necessitate tamen impulsus rogare vel inviti cogimur. Freti deinde mansuetissima tua benignitate, adeo in utilitates subditorum exposita, majorem etiam concipimus rogandi audaciam; nihil diffisi quin huic audaciæ, qualiscunque sit, tua facile condonabit pietas, si sciret quanto nobis detrimento quantoque obstaculo ad res gerendas sit infelix hujus æris remora. Quanquam nihil esse in studiis aut laboribus nostris haud ignoramus, quod vel tenuissimam tui favoris partem promereri queat, cui plusquam facultates etiamnum nostras debere fatemur. Attamen si serenissima tua pietas, in remittenda hac nobis solatiuncula, gratias nostras maluerit quam pecuniam eam deberi tibi, quid in altero fiseus tuus lucratus sit nescimus, in altero honoris ac nominis tui memoriæ et splendori nihilo fortasse minus accrescet apud posteros, si quid tamen apud posteritatem Literariæ nostræ valebunt gratiæ.—*Harl. MS. 417, Art. 16, pp. 97, 98. See also Strype's Annals, Vol. II. pp. 109, 110, Oxf. Ed.*

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APPENDIX No. VIII. Page 55, note (2).

SALUTEM, vir inclyte, in Christo Domino et Servatore nostro sempiternam. Supplex ad te venit Typographus noster Joannes Daius, opem, consilium, auxilium expetens. Non ignorat, opinor, prudentia tua, lege cautum esse publica et municipali, ut cives opificesque, in conducendis operariis et servis, externos et alienigenas sibi asciscant non plures quatuor. Hunc numerum si quis prævaricaretur, parata est mulcta ilico, nescio quæ, dira et grandis, quæ transgressorem feriat. Ego vero quorsum tendat legis hujusce præscriptio, nec satis intelligo, nec attinet in præsentia excutere. Et fieri potest, ut *νομοθεται*, viri prudentes et consulti, suum in eo sensum habuerint, et causas viderint, quas nos ex crassiori hominum classe non assequimur. Verum enimvero utcunque hæc res habeat, perquam sane incommode decretum hoc Typographo isti accidit, tum etiam utrique nostrum hoc tempore incommodissime; qui quum tribus prælis materiam continue suppeditamus, accedit insuper, quod in eo opificii genere laboramus, ut neque apud nostrates operas nobis satis idoneas conquirere, nec aliunde

ministros ad hanc rem, comparare per legem liceat. Habes modo querelæ nostræ summam, unde quid sit, quod efflagitare abs te velimus, perspicit satis, opinor, tua celsitudo—nempe ut pietas atque autoritas tua hic interposita nos contra legis sublevet periculum, eamque nobis obtineat facultatem, quo liceat servum unum et alterum, supra quos permittat lex, ex quacunque natione ad-movere ad operam hanc chalcographicam, quæ in manibus est, perficiendam. Quòd si indigni ipsi tuo hoc favore videamur, saltem dabit id Martyribus Christi piis et sanctis tua benignitas, qui jam diu in cinere conditi tanto forsân maturius prodibunt in lucem. Mitto excellentiæ tuæ fragmenta Wintoniensis aliquot, in quibus perlegendis utinam tibi per negocia iudicium et censuram nobis tuam accommodare vacaret. Quod olim de Hoperi responsione in Editionem Brochianam seu Brachianam potius promiseras, nolim tuæ excidere sublimitati. Aut si quid aliud sit domi tibi in Chartophylacio repositum, quod putes ex usu nobis fore, atque ad farraginem historiæ attingere, id quicquid sit, vehementer nobis communicari exoptamus. Dolet profecto et pudet, è tam multis, qui Regis Edouardo VI. laudatissimæ memoriæ principi id debeant officii, neminem apparere, qui vitam ejus aliqua dignetur descriptione. Quod si honoranda tua pietas non gravetur Leges Ecclesiasticas illas mihi, quarum feci apud te mentionem, paulisper accommodare, polliceor denuo ad sextum diem restituendas amplitudini tuæ. Quam Dominus Jesus in longa ætate nobis et reipublicæ incolumem florentemque custodiat. ἐ Τυπογραφείῳ nostro. Jul. 6.

Tuus in Christo ad omnia Christiana obsequia paratissimus.—J. Foxus.

Præter hæc (ne satis petaces ac molesti tibi videamur) rogamus porro majorem in modum illustrissimam præstantiam tuam, ut huic, quem dixi, typographo sua maneant sarta et tecta privilegia illa, quæ jam olim a vobis indulta sibi habet, in psalmore excussione, atque ut vulgo loquuntur ad Imprimendum solum, siquidem ex hoc uno solo universa illius alitur familia.

*Prudentia et Pietate viro cum primis conspicuo et eminenti D. Cecilio Reginæ* Burghley  
*Secretario.*—Lansdowne MS. 10, No. 170. Papers.

*Indorsement on the back:*—Mr Fox. Concerning printing his Martyrology: That hee might bee dispensed with in regard of that law for printing, that allows not above four strangers, printers; that so his *Martyrology* might go the faster.

## APPENDIX No. IX. Page 69, note (5).

### AD DOCTUM ET CANDIDUM LECTOREM.

*Præfatio.* J. F.

QUUM nihil sit, quod vel ad communem omnium naturam vel ad privatam cujusque salutem proprius pertineat, quam ut in quaque reipub. societate recta religionis doctrina retineatur, tum ad hanc ipsam optimæ religionis institutionem non parum retulerit, optimarum pariter legum accedere disciplinam: Quarum altera nos ad pietatem informet, altera externam hominum inter ipsos vitam moresque componat. Quæ duæ res simul conjunctæ, ut plurimum in omni reipub. rectè administranda valent, seseque mutuo juvant; ita si divellantur perinde ac si navem seces mediam, haud ita multum video, quid aut hæc sine illa, aut utraque pars sine altera, his præsertim temporibus contulerit. Nam ut nulla quantumvis morata civitas, aut regnum, commode haberi possit si absit aut aberret religionis regula; sic neque religio rursus quantumlibet exulta præstiterit ad absolvendam felicitatis perfectionem, ubi nec morum cura habetur, nec iudiciorum servatur severitas. Unde non insecitè ab Augustino dictum est, qui de Dei scribens civitate, posse reipub. felicem esse negat, *ul-stantibus quidem mœnibus, mores ruinam patiuntur.* Ideoque non abs re à sapientissimis majoribus prospectum arbitror, qui præmia pariter cum pœnis temperantes, simulque cum religione legum colligantes instituta, omni reipub. parti consulendum putaverunt, quo videlicet nec bonis deesset quo ad virtutes sincerumque Dei cultum incitari possent; nec malis suppliciorum abesset metus, quo revocentur à flagitio: simulque injuriarum controversiæ (si quæ emergerent) tolli eodem pacto et finiri possent.

Cum reli-  
gione con-  
jungenda  
morum  
disciplina

Cæterum diligens hic cum primis et multiplex adhibenda cautio est. Quem-  
admodum enim non omnis admittenda est in cætus politico religio, nisi quæ  
Legibus  
condenda

cautiones  
adhiben-  
dæ.

ad expressam divinæ voluntatis normam quam simplicissimè respondeat; ita et in condendis legibus prudenti cum primis delectu utendum censeo, ut reipub. accommodentur, non quæ temerè cujusvis effundit temeritas, aut tyrannus obrudat, sed quæ ad archetypum æqui et honesti atque perfectæ rationis regulam accedant quàm proximè. Prospiciendum deinde, ne aut fisci lucrum oleant, aut privatam sapiant utilitatem; cujusmodi *Epitadæ* fuisse feruntur, qui cum legem tulisset, ut liberum esset cuique sua, cui vellet, relinquere, nihil interim agebat, nisi ut ipse filium, quem odisset, posset exhæredare. Porro ne crudelitatem spirent, quales erant *Draconis* et *Phalaridis* Agrigentinorum tyranni, quibus et Episcopi Romani addas licebit. Profuerit et illud insuper cavere, ne leges immodica superfluitate ac multitudine scitorum onerent magis, quam ornent rempub. Quamquam vero longè id præstantissimum fuerat, votisque omnibus optandum, ejusmodi omnino esse Christianorum mores, ut non paucis aut moderatis modo, sed nullus potius omnino opus esset legibus, tantumque posse religionis vigorem apud omnes, ut de nobis verè affirmari posset Paulinum illud (1 Tim. i.)—*Lex justo posita non est, &c.*; verum quando hoc in tanta vitæ infirmitate obtineri non datur, nescio etiam an sperare liceat in visibilibus hac Ecclesia, ubi promiscuè cum bonis ita permisti mali sunt, ut amplior plerumque pars vincat meliorem, idcirco legum necessario comparata sunt præsidia, ut quos ducere religio nequeat, disciplinæ saltem legumque retineat coercio. Sine quibus nullam posse humanæ societatis gubernationem constare, non modo recentiorum temporum exempla, sed vetustissimæ etiam antiquitatis ubique comprobant historiæ, sive Atticam primum, sive Spartanam spectemus rempublicam. Quarum utraque post varias civilium confictionum agitationes, tandem acceptis altera à *Solone*, altera à *Lycurgo* legibus, multo dehinc pacatior auctiorque est reddita. Sic enim de *Athenis* constat, quod cum sine certo aliquo jure tres simul per id tempus factiones inter se contenderent, eaque dissensio gliscentibus magis odiis universis exitium minaretur, *Soloni* respub. mandata est. Is leges tulit, quibus libertatem et otium, per quingentos postea annos, ei restituit reipub. Porro ut non pudit Attices ea tempestate Ægyptias leges quasdam usucapere, atque in suam transferre rempub. (ut testis est *Herodotus*), idem et *Romanis* postea usu venit, quos cum publica cogeret necessitas leges in civitate sua conscribere, missi sunt in *Græciam* decemviri, qui ex Atticis legibus *Solonis*, *Zaleuci* apud *Locros*, *Charondæ* apud *Thurinos*, *Lycurgi* apud *Lacedæmonios*, *Phoronei* apud *Argivos*, certas legum formulas colligerent, et de rep. instituenda summos in *Græcia* homines consulerent.

Legum  
neces-  
sitas.Leges  
Atticæ.Leges Ro-  
manæ  
duodecim  
tabularum.Leges  
Saxonum  
antiquæ.Pontificis  
supremi-  
tatis in-  
vasio.

Atque ex iis demum leges duodecim tabularum conflatae sunt, quibus tantum tribuit *M. Cicero*, ut alicubi de optimo civitatis statu disputans, à natura discere prædicat, qui a *Romanis* legibus dissident. Breviter nulla gens, nulla civitas, aut patria, tam immanis unquam aut barbara fuit, quæ non leges, etsi non ubique consimiles, non aliquas tamen habuerit, quibus si non omnia propellerentur vitia, at aliquam saltem morum honestatem retineret. Sic neque Angliæ nostræ jam olim sua defuerunt legum decreta sapienter à prudentissimis majoribus constituta. Declarant id *Bracthonis nomothetica*, *Inæ Regis*, *Edovardi senioris*, *Athelstani*, *Eadmundi*, *Eadgari*, *Aluredi*, *Ethelredi*, *Canuti*, cæterorumque principum auspiciis institutæ sanctiones. Quæ leges quam diu suam tueri auctoritatem potuerunt, viguit aliqua saltem in hoc regno morum disciplina. Tandem non multo post hæc descendit in *Orchestra* *Scænicus* planè *artifex* suam saltaturus fabulam, urbis Romæ Pontifex: qui cæteris paulatim explosis auctoribus, solus ipse scenam occupare, omnesque omnium actiones sustinere voluit. Primumque prophanis magistratibus ea tantum relinquens quæ prophana videbantur, reliquam partem illam de moribus universam ad se populumque suum transtulit ecclesiasticum, callidissimo nimirum commento, cum se fingit Christi in terris vicarium, et Apostolicæ cathedræ hæreditarium successorem. Quod simul atque semel principibus esse persuasum sensisset, hinc illico majora conandi materiam accipit. Neque porro defuit occasione audacia. Pergens itaque in cœpta fabula mirus hic histrio, postquam exordium sibi tam pulchre videt procedere, ad reliquas similiter actionis partes se parat, quas nihilo etiam segnius tractat. Ac primum ad Reges ipsos summosque Monarchas affectat viam, eorum auctoritatem paulatim vellicare, mox et æquare, tum superare etiam, superatamque sub jugum mittere pertentat. Hoc ubi etiam succedere intelligit, majore sumpta fiducia ulterius adhuc progreditur sese dilatare, ac pennas nido majores distendere, nihil jam humile aut plebecium

ae se cogitans. Qui prius humili socco incedebat, nunc alto cothurno ingreditus, ex pontifice Rex factus planè tragicus. Quin nec amplius subditi jam nomen agnoscit, qui jubetur à Christo, ne dominetur suis. Denique eousque intunescit magnitudinis hic Ecclesiarcha, ut qui leges prius ab aliis accipere atque in ordine teneri sit solitus, nunc inversa rerum scæna leges ipse imponit aliis, ac jura præscribit universis: Quod jus nunc canonicum appellamus. In quo ipso jure neque ullum tamen modum tenet illius impudentia, quin leges legibus, decreta decretis, ac iis insuper decretalia, aliis alia, atque item alia accumularet, nec ullum penè statuit cumulandi finem, donec tandem suis *Clementinis, Sextinis, Intra et Extravaganlibus, Constitutionibus provincialibus et Synod-alibus, Paleis, Glossulis, Sententiis, Capitulis, Summariis, Rescriptis, Breviculis, Casibus longis et brevibus, ac infinitis Rhapsodiis*, adeò orbem confarcinavit, ut Atlas mons, quo sustineri cœlum dicitur, huic (si imponeretur) oneri vix ferendo sufficeret.

Jus Pon-tificium seu Ca-nonicum.

Atque hunc quidem in modum habuit pontificiæ hujus fabulæ epitasis, satis quidem turbulenta, et prodigiosa: In qua mirum quas ille turbas dedit, quos mundo ludos fecit, et quos errores involvit, foris nonnullam quidem religionis faciem obtendens, sed ita ut propius intuenti haud difficile esset videre, longe aliud mysterium in animo eum instituisse, nempe ut ecclesiasticum imperium aliquod in hoc mundo eminentiæ singularis at tolleret. Tum nec his contentus, jus fori sui haud prius destitit hactenus dilatare, quoad totum etiam civilem gladium cum plena potestate in suam traduxisset possessionem: non huc spectans interim, ut morum disciplinam in melius proveheret (quod fortassis nunquam illi serio curæ fuit), sed partim ut sedis dignitatem omnibus munitam modis constabiliret, partim ut opes undecunque quam maximas ad explendam ipsius avaritiam converteret, haud multum dissimili exemplo, quale de *Dionysio Syracusano* commemorat Plutarchus, qui quum insidioso consilio quam plurimas tulisset leges, alias super alias ingerens, tum easdem pari rursus astutia, à populo negligi patiebatur, quo cunctos hac ratione sibi obnoxios redderet. Nec aliud in consilio fuisse huic pontifici videtur in tot congerendis legum centonibus, quam ut plurimos canonicis suis articulis irretitos teneret, quo *uberior quæstus* ei ex *dispensationibus et condemnationibus* accresceret. Atque hanc puta catastrophem esse hujus *choragii*. Nam ut veteres olim Comædiæ exhibant ferè in nuptias, ita pontificis omnes ferè molitiones desinebant in pecunias. Breviter sub hoc pontifice ita gubernata est res ecclesiastica, ut in pejori loco nec aliàs fuerit unquam, nec tum esse potuerit: *quando nihil in religione ferè rectum, in moribus nihil sanum, nihil in conscientiis liberum, nec in cultu sincerum relinquebatur; nec in legibus quicquam, nisi quod ad inutiles quasdam ceremonias, vel absurda dogmata, vel ad ordinis magnificentiam tuendam pertinebat*. Et si in consistoriis ostendebatur nonnulla forsitan justitiæ umbra, et morum inspectio, sic tamen res gerebatur, ut pretio nulli non venalis foret impunitas. Cui et hoc porro accedebat incommodi, quod quum ab iis judiciis procul omnis politica potestas arceretur, interim tota fori tractatio nescio quibus canonicis et officialibus patebat, quorum magna pars ex litibus victitans suum magis spectabat compendium, quam virtutis ac morum rectitudinem. Ut multa hic suppressim modestiæ causa, fortassis non prætereunda, si non pudori magis consulere, quam calamo indulgere hoc loco libuisset.

Pontifex vindicat utrumque gladium.

Pontifici juris corruptelæ.

Postulabat sane hæc tanta rerum dissipatio necessariam emendationem. Neque fellit ecclesiam suam divina providentia, cujus singulari beneficio cœpit tandem utcunque scintillare, velut è crassa nebula, promicans sincerioris religionis aura, regnante auspiciatissimæ memoriæ Rege *Henrico* octavo: qui regum omnium in hoc regno *primus*, magno reipublicæ bono, pontificis hujus nomen cum superbissimis fascibus prorsus è regni finibus excusserat. Quin nec eo contentus cordatus rex, ut nomen nudosque solum titulos a se suisque depelleret, nisi et *jura decretaque* omnia quibus adhuc obstringebatur ecclesia perfringeret, huc quoque animum adjecit, ut universam secum rempub. in plenam assereret libertatem. Quocirca cum ex ipsius tum ex publico Senatus decreto delecti sunt viri aliquot, usu et doctrina præstantes, *numero triginta duo, qui penitus abolendo pontificio juri (quod canonicum vocamus), cum omni illa decretorum et decretulium facultate, novas ipsi leges, quæ controversiarum et morum judicia regerent, regis nomine et autoritate surrogarent*. Id quod ex ipsius Regis epistola, quam huic præfiximus libro, constare poterit, quæ et serium ipsius in hac re studium et piam voluntatem aperiat. Laudandum profecto regis propositum, nec illaudandi fortassis eorum conatus, qui leges tum illas, licet his

Rex Henricus octavus.

Legum ecclesiasticarum per Regem Henricum VIII. reformatio.

longe dissimiles, conscripserant. Sed nescio quo modo, quaque occasione res successu caruit, sive temporum iniquitate, sive nimia eorum cessatione quibus tunc negotium committebatur.

Rex Edouardus VI. de religionis et disciplinæ cura sollicitus.

Sequitur post hæc regis tandem *Henrici* mors, "æquo pulsans pede pauperum tabernas, regumque turres." Post quem subiit in regni habenas relictus à patre filius nunquam satis laudati nominis *Edouardus* sextus. Qui in emendanda primum religione, quam adhuc inchoatum reliquit pater, majores impetus ac vires addidit, nec omnino profect infœliciter. Quo factum, ut religionis fontes multo, quam antea, purgatores nativo quodammodo notiori sint restituti. Sed iniquissimi illorum temporum mores, longè à professione dissidentes, et religioni labem et bonis omnibus dolorem non mediocre asperserunt. In causa creditur, quòd cum doctrina reformata non item adhibita essent legum idonea repagula, quæ effrenam multitudinis impunitatem cohiberent. Durabant enim adhuc hæc ipsa, quæ et hodie regnant in curiis et consistoriis pontificii juris instituta, et constitutiones provinciales, quæ præter verbosam ceremoniarum congeriem nihil ferè habebant, quod corrigendæ Christianorum vitæ magnopere conduceret. Neque interim hoc nesciebat, pro divina sua indole *Edouardus* noster. Itaque coacto mox Senatu, indictoque frequentissimis comitiis parlamento, non solum in animo habuit, sed diligentur etiam curavit, paternum sequutus exemplum, ut quod ille factum priùs voluisset, in reformandis pontificiorum canonum decretis, id ipse absolutiori expeditione perfectum redderet.

Leges ecclesiasticæ per Regem *Edouardum* VI. renovatæ.

Quid multis? ex communi ordinum omnium suffragio, datum id negotii est viris, si non iisdem quibus superius, at pari tamen numero, nec impari excellentia præditis, triginta videlicet duobus (quod idem etiam ab *Henrico* prius octavo instituebatur), partim ex Episcopis, partim ex Theologia, partim ex utriusque juris prudentia, partim ex communis quoque juris professione, ad octenos, in quatuor classes, ad hoc ipsum designatis, ut ipsorum arbitrio certa quædam sanctionum capita in legum formulas redacta figerentur, quæ, in locum suffectæ Romanarum constitutionum, reip. et moribus in melius formandis quam maximè salutares proponerentur.

Legem ecclesiasticarum auctores, et ordo.

Nec longum erat, quin regis voluntati satisfactum sit. Res enim, tanquam pensum, in varias distributa operas felicitate non minori quam celeritate confecta est, hoc observato ordine: ut Duo lii et triginta (quos diximus) in quatuor classes, æqua proportione ita dividerentur, ut in singulis octonariis duo Episcopi, duo item Theologi, rursusque duo juris utriusque, similiter et communis juris consulti totidem continerentur. Inter quos sic denique conventum est, ut quod in singulis classibus conclusum et definitum esset, id per reliquas classes considerandum atque inspiciendum transmitteretur. Quanquam verò ex hoc ipso omni numero, octo potissimum selecta fuerunt capita, quibus prima operis præformatio quasique materiæ præparatio committebatur, quorum nomina Regis in *Edouardi* epistola comprehensa videre liceat.

Tho. Cranmerus Archiepis. Gualterus Haddonus.

Atque hoc modo confectæ hæc quidem leges sunt, sive eas ecclesiasticas, sive politicas appellare libeat. Quarum materia ab optimis undique legibus petita videtur, non solum ecclesiasticis, sed civilibus etiam, veterumque Romanarum præcipua antiquitate. Summæ negotii præfuit *Tho. Cranmerus* Archiepis. Cant. Orationis lumen et splendorem addidit *Gualterus* Haddonus, vir disertus, et in hac ipsa juris facultate non imperitus. Quin nec satis scio an *Joan. Checi* viri singularis eidem negotio adiutrix adfuerit manus. Quo factum est, ut cultiori stylo concinnatæ sint istæ leges, quam pro communi cæterarum legum more. Atque equidem lubens optarim, si quid votis meis proficerem, ut consimili exemplo, nec dissimili etiam oratione ac stylo, prosiliat nunc aliquis, qui in vernaculis nostris legibus perpoliendis idem efficiat, quod in ecclesiasticis istis præstitit clarissimæ memoriæ hic Haddonus.

Sed hæc aliorum relinquens perpensionis, ad ecclesiasticas nostras redeo, quæ quemadmodum elaboratæ fuerint, quibusque authoribus conscriptæ, jam aperimus. Restabat nunc de illarum dignitate et æstimatione aliquid porrò mihi disserendum. - Sed quia nolim meo iudicio cæteris præcurrere, liberam suam cuique censuram relinquo. Nobis sat erit, quoniam jam pridem in superioribus Monumentis nostris promissa sunt, studiosis lectoribus hæc proposuisse; non ut vim illico legum auctoritatemque induant, sed ut specimen duntaxat rei, velut ad gustum ista lectitare volentibus, exhiberemus, quæ ubi perlecta fuerint, pro suo quisque captu, quid de iis statuendum putet, libere secum pensiet.

non aliquid inhæsit nævi, ita neque hic fortasse defutura sunt, quæ *δευτέρας φροντίδας* et acriorem lectoris discussionem flagitare nonnullis videbuntur. In quo genere præter alia quæ brevitatis causa transilire cogor, hoc unum minime, vel prætereundum mihi, vel doctis iudiciis admittendum videtur, quod lex ista vetat in titulo de divinis officiis, cap. 16—ne quicquam omnino præter præscripta peragatur, et formulas illius libri nostra communi lingua scripti, quem proprium et perfectum omnis divini cultus magistrum esse statuit, etc. Nos verò perfectum omnis divini cultus magistrum solum Dei Verbum agnoscimus, cum interim in hoc libro non esse nulla constat, quæ per omnia minus quadrare ad amussim ecclesiasticæ reformationis videantur, multoque rectius fortasse mutarentur. Sed hæc ab aliis rectius perspicere, quam à me admoneri poterint.

Interim Illustrissimi Principis Edouardi nostri tam piam vereque Christianam sollicitudinem nunquam satis laudare queo, nec minus præclare eorum etiam doctorum hominum navatam diligentiam arbitror, qui congerendis his legibus præferunt, quas summa approbatione et applausa illorum tum temporum fuisse receptas constat. Nec dubium quin Parlamentari etiam autoritate eadem sanctiones istæ constabilitate atque in publicum usum consecratæ fuissent, si vita regi paulo longior suppetisset. Quod ut valde tum dolendum est non contigisse, ita nunc vicissim optandum, quod per præmaturam mortem regis illius negatum est, ecclesiæ felicitati per feliciora tempora Serenissimæ Reginae nostræ *Elizabethæ* suppleatur, accedente publica hujus nunc Parlamenti autoritate, simulque faventibus doctorum hominum suffragiis. Quos ut nostram hanc in edendo audaciam boni consulant impensè rogamus.—Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum. Londoni. Ex officina Johannis Daii, Anno salutis humanæ 1571, mense Aprili.

*Note.*—The italic which frequently occurs in the above document is according to the Edition of 1640; but the whole has been collated with the original Edition of 1571.

APPENDIX No. X. Page 77, note (1).

*To the Queen, in behalf of two Dutch people to be burnt for their opinion.*

SERENISSIMA, beatissima Princeps, Regina illustrissima, patriæ Decus, seculi Ornamentum. Ut nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione absuit longius, quam ut Majestatis tuæ amplissimam excellentiam molesta unquam interpellatione obturbarem: ita vehementer dolet, silentium hoc, quo hactenus constanter sum usus, non eadem constantia perpetuo tueri, ita ut volebam, licuisse. Ita nunc præter spem ac opinionem meam, nescio qua infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minime, id contra me maxime faciat hoc tempore. Qui quum ita vixerim huc usque, ut molestus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc cogar contra naturam Principi etiam ipsi esse importunus: non re ulla aut causa mea sed aliena inductus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior sit et luctuosior, hæc acriores mihi addit ad deprecandum stimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Anglia hic esse, non Anglos, sed adventitios, Belgas quidem opinor, partim viros, partim sæminas, nuper ob improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quorum aliquot feliciter reducti publicam luerunt pœnitentiam. Complures in exilium sunt condemnati. Quod rectissime factum esse arbitror.<sup>1</sup> Jam ex hoc numero unum esse aut alterum audio, de quibus ultimum exustionis supplicium (nisi succurrat tua pietas) brevi sit statuendum. Quæ una in re duo contineri perspicio, quorum alterum ad errorum gravitatem, alterum ad supplicii acerbiteriam attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipsis nihil posse absurdius esse, sanus nemo est qui dubitat, mirorque tam fœda opinionum portenta in quosquam potuisse Christianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, si divina paululum luce destituti nobis relinquimur, quo non ruimus præcipites? Atque equidem hoc nomine Christo gratias quam maximas habeo, quod Anglorum hodie neminem huic insaniam affianem video.

Quod igitur ad phanaticas istas sectas attinet, eas certe in republica nullo modo fovendas esse, sed idonea comprimendas coercione (correctione—*Fuller*) venseo. Verum enimvero ignibus ac flammis, pice ac sulphure æstantibus, viva miserorum corpora torrefacere, judicii magis cæcitate quam impetu

(1) Over the last clause the following words are written in the MS:—"idque rectissime meo judicio factum"—and a caret after "Quod."—ED.

voluntatis errantium, durum istud ac Romani magis exempli esse, quam evangelicæ consuetudinis, videtur; ac plane ejusmodi, ut nisi a Romanis Pontificibus, auctore Innocentio III., primum profluxisset, nunquam istum Perilli taurum quisquam in mitem Christi ecclesiam importavisset. Non quod maleficiis deleter aut erroribus faveam cujusquam, dicta hæc esse velim. Vitæ hominum, ipse homo quum sim, faveo. Ideoque faveo, non ut errent sed ut respiciant. Ac neque hominum solum. Utinam et pecudibus ipsis opitulari possem. Ita enim sum (stulte fortassis hoc de meipso, at vere, dicam), macellum ipsum ubi mactantur etiam pecudes vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris sensu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipsius valde admiror venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis et abjectis, quæ sacrificiis olim parabantur, id prospexerat, ne prius ignibus manderentur, quam sanguis eorum ad basim altaris effunderetur: unde disceremus in exigendis suppliciis, quamvis justis, non quid omnino rigori liceat, sed ut clementia simul adhibita rigoris temperet asperitatem.

Quamobrem si tantum mihi apud principis tanti Majestatem audere liceret, supplex pro Christo rogarem clementissimam hanc Regiæ sublimitatis excellentiam pro autoritate hac tua, qua ad vitam multorum conservandam pollere te divina voluit clementia, ut vitæ, si fieri possit (quid enim non possit iis in rebus autoritas tua?) miserorum parcat, saltem ut horrori obstat, atque in aliud quodcumque commutetur supplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, inclusiones retrusæ, sunt vincula, sunt perpetua exilia, sunt stigmata et πλύγματα, aut etiam patibula. Id unum valde deprecor, ne pyras ac flammas Smythfeldianas jam diu faustissimis tuis auspiciis hucusque sopitas sinas nunc recandescere. Quod si ne id quidem obtineri possit, id saltem omnibus supplicandi modis efflagito τούτο τὸ πειθαρχικὸν pectoris tui implorans, ut mensem tamen unum ad alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an a periculosis erroribus dederit Dominus ut resanescant, ne in corporum jactura, animæ pariter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio.—Harl. M.S. 416. Art. 95, pp. 151 and 155. See also Fuller, Book 9, pp. 104, 105.

In the Harl. MS. 416, Art. 95, p. 155, is a Copy of another Letter, similar to the above, in favour of four or five persons of the same opinions. There are also copies of two others (417, Art. 21, p. 100*b*. Art. 49 p. 110,) which appear to be rough drafts of the same address.

Foxe concludes one of the above, thus: D. Iesus propitii numinis sui præsidic Inclytam Majestatem tuam nobis universæque reipublicæ quam diutissime florentem ac sospitem omnique circumfusam felicitate, magis ac magis ad nominis sui gloriam provehat, et custodiat ad vitam æternam. Amen.

Illustrissimæ tuæ Majestati Subditissimus, Joa. Foxus.

#### APPENDIX No. XI. Page 79, note (1).

CELEBERRIMO viro D. Munsono Regiæ Justiciario dignissimo, apud omnes bonos laudatissimo, Salutem.

Præstantissime et mihi observande domine. Scripsi nuper serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati: scripsi et D. Consiliariis litterasque dedi D. Thesaurario, quarum exemplar ad te mitto. Scripsi et ipsis Anabaptistis ante biduum, convellens eorum errores quâ potui vehementiâ; dedique litteras in linguam ipsorum vertendas, quas an adhuc sint illis redditæ haud satis novi. Audio nunc totum hoc negotium de constituendo ipsorum supplicio ad vos esse devolutum. Quo magis eximiam vestram prudentiam novi, et sinceram religionem, hoc minus de clementia vestra addubito. Quum serenissima Regina mortis tam acerbæ sententiam ferre ipsa detrectat, spero vos non futuros inclementiores. Multorum audio hac de re judicia; quanto quisque accedit propius ad mitem Evangelicam indolem, tantò longius abest à duro hoc torrendi ac torquendi genere, quod sine dubio ante Innocentium 3tium nunquam inventum est in Christi ecclesia. Etsi nemo sit qui non fateatur eos animadversione summa dignos, tamen, si vobis ita videbitur, non desunt alia suppliciorum genera, vincula, exilia, flagra, aut furcæ, ut non necesse sit ad Pontificium hoc Romanæ sævitæ confugere. Jam vero qua publica hujus regni lege liceat eos ignibus mndare, quum in doctrina solum delinquant, nisi prius pro Archiepiscopo Ut nihil est, nec unquam fuit, tam feliciter humano elucubratum ingenio, cui

Cantuariensi in provinciali synodo agatur convictio, non reperio. Qua de re licebit vobis jura et statuta hujus regni consulere. Nam statutum illud Hen. 4ti de comburendo vim legis nullam possidet. Ut insuper præter communes leges nostras, illud etiam in divina lege observemus, certe Dominus Deus ipse in sacrificiis priscis ne pecudes quidem ipsas vivas exuri voluit, priusquam sanguis eorum et vita ad basin altaris effunderetur. Quanquam satis per se novit perfecta vestra prudentia, quod factu opus sit: id tantum rogare volui, quoniam ad vos delata est hujus judicii potestas, ita velitis auctoritatem vestram expromere, ne sitis mitissimæ vestræ clementiæ immemores: durum est flammis æstantibus viva hominum excruciaci corpora, at durius est in æternam gehennam cum istis erroribus præcipitari. Et quis noverit, an Dominus gratiam posthac his donaverit, qua respiciant, si vos vitam dederitis, qua gratiam accipiant? Quod si corporibus miserorum non consulendum esse, nec vita dignos eos judicatis, at consulite quæso animis, ne pereant in æternum. Sæpe incident morbi in quibus curandis plus efficit pietas quam asperitas, plusque dies afferat, quam manus medici: De his jam loquor morbis, qui spiritali magis medicina egeant, quam corporali: fides siquidem quum errat cogi a nemine possit, doceri possit, multique moriuntur orthodoxi, qui diu vixerunt Hæretici. Quin et istos in duobus aut tribus articulis nonnihil remittere et cedere audio, atque in ipso etiam primo capite minus aliquanto præfractos esse; nec admodum diffido, in hoc etiam articulo facile eos reduci posse, si liceret ad Michaelis usque diem plenius institui et informari. Atque utinam bona hæc iuitia significari serenissimæ Majestati possent, priusquam ad extremum illud intendetur rigor. Sed de hac re atque aliis ageris, viri consultissimi, pro libera judicii vestri ratione; sicque ageris spero, ut in decernendo hoc judicio omnes auctoritatem persentiant vestram, ἐπιεικειαν prædicent; utque non solum bonorum omnium linguæ, litteræ, historiæ clementiam vestram testentur, sed etiam ut hi miseri Anabaptistæ aliquando conversi vobis gratias agant. Neque enim omnino spectandum arbitror, quales sint homines, sed quales esse possint. Quod etsi in publicis judiciis et legum executione locum non habeat, at certe in rebus ecclesiæ et conscientiæ, atque in judiciis illis quæ nulla certa lege publica constituuntur, locum habere arbitror. Atqui vero si hujusmodi hoc esset judicium vestrum, quod certis et necessariis legum præscriptis constaret, verbum non dicerem. Nunc autem quum clementissimæ Reginæ Majestas hoc totum libero vestro arbitratui permiserit, utrum istos exustos esse an alia quacunque ratione plectendos malitis, supplex deprecor honorandam vestram celsitudinem, pro libera hac potestate vestra ita hic misericordiam cum judicio temperare dignemini, ut quam pii viri sitis, non solum quanta auctoritate præditi, pii omnes viri intelligant, Christus ipse videat, parique vos iterum misericordia in suo judicio remuneret.—Harl. MS. 417, Art. 51, p. 111.

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APPENDIX No. XII. Page 78, note (2).

AD ANABAPTISTAS QUOSDAM CONDEMNATOS.

EGIMUS causam vestram apud Serenissimam Reginam: egimus apud Dominos Consiliarios. Nihil perfecimus. Videtur Dominus contra vos obfirmasse voluntates, offensus improba et detestanda pertinacia vestra, dum contra voluntatem Dei, contra apertissimum ipsius verbum, contra Christianorum omnium piam et sacram institutionem, et veram fidem pugnare videmini, et stolidas movetis factiones, scandala gignitis, pestiferos errores inducitis, ecclesiam Christi non mediocriter læditis, hostibus et papistis materiam in nos insultandi et calumniandi in manus præbetis, etenim quicquid id est, quod vestra delirat inscitia, nobis imputant, evangelium accusant, vestræque culpâ fit, quod sana doctrina nostra tam male audiat apud adversarios; putant enim ex evangelio nasci sectas istas, hæreses, et dissidia. Nec solum ecclesiam Dei probro et contumelia afficitis, sed Deum etiam errore doctrinæ graviter offenditis, dum verbo ejus non acquiescitis, nec veritati ceditis, nec spiritum ejus sacrum in scripturis expressum adhibetis in consilium, sed phanaticas quasdam mentis vestræ conceptiones, vel deceptiones potius, pro scripturis colitis: et dum de Humanitate



Christi contenditis tam obstinate, interim salutem vestram et remissionem peccatorum, in Humanitate Christi et fide solâ nobis propositam, vel non tenetis satis vel non curatis admodum. Nam si illa vobis satis esset peccatorum remissio, quæ vobis est in Humanitate et sanguine filii Dei, nunquam istas de ratione Humanitatis turbas moveretis, sed cum ecclesia Dei gratias simul nobiscum læti et quieti ageretis Patri pro incarnato Filio, et pia quadam humilitate cum fratribus conjungeretis judicia vestra. Nunc, cum suavi quadam philautia vobis ipsis applaudentes plus iudicis vestris quam cæteris hominibus omnibus tribuatis, id efficitis, ut non solum Deo odiosi sitis, sed omnibus fere hominibus execrabiles. Quanquam de hominum execratione haud multum laborandum esset, si cum Deo saltem pax vobis constaret et amicitia. Qua in re ne inanis mentis vestræ vos decipiat opinio, videndum est. Præterea vetus est exemplum ut falsa veritatis imagine seducti multi in maximis versentur erroribus . . . et Monasterienses Anabaptistæ veriore penes se causam esse aliquando somniabant; Et Papistæ hodie præter suam nullam credunt catholicam esse ecclesiam; Idem de Judæorum et Turcarum immanissima persuasionem judicari possit. Scitum est nos intra verbi divini lineas nos continere: Paulus nihil ferre minus potuit quam contentiosas de Genealogiis quæstiones: Idem et de Christo secundum carnem dicit, "Si Christum aliquando etiam novimus secundum carnem, nunc amplius non novimus. Nam si quis est in Christo Jesu, nova est creatura." An non satis erat vobis simpliciter nobiscum fateri, Christum venisse in carnem, nisi etiam de ratione carnis tam ineptas moveretis difficultates? quas nec ipsi expedire potestis, nec quicquid ad rem faciunt, dum videmini Domino non materialem carnem tribuere sed supernaturalem nescio quam; quasi quæ ingenua sit in Maria Virgine, non generata de Maria Virgine. Et quo pacto igitur liber Generationis Jesu Christi Domini, et non potius liber Nativitatis, juxta vestram translationem. Qua in re vanissimam vestram ineptiam neque mirari satis; nam si generata non fuit caro Christi de natura Matris, certe naturalis non erat illius caro, nec connaturalis cum carne nostra; et falsum erit illud S. Pauli qui factum eum dicit, non in muliere sed de muliere. (Gal. iv.) Sed video unde omnis hæc fluit erroris vestri inscitia; ex eo scilicet quod modum rei cum substantia rei imperitissime confunditis; etenim quæ ad modum solum pertinent, ea vos transfertis ad substantiam; et quia modo supernaturali concepta est caro ipsius, idcirco carnem ipsius esse supernaturalem impie contenditis: At ne nesciatis, aliud est de modo, aliud de substantia quærere. De modo enim ita et nos vobiscum fatemur, Humanitatem Christi modo non naturali conceptam esse; sed naturalem tamen dicimus humanam carnem eam quæ concepta est et nata de Maria Virgine; et si non eâdem ratione Homo factus sit ille, qua nos facti sumus, ex patre et ex matre, at nihilo minus ille, qui homo factus sit ex matre, ex eâdem conditus est substantiâ eandemque gerit naturam carnis, quam nos gerimus; ut sit ille nobis connaturalis. Alioquin si nobiscum non sit connaturalis secundum carnem, certe nec redemptor est, nec semen mulieris, nec Filius Davidis, nec Sponsus ecclesiæ. Nam si sponsus et sponsa una caro sunt, certe aut Christum oportet suæ ecclesiæ non esse sponsum, aut ut eadem sit caro cum sponsa necesse sit, non solum secundum gratiam, sed etiam secundum naturam. Neque enim in hac conceptione Filii Dei ita solum spectanda est gratia, ut naturam omnem extinguamus; etsi enim modus conceptionis gratiæ erat non naturæ, at illa tamen substantia quæ concepta est et nata, Naturæ erat non Gratia, quoad substantiam, id est, solum ex humana natura et substantia erat, nullo modo ex substantia Dei: ut jam inter Christi humanitatem et nostram nulla sit distantia, nisi quod caro illius immunis a peccato erat, nostra peccatis scateat. Atque hæc nostra fides est de incarnatione Christi, cum verbo Dei analogæ et congruæ plena summa consolatione quam ex Christi suavissima conjunctione cum carne nostra concipimus. Hanc conjunctionem et fraternitatem nobis cum Christo junctissimam dum vos impuro vestro dogmate dissolvitis, quid aliud quam verbo Dei vos opponitis, fidem extinguitis, salutem perturbatis, omnemque consolationem piis mentibus eripitis? Hortor itaque et rogo in Domino, etiam atque etiam, videte quid agitis; satis sit quod hactenus tamdiu turbastis ecclesias vestro scandalo et offendiculo gravissimo. In cæteris opinionibus audio vos nonnihil remollescere. Dominus Jesus Spiritus sui sanctissimo ductu aperiat vobis oculos mentis, et corda permoveat ad veritatis suæ cognitionem. Amen.

—Hart. MS. 417, Art. 52, folio 111 b.

## APPENDIX No. XIII. Page 78, note (1).

*Dynastæ cum primis splendidissimo, ac spectatissimo, D. Thesaurario, cæterisque ejusdem senatus Reginæ consiliariis, viris lectissimis, dominis colendissimis, prudentia ac gravitate suspiciendis in Christo Domino, εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι.*

MAGNIFICI viri, concilii duces, justitiæ principes. Etsi negotium de quo scripturus sum nihil ad me attinet, tamen quia curam ac providentiam senatoriæ vestræ dignitatis attingit nonnihil, confido vos benigne consulturos non temere susceptam hanc ad vos scribendi audaciam. De inauspicatis illis Anabaptistis, et execrandis eorum deliriis, quod nuper constitutum sit, minime vobis incompertum esse arbitror. Qua in re Reverendus D. Londinensis, egregii pastoris functus officio, præstitit pro virili quod potuit et quod debuit, nihil ad summam prætermittens diligentiam, quo sana institutione eos ad sanitatem reflecteret, reduxitque pia sedulitate sua nonnullos. Alios e medio profligavit. In quosdam irrogata sententia est, qua seculari judicio relictis mortis, ut arbitror, supplicium ferant. Ac dignos quidem supplicio nefarios eorum errores nemo ambigit. De supplicii vero genere non ita apud omnes convenit. Clamant nonnulli, Papistarum maximè filii, ad Ignem, ad Ignem. Qui moderatori sunt ingenio, haud ita sentiunt, nec putant id necessarium, quod ad summum illud atque extremum Romanæ sævitæ exemplum sub evangelio nunc recurratur; maluitque aliud adhiberi coercionis remedium, quod vulneribus potius medeatur quàm homines ipsos ad gehennam perdat, quodque cum legis asperitate aliquid simul aspergat mansuetudinis evangelicæ. Hic verò quid vestra factura sit potestas, qui sæculares sitis, ignoramus, nisi quod ex legis præscripto vos acturos esse credibile videtur. Quod si facere percontiditis, id prius a vobis vehementer eflagito vestramque in eo maxime appello prudentiam, etiam atque etiam, velitis prospicere, quo tandem publico jure, aut legis autoritate, eos qui solum in doctrinâ impingunt ignibus ac flammis addicere liceat. Quod si ad senatus-consultum illius Parlamenti confugitis sub Hen. 4to, editum (nam legem nullam aliam incendiariam habetis), liceat quæso quod verum est æqua pace vestra profiteri, statutum illud Hen. 4ti vim nullam legis satis idoneam habere, quum viz. in statuto illo condendo defuerit communis ordinum omnium consensus; sine qua irrita est quæcunque legis Parliamentariæ promulgatio. Ad hæc, etsi maxime valeret legis istius constitutio, tamen idem statutum in primordiis serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ sublatum ac antiquatum intelligo: quod etiamsi non fuisset factum, tamen nullo firmamento ne lex quidem ipsa niteretur, quemadmodum in libris Monumentorum (ubi in vita D. Cobhami Alano Copo respondimus) abunde a nobis demonstratum est ex authenticis publicarum tabularum rotulis. Nam quod vulgo impressi vestri statutorum codices cum superiorum ordinum suffragiis inferioris etiam curiæ admiscant assentionem (ut id obiter Reipublicæ nomine admoneam) fucus est et dolus, subdola et sophistica papistarum malicia injectus, quum vera exemplaria in Archivis vestris conscripta et consignata aliud indicant. Quapropter sæcularis potestas illa quæ in Mariana tempestate funibus ac flammis tam immaniter in Christianorum corpora desæviit, qua legis autoritate vim illi suam tuebantur non video, nisi huc confugiant fortasse, quod ignorantes fuerint. Atque esto hoc quidem, quod ignoratio justam pariat erroris antea acti defensionem, non tamen eadem parit nobis generalem errandi regulam. Quæ quum ita se habeant, eximii proceres, quum nec ulla proferri possit lex hujus regni publica, quæ ad incendiariam hanc necessitatem justa autoritate vos adigat, supplex obtestor, ne plus velitis hac in re licere potestati vestræ, quam legibus ipsis liceat; quod potius prudentia vestra id curæ habeat, ne antiquus error novo exemplo vires nunc easumat, quæ postea in graviorem reipublicæ perniciem erumpant. Nam si caminus, vel Camerina potius ista Smithfeldiana, diu faustissimis Reginæ nostræ auspiciis hactenus consopita, nunc iterum in nova incendio cœperit recandesce decreto autoritatis vestræ, quum nulla necessaria regni lege id defendi possit, quid hinc futurum existimetis, nisi ut hoc facto vestro tanquam auctoramento confirmati Papistæ, non solum tyrannidem suam tanto defendant audacius, sed etiam majorem posthac sibi arripiant in bonos

grassandi confidentiam, si quid contingat, quod Clementissimus avertat Dominus. Postremo de inauspicatis istis avibus (quæ utinam in hoc regno nunquam advolassent) nihil estis facturi melius, quam ut è finibus nostris eorsus abigantur, unde evolarunt: ut quod meriti sunt, id apud suos potius aliquos magistratus ferant, ibique de iis exemplum edatur maxime, ubi maximum metuitur infectionis periculum. Num quod ad Angliam nostram attinet, etsi ea aliis laborat vitiis, tamen ab hac contagione (sit Christo gratia) nihil adhuc periculi video, quamobrem nostris hominibus sit metuendum. Sed satis per se sapit, multoque oculatius prospicit hac in re (sicut in cæteris rebus omnibus) oculatissima prudentia vestra, quod factu sit opus. Et tamen quum ex grati animi officio [hæc literæ] profectæ sint, rogatam velim celsitudinem vestram ne alio animo tandem à vobis accipiantur, præsertim quum non monendi, sed tantum supplicandi gratia hanc susceperim scribendi audaciam. Amplissimi senatus vestri ordinem universum summa in dignitate incolumem ac florentem diutissime tueatur Ille per quem Reges regnant et principes justa decernunt.

Vestræ celsitudini in Christo deditissimus, JOA. FOXUS.

—*Ad D. Thesaurarium et cæteros Consiliarios.*—*Harl. MS.* No. 417, Art. 50, p. 110.

APPENDIX No. XIV. Page 80, note (3).

HONORIFICE Domine ac heros indyete. Quo magis intelligo illustrem tuam præstantiam assiduis negotiorum curis occurrentibus defatigari, hoc magis me pudet pigetque strepitum hunc publicæ tuæ sollicitudini obstreperis meis litteris interpellare. Sed ita me premit durum necessitatis telum, ut velim nolim præsidium favoris tui necessario sit implorandum. Atque ne dignitatem tuam detineam multis, rem ipsam paucis accipe, simulque miseriam meam intellige. Erat hic filius mihi adolescens, quem litteris politioribus pro mea tenentate instituendum curavi sedulo, in quibus et ipse pro sua indole progressus non omnino pœnitendos jam feerat: Nunc quid accidit? pellectus ille suoapte ac consiliis sui comitis, clam a nobis aufugit, relicto collegio in quo versabatur, inconsulto suo præside ac præceptore, relictis libris et litteris, insciis parentibus, dolentibus amicis ac cognatis omnibus, patriæque nunc desertâ ultro se coniecit in exilium, nescio in quibus terris fugitans, neque ubi sit, an vivat, an ubi eum investigem, scio; nisi quod ex litteris ad quendam hic mercatorem nuper scriptis e Caletto dicebat se velle Lutetiam petere. Qui si istic fuerit, futurum (ut credo) ut penuria coactus ad præstantissimam tuam celsitudinem vel scribat, vel accedat ipse. Qua in re vehementer rogo clementiam tuam, pietatem appello, fidem operamque imploro, per omnia sacra, perque omnes sacrarum virtutum pietates deprecor, te mei misereat, ut siquidem fugitivus ille meus acoluthus te adierit, consilium operamque tuam mihi in eo asservando ac retinendo accommodes tantisper, quoad, per litteras certiores facti, quid de illo factum sit quidque nobis faciendum sit intelligamus. Nomen est adolescentis (si vivat) Samuel Foxus, natus annis ferme septendecim, corporis statura pro illis annis sat grandiuscula. His notis si quis forte tibi occurrerit, iterum atque iterum deprecor honorificam tuam præstantiam, in eo ut ostendas beneficio, quantum vel ipse mea causa præstare, vel quantum me debere tuæ benignitati velis. Eximiam tuam dignitatem magis atque magis florentem cum omni familia diu nobis et reipublicæ tueatur Servator Dominus clementissimus.

Dominum Nicasium, quem solum ex omni tua familia novi, cupio salvare plurimum in Christo Domino, quem etiam precor obnixè, ut hic se mihi adiutorem præbeat, præstetque mea caussa quod poterit. Lond. An. 1577, December 5.

Tuus ac tuorum omnium in Christo, Jo. Foxus.

—*Harl. MS.* No. 417, Art. 69, p. 116, b.

(1) Nicasius Yetswiert, Clerk of the Signet to queen Elizabeth, and her secretary for the French tongue. He was an intimate friend of John Rogers the martyr, and seems to have presented him, May 10th, 1550, to the vicarage of St. Sepulchre (Newcourt's Repertorium). See *infra*, Appendix No. XIX.

## APPENDIX No. XV. Page 81, note (3).

QUANDO, quomodo, quibus verbis, qua dicendi figura pares agam gratias singulari vixque credibili humanitati tuæ (vir reverende idemque doctissime Præsul), qua me miserum, tot tantisque ærumnis obsitum imo obrutum, literis tam amanter scriptis et erigere jacentem, et erectum refocillare, volueris! In quo pulchrè tu quidem hoc exemplo representas, quid sit verè Episcopum agere in Domo Domini. Quid enim Antistitem vere Christianum, verius vel arguit, vel commendat insignius, quam charitas toties in Christianis literis exhibita? Aut ubinam hæc ipsa charitas vim suam poterit illustrius explicare, quam in sacro hoc consolandi officio, ἐν τῷ παραμυθεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας, καὶ γὰρ εἰς τοσαύτην ἀθυμίαν ἐνέπεσον τότε, ἐν τῷ ἐπιστέλλειν σε, "στε οὐδεπότε τὶ τῶν οὐδεν ἔμοι συμβῆναι εὐκαιρότερον καὶ ἀκμαιότερον τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας σου ἐκείνων γραμμάτων. Usque adeo tot simul adversæ res omnem mihi et constantiam et patientiam penè expectorabant. Cui enim, quamlibet adamantium, pectus non consterneret inaudita hæc hominum ingrattissimorum inhumanitas, in ea præsertim Academia eoque Collegio, unde nihil unquam minùs expectabam quam tale aliquid ab iis mihi eventurum? Quos si non meæ senectutis et paupertatis ratio commovere, at ipsorum tamen vel humanitas, vel literarum quas profitentur consuetudo, polire ad humaniorem modestiam debuisset. Quod autem de meis vel erga alios meritis honoranda tua pietas humanissimè prædicat, in eo τὸ τῆς εὐμενείας σου μέγεθος satis contemplan: In me nihil agnosco eorum quæ tribuis. Illud confiteor, semper cavisse me sedulo, ut si minùs professè multis licuerit, ne sciens tamen obessem cuiquam, tum minime verò omnium Magdalenensibus: quo magis id mihi admiratione habetur, quis tam turbulentus Genius factiosa ista *Puritanorum* capita afflaverit, ut sic violatis gratiarum legibus, spretis meis ad se literis et precibus, contempta ipsius Præsidis intercessione, nulla præmissa admonitione, nec causa reddita, tantam hanc in me filiumque tyrannidem exercuerint. Atqui verò ut hoc iis concedam, non tam purum esse et immunem ab omni nævo filium meum, atque sunt isti ter puri *Puritani*, at in his tamen nævis illius nullum adhuc comperi τὸ κάρφος tam magnum, quam majores fortè τὰς δοκοὺς in moribus ipsorum conspiciere liceat. Et ubi interim fraterna illa inter fratres admonitio, quam tantopere exigit Evangelica cautio? ubi disciplina illa Apostolica ἔλεγχον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλεισον? Certe plusquam atrox facinus intercedat oportet, quod tam atroci ejectionis vindicatione luendum sit. Sed latet in hac herba alius fortasse anguis, quam quia isti proferre non audent, ego in lucem producam. Flagrat Collegium hoc horribili factione, cujus altera pars propensioribus studiis incumbit in suum Præsidentem: Altera istorum est quos dico τῶν καθαρωτέρων, qui modis omnibus dant operam ut partes sui Præsidis labefactent, ipsamque vel in suam redigant potestatem, vel sede prorsus evertant. Quia vero filius meus cum altero ejus Collega Præfecto suo, ita ut par erat, inclinior videbatur, propterea societate exhæredatur. Accedit huic et alia causa, quam tam filio quam mihi ipsi imputo.

Quod si enim is essem, qui perbacchari cum eis contra Episcopos et Archiepiscopos, aut scribam me præbere illorum ordini, hoc est, insanire cum illis voluissem, nunquam istos in me aculeos exacuissent. Nunc quia totus ab iis alienus partes illas sectari maluerim, quæ modestiæ sunt et publicæ tranquillitatis, hinc odium, in me conceptum jam diu, in hanc demum efferbuit acerbiter. Quod cum ita sit, non jam quid mea causa velitis facere id postulo, quin potius quid vestra ipsorum causa cogitandum sit. Vos qui Proceres estis ecclesiæ, etiam atque etiam deliberate. Quod ad me autem atinet, quamvis erepta filio societate haud leni afficit animum ægrotudine, tamen quia res privata agitur, hoc fero moderatius. Magis me commovet publica Ecclesiæ ratio. Video enim suboriri quoddam hominum genus, qui si invalescant viresque in hoc Regno colligant, piget hic referre, quid futuræ perturbationis præsentat mihi animus. Olim sub Monachorum fucata hypocrisis quanta sit nata lues Religioni Christianæ, minime ignorat prudentia tua. Nunc in istis nescio quod novum Monachorum genus reviviscere videtur, tanto illis perniciosius, quanto callidior fallendi artificio sub prætextu perfectionis personati isti Histriones gravius occultant venenum, qui dum omnia exigunt ad strictissimæ suæ disciplinæ et

conscientiæ gnomones, haud videntur prius desituri, donec omnia in Judaicam redigant servitutum. Sed de iis aliàs fortassis pleniore manu, *εαν ἐπιτρέπη ὁ Κύριος*.

Interim celeberrimæ tuæ dignitati, Vir honorande, cum publico ecclesiæ nomine et animum istum et sedem quam tenes merito gratulor, tum mea privatim causa ob singulare tuum in me studium gratias habeo permaximas; precorque Dominum, omnium gratiarum fontem cumulatissimum, ut ecclesiam suam periculosissimis iis temporibus propugnet ac tueatur, et Pastores se dignos foveat provehatque; tum intra istos, Te imprimis, sacris ipsius bonis donisque indies magis magisque locupletet, *ὅς κ' ἂν ἀναποδοίη τὰς ἰσομέρους ἀμοίβας τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἧς μὲν μοι παρέιχε τὰ παρακλητικά τῶν γραμμάτων σου*, amplissime, juxta ac ornatissime, Præsul.

Tuus in Christo *κατὰ δυνάμιν*

JOANNES FOXUS.

—Fuller, Bk. ix. pp. 106, 107.

That Foxe was right in stating that the College was torn by internal dissensions is evident from a letter he received from Gelybrand, dated August 26, 1578, giving him an account of what was doing. He says that a bachelor had been expelled by a majority: he appealed to the Bishop of Winchester, who said the punishment was too severe, and called them rebels against their president, hypocrites and factions. After this the Bishop summoned six of the fellows before him, *Barbon*, the vice-president; *Smith*, the proctor; *Fisher*, *Day*, and two bachelors. *Day* could not attend from illness; the rest endeavoured to excuse themselves: the vice-president, *Fisher*, and the two bachelors, were expelled, and the remainder deprived of their suffrages for a year.—*Harl. MS.* 416, Art. 124, p. 194.

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APPENDIX No. XVI. Page 85, last line.

The title-page of Foxe's treatise is as follows:—

De Christo gratis justificante

Contra Osorianam justitiam, cæterosque ejusdem inhærentis justitiæ patronos, Stan. Hosiū, Andræ. Canisiū, Vegam, Tiletanū, Lorichium, contra universã denique Turbam Tridentinam et Jesuiticam,

Amica et modesta defensio Johan. Foxii.

Londini, Excudebat Thomas Purfutius impensis Geor. Byshop, 1583.

Foxe thus states the reasons which induced him to undertake the work.

Ad afflictas et perturbatas fidelium in Christo conscientias, epistola autoris præfatoria.

DE Christo gratis justificante hanc editurus Apologiam, quo magis causam adverto quam institui, hoc magis mihi gliscit animus ut pergam. Rursus verò ubi tempora nunc ipsa in mentem revoco, moresque hominum quo defluerint perpendo, dubia oboritur diverse animum distrahens hæsitatio, non sine aliquo adjuncto metu. Quod autem subdubito, illud est, ne maior nostrorum pars, ut ingenia sunt hominum ad levissimas semper occasiones intenta, ex miti et placida hac evangelicæ justificationis doctrina ad majorem peccandi impunitatem aliquid contrahant licentiæ. Unde nonnihil propterea subvereor, quid possit aut velit hic mihi obstrepere tacita quorundam cogitatio, qui etsi vera hæc esse, quæ de Christo a nobis dicuntur, minime denegabunt, ad parum tamen eadem hæc temporibus opportuna, moribusque nunc hominum tam corruptis et fermentatis haud multum conducere, quin potius iisdem officere, ac fenestram aperire adaudiaciorem peccandi securitatem, judicabunt. His itaque ut respondeam, simulque ut facti mei rationem exponam, pauca quædam prius hic præfari visum est: Primum, haudquaquam id me ignorare, quæ passim hodie vulgo grassantur prodigosæ impuritatis portenta; Tum, neque minus etiam toto pecciore deplorare, quæ videam. Atque utinam tam in me situm esset aliquid, quod posset his mederi malis, quam seriò mihi dolet tanta hæc indies magis ac magis invalescens omnium vitiorum eluvies.

Towards the end of the Preface he alludes to a work written by Stapleton

upon the same subject, which had not come to his knowledge until the present treatise had been nearly completed, and he intimates his intention of refuting it when leisure was afforded him. Foxe's work is written for the express purpose of refuting the doctrines which Osorius\* had advanced, respecting the manner in which Justification is obtained by mankind. The motives which induced him to enter into this discussion, and the mode in which he proposed to manage it, may be gathered from the commencement of the Treatise.

De Christo gratis justificante.

Contra Osorianam justitiam amica et modesta Defensio Jo: Foxi.

pp. 1-5.

Lectitanti mihi Libros de justitia tuos, Hieronime Osori, etsi minus vacavit accuratior pervestigatione singula consecrari, quæ abs te declamata sunt; ex iis tamen quæ sparsim hinc inde delibavi satis perspexisse videor, quorsum tendas, quo spectes, quid agas. Agis enim, quantum perspicio, non ut levem aliquam partem Christianæ institutionis impetas, sed ut jugulum ipsum petas, ut animam ipsam spiritumque Evangelii extinguas, ut universum statum nostræ felicitatis, ut arcem & acropolin totius libertatis Christianæ obsideas, cuncta denique pacis vitæque præsidia, uno velut impetu, ab ipsis fundamentis convellas. Nam quid aliud præstas totis illis libris decem, quibus clarissimum illud gratiæ justificationis nostræ lumen, Christi maximo beneficio partum, sempiterno Dei fædere sancitum, è manibus, è studiis, ex animis et conscientiis hominum, ex orbe terrarum, tanquam è mundo solem, abripias. Quo demum sublato, quid reliqui nobis facias, præter Cimmericas et Osorianas, in quibus ceu Talpæ cæci palpitemus, tenebras, nihil video. Quæ tuæ molitiones, licet per se evanidæ et jejunæ haud multum habeant, cur metuantur, adversus invictam divinæ veritatis vim, tamen quia in id incumbunt tam acriter, ut quod in omni religione præstantissimum sit nobis intercludant, necessaria proinde ratio mihi visa est, cur te his literis compellendum existimarem, nullo inimico in te studio aut odio percitus, quo te ex agitem, sed ut et amicè te commoneam et liberè, tantoque etiam liberius, quanto graviore te periculo implicitum video, nisi reducto pede rectiore itinere *ὀρθοδοῦσθαι* ad evangelium Christi enitaris. Quid enim censes, ô præclarissime? itane futurum, ut factis ullis quamlibet præclarè gestis gradibusque virtutum tuarum aditum tibi struas ad regnum Dei? aut quenquam vivere in lubrica hac naturæ conditione arbitrare, qui excisis omnium cupiditatum fibris, amputatisque illecebris, ita sese in regionibus officii contineat, ut sedes illas sempiternæ dignitatis pari justitiæ dignitate exæquare possit, aut polliceri eas sibi audeat, nisi hoc honore nos ulro donasset divina benignitas? Ne putes, Osori. Non sic itur ad Astra. Aut mutanda tibi sententia hæc est, aut spes hæc deponenda.

Quam necessaria hæc contra Osorium defensio.

Quanquam neque sententia hæc tua solum, sed communis tibi cum permultis esse videtur, recentioris nimirum scholæ theologis, præsertim his, quibus potior esse solet pontificiæ censuræ quam Apostolicæ scripturæ autoritas. Qui omnes, eodem erroris correpti contagio, idem quod ipse affirmas profitentur sedulo: at non eodem tamen omnes tractandi modo ac methodo ingrediuntur. Illi suas scholas et articulos ita instituunt, ut omnes intelligant, professos esse hostes divinæ gratiæ ac gratiæ nostræ in Christo justificationis, quam illi manifesto anathematismo è scholis exsibilant. Tua disceptatio paulo aliter procedit: etsi idem ipsum quod illi mordicus tibi retinendum suscepisti, at tectiore tamen artificio eadem venena ita occultas, ut et facilius influant minusque pateant reprehensioni. Scribis enim de justitia libros, ut video, nec paucos quidem illos nec illaboratos. Argumentum quum spectro, honestum video et plausibile. Quum dicendi genus non in compositum, quum orationis picturatæ phaleras, quum laudatorias amplificationes, quibus ad tragicos usque cothurnos justitiæ decus, elegantiam, pulchritudinem exornas, intueor, nec illud in te illaudandum censeo. Quis enim non meritò eum laudet, quem justitiæ laudibus sic incalescere videat? Cæterum quo animo, quo fine, quo prætextu, quibus argumentis partes istas justitiæ tantopere laudatas sustineas, si quis propius reductis oculis recta secum ratione perpendat, ac cum Christi Evangelio conferat, multa in te coegetur desiderare. Breviter de tota hujus operis confectione quid censeam, quanquam de mea censura haud multum apud te retulerit, tamen si permittas liberè apud te *παρρησιάσθαι ὡς δεῖ*, faciam pro officio meo, sicque faciam, ut ipse sentias nihil mihi in consilio minus fuisse, hæc ad te

Hostes divinæ gratiæ sub titulo justitiæ.

Libri Osorii de justitia.

\* Hieronymi Osorii de Justitia: Libri Decem. 4to. Venet. 1564. A copy of this work, which is not mentioned by Walch, is in the British Museum. The same author also wrote a curious work "in Gualterum Haddonum, magistrum Libellorum supplicum apud clarissimam principem Helisabetham Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, reginam, printed at Lisbon, 1567."

scribenti, quam improbam scripta aliena carpendi voluntatem. Ita vero sentio, versari te in suscepto hoc argumenti genere, in quo philosophum satis te quidem Platonicum ac rhetorem non malè Ciceronianum video, at theologum verò parum, mihi crede, evangelicum, neque ad causam ipsam justitiæ, Christianæ perorandam satis exercitatum. Primum igitur, quod ad libri titulum attinet, quem "de justitia" inscribis, nihil adhuc reperio, quod criminemur. Quanquam naturæ nostræ imbecillitas suaderet, ut de misericordia potius occineres nobis aliquid: tamen quum de justitia philosophari malueris, nec in eo quidem indignus videris tua myrto. Suscepisti enim de justitia scripturus honorificam cum primis materiam, nescio an humeris tuis grandiozem, provinciam certè perdifficilem, summèque præstantem. Quid enim in omni rerum divinarum et humanarum natura excellentius justitia? Quæ—cum suo complexu virtutum omnium omnia genera, laudem pietatis universam, summam denique non legis modo perfectionem, sed Dei etiam perfectam imaginem, contineat—in cælo inveniri certe poterit, in terris vero, quum omnia dixeris, nunquam poterit. Quo magis mirari et cogitare mecum soleo, quidnam arcani tibi consilii in mentem incederit, ut de justitia libros tam accuratè exquisitos contexeres. Si ut tuæ prædicationis buccina et encomiis panegyricis commendatiorem eam nobis efficeres, nactus es in eo materiam et tuo ingenio accommodam, et theatrum explicandis faciundæ tuæ opibus satis amplum, ut verè tibi confitear. Sed quo consilio aut fine id faceres, demiror. "Ut pulchritudinem," inquires, "justitiæ certius spectent mortales, et admirentur impensius"? At hoc jam ante à Platone, ab Academicis, et Peripateticis permultis tentatum est, nec infeliciter. Et quis adè ad omnem naturæ sensum obsurdit, qui etsi ipse justitiæ careat excellentia, divinum, tamen ejus splendorem non animo concipiat, non summa mentis admiratione, votisque etiam omnibus prosequatur? si quid vota hac in re proficiant.

15. 20. In treating this wide subject he discusses the doctrine of Grace, Merits, the Gratuitous Imputation of the Merits of Christ, and the Remission of Sins. Since this remission is to be attained by faith alone, without works (p. 226), the doctrine of faith is next discussed at some length, and he concludes by refuting the arguments of those who substitute inherent justice for the justification which is attained by faith. There seems no fitter mode of giving an outline of the nature of the work than by copying the headings prefixed to the several chapters of which it consists.

p. 5. Justitia Inhærens, ad eam perfectionem, quam describit Osorius, in natura hac nusquam inveniri potest.

p. 6. Duplex et Diversa doctrinæ ratio: altera legis, altera Evangelij.

p. 10. In Doctrina Justificationis quam facilis sit error.

p. 17. Fides Justificat non aliter, nisi ratione bonorum operum juxta Osorium.

p. 23. Discrimen inter justitiam legis et Evangelij.

p. 24. De Justitia Evangelica.

p. 28. Fidei vis et efficacia, quæ sit, quos et quo modo justificat.

p. 33. Fides qua ratione et quo modo justificat lapsos peccatores.

p. 38. Responsio ad criminationes Osorij, pro Luthero.

p. 41. Fides unde vim suam accipit.

p. 43. In Justificatione non tam factorum, quam personarum conditio estimatur

p. 46. Absurda quæ ex Osoriana justitia nascuntur.

p. 51. Argumentis Osorij, quibus justitiam operibus astruit, respondetur.

p. 56. De Pœnitentiæ laude, dignitate, et fructu, proprioque ejus officio.

p. 66. De peccato ejusque sanatione per Christum.

p. 71. De studio et cura bonorum operum necessario adhibenda.

p. 74. Oppositæ Adversariorum assertiones, contra gratuitam justitiæ imputationem, productæ et excussæ.

p. 77. De Justitia, ejusque definitione apud Osorium et alios.

p. 84. De Justitia inhærente, et imputata.

p. 86. Opera humanæ vitæ quam procul absunt a justitiæ perfectione.

p. 91. Contra Jesuitas et topica eorum argumenta, quibus inhærentem justitiam ex Aristotele confirmant.

p. 101. Christi Justitiam nostram esse justitiam, exemplo Adami confirmatur.

p. 115. Objectioni Osorianæ respondetur, ubi de imitatione Christi copiosius.

p. 128. De Divinis promissis, quæ, quibus, et quo modo promisit Deus.

p. 132. De perfectione Justitiæ, et integra obedientia legis.

p. 151. Peccata quo modo delet Christus, cum responsione ab objecta Osorij

Titulus  
librorum  
"de justitia."

Laus jus-  
titiae.

Imago  
justitiæ  
ab Osorio  
descripta.

- Christus inchoat sua beneficia in præsentī vita, in futura perficit. p. 160.
- Assertio Osorij, qua probat nullam coire posse cum Deo conciliationem, nisi p. 166.  
recessis prorsus omnibus peccati reliquiis.
- De Peccatis sanctorum, assertio Lutheri contra Osorium defenditur. p. 169.
- De gratia Dei, quo modo ea definitur apud Osorium, cum confutatione defini-  
tionis. p. 172.
- Pontificii et Evangelici quatenus conveniunt et discrepant in vocabulo gratiæ p. 182.  
intelligendo.
- De vi et efficacia Livinæ gratiæ uberior contra adversarios disceptatio, eorum p. 190.  
objectis respondens.
- Quæ beneficia nobis ex Christo proveniunt, quidque in his beneficiis maxime p. 195.  
spectandum sit.
- Tridentinorum in definienda Gratia error excutitur. p. 201.
- De Mercede et Meritis bonorum operum. p. 204.
- Dei vocatio et gratia libera et gratuita, præter omnia merita nostrorum operum. p. 209.
- Absurdum Tridentinorum paradoxon, quo negant nos ex solo Dei favore p. 213.  
justificari.
- Contra Tridentinos, Gratiam Dei qua justificamur tantum Dei favore gratuito p. 215.  
et remissione constare, non operum meritis aut infusione charitatis, ex scrip-  
turis ostenditur.

## LIBER SECUNDUS.

- De fide et promissione. p. 226.
- Quæ fidei propria natura sit et definitio, qua coram Deo justificamur, ex certis p. 228.  
et veris scripturæ fundamentis exquiritur.
- Fides non quævis justificat. p. 232.
- De triplici causa Justificationis, 1. Conditionali. 2. Formali. 3. Meri-  
toria. De causa formali Justificationis, p. 240. De causa justificationis meri-  
toria, p. 242. Qua propriè conditione nititur justificationis promissio, p. 244.
- De fide et fiducia, et quod proprium sit fidei objectum. p. 245.
- Questio utrum Fiducia misericordiæ sola per se justificet. p. 246.
- De certitudine Christianæ fiduciæ, contra Hosium. p. 248.
- Causa Justificationis a sola fiducia seu applicatione misericordiæ non pendet. p. 250.
- Fidei vera et genuina definitio quæ sit. p. 252.
- De voce Justificationis quid significet in scripturis: utrum ea constat sola p. 255.  
peccatorum remissione, an secus. Quibus denique modis ac mediis justificatio  
comparatur.
- Contra definitionem justificationis à Thoma positam arguitur. p. 260.
- Contra Tridentinos, qui negant sola nos Dei misericordia aut remissione p. 269.  
justificari.
- Adversariorum frivola objectio fusius excutitur et refutatur. p. 277.
- Qui per Christum peccatores justificantur. p. 296.
- Responsio ad eos qui prædicationem fidei perniciosam esse dicunt corrup-  
pendis moribus. p. 298.
- Dilectio et Pœnitentia quid agant in justificatione. p. 305.
- De pœnitentia eorum qui fide justificantur. p. 307.

## LIBER TERTIUS.

- Argumentorum refutatio, quibus inhærentem suam justitiam contra justitiam p. 312.  
fidei propugnant adversarii.
- Questio, An sanctis judicium Dei sit terribile? p. 338.
- De veste nuptiali explicata parabola. p. 343.
- Responsiones adversariorum contra octo argumenta D. Pauli, cum earum p. 387.  
responsionum refutatio.
- Responsio ad adversarios, qua futiles ipsorum argutiæ et cavillationes ephis-  
ticæ redarguuntur. p. 407.
- Fides quid, ubi, quo modo operatur per dilectionem. p. 430.

## LIBER QUARTUS.

In quo Subsequitur gravis et erudita concio eximii Doct. D. Guliel. Fulpii,  
de duobus Abrahæ filiis, ex D. Paulo, Galat. 4. De lingua populari, in Lati-  
num sermonem reddita per Joan. Foxium.

This sermon constitutes the whole of the fourth book, and is independently  
paged 1—47, with the head-line "Concio, de Christo gratis justificante."



## APPENDIX No. XVII. Page 30, note (1).

AD INCLYTOS AC PRÆPOTENTES ANGLIÆ PROCERES, ORDINES, ET STATUS, TOTAMQUE EJUS GENTIS NOBILITATEM, PRO AFFLICTIS FRATRIBUS SUPPLICATIO. AUTORE IOANNE FOXO ANGLO

*Basle, 1557.*

Nihil equidem addubito, Principes, Proceres, Patres nobilissimi, quin eximia autoritas vestra, divinæ cujusdam potentiae vicariam nobis imaginem repræsentans in terris, semper et egit sedulo et actura est, ut cum privata dignitate vestra publica simul vestrorum tranquillitas conjuncta salusque contineatur. Quid enim aliud vel a splendidissimo hoc loco expectare, vel de singulari vigilantia vestra suspicari convenit, quam in vobis, qui ductores sitis reipublicæ, paratissima fore omnia, sicubi vel auxilii fidem, vel juvandi voluntatem res communis desiderabit? Quapropter ut summa ac singularis hæc, quam dico, industria vestra, cum absoluta prudentia parique fide conjuncta, neutiquam consiliis meis aut documentis egere potest, ita neque ego hac nunc oratione vos interpellandos existimavi, quod aut facultati vestræ quicquam adjici sive in voluntate aliquid desiderari queat. Verum fit, nescio quo modo, ut quam hactenus interclusam mihi vocem iugens quidam stupor diu compressit, eandem nunc dolor ac miseranda temporum horum contemplatio necessario aperiat exprimatque. Quis enim, vos obtestor, non toto inhorrescat pectore? Cujus id ferant aures? Quis non deplorat? Quem non ad gemitus, ad lachrymas pertrahat (cui nunquam conspecta sit Anglia) tantum in Angliam effundi Christiani sanguinis, tot cives ingenuos, tot liberos et innocentes promiscuè cum fœminis viros, capite et fortunis quotidie periclitari, cædi, exuri, laniari prope sine modo et numero? Adeo, ut non hos modo universos qui audiunt, sed et famam fermè ipsam suppedeat, ea quæ apud vos quotidie geruntur referre. Quod si barbarus ex ultima Turcia Barbarossa, aut Scythicus hostis quispiam aliunde irrumpens in Angliam, tantam hanc gentis vestræ stragem designasset, haud minor fortasse calamitas, at minor profectò esset querimonia. Sævitiâ, etsi omnino per se gravem, nationis tamen minueret distinctio. Nunc quorum saluti apud vos potissimum esse perfugium conveniebat, eosdem vos ipsi capi, exagitari, discerpi, dilacerari, Angli Anglos, Magistratus subditos, Christiani Christianos, cernitis, et toleratis. Quique nuper sub Edouardi auspiciatissimi Principis divino imperio florentissima tranquillitate, cum omni vitæ non securitate solum, sed dignitate etiam, perfruebantur; nunc iidem, vertente se rerum humanarum scena, miseris cruciatibus pariter cum tranquillitate et patriam et vitam, quam tueri nequeunt, deserere coguntur. Non quia ipsi jam alii sint quam olim fuerint, aut quia non eadem horum causa maneat quæ prius; sed quia tempora dumtaxat ipsa mutata sunt, ac cum temporibus commutantur iudices. Atqui ô miseram interim gentis sortem, remque Britannorum prorsus perditam, postquam nunc non ratione firma sed temporibus, non certo iudicio sed vicissitudine quadam potestatis, causæ decernuntur hominum, nec ad leges tempora, sed temporibus leges accommodantur! non dissimili fere conditione, quam æstuariis vicibus maris cursus ac recursus circumagitur, nunc huc nunc illuc, quâ vis fluctuum fortissimè inclinât, undas secum rapiens. Et quid tandem his rebus dicendum, Iudices? Nam cui id dubitandum est, quin quos autoritas vestra sic premit capitaliter, iidem si in eadem qua nunc sunt, causa in alia inciderent tempora, facile indemnes ac integri absolverentur? Unde clare videtis, opinor, si recta rem ratione reputetis, iudices ac Heroes, non tam in hominibus ipsis culpam, quam in temporibus infelicitatem esse; quæ si vobis nunc faveant, at eadem rursus possunt posthac favere aliis. Quod vel ex ea re faciliè vobis cogitare licet, quam nec ipsi id ignoretis, tempus non ita pridem recentissima adhuc memoria vestra fuisse, quando nec vos ipsi horum quenquam quos nunc affligitis in litem vocare audebatis, nec culpa hæc in illis sed virtus, non error sed veritas habebatur: et poterit idem porro, mutatis rursus temporibus, pari similiter vicissitudine evenire. Nam alioqui, quod ad causam attinet, eam ut ante superiorem aliquando et meliorem habebant, ita eadem et nunc vincerent, si par maneret temporibus libertatiquè conditio. Ea quum secus habet, temporibus magis quam causa jacent; ipsique non tam re ulla mala scelerosi, quam temporibus solum calamitosi existunt: quibus si obsecundare cum cæteris possent, dissimulantes, tuti forent; id quia nequeunt, ob constan-

tiam periclitantur. Quod quum ita sit, autoritas sanè vestra eos sublevare, saltem pietas commiserari debuit: certè jacentes opprimere, tantisque injuriis violare simplices, a quibus læsi dicto factove nunquam estis, non erat nobilitatis vestræ: quæ quo propius ad sublimitatis diviniæ imaginem accedit, hoc magis debuit similitudinem illius moribus referre. Quid enim tam Deo proprium, quam miseris et succumbentibus parcere? Qui et vobis ipsis sæpe comparcens multa condonavit, et condonat quotidie: et vos in tenues conservos, nihilque in vos unquam commeritos, ignoscentiam contrahitis? Vitam hanc vestram tantis cumulavit honoribus, et vos misellis fratribus vitæ invidetis copiam? Solem quotidie suum super vos oriri facit, quotidie agros vobis largissimis imbribus compluit et fœcundat peccantibus: vosque non solum agris egenis civibus, sed et solis hujus aspectum eripitis? Quod si commissus hic vobis potestatis gladius necessariò stringendus fuerit, tot scatent in ditionibus vestris latrones, homicidæ, sicarii, peculatores, adulteri, scorta, lenones, et lenæ, quorum tamen multis subinde præter bonum et æquum publicum parciit gladii vestri acies: et istis nullo modo parcendum existimatis? At quam tandem ob rem, aut quid soli isti præ cæteris tam soticum admisere? Nunquid in Rempublicam? Nihil. An rem privatam cujusquam vexant, aut compilant? Tantundem. Numnam cæde aut ferro grassantur? An patriæ libertatem produunt? Aut conjurati vim moluntur reipublicæ? Minime. Num qua in re vestram aut immi- nuunt, aut lædunt dignitatem? Non opinor. Nunquid qui-quam denique vestrùm in vita eorum moribusque deprehendat secus quàm dignum est bonis et pacatis civibus? Non. Sed in doctrina aberrant religionis. Et quid si istud regem quoque? Nam ea de re uberior erit, aspirante Christo, postea pertractandi locus. Sed age procedat oratio: fingamusque id interim vobiscum, quod vultis. Quidvis enim animi opinione libera cogitando effingimus, vel chimæras etiam, si libet, licet à natura omnique ratione sejunctas. Age itaque fingamus, ut dico, non quod res est, sed quod volunt tempora, errore teneri istos. Atenim qualis hic error, judicii ne an voluntatis est? Nam si à voluntate disjunctus sit, facinus esse non potest. Sicut præclarè ab Augustino quidem, peccatum quod voluntarium non sit, nullum esse dictum est. Propriè enim delinquant hi, qui quum se rectas rationis et officii lineas prætergredi non ignorant, pergunt tamen: unde eosdem mox insequitur, quam ipsi sequi quum possent noluerunt, conscientia. Sin autem judicii sit nimirum ea res, Judices, esse eos homines arguit: quemadmodum neque vos sane esse Deos arbitror, qui nusquam et ipsi aberrare judicando poteritis. Et tamen iidem, utcumque errare dicuntur, errorem suum magnis tumentur autoribus, Christo, Verbo Dei, Apostolicis literis, exemplis purioris ecclesiæ, doctorum si non omnium, lectissimorum certè testimoniis. Jam si vobis ita penitus persuasum inhæreat, vestra omnia nullo erroris admixtu vera esse atque orthodoxa, iidem quoque hoc ipsum non minus de se existimant, judiciis etiam liberis convincunt, quin et sanguinis denique luculento argumento confirmant. Et utros nunc vestrùm errare, aut non errare, sciemus? Neque enim vel vos non errare, quia sic vobis persuasistis; neque idcirco errare illos, quia a vobis dissentiant, necessaria probatio est. Unde igitur veritatis colligetur fides? Ex potentia autoritate? At eadem etiam illi polluerunt non ita pridem. Argumentis? His densius pugnant illi, et fortioribus, si audiri possent. Eruditione? Dicam, si liceat, hac semper fuistis inferiores. Numero et multitudine? At corruptissimus semper fuit testis veri vulgus: neque alia res ferè oppressit Christum. Quamquam si in Anglia liberorum singulorum suffragiis res ageretur, suaque daretur cuique quod vellet eligendi optio, forsan haud ita multis punctis vincerent Mariani. Mortene et martyrio? Atqui utinam hac parte non ita innumeris parasangis præcederemus. Quid ergo? An quia fortiorem solum habetis causam, propterea veriore existimatis; quosque non autoritatis gradu, non argumentis, non literis et eruditione, non testium pondere, non judiciis liberis potestis superare, eos ceu causa victos, prius ob errorem è medio tollitis ferro ac facibus, quàm in errore esse ratione ulla docuistis? Suspicio hic vos intelligere, causa hæc si apud alios mihi ageretur, quantam contendendi atque exclamandi materiam, quos orationis impetus, quantos ardores, ipsa rei atrocitas non solum præberet, sed flagitaret. Sed parco vobis, et me cohibeo, Judices, ne nimis pugnax contrà hos esse videar, quibus supplicaturus accedo. Ac videte qua nunc modestia causam hanc totam tempero, vobis quod non sit æquum concedens, quo vos æquiores in vestros habeam. Nam ut cætera jam antè, que necesse non erat, ita nunc quoque ponamus illud, non dico

oratione (res enim non patitur) sed cogitatione tamen—omnem in illis errorem, in vobis nullum inesse. Quid autem, idne tam prodigiosum videtur vobis, sicubi homines quum sint, in errorem prolabantur? Qui si tam emuncti, tamque Cassiani, ut ita dicam, esse censores volumus: age quotumquemque mihi dabitis eorum quos vel pro sanctissimis aut doctissimis habuit aliquando Ecclesia, uno excepto CHRISTO, in quo non aliquas erroris laves, si opus sit, produxerim? Principiò, tam diu tamque crassos errores in discipulis toties institutis Dominus ipse toleravit. Et vos neque cum Christo erratula fratrum toleranda, neque cum Apostolis posse vos exorbitare suspicamini? Quid quod iidem cœlesti postea delibuti Spiritu, non tamen sic omnes perfectionis implebant numeros, ut omni prorsus erroris reprehensione caruerint ipsorum etiam præcipui. Doctorum patrumque post hos noti sunt singulorum ferè errores: ut non frustra Hieronymus de se ad Ruffinum scribens, Erravimus, inquit, juvenes, emendemur senes. Fœlix profecto Hieronymus, cujus juvenilis error in ea incidit tempora; nam si inter nos hâc tempestate agens Hieronymus errasset juvenis, nunquam emendatus ea scripsisset senex. Idem de Augustino referri potest, quem si tum juvenem, quum Manichæus aut semi-paganus esset, temporum illorum similis asperitas sustulisset, cogitate quanto Ecclesia caruisset ornameto. Quæ res ergo illum, quæ cæteros summos hodie in Ecclesia interpretes conservavit, sola pietas et misericordia fuit temporum in quibus vixere. Accedo propius ad vos ipsos (Judices et Heroes illustrissimi), quos nisi eadem conservasset pietas et misericordia temporum superiorum, nulla foret hodie non modò potentia vestra, sed nec vita, quæ aliis nunc vitam eriperet. Videtis ergo quid in vos aliorum pietas effecit, et clementia: vobis rursus quid in alios præstandum sit in mutua errorum ignoscencia, cogitate. Si nos ea conditione natura produxisset, ut errare, nescire, ac decipi non possemus, minus aberrarent hæc à ratione quæ agitis. Nunc quum nihil naturæ nostræ conjunctius videatur, quam mentis insita quædam cæcutientia, ad veri obtutum caligantis, atque cum ipsa simul humanitate impressa nobis errandi proclivitas, nihil sane aliud agere videmini in vindicandis tam acriter hominum erroribus, quàm communis vestræ conditionis, non pietatis solum, oblivisci. Consultius erat in tanta naturæ infirmitate, errores, si incidant, ratione emendare, doctrina, judicio, ingenio mederi. Infœlix emendandi ratio, quæ vitam hominis non morbum, homines ipsos non errores tollit: præsertim cum ejusmodi non sint, qui ad eò pernagnum momenti vel ita grandem autoribus impietatem, vel Ecclesiæ perniciem juvebant. Quid hoc enim ad rem ad eò aut fidem Christianam, si Pontificis Romani potestas Romam suam non exeat? Si sacerdotes concubinas in uxores vertant? Si templa nullas ostendant imagines? Si populus, quæ credere jubetur, nota sibi lingua audiat atque intelligat? Si Missis, ceremoniis, meritis, ac traditionibus, quæ ultra modestiæ ripas accrevere, modus præscribatur, minusque impediatur conscientiæ? Nam si Ecclesia sine his aliquando, nondum audito Papæ, Missæ, aut sacerdotis nomine, integra perfecta que constitit, quidni eadem sine iis nunc quoque constare poterit? si non tam onerata, non minus tamen perfecta: Siquidem in præcipuis fidei capitibus nulla, opinor, dissensio est. In quibus etiam ipsis si quis lapsus aut vacillatio fortè enascitur (multa enim humana fert imbecillitas ejusmodi), tamen τὸν τῆ πίστει ἀσθενούντα D. Paulus non ilico proterendum, sed suscipiendum admonet. Quos itaque in gravioribus prolapsos rebus amica sublevare manu debebatis, eos in tam leviculis minutis a vobis dissidentes morte tam horribili inflicta in cineres vertitis? Et ubi interim ἐπιείκεια illa Paulina? Ubi clementia vestra? Ubi inveterata illa semperque laudata erga hostes etiam Anglorum pietas, si in amicos et cives tam efferi tamque exitiales esse velitis? Scio ingeniorum immensam ac infinitam propè varietatem esse in mundo apud homines, haud secus quàm apud belluas. Quidam natura mitiores: sunt contra quos natos sævitæ dixeris. Alii consuetudine prava hoc delectantur vitio. Nonnulli rursus ab aliis ceu contagium arripiunt. Verum utcumque aliis aliud natura insevit, certe nihil viris generosis tam proprium ac genuinum, nihil naturæ ipsorum (si naturam tueri velint) quadrans magis, quàm generosa quædam indoles ac morum ingenuitas, quæ prosit omnibus, officiat nemini, nisi lacescita: ac ne tum quidem, nisi coacta magis, quàm sua sponte; idque potius rei publicæ ratione, quam sua sævitia: ac ne tum quidem sui oblivisci potest generosa pietas, semper ad salutem miserorum quàm perniciem intensor, excusans, patrocinans, sublevans, relinquens, quo misericordiæ esse locus possit. Et quæ hæc tanta nunc—hominumne dicam, an temporum?—degeneratio, in viros

non solum non improbos, sed innocenti ac inculpata vita, a quibus vestrum nemo læsus aut lacessitus sit, sic inardescere sævitiam quorundam, ut nusquam natio sit tam barbara, ubi non tutius conquiescant, quam apud suos? Quondam apud priscos Romanos plusquam soticum censebatur, quod civem in discrimen adduceret capitis. Ubi et octo erant suppliciorum genera, quorum mors ut ultima, ita nisi rarissimè, haud indicebatur. Quid quod ne tum quidem deerant etiam vitæ defensores, ac libera in iudiciis actio? Ex quo effectum est, ut eloquentiæ studium tanto in honore et usu apud omnes esset, ut urbem propè universam ad sui contentionem excitaret. Tantus in gentilitio populo patriæ amor et salutis cura apud patricios vigeat viros: quorum omnis fermè laus in conservandis quam plurimis cernebatur. Atqui istos nondum ulla religionis gratia tinxerat. Tantum natura ipsa, atque literarum humanitas, ad tantam excolere potuit civilitatem. Et ô Brutorum iam dudum in Anglia extinctum genus. Quod apud ethnicos natura, quod literæ valuerunt civiles, non idem valebit pietas, non Evangelii vigor? Non à Christo toties inculcata impetrabit charitas, quin ob quamlibet levem aut nullam causam ad pœnas rapiantur? adeò frigescente his temporibus charitate, ut haud sciam an hoc ipsum capitale futurum sit, quòd pro afflictis fratribus mutire audeam: idemque hac in re eveniat mihi, quod Justino olim pro Christianis ἀπολογούντι, qui pro martyribus dum deprecatur, fit et ipse martyr.

Atque hactenus ita causam egi, quasi erroris nonnulla, quam impingitis, penes eos resideat reprehensio. Nunc, quid si immunes ab omni erroris labe eos, quid si innocentes esse, quid si causa tota vobis etiam ipsis superiores demonstrarem? Neque enim ita valde id difficile fuerit. At obstat alia magis difficultas: vel quia Latinè scribenti mihi metus fit, ne non intelligar, quam exigua pars hujus (ut audio) ordinis literis perpollita sit, vel quia librorum hujusmodi, si qui saniores sint, de medio atque usu hominum omnis sublata sit copia, atque aditus etiam interclusus; quum tamen cæterarum mercium nullo non generi omnes viòque portus ac ostia pateant. Quæ duæ res ejusmodi profectò videntur mihi, ut non tam meæ causæ officiant, quam totam ipsam à fundamentis Rempublicam pessundent ac labefactent. Quarum altera facit ne possint, altera ne velint videre quæ temporibus esse remedio queant. Quod si rectè id judicavit inter philosophos meritò laudatissimus Plato, eam demum quam optimè habere Reipublicæ ideam, ubi vel philosophi agant principes, vel principes ipsi philosophentur; quid tum de ea censendum Republica, ubi nec principes ulla imbuit philosophia, nec ipsi philosophantium monitis sanioribus aures semel aperiant? Verum ne nimium diffidere æquitati vestræ videar, Agite, ingenui atque observandi Proceres, queso; relegatis paulisper affectibus, quibus iudicii ferè sinceritas exosculatur, trutinam justitiæ vestræ æquo utrinque libramento tenete, resque ipsas suo pondere, non personarum circumstantiis locorum aut temporum, pro prudentia vestra metimini. Quid hoc retulerit, quantumlibet vicarium Christi se jactet Romanus Pontifex, si non vicarium, sed adversarium Christi, res ipsa clamitet, facta loquantur, gesta, exempla, mores, instituta, studia, vita denique tota arguat illius, ex adverso cum Christo pugnans? Totus Ille mitis, demissus, mansuetus, cunctis expositus, omnibus obsequens, omnia tolerans, servus omnium, quam esset omnium Dominus. Contrà, quid hoc supercilio elatus? Uter quis unquam inflatior? Quæ vipera nocentior? Nero quis aut Mezentius crudelior? Quid truculentius, aut magis irritabile? Æstuat Ille, laborat, sudat, alget, esurit, sitit, pascit, prædicat, omnes perambulans patriæ fines. At quid hic tandem præclarus vicarius, quid agit? quid laborat? qui sudores illius, aut quæ pathemata? ubi prædicat? quos docet? quas peragratu regiones, disseminans verbum fidei? Quid? An materia nunc deest illi explicandæ diligentia? Tot stupris, adulteriis, incestibus, scortis, fornicibus, cinædis (cogor hic mussare quædam, vincitur enim calami mei pudor turpitudinis in agnitudine) tot veneficiis, tot cædibus, rapinis, furtis, homicidiis, luxu, crapula, mollicie, strepitu, conviviis, insidiis, perfidia, non Roma, non Italia solum exundat; Mundus ubique tam ferax est vitiiis. Fidei vigor extinctus ferè in animis hominum jam jacet. Charitatis vix usquam vestigium. Pietas interna externis obruitur ceremoniis. Inter sacerdotes tantum ambitionis, fastus et avaritiæ, quantum jam omnem humanam rationem, pene ad ipsam usque insaniam, excessisse videtur. Populus in nummis, Principes in bellis, nullo Dei timore, minimo amore proximi, tumultuantur. Atque his neglectis omnibus, vicariæ sedis ter adoranda sanctitas sterit, dissimulat, indulget, psallit, ovat, triumphat, potitat, ineptit, nugatur, ridet re quasi bene gesta, ludit, scortatur, aleatur, ociatur, olet un-

Romanus  
Pontifex.

guenta, pro grege curat cuticulam; aut se cohibens intra cœlum suum, ne cui prosit; aut si quando obesse vult, nunquam exerens fulmen majestatis suæ, nisi ad perniciem hominum. Quasique non satis sit bellorum in mundo, principes etiam ultro armis læcessit, pro vicario Christi vicarium agens Bellonæ. Clamat scriptura, "Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam," et cætera: atque hanc obedientiam ubique præstitit pacificus ille Agnus, ad crucis usque mortem et ignominiam se dejiciens. Componamus nunc cum Archetypo vicarium. Quæ jam compluribus his annis turbæ aut bella conflagrarunt in orbe Christiano, quorum ad hunc Pontificem vel initia, vel fines, vel aliqua certè discordiæ societas non pertinuit? Videlicet sic Capiti respondet vicarius. Tennis Ille ac parvo contentus, non habebat quòd caput reclinaret: quum huic non unum palatium, plusquam regali extractum magnificentia, sufficiat. Subdixit se Ille, ne in regem à populo posceretur. Cum hac indole, hujus conferamus ambitionem: cui non una, non gemina sat est corona, nisi triplici diademate suam populo vendidit dignitatem. Lavit Ille discipulorum pedes, quorum esset magister. Quique magistri personam gerit, summos etiam Cæsares tantum non ad pedum oscula abjicit. Divinus Esaias prophético oculo in Christum intuens, omne decus illi atque aspectum, juxta hujus mundi figuram, adimit. Contrà hic quàm ambiziose fulgore auri et gemmarum, ceu radio unico suæ divinitatis, orbis capit ac perstringit oculos! Clamat Ille, regnum suum non esse de hoc mundo. Et qui mundi omnem maxime arrogat dominatum, hujus vicarius videri postulat. Pertulit Ille crucem, sed in quam subactus est. Præfert et iste crucem, quam nunquam subit, sed infligit aliis. Non potuit præferre igneus Illius zelus, in templo externo vendentes et nundinantes. Et istum feret vicarium non solum in templo venditantem, sed qui templum ipsum, totas hierarchias, cumque iis unâ hominum animas quæstui habeat et lucro? Quid enim tam sacrum usquam, aut profanum, quod sub auctione non venit, quasi sub hasta Pontificis prætoria? Imò, ut res nunc rediit, quid aliud Ecclesia ipsa ante hosce annos aliquàm multos fuit, quàm mercatus quidam Pontificis Romani, omnia ad quæstum et ad fiscum prostituentis? Nec mirum, si mitras, sedes, cathedras, præfecturas alias aliis dividat quum ipse tam magno ad suam penetrat. Quæ quum ita sint per se luculentia, an quisquam est tam cæcus, Judices, qui id non videt, in tanta rerum dissimilitudine, aut Evangelium hoc Christi non esse, quod habemus, aut hunc certè vicarium nullo modo Illius existimandum? Qui si leviter tantum a præscriptis Illius deflueret, lapsus utenque condonari communi hominum infirmitati potuisset. Nunc, quum toto vitæ genere cum Illo pugnet ex adverso (quippe Ille cœlestis, hic mundanus: Ille servus omnibus, hic omnium magister: lugens, lachrymans Ille, hic lascivius: denique tot modis afflictus Ille, et crucifixus pro Christianis, iste crux Christianorum omnium), non ego eum Christi—non vicarium, sed—confessum esse hostem statuo? Cujus rei si fidem argumentis quærimus, quis illustrius capiat indicium, quàm ex operibus ipsis vitæque fructibus? præsertim quum Dominus ipse de pseudo-Christis ac mentitiis prophetis tam accuratè admonens, pro certissimis reliquit notis, ut ex fructibus eorum cognosceremus eos. Itaque quos vitæ fructus manifestarii, ac mores excussi ad Evangelium, nobis omnibus modis cavendos arguunt; quos puritas Evangelii, quos indoles et doctrina Apostolica in Christianorum non admittunt numerum, vix etiam inter honestos cives; vos pro summis Christianorum ductoribus Christianique legatis vicariis recipietis?

Successio  
Apostolica.

Ac quoniam se vendidat tantopere Apostolicæ successionis titulo, age ut id etiam ipsum in disquisitionem advocemus: quo tandem jure tuebitur, ejus quod vendicat ambitio? Successionem obtendit Apostolicam. Quid ita? Quia Romæ sedet, imò desidet. Et quid si Romæ sederet Turca, num sedes illum Pontificem faceret, an doctrina potius, et confessio? Sedebant super cathedram Mosis Scribæ et Pharisei, qui tamen nullam illius, opinor, successionem arrogabant: sanè nulli à disciplina Mosis abfuerunt longius. Sed Petrus, aiunt, sedebat Romæ, Apostolorum summus. Principiò unde id liquebit? Certè Paulus neque ad Romanos scribens aliunde, neque istinc scribens ad alios, Petri usquam mentionem facit: facturus, opinor, inter cæteros quos tam multos salutavit, si id temporis adfuisset. Deinde Zosimus, cæterique Pontifices cum Aurelio et sexta Carthaginensi Synodo contendentes tam acriter de primatu illius sedis, dum omnia circumeunt argumentorum præsidia, neque Petrum obtinent præsessorem, neque scripturam afferunt, nec consuetudinem allegant: quod tamen postea cœpit fieri a Bonifacio, ut scitis, secundo. Nam ad ejus usque tempora

Zosimus.

Ecclesiæ æqua administrantium autoritate regebantur, parvusque respectus (ut Pii II. verbis utar, Epist. 30.) ea tempestate ad Romanam Ecclesiam habebatur. Erant tum inaudita nomina, Universalis sacerdos, Episcopus œcumenicus, princeps sacerdotum, Episcopus Episcoporum, etc. nec solum inaudita, sed vetita etiam legibus Conciliorum. Tenetis, scio, memoria, vel faciliè ab exemplaribus repetitis licet, quid Nicæna, quid Milevitana Synodus in decretis habeat: quæ singulis provinciis suos tribuebat metropolitanos, qui æquabili potestatis sorte, nullo inter se discrimine, Ecclesiæ negotiis invigilarent: Ut Gregorianas interim epistolas, ut VI. Carthaginensis Synodi Decreta taceam, quæ quanto stomacho ambitiosam hanc dominandi insaniam et fumosum (ut cum illis appellem) seculi typum in Episcopis flagellent, nemini qui literas novit non legendi copia est. Ex quo perspicuè Mamerani, et consimilium, vanitas coarguatur, qui contendunt, nullam unquam Ecclesiam extitisse, quæ aut Romana non fuerit, aut Romanæ non paruerit. Pergunt porro mentiri belli artifices. Petrum aiunt annos xxv. consedissee Romæ. At quæ ille potuit aut debuit Romæ sedisse tam diu, aut ullo modo? Primum, cujus vita functioque nihil erat quàm perpetua in universum orbem legatio. Deinde, cui peculiari designatione creditum esse circumcisionis Apostolatam referunt Sacræ Literæ. Porro annos octodecim post conversum Paulum in Judææ Asiæque finibus commoratum esse liquet, ad quem Paulus conveniendi gratia paulo ante ascendisse se commemorat, Gal. ii. Quo ipso tempore concilium cogebatur Hierosolymitanum, ubi cum cæteris simul adfuisse Petrum ex Actis compertum est. Et ubi postea quinquennium illud, quo in Ponto, rursusque septennium, quo Antiochiæ est versatus, constituemus? Nam illic quoque sedisse, prosodia decantat Ecclesiæ: "Petrus sedit Romæ, et Antiochiæ: Paulus invasit Greciam." Quod si externæ politiæ amplitudo quicquam ad Apostolici mysterii splendorem efficiat, mentitur igitur Hieronymus Epist. ad Evagrium: "Si autoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe, etc." rursusque idem Distinc. 40, c. 2. "Non sanctorum filii sunt qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum, etc." Sin nihil conferat, cur non ergo pari polleret existimatione Antiochenus, quum is non minus cathedram ostendat Petri, quàm Romanus antistes? Præsertim quando Nicænus Can. vi. hunc ipsum Metropolitanen eodem pariter loco et honore cum Romano conjungit Episcopo.

Carthagi-  
nensis:Sy-  
nodus.

Mamerana-  
nus.

Sed ecquid istud est, sedere Romæ, ab istis quærendum est. Si Romæ sedeat, qui docet Romæ, sedit fortasse illic Petrus: non sedent nunc Pontifices, qui non docent. Sed non solus sedit Petrus. Sedit item hoc modo Paulus, nulla (opinor) Apostoli parte Petro inferior, laboribus etiam docendi superior, denique genuinus Gentium Apostolus et Doctor: cujus, ut verè dixerim, omnes sunt Gentium Episcopi successores, nisi fortè Romanus Pontifex se inter circumcisos, quorum Petrus præcipuè fuit Apostolus, magis quàm inter Gentes habeat. Sin eo sedere dixerint, quòd ei potissimum peculiari aliqua electione delegata sit Ecclesiæ illius et imposita præfectura, quis id muneris illi imposuit? Ubi facta electio ea est? Quorum suffragiis est designatus? Cur in historiis horum nulla mentio, nec memoria? Cur hic silet longa illa, nomine quidem Clementis, re verò supposititia epistola, cætera persequens tam accurate? Denique, quo tandem in templo cathedram electus habebat positam? Postremò, si in cathedrâ Petri tam esse religiosi volumus, cur non electionis perinde formula, ut successionis, manet?

Sed age fingamus id quoque, Romæ fuisse et sedisse Petrum. Advertite rogo, Judices, quàm multa in hac causa clara et facilia habeam, non modò ad vincendi fiduciam, sed ad ludendi etiam libertatem, quum quod adversarii caput est controversiæ, ultro ipsis concedam: idque ubi concessero, nequicquam illis sit profuturum. Fingamus, ut dico, Romanæ ecclesiæ unicè et nominatim Petrum Apostolum præsedisse, triplici etiam, si volunt, mitrarum diademate. Quid? An ideo protinus Romana ecclesia jus imperii, et gladium, ut vocant, utrumque in cæteris Christi ecclesiis obtinet? Equumque ilico putabimus cum Mamerano, nullam esse usquam ecclesiam quæ aut Romana non sit, aut Romanæ non mancipetur atque obtemperet? At cur ergo eodem tempore præsidente Petro, non Timotheus episcopus, non Titus, non Cretenses presbyteri omnes, huic cathedræ paruerunt? Cur non Asiaticæ, non Africanæ ecclesiæ jus throni hujus agnoverunt, ac cervices submiserunt? Quid quod longo post intervallo Nicæni concilii, Milevitani, Carthaginensis tempora non item huic addicta sunt, in quibus parvam hujus Ecclesiæ rationem habitam esse testatur Sylvius? Quid de Moscovitis, Rutenensibus? Quid de Mediolanensi, de

Aquileiensi ecclesia? Quid de Wallia vestra,<sup>1</sup> et tota Græcia commemorem, quæ vix demum, ubi diu restiterit, sub Romanum jugum ante annos non multos missa et redacta est? Quamobrem si quis usquam sit in Ecclesiis Christi principatus, quem sibi quisquam astruat, is certè Petro in primis debebatur, Romæ et episcopo, et Apostolo. Nunc quod Petrus nec ipse unquam expetivit, nec aliæ tum ecclesiæ detulerunt, aut, si detulissent, is tamen admittere haud debuisset: qua fronte id ejus vendicabunt successores? Si divinum jus adlegant, illud cur non perinde apud priores valebat Christianos? Sin humanum obtendunt at non ilico rectum et legitimum est quod humanum sit, nisi idem verbum Dei dictet et voluntas approbet. Excusamus itaque scripturæ divinæ vim et sententiam, quæ etsi potestati omnem animam subjiciat, ubi tamen hanc potestatem permittit istis? Ubinam Christus Petro primum aut cuiquam apostolorum denunciavit? Imò nisi apertè et simpliciter interdicit, prohibeat, detestetur, equidem pietatem vestram nihil deprecor. Et quod Christus toties in Evangelio vetuit, id ejus arrogabunt ministri? vosque civibus vestris necem irrogandam, qui Christo quam pontificibus dicto esse audientes malint, existimatis?

Sed quoniam urgent isti tantopere primum Petri, atque in eo tam libenter commorantur, nos paululum hic quoque consistere necesse fuerit. Qua in re duo esse inclusa video: ut Petrus vel ab urbe primum, vel hæc ab illo acceperit. Quorum alterum omnino per se futile et ridiculum, alterum minus aliquanto leve videretur, nisi omnino falsum esset. Illud itaque (opinor) non dicent, Apostolum sedis suæ primum ab urbe accepisse. Quanquam quod verbis negant, re ipsa fateri coguntur. Nam alioqui, quum ille non minus cæteris in urbibus sedebat episcopus, cur non ecclesiis illis idem tribuerent, quod sibi assumunt Romani pontifices, si nihil in loco inesse existimarent? Restat ergo ut ab apostolo primum accepisse Romanam sedem confiteantur. Quæro igitur, unde Petrus primum illum acceperit, priusquam se contulisset Romam? Nam à Christo non accepisse vel hinc liquet, quod apostolis Ipse de primatu decertantibus responderit; qui ad eorum nulli locum concedebat altero superiore, ut qui primus inter eos futurus esset, hunc infra cæteros ad servilem usque conditionem publicumque ministerium dejecerit. Proinde si jam antè princeps fuisset apostolorum Petrus, cur illi inter se de principatu ambigebant? Sin postea Dominus illi contulisset quod prius denegavit, cur id nusquam exprimit, imò cur diversum exprimit, Evangelia? Cur Apostoli, illisque vicina posteritas, illius nullum agnoverint principatum? Cur Paulus suum ausus principem redarguere tam apertè? Cur Petrus, se compresbyterum vocans, suis compresbyteris omnem interdicit dominatum? Sed repulsi à Scripturis, patrocinium fortè sibi è Conciliis colligent Romani pontifices. Nam hanc proximam ferè habent anchoram, sicubi Scripturæ asylum destituit. Verùm si tam sacra apud eos Conciliorum religio constet et autoritas, cur ipsi primum Nicænam synodum non audiunt, quæ canone vi., non solum Antiochenum, sed et Alexandrinum, cæterosque patriarchas eparchiis ecclesiasticis, nullo autoritatis discrimine, præficit? Quo in loco Græcorum vetusti commentarii quatuor numero Patriarchas præter Constantinopolitanum recensent: sic ut hi præsent Metropolitani, Metropolitanis archiepiscopis: atque hi rursus τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπην προέχουσι. Nec contenti tantum recensuisse, insuper suas cuique patriarchæ provincias et pomeria ascribunt, ut Alexandrinus Ægypto, Lybiæ, Pentapoli præficiatur: Antiochenus Syriæ, utrique Ciliciæ, et Mesopotamiæ: Ælianus seu Hierosolymitanus Palæstinæ, Arabiæ, Phœnicia, ditionem complectatur, &c. Et ubi inter hæc Romani patriarchæ potestas œcumenica, quæ sola ecclesiarum omnium potiri affectat? Et quoniam in conciliorum incidimus suffragia (quæ nec ipsi omnino aspernamur), age proferatur præterea secundæ Synodi tertius, itemque quartæ xxviii. Canon. Quæso an non præna mox fronte perspicuum deprehenditis *ἰσότητα τῆς νέας καὶ πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης*, hoc est, inter Constantinopolitanum et Romanum metropolitanum? Primum verba ipsa expendamus: *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἀγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ*, &c. Deinde, ne verba sine rebus illi dare videantur, certas insuper ac peculiare dioceses, Ponticam, Asianam, Thracicam, cæterasque barbaricas provincias, Bulgariam, Cyprum, Iberiam, illius legitime administrationi subjiciunt. Omitto hic Græcorum scholasticōν argutam magis quàm necessariam disceptationem de præpositione *μετὰ*, tempusne an dignitatem significet. Quanquam prisci illi canonum

autores non solum *μετὰ ἐκείνην*, sed etiam *ὡς ἐκείνην* addunt, quarti Concilii canone xxviii., ne quis ea in re impune erret. Sed in iis, quia superflue forsans subtilitatis videri possunt, minus moror. Illud ad rem valde, meo iudicio, facit, ut sententiam ipsam *κατὰ ῥητόν καὶ διάνοιαν* nobiscum trutinantes expendamus quænam causa fuerit, cur urbes istas potissimum sedis honore cæteris prætulerit antiquitas. Quid? Num lege aut jure divino? An quia singulare aliquid Petro indultum sit? Aut quia Petrus sedebat Romæ? Nihil horum adfertur, Iudices. Atque ne desit testimonio fides, recitentur Canonum verba, quæ attentius ut perpendatis rogo. Sic enim habet ejus quam dixi, Synodi locus: *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ ἴσα τῷ τῆς νέας ῥώμης ἀγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίνοντας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ σύγκλητῶ τιμηθείσαν πόλιν καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῆ πρεσβυτέρα βασιλίδι ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι.* Ex iis quæ recitavi, videtis (viri principes) non tam illud, quo pacto Ecclesiæ istæ pari simul conjunctæ sint autoritate, quàm causam ipsam expendere licebit, quamobrem in eum honoris gradum sint potissimum constitutæ: non ob jus, ut dixi, aliquid divinum aut apostolicum ejus hic nulla fit mentio, sed *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν, καὶ εἶναι βασιλείαν καὶ σύγκλητῶ τιμηθείσαν πόλιν.* Quippe sic tum existimabant præsci illi patres (viri bene simplices, sed malè rerum futurarum providi), quia tum majestate imperii et senatus autoritate duæ hæc potissimum Republicæ efflorent, consentaneum quoque fore, easdem *καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι.* Verùm quàm gravis hæc causa sit et Christianæ philosophiæ magistris digna, relinquo Theologis definiendum. Illud dixerim, si externæ politiæ exemplum par sit in rebus quoque Ecclesiasticis valere, semperque has cum illa pariter congruere oportere, jamdudum tempus esse, ut translata Germaniam summa imperii potestate, illuc quoque rerum ecclesiasticarum se transferat autoritas. Omitto hic, brevitatis studio, multa de Conciliis et necessariò et opportunè hoc loco proferenda, quæ etiam in initio Romani pontificis maximè favent dictaturæ, tamen in tanta perturbatione et confusione rerum, injusticia, scelere, tyrannide, vi, errore atque furore, ad fidei ac religionis labem et calamitatem illi nihil debebant patrocinari. Nunc verò quotumquemque mihi ex Conciliis omnibus, præsertim gravioribus, canonem proferet is Pontifex, qui manifestè et *ῥητῶς œcumenica* hæc se potestate inautoret? Namque Nicæna synodus nihilo magis illi, quàm Ægypto, quàm Libyæ, Pentapoli, Antiochiæ, cæterisque eparchiis attribuit. Imò, nihil quidem ipsa omnino tribuit: tantum sexto aphorismo consuetudinem in hæc verba allegat, *ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶ ἐν τῇ ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστι,* &c. De secunda et quarta Synodò jam dictum est: Carthaginensis etiam ex confesso refragatur—Ut interim de fide et autoritate Conciliorum, quatenus nos astringant et quousque, nihil hic pronunciem. Quamquam, quo tandem ore è Conciliis patrocinium is sibi corrogabit, qui ipse, omnium maximè rejectis Conciliorum repagulis, nullis se sanctionibus teneri sustinet? Legat, qui volet, Canonum apostolicorum (ut existimantur) decretum xxix. xxx. xxxii. xxxviii.; rursus Nicæni concilii canonem quartum, et Constantinopolitanum secundum, porroque alterius in eadem urbe Synodi sub Theodosio canonem ii. Legat historiam Apiarii, præter jus et consuetudinem majorum recepti Legat denique omnes patrum et Conciliorum canones: vix multos ab hoc episcopo non violatos reperiet, nonnullos etiam suppressos, et quosdam apertè condemnatos. Ut ne recenseam alia vetustissimæ consuetudinis monumenta, quæ à patribus bene instituta et fixa, is aliter privata autoritate quotidie mutat et corrumpit pro libidine. Quod genus variâ quum sint, nos è multis unum, etsi minutus quidem illud, tamen quia peculiariter ad Republicam vestram attinet, producemus: quòd quum prisca majorum autoritas inter archiepiscopos triginta novem in Chartophylacio descriptas Lontopolin vestram (sic enim in Græcorum vetustis exemplaribus appellatur) enumeravit, eam postea in Cantuariam transtulit Romanus metropolitès. Non agnoscunt pro episcopo canones apostolici, synodus Chalcedonensis, Syntagma Genadii, denique patrum omnes ferè sanctiones, quisquis externis principum præsidii usus, vel pecuniis, sibi *τὴν χειροτονίαν* aut alioquin quamcunque Ecclesiæ dynastiam comparat, aut dividit. Quumque Romanus antistes nihil aliud his multis annis egerit, non solum pro episcopo haberi se, sed numinis vice tantum non adorari postulat. Cæterum de Conciliis hactenus, deque legitima Pont. Romani potestate, satis dictum est. Quamquam cur ea in re tamdiu hæreret *ορατῶ*, nihil erat.

Canones apostolicorum. Pontifice violator conciliorum.

Archiepiscopos omnes xxxix. Lontopolis. Chalcedonensis synodi, cap. 2. Epist. Genadii.



Sic enim existimo, neminem tam vecordi esse ingenio, cui, si mediocriter Evangelii literas spiritumque degustavit, tantus vitæ Pontificiæ fastus et magnificentia non exemplo fœda, professione indigna, ac turpis etiam auditu videri possit.

Jam quoniam ex his labyrinthis et salebris, impedita aliquandiu, evolavit tandem oratio, eò veniamus, quod præcipuè in Episcopo spectandum est, ut doctrinam simul cum moribus excutiamus, quo non dubitandi modò sed nec cavillandi etiam ansam cuiquam relinquamus. Nam quæ bactenus disseruimus, licet per se gravissima sint, attamen quia communes duntaxat abusus vitæ attingunt, minus forsitan jus ipsum sedis premere videbuntur. Hicque primum mihi respondeat velim istorum aliquis, sed sanior paulo, cuique aliquid sit æquæ mentis: Num censeat, quæ à Christo autore relicta nobis proditaque sint, satis ad salutem esse? Si neget: rogo de Apostolis et Apostolorum auditoribus quid sentiendum, qui omnes simpliciter Christi contenti Evangelio, nihil sibi ad salutem requirendum præterea existimarunt? Sic enim scribunt: Et nos in Christum Jesum credimus, ut justificemur ex fide Christi, et non ex operibus legis, &c. Sin satis fateatur esse quæ Dominus præstitit et præstanda docuit, quid tum opus tot præscriptis et rescriptis Pontificum, tot sanctionibus, ceremoniis, legibus, tot distinctionum et articulorum formulis, tot amaxæis loquacissimorum codicum laqueis, et laqueorum plaustris? Quæ omnia si eadem tradunt: quæ Christus, superflua et ociosa sin diversa, etiam impia sunt. Sed bellam hic elabendi rimam reperit Theologorum argutia, ad traditiones communiendas. Verum, inquam, sed promittebatur Spiritus sanctus, quo suggerente cuncta perfectius justoque ordine patefierent. Audio, et agnosco Christi verba, quæ præcedunt. Ipsi vicissim audiant quæ idem subjungit, inquam: Quæcunque ego dixi vobis. Docuit ergo ille veritatis Spiritus, sed quæ prius docuit Jesus: nec tam novam instituit religionem ille, quàm eandem confirmavit: magisque fiduciam hominibus, atque testimonium veritati, quàm novam aliquam doctrinam advexerat. Itaque testem eum promittit Dominus. Nec sanè aliud declarant Petri et Apostolorum conciones, qui jam perfusi promisso Spiritus charismate audacius quidem loquuntur apud plebem, sed non aliud tamen, quàm acceperant à Christo prius. Cæterum quod ad leges alias novasque sanctiones Ecclesiæ inducendas attinet, ea de re explicatissima extat ipsius Spiritus sancti in Actis sententia, ubi Petrus, into inter Apostolos Concilio, in hæc verba testatus, Visum est, inquit, Spiritui sancto, et nobis, ne quid præterea oneris imponatur gentibus, nisi, etc. Quanquam neque horum etiam quæ imponebantur, quicquam novum erat, sed cuncta è veteri lege repetita. Deinde ut paucissima quidem illa, ita nec duratura omnia, sed ad tempus duntaxat nonnulla pro ingenio ac imbecillitate quorundam dispensabantur. Et quorsum ergo tot decretis opus et decretalibus onerariis, nisi aliam nunc sentiamus Spiritus sancti mentem esse, quàm olim fuit? Quanquam nec id adeò querimonia dignum, quod ad turbam attinet et immensitatem decretorum. Quin nec id rursus tantopere quæro, utrumne in tanta traditionum multitudine nihil insit humani lapsus? Non enim vel tam cæci sumus, quippe homines ipsi, ut quid humanæ imbecillitatis ferat conditio nesciamus; vel tam morosi, qui in multis bene dictis pauculos interspersos nævos condonare non velimus. Omitto hic de panis, salis, cinerum, cereorum, palmarum, templorum, campanarum, aquæ, ignis, et elementorum omnium consecratione, de purgatorio, de temporum et dierum observatione, de cibis et nuptiis interdictis, quas Paulus doctrinas vocat demoniorum, de reliquiis, imaginibus, votis, jejuniis, feriis, pompis, idque genus sexcentis ceremoniarum nugis dicere. Quæ etsi Siculis gerris sint vaniores, ac majestate Christianæ religionis indignæ, tamen quia periculo minus sunt exitiales, minus in his consisto. Illud specto, quis scopus tandem doctrinæ illius, quis finis, qui fructus, ac quænam pertendat denique.

Huc itaque post multa tandem deveci, consistimus in hoc, Judices: jam non quàm scelerosus, quam contaminata vita, quanta superstitione operctus, quàm incultus, stupidus ac barbarus, quanta inflatus ambitione, quàm alienus ab omni jure illius tituli quem præ se fert, quamque prorsus cathedra illa indignus sit Romanus Pontifex—verum illud nunc in judicio versatur, ac oratione nobis perquirendum: Hi duo, Christus et Pontifex, an sibi adversentur mutuo: an horum doctrina iisdem principiis et fundamentis constet, an diversis: an ex eodem spiret fonte, num in eundem conspiret finem: breviter, an altera ullo modo cum altera consistere queat. Quod si planum oratione fecero, non posse, nunquid restat, Judices, quin Pontificem Romanum non jam Christi vicarium,

ac ne Christianum quidem hominem, sed Christi confessum hostem et perduellionem ipsi confiteamini? Neque verò difficilis adeò ejus rei probatio fuerit, modò impetrari a vobis tantisper poterit, ut sepositis externis rerum nominibus et titulis, res ipsas, ut sunt, nudè simpliciterque velitis introspicere. Quantumvis Christi insignia, vicem, titulum mentiatur Romanus Episcopus, quid tum postea si re ipsa nihil omnino Christi, nihil non adversus Christum habeat? Quid adeo ad rem, quamlibet in loco ter sancto sedeat, si ipse ter quaterque omni iniquitatis genere vitam ostendat abominandam: præsertim quum è prophetica scriptura non ignoretis, abominationem desolationis in loco statuum sancto: rursusque in templo Dei sedere eum oportere, quem Apostolici Antichristum venturum prænuñciabant. Imò hoc ipso nomine, probabilior etiam hujusce rei videri poterit suspicio apud prudentissimum quemque, quo sanctior sit locus quem occupat. Submoveamus itaque paululum externa ista, quæ etsi per se simpliciter mala non existant, tamen quoniam ejusmodi sunt, ut malis æquè ac bonis evenire interdum queant, nec certum de se judicium constituent, nos rem ipsam potius, quid verum, quid falsum, quid cum verbo Dei commune, quid diversum habeat, consideremus. Quæ omnia ut plana vobis oratione fiant, possem hic communi disputantium more varia è Scripturis testimonia, hinc inde, ceu puncta colligere. Verùm qui sic disputant contra Pontificem, diligenter illi quidem multa, at minus tamen quàm omnia videntur mihi dicere. Nam ut multa contra eum graviter et rectè congerunt, ita multa simul relinquunt illi, quibus se ex adverso tueatur. Deinde in hoc etiam plus satis causæ, quam impugnant, indulgent atque concedunt; rati ea solùm, quæ è diversis Scripturæ locis sparsim contra eum citant, adversari Pontifici. Ego contrà sic existimo, Judices, in verbo Dei non solum multa contra causam hanc Pontificiam inveniri, sed ipsum etiam fundamentum, vim, naturam, corpus denique et animam totius Scripturæ huic *ἐκ διαμέτρου* repugnare dixerim. Quod ut illustrius a vobis intelligatur, animam quæso studiosius advertite, Christiani proceres. Nam ut res rectè suis finibus metiamur, nec partes solum Scripturæ aliquas, sed principia, progressus, finemque illius universum intueamur: quid aliud mens ipsa vult, sensus, ratio, tota denique series ejus et methodus, quid aliud inculcat, quo collimat, quo tendit denique, nisi ad hunc unum scopum, ut Christum nobis ac gratuitam cum illo et in illo salutem polliceatur? Declarant hoc tot ab initio Dei promissiones, tot umbræ et typi vetustæ legis, tot prophetarum oracula, regni Judaici præludia, et seminis continua conservatio: donec demum Semen veniret Christus, in quo benedicendæ erant omnes gentes. Unde Paulus ut præclarè omnia, ita illud divinè dicebat, finem legis esse Christum: quem alibi fundamentum, alibi corpus quoque vocat, cætera omnia pro umbris statuens quæ præcesserunt. Hoc qui non intelligit, aut aliud in Scripturis quærendum sibi putat in quo conquiescat præter Christi solam notitiam et fidem, ad quem omnes Dei voces properant, omnia festinant tempora, omnes omnium conjiciuntur oculi, is methodum ac mentem arcanam Scripturæ se ignorare fateatur. Solum hunc, tot seculis, lex prisca parturiebat: Evangelium demum peperit: sponsa suscepit Ecclesia. In hoc uno omnes laborant et constant Dei promissiones, Amen. Nec aliud nunc habet fides nostra quod recipiat, cui inhæreat, nisi hunc solum Christum eumque crucifixum. In hoc uno omnis proposita medela est, quæcunque ingruant adversitates. Peccator es: hoc solum habes propitiatorium. Animus te accusat: hic major est animo tuo. Ira ac timor Dei te consternit: habes hic mediatorem, cui tutò fidas. Concutit te mortis horror, aut morbi gravitas: hic mortem profigatam ac spoliatam habes. Injuriam pateris: ultionem hic adducit retributionis (Esa. xxxv.). Pauper es: in hoc abundas, non caducis, sed veris bonis. Servus es, miser es, cæcus aut mancus es, sterilis eunuchus, infamis, exosus, tardus, imperitus, fatuus es: denique quicquid adduxeris malorum, nihil homini accidere potest tam magnum, quin hic infinitis partibus sit major, cæteris omnibus salutaris: nec ullis formidabilis, nisi his potissimum, qui minimè juxta hunc mundum infelices sunt, maximeque præferoces. Postremo, ex hac unica testamenti arca omnes salutis et gratiæ thesauros gratis et abundè haurimus quotidie per fidem solam, quotquot in eum credimus. Unde quisquis sitit, bibit: quisquis esurit, epulatur: non precio, sed prece: non meritis, sed gratis: non quia digni simus, sed quia promisit Pater: quo nomine æterna sit illi laus et gratia per omnes Ecclesias, Amen.

Scripturæ  
scopus et  
metho-  
dus.

Habetis Scripturæ methodum summariam: videamus nunc Pontificiæ thec-

Compara-  
tio divi-  
et Pontifi-  
cæ Theo-  
logia

logiæ summam. Quæ si ad Christum nos unice traducat, si ejus potissimum gloriam spectet, conscientias in illo erigat, me etiam in primis applaudentem evincat causam. Sin aliò ducat, ad indulgentias, ad satisfactiones, purgatorium, ad Franciscum, Dominicum, divos et divas sexcentas, ad monasteria nos releget, ad regulas obstringat, ad merita humanæ supererogationis transferat; in summa, si quum divina volumina nihil magis doceant quàm Christum hic nihil minus spiret quàm Christum, non ego hunc omnis Scripturæ ignarum, indocum ac stupidum, non Christi vicarium, non Apostolicum successorem putem, sed inimicum crucis Christi et publicæ consolationis et salutis humanæ perduellionem liquidò profitear. Non patitur D. Paulus vel seipsum vel angelum è cælo audiri sine anathemate, aliud afferentem Evangelium quàm ipse docuerit: et nos Pontificem, Evangelium tot modis diversum statuentem, nondum anathemate explodimus è templo? inò, in templum Dei, atque in Christi vicem reponimus? Vis videre, illius etque Christi quàm diversum sit Evangelium? Clamat sublimis Christi Apostolus, sub lege non esse nos sed sub gratia. Contra Pontificum tot leges, tot scita, jura, sanctiones, decreta, cautiones, articuli articulis sine fine cumulat, quid clamant aliud, quàm sub gratia non esse nos sed sub lege? Non fert in Evangelio Dominus frustra colentes Deum præceptis et doctrinis hominum: contra sine iis frustra coli Deum putat ceremoniosus Pontifex, nec alia re ferè pietatis metitur summam. Toties tamque graviter in eos effervescit igneus Apostoli spiritus, qui è libertate in quam vocati sunt ad egena mundi elementa relabuntur, quibus denuò servire volunt, dies observantes, menses, tempora et annos. At quid aliud universa Pontificis tradit philosophia, quàm elementa mundi hujus obsoleta: Ne tetigeris, ne gustaris, ne contrectes: nam in his tribus illius omnis consumitur liturgia. State, inquit ille, in qua libertate vos liberavit Christus, et jugo servitutis nolite iterum contineri. Quid iste? Accipite, inquit, jugum castitatis, obedientiæ et paupertatis, quod semel admissum nunquam deinde excutietis. Breviter, illius glossemata omnia, volumina et codices, quid ubique spirant, nisi servitutum? Quid in tota illius theologia liberum? Tot argumentis infulcit Paulus, Christum in iis evacuari, qui in lege justificantur (Gal. v): Et tot suppliciis sævit Pontifex in eos, qui aliter quàm admixtu legis gratuitam salutem statuunt. Melius est, inquit ille, nubere, quàm uri. Affirmat hic, satius esse uri, quàm nubere. Propter fornicationem, suam cuique uxorem designat Apostolus: è diverso Pontifex fornicationem, modo cautam, aperto præfert matrimonio. Tam accuratè literis Apostolicis præmonemur, novissimis temporibus affuturos, qui connubia, cibosque legitimos prohiberent, eorumque doctrinam dæmoniorum appellat Paulus. Jamque hæc ipsa non tempora solum, sed et doctrinas, et autores ipsos, ob oculos præentes cernimus, audimus quotidie, ac manibus ferè terimus nostris: et tamen nec cavemus admoniti, nec instituti sapimus, denique nec luminibus nostris nec Apostolis Christi habemus fidem. Clam: apud prophetam misericors Dei Spiritus: Misericordiam volo, non sacrificium. Reclamat præpostera Pontificis religio: Sacrificium volo, non misericordiam. Audimus ex ore Domini semel atque iterum: Non facies tibi sculptile, nec omnem similitudinem. Contradicit Pontificis autoritas, statuens, mandans, interminans, indicto incendio supplicio, si quis contra imagines hiscere audeat. Denique quaquà versum res inter se conferamus, nihil in natura rerum dissimilius, quàm hujus cum Christo undique pugnans professio. Quæ quum ita sint, vestræ erit prudentiæ (ingenui Principes) vobiscum deliberare, quum utrique simul, in tanta diversitate morum et disciplinæ, favere, sine alterius injuria nequeatis, idne malitis, ut Christo magis an Pontifici vestra serviat autoritas. Nam si homines hi, in quos sævit tantopere potestas vestra, non suam agant causam sed Christi, non suum capent compendium, non vitam expetant, non tranquillitatem ambient, non opibus inhiant, sed hæc omnia studio Christi potius pro rejectis habeant, ut illius jus, non suum, cum Ecclesiæ incolumitate retineatur:—cogitate, non tam illos esse, quàm in ipsis Christum, in quem universa persecutionis vestræ consilia conspirant. Quod quàm diuturnum sit futurum, nescio: certè perpetuò vobis tutum esse non poterit. Nam utcumque nunc se habeant præcemia, utut miseri ac imbelles videantur quos nunc opprimitis, tamen post epitasin tam turbulentam, catastrophe denum et exitus fabulæ declarabit, nequaquam miserum esse Eum et imbellem, qui in suis plectitur. Unde non tam ego crudelitatem deploro quorundam, quàm stultitiam adverto, qui tanto conatu pugnant contra eum, qui natura nec vinci, nec loco moveri potest: nihil agentes aliud, quàm

si calces jactent contra stimulum. Et quid unquam Pontifex de vobis tantum est bene meritus, si rem velimus ad calculos subducere, quamobrem tam devotis animis in illius conspiretis patrocinium? An unquam pro vobis mortuus est Romanus Pontifex? An vobis sedare iram Patris, an offensas condonare, an mortis acerbam, acerbiorē diaboli servitūtem cervicibus vestris excutere, potentiam frangere, mortuos vos resuscitare ad regni sui immortalē felicitatem potest? Et qui hæc unus potest omnia, quique se præstiturum pollicetur, quum nemo possit alius, ejus vos deserta causa, tam sancta et mansueta, ad inimici impuri homuncionis perditissima castra, hoc est, ad vestram ultro perniciem sic ruitis præcipites? Solent, qui deserto imperatore suo ad adversarias partes desciscunt, aliqua navatæ militiæ mercede attrahi. Vosque quid tandem emolumentum à Pontifice homuncione vobis pollicemini, etiam quum in illius gratiam omnes piorum animas sub ara miseritis? Ut victoria unâ cum illo fruamini? Scitis victurum esse Agnum, invitus omnibus. Quin et nunc magnam quoque hujus sedis partem debellatam cernitis, in tacito optimi cuiusque pectore. Ut opibus vos augeat amplioribus? Imò has illi vos impenditis. Ut libertatem largiatur? Majorem amittitis. Ut vitam reddat beatiorē?—quum Eum deseritis, qui solus est vitæ autor. Et quid tandem homini possit ab homine contingere tanti, ut vos adversus Dominum incitet et adversus Christum ejus? Aiunt vulgò, multum valere fascinum. At quò tandem fascini genere sic corripuntur Christianorum animi, ut in Romani nescio cuius barbari et externi homuncionis gratiam, qui nec cognitus nec cognatus ipsis vel profuit hactenus vel unquam profuturus est, in charissimos amicos, propinquos, sanguine, patria communi, officiorum denique quotidiana necessitudine conjunctos, forsā etiam bene meritos, plusquàm parricidalibus odiis tam atrociter efferantur: idque non alia causa, quàm quæ summam illis deberent gratias, nisi sibi ipsis summam felicitatem cum publica regni dignitatem conjunctam inviderent!

Quanquam non tam hæc generosis animis vestris, quàm aliis potius malè feriatas quorundam ingeniis imputanda duxerim. De iis loquor, quos falso nomine theologos et episcopos, vero lupos, ursos, et leopardos diceretis. Qui quum se lumina orbis profiteantur, omnes scintillas et vigorem veræ pietatis extinguunt, natura sævi, religione præposterī: quorum alteri Reipublicæ, alteri Ecclesiæ sint exitiales. Non perinde eodem omnes carbone notandi sunt. Neque enim æquum fuerit, quum non æquè eadem in omnes competant, paucorum malitiosam improbitatem in totius ordinis redundare infamiam. Quin in hoc genere multos scio civiliores, quibus meritò seditiosos cæterorum tumultus displicent: alii rident, quidam dissimulant, alii spe commodi, nonnulli metu aut favore privato verius quàm judicio applaudere videntur fabulæ, quam inviti spectant: qui etsi errent cum cæteris, tamen quia simpliciter errant, et sine aliorum injuria, minus hac oratione mihi exagitandi sunt. Verum quemadmodum inter animantium (ut dixi) genera, quædam innoxia, alia ad usus necessarios accommodata, nonnulla si non natura, officiis tamen mansuescunt, sunt rursus quæ in hoc tantum nata dicas, ut aliis molestiam et perniciem moliantur: sic in humanis rebus nulla Respublica, nec vitæ genus est, quod suas non vomicas habeat et *κακοβούλους*. Iterum atque iterum admoneo, non omnes esse istiusmodi: ne quisquam putet hæc affectu magis quàm judicio in ordinis ullius dici contumeliam. Nam ut pro bonis liberiter supplico, ita nec improbos nisi invitatus attingo: idque admonendi magis quàm arrodendi studio, vitia scilicet hominum insectans, non homines: famosos enim libellos et desultores, si quisquam odit alius, ego in primis detestor. Itaque in reprehensione tam necessaria, quum nemo se nominari videt, nemo se accusari putet. Et tamen utinam nulli essent istic ejusmodi, qui nunquam satis reprehendi mereantur, quum ipsi nihil sint quàm faces et pestes reipublicæ. De quorum rabie et immanitate si dicendum mihi tantum esset quantum deberem meritò, efficerem forsā oratione, ut nulla fera aut tygris vobis, si cum horum conferatur virulentia, non cicur videri possit. Sed quid ego importunam horum crudelitatem, sævitiam, superbiam, malitiam vobis depingam, Judices, si hæc ipsi non videatis? Quæso quid vox illius declaravit hominis (si non belluæ magis), qui frequentissima concione non ita pridem dixisse auditus est: ‘Rempublicam illam nunquam sibi nec Reginæ tranquillam fore, quoque, funditis ad internecionem deletis omnibus in Anglia Evangelicis, ne unus superesset vivus.’ Quasi non satis huc Reginæ mens propenderet, nisi isti nimis velut Vox erudelis. eessantem instigarent. At cur non Alecto læc, cum tyranno illo, universæ

genti Britannicæ unam optabat cervicem, quo, uno ictu Anglis semel extinctis omnibus, sola sibi omnes possideret mitras? Huc enim tanquam ad unicuique suæ felicitatis scopum omnia tendunt studia istorum et cogitationes, nihil fere spirantes aliud quàm bonorum cædem, quo ipsis impune regnare liceat. Zelum quidem ostendunt Dei, sed citra scientiam optimo cuique perniciosum. Charitatem lingua gerunt, factis nihil quærunt nisi sanguineum fratrum et lanienam. Pietatis mirè prætexunt studium: sed hæc pietas sola in ceremoniali sita est, quas nec ipsi adeò magni faciunt. Sed vident isti ad quæstum suum oculatissimi Argi, ex his ceremoniis quàm opimum metant lucrum. Vident hinc suppetere, unde alant aves, canes, caballos, famulitia, et Pamphilas fidicinas: unde satrapas et Lucullos agant, et reverendissimos titulos demereantur apud populum. Citius quàm hæc amittant, cælum et terram patientur misceri incendio. Dominari volunt quoquo modo, et haberi in precio. Unum obstare perspiciunt, bonorum et doctorum judicia. Quoniam itaque, nisi iis sublatis, nihil se vident proficere (homines quippe per se abjectiores, quàm ut quicquam Republica dignum præsentent), tubam omnibus modis intendunt ad sævitiam; Mitissimos principum animos, hoc est Reipublicæ fontes, vitiant; Consilia instillant, non quæ honesto, sed quæ ventri suo ac compendio serviant: simile quiddam exercentes in rebus mortalium, quale Atæ tribuit Homericæ narratio. Et tamen hæc carcinomata suum invenerunt seculum; invenerunt non solum qui faveant, sed etiam qui autoritate eos arment publica; hoc est, qui gladium furiosi in manus porrigant. Quod si ita fati ac divinæ providentiæ visum est, nos in posteriora hæc tam turbulenta tempora (tot ante seculis ab Apostolis prævisa) incidere, in quibus violentiæ et autoritati adversus innocentiam tantum liceat, ferinus æquanimiter, et cedimus temporibus, Judices. Sin aliquis adhuc locus prudentum consiliis et bonorum votis relictus sit, id à vobis (nobilissimi Heroes) supplicabundi pro Christo expetimus atque obtestamur, malitiosam horum intemperiem vestra compescat autoritas: quo vel ab errore in viam respiscant, vel ut moderatius saltem rem agant, ita ut theologis dignum est. Si hæresin putent quicquid adversetur suis placitis, nihil ergo placeat, nisi quod rectum sit: nihilque exigant à populo, ultra salutis necessitatem: rursus nec populus detrectet, quod citra impietatem præstare poterit. Ita fiet, ut dum civili temperamento utraque pars nonnihil concessit alteri, pax fortassis aliqua utrinque coeat, mea quidem ratione felicius, quàm violentis istis clamoribus, rabiosis insectationibus, fasciculis, carceribus, fumis et incendiis; quæ multo gravius malum exasperant, cui mederi magis conveniebat. Scio gravem ortam in Ecclesia Christi tempestatem: sed quæ paulo momento sedari initio potuisset, si vis et impotens rabies quorundam abfuisset. Quin necdum adeò omnem exiit spem medelæ recuperandæ, modo relegatis affectibus prudens et temperata moderatio succedere possit in gubernaculo. Sed ante omnia, si medelam cupimus, à fonte ipso ordiendum erat, unde primùm proflixi morbi occasio. Frustra tentat medicus vulnere obducere cicatricem, nisi prius repurgata sanie, quæ ulceris radices obsidet. Provenit autem magna hujus tempestatis pars non aliunde quàm ex corruptis judiciis, cæcis affectibus, ambitione, fastu et philautia quorundam huc spectantium, magis ut ipsi autoritate dominantur, quàm ut populus subjiciatur Jesu Christo. His principiò ritè perpurgatis fontibus facilius deinceps ad causas alias subnascentes progrediemur, quæ mihi videntur in hominum inventis, et in multitudine traditionum atque articulorum sitæ. Quæ quoniam fovendis dissidiis non mediocrem subministrant occasionem, proxima fuerit incendii extinguendi ratio, si materiam ipsam camino nimium conflagranti subtrahamus. Tum si qua in his videbuntur controversa, in quibus non satis consentiant factionum partes, modesta velitatione res inter doctos transigatur. Ita fiet, ut mutua placabilitas aut exitum inveniat offensionum, aut tempus tandem remedium afferat. Semper interim scholæ suam retineant libertatem. Fustibus cogere tyrannorum est. Doceri amant conscientiæ, vultque docere religio. Docendi porrò efficacissimus magister est amor. Hic ubi abest, nunquam ibi quisquam vel docere dextrè, vel quicquam percipi non sinistrè poterit. In primis ab omni autoritate submoveantur seditiosa capita, et contentionis faces, nihil quærentes aliud quam discordiæ seminaria. Postremò, si alia ratione consentire nequeamus in iis quæ sunt leviora, satis sit tamen in præcipuis fidei capitibus non dissentire. Leviora autem dico, quæcunquæ extra Scripturam inducuntur, quantumvis alioqui à magnis autoribus profecta. Quid pugnantius elementorum natura:

et tamen quàm amabili fœdere eadem in humano conjunguntur corpore? Ita quid obstat, quo minus in levioribus istis interdum dissentire liceat, incolumi interim atque irrupta Christianæ amicitiae tessera? Magnus est gradus ad concordiam sarciendam, ex animo voluisse concordiam. Nunc perinde rem agunt quidam, ac si nihil vellent minus quàm concordiam coalescere. Quæso Boneri articuli<sup>1</sup> quid erat necesse Bonerum tot articulorum rhapsodiis et evanidis nugis præter necessitatem onerare Ecclesias Dei, iis maximè temporibus tam exulceratis: quibus sciebat nihil aliud se profuturum, nisi ut Camerinam, jam plus satis perturbatam, majori patriæ tumultu exagitaret? At quanto se dignius fecisset, si traditionum potius ejusmodi jactura pacem redimeret Ecclesiarum; quum ex illa nihil accidere posset detrimenti, sine hac consistere Christi Ecclesia omnino nequeat. Hæc atque alia, quæ publicæ concordiae intersunt et tranquillitatis, quum in genere ad omnes bonos viros pertinent, quicumque rempublicam velint esse salvam, tum in primis per illos agenda erant, quibus ex professo creditum est ecclesiae procurandæ negotium. Nunc quum in istis nulla spes ecclesiae in melius restituendæ eluceat, imo quum non aliis magis autoribus debeamus hoc quicquid est incendii in republica acceptum; unum superest secundum Christum in terris perfugium, ut ad mitissima subsellia Clementiæ vestræ, summi maximique Proceres, refugiamus, qui in republica hac (si modo republica dicenda sit) quantum pro pietate velitis vestra, tantum pro autoritate efficere potestis. Quarum alteram à natura vestra, alteram à fortuna, utramque pariter à Domino accepistis, in hoc, non ut privatim vobis ipsis, sed rebus in commune publicis consuleretis. Ac de pietate quidem vestra initio orationis nihil me addubitare dixi, de qua nec adhuc addubito. De autoritate nunc extrema orationis parte quædam vicissim, sed leviter, attingam; quo non solum quid fieri a vobis oporteat, sed etiam quo pacto, quod velitis, efficiendum sit, intelligatis.

Sic enim in hac causa existimo, rebus sic undique profligatis, in tam offusa patriæ ac religionis caligine, aut nullam humani præsidii scintillam usquam apparere, aut eam in vestra solum ope inclusam contineri. Atque ut alia spes nulla est, quæ hominum possit esse, præterquam in vobis solis, Judices; ita rursus unica duntaxat efficiendi ratio est, si quid omnino efficiendum Christi religionisque causa censeatis. Quæ nisi adhibeatur, non solum vestra nihil præsidia, sed nec salus ipsa hanc servare rempublicam poterit. Non id nunc ago, nec eò specto, quò me duceret fortassis humana ratio, aut pervulgata mundi consilia, ut ilico armis, copiis, aut fortitudine bellica, quantum valeatis adversus improbitatem experiamini. Etsi id quidem optimo jure vis istorum et effrenis ferocia promereatur, ut simili quoque vi parique talione à nobilitate vestra retundatur; vobis tamen (Patres, Proceres) pro sapientia vestra cogitandum, non tam quid possitis, quàm quid expediat: non quid horum furor et projecta insania postulet, sed quid vos deceat, quidque causa sit ipsa dignum. Interim hoc loco, patriæ et religionis negotium, quoniam natura dissimiles sunt, judicii causa secernimus. Quarum utraque quum opem vestram vehementer præsentem efflagitet, nos alteram studio, prudentiæ, et fidei vestræ relinquimus, juxta parati vobiscum, vel si illa pereat, perire, vel si per vos conservetur, vobiscum simul et cum illa emergere. In altera, quoniam cœpimus operam implorare vestram, consilium etiam quoniam pacto eam aptissimè porrigatis ostendimus: non ut armis (ut dixi), ferro, viribus, potentia Reginam vestram velitis, etsi maximè possitis, lacessere; sed precibus magis, votisque simul junctis, et consiliis sollicitetis. Nec quisquam enim dubitet, utcumque voluntatem alienam à re Evangelica præ se ferat, quin vestræ tamen obstationi aures præbeat obsequaces: primùm quæ eo sexu procreata sit, ut femina quum sit, non silex, flecti ac molliri queat: tum iis majoribus, talique nobilitate producta, ut natura pariter et voluntate amans sit nobilitatis. Cui deinde præter hæc adminicula accedit insuper, quòd nuper audio in Anglia nonnihil demum interquiescere persecutionis acerbiter. In qua mansuetudine si pergat ita, ut cœpisse fertur, Regina, haud multum desperandum video, quin cum paterni regni successione, nomen quoque suis dignum majoribus relinquat posteris. Jam hæc heroica in Regina indoles, quum nunquam tam aspera fuisset, ut arbitrator, in Christi plebem, nisi quorundam sinistris consiliis magis quàm sua voluntate abducta; quumque eadem nunc, sua sponte, etiam utcumque à serenitate non abhorreere videatur; quid tum futurum existimemus, si ad hanc naturæ propensionem vestræ porrò preces, suasiones, consiliaque se adjunxerint?

Concordia  
nobilitum.

Sed ad eam rem pernecessarium fuerit illud in primis, quod unum omnium maximè ad vestram simul et patriæ salutem atinet, ut vos qui coryphæi sitis Britannicæ nobilitatis, cum vitæ seria respicientia, concordia simul mutuo charitatis et virtutis nexu conjungat. Emendatis primùm aderit Dei, secundans consilia vestra, favor. Concordes porro Maria regina amplectetur libentius: denique ita consiliis eadem impensius acquiescet. Parum adhuc dico: addo quod à me hoc quidem tempore necessariò, pro vobis etiam utiliter, dictum posthac comperietis—Supplex etiam ultrò aderit, ad omnem voluntatem vestram parata, si vos stabili consensu inter vos cum virtute concordēs, eadem velle eademque nolle in republica conspexerit. Contrà, si discordia diffluitis, facilè vos singulos contemperit: vixque jam unusquisque vestrùm, recisis veluti potentiæ vestræ nervis, virtute, plus quàm quisque de ima multitudine gregarius valebit. Facilè ex præteritis longo intervallo rebus, quid nunc consimilibus temporibus sit expectandum, judicari potest: si prudentes modò, etiamsi non vates simus. Nam, ut altius à Casivellani temporibus rem repetamus, quæ res jam olim reipublicæ hujuscæ libertatem Romanis prodidit imperatoribus, nisi distracta inter se ducum et nobilium Britannorum potestas? Quæ res alia Pictos, Gallos, Scythias, et Scotos induxit? Prætereamus illa majorum nostrorum tempora, et ruinas tum regni hujus, quæ quoniam bene sopitæ sunt, præstat nunc non refricare. Succedunt post hæc furiosæ Danorum semel atque iterum irruptiones: nec multo pòst Normanici victoris tempestas secuta est. Semper hæc fuit Insulæ hujus fortuna quædam propria et conditio, ut quàm diu conjunctis simul viribus ipsa sibi cohærens cum virtute et concordia viveret, nihil eâ firmius adversus omnem hostilem impetum: contrà, ubi intestina discordia dissiliret, nihil eâdem unquam impotentius ad levissimas etiam calamitates reprimendas, sive quæ ab externis hostibus imminerent, sive quæ ad internam religionis discordiam pertinerent.

Ego, quum perlectis Annalibus vestris fortunam hujus perpendo Reipublicæ, gravem profectò necessitatem fuisse video, cur à majoribus nostris, sapientissimis viris, singularis potestatis forma hæc, quæ nunc est, constituta, atque ex Heptarchia in Monarchiam commutata sit. Qua nulla est, fateor, constitutio ad Reipublicam gerendam accommodatior aut expeditior, maximè si talis contingat Princeps, qui se intra virtutis ac modestiæ leges contineat, possitque sese non minus quàm alios regere. Verùm rursus quum animadverto, quàm graves sæpe turbine excitare in Republica possit monarchia, si immoderatus sit, quamque præceps subinde fertur in tyrannidem, immuto iterum voluntatem, ut nihil existimem perniciosius honorum capitibus, quàm illud quod apud Poetam est, *εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω*. Quæso enim, in tali imperio quantum ad civium salutem interest, apertusne hostis grassetur foris, an talis intus foveatur Princeps, cui quum nihil deest ad lædendum præter occasionem, ea tum accedit ad pravam voluntatem autoritas, ut nihil libeat tam turpe, quod non impunè liceat? Nisi quòd illic fortiter dimicando cum periculo decernere miseri, hic vecorditer jugulum præbere miseriores, coguntur cives. Atque hæc quidem difficultates et discrimina, non dubium, quin multo antè à prudentissimis viris et scriptoribus perspecta fuerint, qui in constituenda Republica monarchiam laudaverunt. Eamque ob causam sapientissimè ab iisdem priscis philosophis acutissimisque nomothetis factum arbitror, qui rem politicam in tria partiti genera (*ἀρχοντικόν, συμβουλευτικόν, βάνασσον*) publicam hanc et senatoriam nobilitatem semper cum monarchia conjunxerunt, quæ partim autoritate legitima, partim sapientia et consiliis Principis, si plus nimio diffliueret, impotentes cupiditates temperarent. Atque ob hoc ipsum maximè adjunctum videtur cum monarchia medium, et interjectum illud inter plebem et principem genus, quod Nobilitatem regni, seu

Nobilitas.

Consilium dicimus, quippe ne quid vel alteri parti quòd iniquum sit, vel alteri rursus quod sit tumultuosum, liceat. Quo demum temperamento fiet, ut quæ duo maxima in omni Republica incommoda, et solæ ferè pestes sunt, utrinque excludantur, tyrannus et seditio. Scio equidem et fateor, meum non esse viris summatis et consiliariis, multo minus Principibus, quid faciendum sit dicere; insaniam enim, si in mentem id unquam veniat. Cæterùm, quoniam in religionis nunc rebus versamur, in quibus usus, meditatio, ætas et experientia mediocris aliquid fortasse vobiscum me docuerunt, audacius, si non hortandi, at supplicandi, necessariò impositum hoc tempore officium assumo.

Maria  
Regina.

Inter quos omnes tuam in primis Celsitudinem Augustissimam compello, Maria Regina, ut tandem aliquando post longas tempestates acerbissimorum

temporum, aliquam serenitatem patriæ indulgeat lux Clementiæ tuæ. Quæcunque illa causa fuit, quæ nobilissimum animum tuum sic in tuorum exasperavit cædem, certe non id habes ex natura tua, non generis tui, non ex professione illius, quem pro nobis occidit Pharisæorum persecutio. Crede, crede mihi, Maria Regina, non hic potestatis gladius tibi a Deo adversus istos donatus est, quos tantopere persequeris, sed alios: sicarios, homicidas, adulteros, latrones, perjuros, blasphemos, idolotras, lenones, rebelles. Hi sunt pestes illæ et strumæ Reipublicæ, qui religionem Dei violant, qui regni tui infestant statum, denique qui tibi verè non favent, nisi tu Deo tuo omnino non faveas. Ob hos existima malefactores datum esse ac institutum à Deo potestatis tuæ exercendæ gladium, non hos qui nihil commeruere. Quanquam de causa illorum, quoniam dictum est satis, nunc apud tuam Celsitudinem non disputo; quos utcunque Majestas tua habet pro hæreticis, tamen quia fieri possit, ut aliter videatur Majestati divinæ, præstiterat tam sublimes controversias illius relinquere iudicio. Interim tibi quando obsequentissimi sunt ex animo subditi, certe sanguini et vitæ parcendum erat, satis per se superque multis insidiis et casibus subjectæ, etiam si nos mutuo non devoremus. Intelligit enim quod res est sublimis tua prudentia, quum multa hominibus largiri opulenta tua possit fœlicitas, vitam faciliè multis eripere, nemini ereptam restituere poteris. Unde meritò laudata est divina illa Theodosii junioris vox, qui ab amicis incitatus, ut obtrectantium et inimicorum quosdam mortis vindicaret supplicio—Imò, inquit, utinam vel mortuos mihi in lucem revocare liceat. Atque ille apertè, etiam Imperator, condonavit noxiis. Nec minus laudis et pietatis plena Alexandri verba extiterunt, qui matri Olympiadi per novem menses sollicitanti ad quendam occidendum, humanissimè respondens, Aliam quamcunque postulare mercedem jussit, hominis vitam nullo pensari posse beneficio.

Quanquam si exemplis utendum, quò nobis oculi potius flectendi, quàm ad Deum, verum omnis virtutis archetypum? Qui cum passim multis Scripturæ verbis, pluribus verò exemplis nos a sævitia ad clementiam revocat, tum illud unum è libro Reg. ii. attentiore paulùm consideratione tua quæso advertat sublimitas: ubi ob Davidis peccatum ultio divina in Israellem vehementius conflagrasset, ac jam occisis millibus aliquot angelus adhuc desævire voluisset, quid Ille? num jussit progredi, nullumque misericordiæ sibi locum reservavit Divina pietas? Non opinor. Nequaquam in perpetuum irascitur Ille, nec in æternum comminabitur. Quid ergo? In Scriptura quid audimus? Misertus est, inquit, Dominus super afflictionem, et ait angelo percutienti populum, Sufficit, nunc contine manum tuam. Libet enim Scripturæ verba ipsa adscribere, quo non solùm clarius ipsa in oculos incurrant, sed perpetuò in animo tuo circumferantur. Atque utinam nunc Dominus miseris similiter Ecclesiæ suæ, idem vicissim tibi, Maria Regina, quod tum angelo precussori, dicat, Sufficit, reprime nunc manum tuam. Nec dubium, quin ille tacitis susurris tibi intus in animo insibilet, Satis est. Sed vereor ne quidam sint istuc Spenserii, pessimorum consiliorum architecti, qui longè diversa cantione circumsonantes aures tuas, nequaquam illud salutarium Dei melos (“Sufficit”) occiunt, sed Babylonium potius illud è Psalmo seditiosa buccina increpitant—“Exinanito, exinanito usque ad fundamentum in ea,” etc.: à quibus ego nocentissimis viperis longissime tibi, Maria Regina, fugiendum censeo. Quin et vos deinde, præstantissimi Heroes, qui proximo auctoritatis loco succeditis, appello: adeste consiliis jam nunc vestris. In hoc omnes incumbite junctissimis animis, pro fide, auctoritate et diligentia vestra, ne quid dormitantibus vobis detrimenti capiat Respublica; ne quid publicis rebus malè sit, dum vestris consultum sit bene. Si vos Divina beneficentia tot tantisque prudentiæ dotibus imbuat, ut possitis—si Respublica in eum vos locum posuit, ut debeatis—in commune quæ sint optima consulere; agnoscite igitur officium vestrum, velitisque quod agnoscitis in Christo suum jus, ut Principi sua dignitas, ut populo sua incolumitas sarta tectaque retineatur. Quòd si humana nulla sapientia futurum arbitrentini, ut tanta hæc religionis dissidia, quibus sic omnes regni hujus partes corripiuntur in concordiam coeant; attamen illustre vobis documentum regendæ Reipub. aperuit Serenissimus rex Edouardus, qui duas simul diversissimas factiones summa cum moderatione regere et continere potuit. Et qui minus idem a vobis pari temperamento præstari possit? Quid erat necesse hunc Ecclesiasticæ contentions funem utrinque intendi tam acriter, ut jam neutri parti liceat per alteram eadem in Republica vivere? Qui si eò spectetis, hucque omnes conatus viresque vestras

Spenserii  
Edouardi  
II. cor-  
ruptores.

Edouardus  
VI.



convertendas statuitis, ut diversam doctrinam hanc, quam hæreticam dicitis, funditùs è medio sublata moleatis, credite, credite hoc mihi, Judices, latius ea propagata est, ac profundius insidet, quàm ut ulla humana potentia, omnibus pariter collatis copiis, dissipari queat. Sedet quippe ea non in labris, non oculis, aut corporibus hominum externis; sed intus in conscientiis, in additissimis animi sedibus, quàm longissimè à conspectu vestro reclusa reconditur; eruptura demum sua aliquando occasione, idque tanto vehementius, quanto nunc ferocius temporum violentia reprimitur. Postremò ~~aut~~ cum illa Divinæ simul Scripturæ fundamenta convellere, aut cum hac illam retinere necesse erit. Quod quum ita sit, quanto æquius erat, aliquam inveniri moderationis viam, qua vel si res incerta sit liberam subeat cognitionem, vel si certa, ut ea pars vincat, non quæ major, sed quæ melior; non quam hominum præjudicia, sed quam voluntas Dei Scripturæque dictamen comprobet. Porrò si vobis tantum non insit doctrinæ, ut de tam arduis Scripturæ controversiis constitutis, proximum est, eos adhiberi in consilium, quorum iudicio et spectatæ doctrinæ fidatis tutò. Nunc quale id est, quòd quum duæ sint in vobis factiones, quarum utriusque perpenditis studia, consilia, affectus quò tendant, iis qui pro homine Pontifice depugnant, quàm qui pro Christo Filio Dei moriuntur, malitis credere? At quanto erat hoc loco et autoritate vestra dignius, vos, qui cæterarum rerum gloria anteitis, iisdem quoque ornamentis literarum adjungere adminicula, sine quibus manca et elumbis est prudentia vestra, quantumvis alioqui eximia. Quam ad rem si non usus vitæ vestræ, si non consilia mea, si non clarissimi et disertissimi viri G. Turneri salutaris illa, quam pro officio et fide nuper vobis propinavit, medicina, inflectet—exempla saltem Germaniæ hujus cæterarumque gentium permoveant. In quibus nullus ferè accedit ad Rempubicam magistratus, literarum non minus præsiidiis, quàm muneris dignitate conspicuus. Aut si ne hæc quidem tot tantaque philtra animos vestros ad doctrinæ studia accendant, quin aliena manu quàm oculis propriis regi malitis, saltem divini verbi volumina in manus sumite, quæ in hoc vos negotio abundè instruant. Ac sine id quidem per otia, lusus, aleas, choreas, venationes, aucupia, impetrari [non] poterit: attamen vel civilis vestra hæc, qua polletis, prudentia, vel communis sensus, ex successu rerum argumentum capiat, quid de tota hac doctrinæ ratione judicandum sit. Nam cum inde ab initio Christi semper doctrina vim hujus mundi sustinuit, tum his maximè temporibus eadem ipsa, invidioso nunc Lutheri nomine a perlisque insimulata, quoties per Pontifices, Cæsares, Cardinales, Tetrarchas, tribunos passim, omnibus conjunctis copiis et consiliis, ex quo primum è squallore in lucem se proferre cœpit, impetita est, si quid humana vis adversus eam valuisset? Cæterùm ut mirabili felicitàe sua hactenus contra omnes procellas humanas inconcussa victrixque emerit; ita nec dubitandum, quin hanc quoque vim vestram non dissimili eventu tandem aliquando excutiet; hocque majori triumpho, quo validius nunc oppressa à vobis, occumbere videatur. Solet quippe brachium Domini sic in hoc mundo ludere: qui ut rebus plerumque profligatissimis affuget maximè, ita sæpe humana molimina in uberiorem suæ victoriæ laudem convertit.

Quapropter agite summi maximique Proceres, si frustra niti humanam opem adversus consilia Dei intelligatis, si successus ipse satis vos commoneat, hoc quicquid est, absque Numine non agi, quod geritur; si cives vestri hi quos persequimini nihil in vos unquam, nihil in Rempubicam, addo, minus in Deum commeruere; si nullis inimici sint, nisi iis quos Christus ipse habeat adversarios: qui si gratiam potius eosdem inire apud vos, quàm supplicia subire, par erat pro innocentia; si denique hæreticos ipsos non rei veritas, sed Episcoporum (non omnium sed) paucorum impotens ambitio, effrenis sævitia, corruptaque judicia efficiant—vos oro pro virtute et nobilitate vestra, si aberrant, ut instituantur facite; sin minus, parcat innocentiae misericordia vestra. Satis jam tumultuatum, satis fuscum est Christiani sanguinis: satis ultioni, affectibus, privatisque emolumentis vestris datum est: denique satis vigilantia dormitavit, nimiumque diu vestra jacuerunt pectora. Nunc tempus est, si qua in animis vestris vigeat fratrum charitas, si quis patriæ communis vos sensus tangat, ut posthabitis rebus vestris, Reipub. negotium, si unquam aliàs, agatis strenuè: nisi non solum cum religione patriam, sed vos etiam unà cum patria, velitis corruente concidere. Quanquam nihil equidem minus suspicor, quàm Reipublicæ studium vobis deesse, aut curam: quorum neminem esse scio, qui non votis omnibus Rempubicam esse salvam cupiat. Sed aliud in vobis deesse video. Quid

enim distractis adeò, et dissilientibus animis, fieri à vobis Republica dignum poterit, dum multi vestrum proditoriis insidiis in alios grassantur, multi metu mussitant, quisque diffidit alteri, nemo verum dicit, sibi unusquisque timet, plerique apertè adulantur; postremò, dum quisque sibi privatim vivit, quæ publici sunt officii perpauca cogitant, pauciores curant, paucissimi aut nulli præstant. Itaque fit, ut Respublica publicis veluti patronis deserta, vos ferè etiam deserere nunc ipsa, nulla re alia magis quàm vestra ipsorum negligentia et supinitate, cogatur. Quæ si iis duntaxat, quos deseritis, periculosa esset, minus erat vobis laborandum: nunc—eadem nullis unquam fuit, nescio quo pacto, quàm vobis ipsis infœlicior. Reputate enim cum animis vestris: longa non est memoria, quanta his annis quadraginta ordini vestro et nobilitati clades accepta sit, quot Illustrissimorum Ducum capita desiderata, quot nobilissimæ inter vos familiæ è sublimi dejectæ gradu, et solo nunc adæquatæ obsoluerunt. Possent ex Annalibus multa hic proferri, sed ea cogitationi vestræ malim relinquere. Illud inter alia quale nuper spectaculum præbuit, quum, spectantibus vobis et conniventibus, clarissimus et mansuetissimus Regis avunculus, idemque Protector Regni, Dux Somersetensis tan nulla causa, et præter Principis voluntatem, ad lictorem abduceretur? Nec tam ignari fuistis, quin Regem ipsum eodem tempore summo versari in discrimine intelligeretis: ubi si evigilasset, ut par erat, autoritas vestra, nunquam in hunc paroxysmum hæc esset Respublica devoluta. Sed hæc quæ tempore præterierunt, nos quoque oratione prætereamus. Nunc verò, si unquam aliàs, majorem in modum vestra evigilet prudentia opus est, cum propria non parum, tum maximè subditorum causa. Siquè patriæ communis vos non conjungit charitas, at idem jungat Redemptor Christus; saltem idem hostis, et periculum jungat commune. Quid enim? An nullos esse existimatis, qui non illos solum propter religionem, sed vos etiam propter fortunas istas et sedes vestras, extinctos cupiant? Quamobrem ut finem nunc supplicandi faciam, quod suprâ et toties dixi, idem repeto. Si tam vilem habeatis civium vestrorum sanguinem, si nihil vos moveant tot hominum gemitus, querelæ, lachrymæ, bonorum miseriam; at vestra simul cum illis conjuncta fortuna flectat. Sin verò ulla subit animos vestros Reipublicæ charitas, si quod patriæ studium maneat, si quid preces nostræ, si quid bonorum supplices manus, si quid denique Reipublicæ, si quid Ecclesiæ Christianæ, quam advolutam genibus vestris putetis, flebilis querela valeat—Rhadamantheam vestram appello pietatem, ut pluris sit apud vos salutis publicæ conservatio, quàm privatus quorundam affectus; nec quid possit pro imperio autoritas, sed quid æquitas potius civibus debeat vestra, consideretis. Nihil enim in omni officiorum genere æquius fieri arbitror, quàm ut quorum vos patres patria conscribit, eos in filiorum loco ascitos tueamini: quique suam in vos omnem reverentiam ac dignitatis auctoramenta transferunt, iidem à vobis salutis ac tranquillitatis vicissim accipiant incolumitatem. Aut si ne hæc tot charitatis argumenta communisque patriæ respectus vos adeò attingat, at quid vobis ipsis dignum, quid generosa ac heroica sanguinis vestri nobilitas tacito quodam sensu vobis suggerat, attendite. Nam quum inter humanos omnes affectus nihil sit tam hominis proprium quàm clementia, qua Divinæ naturæ omnes imaginem referimus: tum à vobis, Illustrissimi Heroes, qui sublimiori in his terris gradu ad Illum propius acceditis, multo magis idem sanè ab omnibus expectari convenit, maximè etiam sentiri hoc tempore necessarium.

Dux  
Somersetensis.

An edition of the foregoing Appeal of Foxe to the Nobility of England, was printed, in small 8vo, "per Joan. Oporinum, Basileæ, Anno Salutis humanæ MDLVII. mense Martio." There is a copy of it in the British Museum.

## APPENDIX No. XVIII. Page 5, line 6.

## LETTERS WRITTEN BY FOXE DURING HIS RESIDENCE AT OXFORD.

*(From the Lansdowne MSS. Vol. 388.)*

JESUS.

AD SHARPUM DISCIPULUM.<sup>1</sup>

Quanto sit ætas tua quam pro eruditione, mi puer, provecior, tanto te efficitur remos nunc urgere tuos necessum est, ut non annos modo quibus alios vivcis, sed æquales etiam tuos qui te literis longo antecedunt felici (quod aiunt) vento amneque exæques. Neque enim naturæ tuæ ingenium, sed ingenio industriam deesse video; quam si huic indoli parem adjunxisses, non ita impares in studio hoc literario cursus nunc tui viderentur. Sed desino tuam suggillare socordiam. Quicquid hic hactenus cessatum est, hoc mihi nolo imputari, qui non melius tuæ prospexerim supinitati. Sane tuum erit posthac, quando ego nihil remittam meo, siquid ipse in tuo claudicaveris. Satis huc usque dormitum abs te, satis oscitatum est. Nunc aliam tibi curam advertendam censeo, ut nucibus tandem nugisque relictis totum te studiis librisque manicipes; quâ in re si me audies, neququam tibi opem meam operamque defuturam senties. (Folio 83.)

EPISCOPO WINTONENSI<sup>2</sup> S.

Quam felix vita hæc esset mortalibus, præsul celeberrime, si ita vivere liceret, ut suis quisque munitis præsiidiis nihil haberet quo aliorum virorum gravaret potentiam. Quod ut Modestiae nostræ ac pudori semper optabile fuit, ita cum id non datur, spes datur tamen id non iniquo animo laturum te, si fortunâ adacti præter modestiam præter pudorem nostrum secus quam vellemus oneri ac molestiæ videamur tibi. Tibi inquam, possemus enim aliis: verum cum in petendis auxiliis non solum necessitatis sed et benevolentiae nonnulla habetur ratio, necessitas ab aliquibus petere, amor ad te accedere maluit.

Instituturus apud nos Collegium Regii nominis Cancellarius<sup>3</sup> nobiscum nuper egit, ut abdicatis Collegiis cum cæteris quibus eadem obtigerunt salaria extra Collegia in ipsius gregem remigremus. Quod cujus facit decreto incertum est: si publico, nihil resiliimus; sin suo tantum, rem ad te prius referendam ac cognoscendam censuimus, nihil diffisi quin id ubi cognoveris tuum non aversum in approbandâ re experiamur calculum; præsertim cum neque tam multi sumus, neque tam magnis ut alii cumulati salariis, ut vel eorum gregem magnopere augeamus, vel ut mediocriter nobis suppetat. Si Collegia reliquerimus, præsertim his temporibus, tum id expendat prudentia tua, quam iniquum sit, si amicis cognatisque, qui in copiis istis nobis comparandis sese penè ad inopiam redegerunt, nullam nunc pari officio referamus gratiam. Quod quo pacto sedecim aut viginti aurei queant, nullis aliunde adjunctis præsiidiis? Taceo vitæ scholasticæ cæteras curas ac penè infinita onera, quæ quoniam ipse in vitâ satis expertus es, per te abundè quæ quantaque sunt intelliges. Certè vel sola librorum supellex, quàm immensa res! quàm non exiguum requireret census saltem qui ex illo sibi bibliothecam exstructurus est! Paulo minus unus Augustinus annuam integram pensionem absorbet. Unde facili tibi conjecturâ constare potest, num abs re de retinendis Collegiis cogitemus. Jam quod ad solutiones publicas, ut de privatis nihil dicam, quid ad promotiones graduum, quid ad reliquam vitæ munditiem restabit? in quibus non omnia esse amplissima, non nobis tantum dedecori erit. Quid quod etiam apud nos officia nonnulli gerimus, publicisque Collegiorum negotiis præsumus: ut nullo pacto avum<sup>4</sup> hunc inde avelli [permittere] possemus.

(1) There is a Sharpe on the list of Demies at Magdalen for 1534, and Innocent Sharpe took the oaths as Demy in 1539; who might be the same, for if they were very young when first elected, they did not take the oaths for some time, perhaps years.

(2) The bishop of Winchester for the time being was and is the official Visitor of Magdalen College; and Stephen Gardiner was bishop of Winchester at this time.

(3) John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, formerly a Demy and Fellow of Magdalen College, was Chancellor of the University of Oxford at this time.

(4) "Avum" probably means Owen Ogleshorpe, the president of Magdalen College, who was appointed a canon of Christ Church, which the king was establishing out of Cardinal College.

Denique non desunt rationes, si liberet Sublimitatem tuam pluribus remorari. Verum cum neque prudentia tua nostris indigeat argumentis nec humanitas precibus, satis est haecenus rem tibi primis quod aiunt lineis aperuisse, ne nostris magis persuasionibus quam prudentiâ tuâ aut benignitate in impetrando innixi videamur. (Folio 84.)

COLENDO VIRO M<sup>RO</sup>. HARDINO<sup>1</sup> J. FOXUS SALUTEM.

In parandis munusculis rectè Seneca non quam honorifica sed quam apta ei cui mittuntur despicendum admonet. Illud enim τῶν χρημάτων σημεῖον (ut inquit Isocrates) ac ostentationis est, hoc grati pectoris ac prodesse volentis est. At mihi cum neque eximium quicquam dabatur quod te satis dignum mitterem, tum neque aptius occurrit aliud, quo vel animi mei erga te studium testarer, vel quo studiis gratificerem tuis, quam ut nostram hanc de Regno Dei meditativunculam, amici olim rogatu delineatam, tibi tanquam symbolum aliquod ac pignus nostræ in te voluntatis destinarem; cum et tu theologus ista libenter accipis, et ego in isdem versor libentissimè. (Folio 81 b.)

TO ALEXANDER NOWELL.

Ut mihi jamdiu in votis atque in desiderio summo fuit istic adesse tecum (Amicorum suavissime), ubi Nowellum meum præsens intueri et convenire possem, ita ubi hoc contigit minus, tamen per literas te videre et salutare volupe est; in quibus seu in speculo chartatario vicissim Foxum tuum etsi non ad pecula te invitantem, loquentem tamen ac memorem quidem tui licebit cernere. Siquidem ut vox animi character est, ita vocis rursus interpretes et organa sunt literæ. Verum optarim ego, Nowelle mi, non solum literas sed et vocem apud te loquentem dari, ut animi etiam studii que erga te mei itidem ut sermonis gustum queas capere. Verum istud alio posthac spero die. Interea vero id arbitratus sum officii mei interesse pro veteri amicitiae nostræ consuetudine, per literas tibi salutem dicere. (Folio 80.)

RICHARDO BERTIO<sup>2</sup> J. FOXUS S.

Trahit sua quemque delectatio, Ricarde suavissime. Alii opes, alii honores, admirantur, iisque summum felicitatis suæ finem metiuntur. Mihi vero semper id a puero insitum est, ut in æstimaendis hujus vitæ bonis nulla re perinde capiar ac amicorum acquisitione, præsertim qui docti sint literisque amici; hoc tui, Ricarde, similes. Quamobrem non putavi nunc committendum, ut amicum tam optabilem, quem mihi humanitas tua ac suavissima colloquia mihi conciliarunt, nunc silentio meo amitterem; maximè vero cum etiam præsens istic efflagitanti tibi adstipulatus sim, nullam me unquam remissurum si qua hujusmodi contingat ad te scribendi occasionem. Verum cum adeo hisce destituium quorum ad referendas literas opera uti licuisset, nimirum propter viâ opinor illius insolentiam, haud ita tibi mirandum est, si infrequentius ad te volent epistolæ: raræ enim felicitatis est, si quis in anno hic contingat, qui illas partes adeat. Alioqui, multo prius libentissimè ita per literas tibi egissem gratias ut par erat, pro tot istis singularis humanitatis tuæ in me officiis; quæ quanto majora meritis meis extiterunt, tanto magis summum quandam ingenii tui candorem declarant, quo erga amicos uti soleas, cum externos ignotos tanta comitate persequeris.

Atque utinam ita vicissim voluntati responderet facultas nobis, ut in referendis gratiis tecum paria facere liceret, tam facile ut mutuum hic propensionem lubenter offerimus. Atque ut posthac conabimur sedulo, ita spero interim abunde tibi acceptum iri quicquid nunc industriæ ac voluntatis ostendimus. (Folio 59 b.)

J. FOXUS PINFOLD<sup>3</sup>.

Cum Amicorum xeniola non tam splendida quam accommoda ei cui mittuntur, juxta Senecæ consilium, esse oporteat, Vir optime, atque diuturni jam amoris erga te nostri ceu symbolum aliquod parare volui; nihil habui accommodatius quod mitterem quam Zaccheum illum Evangelicum; vel quod is in Christo mire studiosus fuit, vel quod corporeâ staturâ perpusillus, utrobique tui non dissimilis; qui cum Christi gloriæ semper es deditissimus, tum corporis etiam mole non multum discrepas. Quapropter cum Evangelica hæc Zacchei historiola propter

(1) This was no doubt Mr. John Hawarden, fellow and tutor of Brazenose, Foxe's early friend and patron. He was chosen Principal of his College 27th Feb. 1547, and resigned 21st Jan. 1564.

(2) Richard Bertie: see above, p. 27 of the Life, note (2).

(3) Walter Pynfold was fellow of Magdalen 1534-1547.

insignem atque simplicem illius viri modestiam semper mihi cum primis arcano quodam genio applacuit, tum naturæ tuæ tam graphice competens, visum est amici gratia optimum virum penicillo nostro depingere, tibi que tabulam mittere, in quâ non illius solum sed tui ipsius etiam imaginem, et meam in utrumque propensionem, tum et Christi in nos omnes teneritudinem, descriptam contempleris. (Folio 82 b.)

M. CHIKEO<sup>1</sup> S.

Dici non potest, Chikee doctissime, quantum nunc ex itinere meo capio suavitate, postquam Inclytam hanc Aulam vestram imo Academiam potius, tot literatis prudentissimisque viris spectabilem, videre contigit. Tum multo vero magis, quando istis ita Christum florere video, verisque Christianis dignam cum pari conjunctam Solertia concordiam; ut non modo Angliæ nostræ sed et exteris imperiis fermè omnibus vel ad admirandum materiam, vel exemplar alioqui ad imitandum, sustulisse videatur. Atque ita demum rectissime mihi videtur convenire; ubi enim magis oportebat regnare Christum veramque religionem, quam illic unde omnis Ecclesiæ potissimum dependet administratio? undeque quam maximè exempla vel pietatis vel impietatis omnia in vulgus exire soleant? Quæ enim possit annium esse salubritas, fontibus ipsis vitiatas? Quemadmodum rursus capite modo incolumi facilius est partium reliquarum curatio. Verissimumque Platonis illud oraculum judico, Quales in republicâ principales, tales reliquos solere esse cives. Quo magis jam in spem atque in expectationem erigor futurum aliquando, ut nihil exile familia hæc Regno publico sit paritura. Quam tunc etiam spem adaugat non parum mihi, cum alia multa tum id vero plurimum, cum te ac fortunam tuam (Vir præstantissime) considero, ut interim de M. Tongeo Henseoque viris optimis nihil dicam; qui cum eum teneatis locum ut multum apud Principem philosophando prodesse poteritis; præterea ea prudentia doctrinaque accedit ut Republica sibi non nisi optima quæque de vobis tandem polliceatur. Ut utrum istas magis in vobis virtutes decantem, an nobis communem felicitatem gratuler, vix satis intelligo. Verum ut de te interim seorsum aliquid dicam (Chikee eruditissime): dicam equidem pace tuâ quod sentio (quamquam nunquam id quantum sentio a me explicari possit): dicam tamen unicum quod potero quiddam; quod etiam laudibus tuis a me deberi existimes. Tametsi colloquiis tuis frui satis ad votum non licuit, tamen simul atque rite te præsentiusque contemplatus sum, mores, vultum, habitumque considerans, (per musas) quanta majestas, quæ ingenii sublimitas ubique! (Folio 58 b.)

FOXES APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE<sup>2</sup>  
AGAINST HIS PERSECUTORS, ABOUT JULY 1ST, 1545.

JESUS . . . . . JESUS.

Quintus hic jam annus agitur, Reverende Præses, quod ego in procellis fluctibusque his accusationum atque judiciorum jactatus mersor; in quibus et antehac plurimas inimicorum querimonias criminationesque perpessus sum, et quas nunc possum profecto perpeti, si (quod illi antea solebant) ventrem tantum ac latera mea inesserent: verum cum caput nunc ipsum ac jugulum appetunt, et tempus et res ipsa ut pro me dicam admonent. Dicam pro me tandem igitur, atque eo sane liberius dicam, quod te in hoc tempore, Præses clementissime, causæ meæ cognitorem adeptus sum; cujus tanta prudentia cum summâ æquitate conjuncta, ut sæpe mihi hæcenus in re integrâ solatio fuit, ita nunc etiam subsidio adversa periculis meis fore non dubito. Pro quâ quidem prudentiâ ac æquitate tuâ te obtestor, ut quod semper antehac adversariis meis in Republicâ tuâ ad accusandum juris concessum est, eodem nunc mihi apud te uti ad defendendum liceat.

Venio igitur ad causam meam, dicamque pro fortunis meis necessariò, pro causâ liberè, te præsentè Liberrimè, ac iterum dico, Te præsentè Liberrimè. Nam perturbabat me illud antea non parum, Præses, quod tamen nunc—cum te adesse video—timere desino. Metuebam, ne quemadmodum antea judiciis istis decernendis non interfuisses, ne, te negotiis hinc tuis avocato, judicium ad alios devolveretur. Paratus itaque veneram ut omni contentionis vi questionem hæc cum adversariis disceptarem. Quod tamen nunc non faciam: te inquam judicante non faciam: novi enim imperium et tuum et aliorum. Alios non reprehendo: sed

(1) John Cheeke, afterwards Sir John Cheeke: formerly of Cambridge, now canon of Christ Church, and tutor in Latin to prince Edward.

(2) Owen Oglethorp, D.D. was President of Magdalen from 21st Feb. 1535 to 27th Sep. 1552.

hoc dico—neque enim quod sentio dissimulo—malle me iniquam apud te causam potius deprecari, quam apud alios veram dicere. Atque inde hic quæso te, Præses optime, quid naturæ tuæ ac dementiæ tribuam, animadvertite—quanta mihi in tuâ humanitate spes posita est, cum tantam mihi de te sumo confidentiam. Si alii iudicia hæc administrarent, sic agerem apud illos ut in iudiciis agi solet: sic causam persequer, ut mihi prius rationes quo ego causæ viderer defuisse.

Sic itaque contenderem. Dicitis me non audivisse missas: Nego. Templo non interfui: Nostro quidem interdum, fateor: sed in nullo me templo audivisse, id verè pernego. Hocque tum illi convincerent, non argumentis et Elenchis dialecticorum modo probabilibus, sed certis veris primis ac necessariis: testes producerent: accusatorem regis mandato ostenderent. Sed dicitis missarum tempore me libris incumbere: Si arguitis omnino, nego; si interdum, fateor: sed sacris tamen, quorum ego lectionem precationi, ne vacillet animus, intermisceo; quemadmodum et Basilius ille magnus consuevit: ibique de vero precandi modo cum iis contenderem. Sed absens fuerim à matutinis: At hoc mihi a Præsede condonatum est: ex eo me tempore abfuisse, nego. Sed sero frequenter accessi: Hoc in sano et otioso crimen est; at in infirmo animo atque ægro, minimè. At risi in templis aut petulantior fui. Non abnuerem fuisse hoc quidem levitatis, in senibus sanè indecentis, in juvenibus certè conviciendæ: at crimen fuisse id inficior: illique tum comprobabunt, cum ipsi in templis ridere desinent.<sup>1</sup> Ad hoc objicitis, me relictis philosophis theologos sectari: Atenim hoc Deo potius non mihi objicitur; quem si Ille huc invitum et nolentem obtortoque (ut aiunt) collo trahit, Quid? an quisquam tandem vestrùm est, qui Illius voluntatem reprehendat?

Sic igitur aut simili modo pro meipso, Præsēs, dimicarem, alii si iudicio huic præsiderent; tumque demum causâ cederem, cum victus cederem, aut pro me quod responderem non esset amplius: si illi inquam iudicio præessent, facerem. Te vero præsidente, non facio, nec volo facere. Atque etiamsi integrum fortassis satis foret, si facerem; tamen remissâ penitus controversiâ, ad misericordiam potius clementiamque tuam orationem omnem confero; nec tamen apud te velut iudicem, sed velut parentem dico.

Age, dic te hujus controversiæ iudicem. Quare, quid fecerim, an a sacris abfuerim, ubi fuerim, taceo; an in precando remissior, aut risu dissolutior fuerim, taceo; nihil respondeo: ne hæc quidem colligo, quæ pro me videntur etiam valitura, si adducantur. En ergo vobis, accusatores mei quicumque estis, confitentem reum, quod nunquam antehac in iudiciis solet fieri! En vobis quod semper optastis, convicta crimina, reum expugnatum et adductum, etiam si placet supplicem! Quid ultra exposcitis aut optatis amplius? Vide ac considera, quæso te, Præsēs clementissime, quo me lenitas tua deduxit et benignitas. Adversariis me dedi, causam indictam tradidi, crimina confessus sum, cervicem præbui supplicio exposui. Quid ergo? nullane nunc spes, nullum asylum restat? nullum ergo solatium, nihil habeo quo fretus sim? Nihil quidem, si modo istis sis similis hominibus, fateor. Verum cum tu istum animum moresque obtines, quos natura tua non tam tibi proprios quam ab iis diversos dedit, doctrina adauxit, tuque ipse mutare non potes, plurimum profecto habere me intelligo. Quid id ergo est? Uno verbo dicam, Clementia tua, Præsēs, et misericordia. Quod si modo aliis forte tenuè præsidium “statioque meis malefida periclis” videbitur, illis videbitur qui te non noverunt: mihi qui noveram et expertus sum, tantum est quantum nec illi suspicari nec ego invenire in illis aut in quoquam potero. Scio, Præsēs, ac novi te, novi istam præstantem et singularem naturam tuam; quæ nisi ea esset qualis et est et esse semper duxi, nunquam apud te isto modo causam egissem, contra morem et consuetudinem iudiciorum omnium: nunquam profecto deserto abjectoque ita defensionis clypeo ad misericordiam tuam procumberem; quæ si nullos recepit, frustra facio et recorditer; si plurimos, non debes sanè naturam tuam rejicere in ignoscendo, cum ego meam rejicio in confidendo. Quæ tamen si non ita essent, ut neque nossem te, nec causam traderem, nec supplex essem, tamen communis hæc humanitatis ratio quam ipsa Natura inseruit hominibus satis profecto mihi auxilium adferret ad sperandum. Nunc, cum eâ etiam facilitate natus es, quâ te natura tua non modo cæteris admirabilem, sed iis etiam impetrabilem effluxit, qui ne petunt quidem: Non potes tum me rejicere accedentem, non debes supplicentem, multo minus pœnitentem.

(1) What it was that moved Foxe's laughter, we may gather from his account of Julius Palmer, infra vol. viii. p. 206.

Attamen obstat hic mihi fortassis nonnihil accusatorum meorum auctoritas, simulque officii tui severitas. Volo igitur de utroque isto, Præses, pace tua pauca dicere. Ac primum de tuo officio. Equidem is nunquam fui qui putavi tollendam esse e Republicâ severitatem, cujus si nervos semel incidamus, profecto neque jam aut leges vim suam, aut Republica incolumitatem tueri amplius poterit. At qui misericordiam admiscet, non is statim severitati derogat: mea itaque semper fuit existimatio, ut crederem necessarium esse bonum in Republicâ severitatem, at virtutem pulcherrimam in homine misericordiam; ideoque nos si recte facimus severitatem legibus iudicio vero misericordiam referemus. Severitatem igitur legibus utunque tribuamus, certè semper propria iudicio erit misericordia; quam quisquis non adhibeat, videat ne, dum sese putet officio obsequi, suam contra naturam faciat. Quid enim legibus ferè est dissimilius quam vita populi, cum hic affectibus carere illæ affectus tolerare nequeant. Cui si iudicis tum accedat asperitas, quid hoc aliud erit, quam ad securim cotem addere ad civium cervices omnium demetendas. Itaque aut sunt aliæ leges populò describendæ, aut aliâ sani iudicis moderatione utendum est ad civium retineudam incolumitatem. Quod nisi satis per te ipse intelligeres, Præses elementissime, nunquam profecto quod semper facis istas misericordiam lenitatisque partes quas natura docuit tam libenter ageres, nunquam divinam hæc vocem quam in publico congressu omnes ex te audivimus tam suaviter expressisses, quâ singuli jubebamur, "Si quid erroris in vitâ mutuâ animadversum esset, sub amicâ potius commotione id suppressendum quam legum ac statutorum rigore tentandum esse?" Quo mediis fidius quid sanctius, quid Christianius, dici aut cogitari potuit?

Sed venio nunc ad Accusatores, quorum si modo Auctoritatem gravem apud te esse oportet, tamen hoc videtur mihi multo sese dignius fore, si Auctoritatem suam ad oppressorum potius salutem converterent, quam ad opprimendos miseros ac calamitosos abuterentur. Sed fortassis zelo quodam hoc commoti faciunt. Credo equidem; neque enim in præsentia sinistrius de illis quicquam suspicor. Sed parum interim attendunt homines parum periti, quod iniqui in vitam meam censors sunt, dum sibi volunt esse religiosi. Ac quæso te me diligenter audias, quo rem ipsam cognoscas clarius. Denuntiatum est mihi non ita multis abhinc diebus, referente id amico meo fidelissimo ac teste simplicitatis meæ, quod et ipse luculenter postea variis iudiciis expertus sum, nihil agere me mensibus iis compluribus, ne pedem movere quidem, quod non a magistris pluribus summâ observatione oculisque attentissimis excipiatur: adeo ut corporis omnes ac etiam digitorum motus quasi ad unguis teneant. Non quæror vitam meam ab illis observari aut custodiri, si quidem id ipsi faterentur, ut custodirent. Verum cum ita custodiunt ut pessudent vitam, aut fortunas muletent, neque zelo suo irretiant, hoc quis feret aut patietur? Habet vita mea, confiteor, flagitia multa vitiaque plurima, quæ non modo observatorem sed et castigatorem desiderant: verum aliud est castigare vitam, aliud venari crimina. Quod si zelo faciant pii homines, pios profecto prætextus et honestos laudo. Sed quæso, cur tam anxie tam curiosè in meam vitam inquirunt? aut cur solum in meam, in aliorum non item? An quia cæteri non habent crimina, aut me solum isti diligant? Minimè; sed quia ceteros non oderunt, non volunt lædere. Mihi quia favere nolunt, volunt lædere. Sed quid causæ precor, quod mihi minus faveat? An nunquam eos dieo aut facto offenderim? Nunquam certè. Sed quia me suspicantur novæ ejusdam religionis esse, et quasi alterius farinæ, suo videlicet fermento neutiquam convenientis. Sed unde id suspicantur? Nunquid quia unquam aut contentiosius absurdiusve a me disputatum audierunt? Nunquam. Quid ergo? Quia frequentiore in me in sacris literis vident. Hinc illa suspicio est, odium, atque accusatio. Sed hos ego imprimis obtestor, nequid hujus-modi falsò sibi persuadeant, nec animos inducant ut suspiceantur, hujus me ordinis hominum esse, qui fovendis sectis dissidiisque consecrandis appellunt animos: cum nulli vehementius quam mihi doleat tam misera hæc ac deformata Reipublicæ tuæ facies, quæ quo sit calamitosior, tanto magis iis enitendum fuit, ut pax potius amissa in Ecclesiâ diâ τῆς εὐμενοῦς παρακλήσεως reduceretur, quam per Accusationes intestina hæc discordiæ seminaria latius serpendo vagarentur. Quare cum nemo sit me a disputatoriis hæc factionibus et studio et voluntate alienior, nemo abhorret æque, non æquum sanè arbitror in me id recidere suspitionis. Una fides, una veritas, unus Jesus Christus, una salus totius mundi. Aliam ego factionem nec sector nec affecto. Tum quod ad sacræ Scripturæ lectionem attinet, si quis hoc mihi vitio esse vertendum putet,

is facti hujus rationem causamque cognoscat prius: tumque si videbitur [malè] factum, reprehendat. Itaque modo statueram, Præses, obsecutus huic tantæ opportunitati, rationem omnem studiorum meorum tibi reddere; vitæ ærumnæ commonstrare; quibus calcaribus ad literas evangelicas impulsus sum, significare: quæ satis scio si referrentur insolitâ quâdam admiratione obstupesceres; simul et factum albâ (quod aiunt) amussi comprobares. Verum cum altiorem hæc repetitionem requirerent, tæui causâ melius hisce rebus tibi referendis dabimus. Interim accusatoribus meis id satis sit; quos iterum atque iterum rogatos habeo, ut rem secum rectiore tandem mente reputent: si sibi in suorum corporum affectâ aut perturbatâ valetudine nullâ non curâ medicos comparandos putent, cur idem nobis in animi ægitudine non permittendum? cui si ullam ipsi medicinam in aliis literis quam in sacris afferre poterint, sententiam meam repudio. Sin nequeant, iniquum postulant, qui suis corporibus recreandis omnem adhibentes diligentiam, nobis ad animos consolandos concedendam nullam sentiant.

Verum enimvero et alii sunt præterea in hac tuâ Republicâ adolescentes, et præcipuè quidem Crouleius<sup>1</sup> et Cowperus<sup>2</sup> meus, quos oratione meâ præterire non debeo; qui cum in eadem sunt causâ in quâ ego sum, iisdemque adversariorum odiis infestantur, simili ita pœnitentiâ in perflugium hoc meum misericordiæ tuæ se recipiunt. Omnes itaque nos confisi huic lenitati clementiæque tuæ vitæ nostræ non defensionem sed confessionem, neque solum confessionem sed etiam accusationem, afferimus; fatemurque tibi, cum singuli sua habent complura vitia et labes satis graves, tum unum hoc est omnibus nobis commune, quod sive imperitiæ sive incogitantæ nostræ imputatum volumus. Etenim cum singulari hactenus pietate vestrâ, tum tuâ maximè tum aliorum magistrorum, hoc nobis indultum fuit, ut liberè atque impunè jam diu liceret nemine vestrum reluctante divinas nobiscum literas pertractare, nos tamen impunitate hac vestrâ tam immoderatè abusi sumus, uti id in contentionem potius contemptumque vestrum, quam in necessitatem ullam nostram fecisse videamur; quum videlicet neque ea a nobis obedientia neque charitas comitasque erga vos ostensa est, quantam vobis ostendendam esse ex literis sacris vestro etiam beneficio agnovimus—facinus ingens, diceas, et animadvertendum; sed et ipsi confitemur.

At ingens rursus misericordiâ lenitasque tua, Præses clementissime, quæ non tam solet sceleris gravitatem, quam committentis pœnitentiam plerumque ponderare. Propter quam ergo misericordiam tuam simul et spem nostram quam ergo te non immerito maximam gerimus, efflicti abs te rogitamus, ut errati hujus veniam culpæque nostræ liberationem impetrare liceat: non profecto rogatur, si non et puderet flagitii et pœniteret. Quod si ullum tempus dari tibi hactenus voluisti, in quo hanc generosam naturæ tuæ indolem et benignitatem civibus tuis testatam redderes, eorumque animos insigni aliquo beneficio aliquando tibi devicires, age nunc, te quæso, Præses mitissime, hocque cæteris illis monumentis misericordiæ tuæ quæ in hoc Collegio plurima abs te et egregia erant, velut perpetuum aliquod et palmarium adjice, quod libenter omnes nos perpetuo commemoremus. Dato hoc pœnitudini petitionique nostræ. Sive tandem ut misericordiæ tuæ acquiescamus, qui alioqui spem subsidii nusquam invenimus. Ne te ostendas hic difficilem, quem natura ipsa finxit facillimum. Crede mihi, nihil tam populare quam bonitas, nulla rursus in iudice spectabilior quam facilitas, nullâ re Christum assertorem nostrum Christiani referimus magis quam ignoscentiâ.

Age ergo, quæso te, Præses sanctissime, redige nos in gratiam non tuam modo sed eorum etiam quorum voluntates vel culpâ nostrâ, vel sinistrâ alioqui suspitione suâ, in nos offensæ sint. Nihil est enim quod magis cupimus, si fieri potest, quam ne schismata aut disputatoria ullæ factiones in Collegio hoc tuo, imo Jesu Christi, gliscant. Una quippe spes, una vita, unum nomen per quod omnes salvi facti sumus. Quid ergo, veterum hoc discordiæ abjiciamus, quasique Patris nostri omnes filii fraternâ dilectione nos mutuo prosequamur, mutuisque amplexibus invicem cohærentes communi pariter studio Patri Deo gratias ægere enitamur, qui victoriam nobis per filium suum Jesum Christum donavit, in quo feliciter beatèque et perpetuo vivimus semperque victuri sumus. Amen. (Foll. 63—58.)

(1) Robert Croule or Crowley was a Demy of Magdalen in 1539, and left with Foxe: see above, p. 5 of the Life, note (1). He was a very strong Protestant. See an account of him in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses; and the Index to the Parker Society's Publications. He was vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in 1560.

(2) Thomas Cooper was fellow of Magdalen 1539-1545, and left with Foxe. He was a very respectable Protestant, and became successively bishop of Lincoln and Winchester. See Wood's Athenæ, and Parker Society's Index.



LETTERS WRITTEN BY FOXE AFTER HE HAD RESOLVED  
TO RESIGN HIS FELLOWSHIP.TINDALLO<sup>1</sup> SUO FOXUS SALUTEM.

Magnâ nos sollicitudine atque errore liberavit huc nuper adveniens Otthius noster, Tindalle charissime; omnes enim ad unum perisise te credebamus; parumque abfuit quâ tibi exequiâ decernerentur, si quisquam esset qui tres obolos literarum pro animâ tuâ. Quidam te a Lincolnensibus suspectum, quidam à Judæis crucifixum, alii ob hæresim, alii ob æs contractum, tractum in carcerem existimabant. Simon coriarius cordatoris aliquanto spei nihil horum esse, sed in monasterium tuum pertæsum hujus sæculi resumptâ alicubi veste reversum, autumabat. Mea longè ab iis diversa opinio fuit, ut qui te pascendis hominibus jam diu defatigatum putavi jam corvos pascere. Nam quid aliud te quæso auspicari potui, cum tanto tempore neque nos reviseris nec sillabam scripseris. Equidem te vehementer laudo, cum istos audio, qui ita ab ineunte ætate amicos tuos contemnere didicisti, qui si ita quæstum strepitumque hujus mundi posses contemnere, jam pridem huc conjicio esses reversurus. Sed mitto tibi atque ignosco ista; atque tandem virum te repertum esse gaudeo.

Eram autem plusculos hos dies apud Lucium<sup>2</sup> illum, ac salutavi; sed nihil aliud quam salutavi, quippe non plusquam biduum apud eum commoratus: hominis ingenium ac mores non tam probo quam admiror, quo nunquam in vita quicquam vidi magis candidum ac magis aureum. Nec minus illa placet capiti suo respondens per omnia familia, talis qualem optare queam; denique nihil non ad votum atque sententiam animi mei faciens. Sed nosti domus illius situm quam undique deserta, montibus lucisque ab omni pene luce hominumque confluxu interclusa: Deinde vicinum habet annem quidem, sed undis perpetuo ferme stagnantibus, nisi quod singulis annis semel domum ipsam perluit, ut Nilus Ægyptum: Postremo habet Faulnerus cubiculum quod non hircum sed cloacam olet tam insuaviter, ut opus sit exectis naribus quisquis ibi habitare velit.

Scriptis ad me nuper Hugo Latimerus satis benignè duos aut tres mihi menses offerens, si ad ipsum commeari libeat: sed eo nunc omnia mea tendunt consilia, ut scholam mihi aliquam publicè institutam comparem, cui rei solum me liberum integrumque servo. Quod siquid tua in hac re possit opera vel apud heram vel alios, vel Otthium hunc, juva te quæso quod potes. Cupio vehementer ad te venire et convenire, sed decet pecunia. Salutant te nostri omnes. Candidum illud Caput vestrum, si est apud vos, meo nomine jubebis esse salvum. (Folio 119.)

CLARISSIMO VIRO M. CHICHEO J. FOXUS VITAM

ÆTERNAM. Trahit sua quemque oblectatio. Mihi semper e puero insitum erat, ut in expetendis hujus vitæ bonis haud aliâ re magis capiar quam doctorum familiaritate. Quæ res quantum affecerit animum meum vel id declarat, quod vix ulla Angliæ plaga sit, quam pedibus non perreptaverim, doctos viros, maximè si qui essent insigniores, investigandi studio; quos etsi hactenus nec paucos nec incelebres contigit reperire, quibus etiam tribuere multum solem; tamen necio quo pacto animus ne iis quidem omnibus adhuc expleri potuit, nisi te simul aliquando (Chichee omnium doctissime) convenirem. Qui etsi antea famâ non eras incognitus, tamen simul atque te præsentius contemplatus sum, mores atque humanitatem tuam considerans, tantum in te omnia famâ tuâ superiora perspexi quantum abest ut dignis encomiis virtutes unquam tuas proveham. Nam ut de humanitate tuâ nihil dicam (dicurus tamen aliquando), vel ex ipso aspectu atque vultu tuo, (per musas) quanta majestas, quæ ingenii sublimitas, ubique in ore et in oculis relucentes, quàm heroica indoles ac generositas, emicant. Unde abunde dabatur æstimandi copia, quæ quantaque esset virtus in te recondita, unde hæc specimina tam feliciter luxuriabant. Quibus naturæ animique bonis si industria par accesserit, aut me fallit augurium, aut ingens aliquod patriæ orbique miraculum tandem aliquando sis editurus; quo enixius nunc tibi entendum sentio, non solum propter hominum

(1) Can this be the Tyndall who, as "father John Tyndall, Carme or White Fryer," took his B. D. degree July 17th, 1531? (Wood's Fasti Oxon.)

(2) Mr. Lucy of Charlecote: see above, p. 8 of the Life.

expectationem tantam, verum et pro naturâ ipsâ, quæ veluti ducem te provinciæ literariæ designavit, ut Spartam idcirco hanc ornes tuam, ac literas toto jam orbe profugientes, in fidem ac clientelam tuam recipias; quæ nisi abs te tuique similibus vindicentur, quid superest nisi ut scribamus epitaphium Musis Gratiisque nunquam revicturis. Quippe ita nunc ubique obsidet imo occupat omnia barbaries artesque quæsturiæ, ut nullus sit locus liberalibus Oxoniæ, nisi quod pubes se movere incipit; ab aliis usque adeo Scoticis indormitur sordibus ac formalitatibus, ut si cum illis agas de fontibus Scripturæ Evangelicæ aut libris literisque senioribus te putent insauire. Quæ sane unica videtur mihi causa totius in religione nostrâ superstitionis; quæ cum vix aliud sit quam morbus rationis ac iudicii cæcitas, tum quo pacto possunt non cæcutire, qui nunquam se ad lucem rectoris literaturæ expergefaciunt? Verum de his posthac latius commentabimur. Hæc in præsentiarum habui, quibus et meam exprimere sollicitudinem erga honesta studia, et pariter tuum vellicare animum ad rem gerendam volui. Vale feliciter.

Atque ne omnino sine appendice adveniret epistola, adiecit qualemcumque otii nostri exercitatiunculam, non quæ tuis conveniret auribus, sed quam, nuper ad Theologum quendam sumptâ ex staturâ illius occasione conscriptam,<sup>1</sup> huc in sequente paginâ ad supplendum vacuum retulimus. Christus Celsitudinem tuam diu nobis ac Reip. Literariæ incolumem bonisque omnibus quotidie florentem provehat.

Dum hæc absolverem, jamque literas essem obsignaturus, nunciatum est mihi ab ipso hoc Zaccheo cui carmen donaverim, novam hic scholæ literariæ apud nos parari erectionem, Regio nomine et stipendio, ejusque moderatorem designandi jus penes esse doctorem Coxeum vestrum.<sup>2</sup> Quod si verum sit atque ille alteri non concesserit, quæso memineris Foxi tui, Vir humanissime, alioqui e Collegio ad Michaelis [festum] proximum propter rem presbyteralem emigraturi. Quod si mihi Scholæ hujus præfecturam vir optimus deligaverit, effecturum me confido, ut cum ego me multum, tum pubes Oxoniensis illi plurimum se debere faterentur. Iterum vale. (Folio 58 b, 111, 118.)

## OPTIME SPEI JUVENI RICHARDO BERTIO J. FOXUS PACEM ET VITAM.

Scripturienti ad te epistolam jamque meditantem argumentum aliud, Richarde optime, repente allatum est ab amicis—Regiam munificentiam scholæ hic ejusdem apud nos moliri institutionem; huicque negotio præfici doctorem Coxeum vestrum, in ejus manu sita sit moderatorem quem velit decernendi autoritas. Quo factum est, ut mutata rerum occasione mutatum quoque epistolæ argumentum, nimirum pro nuncupatoriâ petitoria mihi scribenda fuerat.

Quamobrem siquid in hac re possis (Richardè humanissime), quæso eam hic mihi accommodes operam in functione hac potiundâ qualem amicis præstas tuis, quibus juvandis natus sis et libenter juvare soleas. Ipsum illud cum M. Chikeo egi etiam in epistolâ obiter, ipsius efflagitans opem, quod potui, in eadem re: in quâ si tu etiam nervos intenderis tuos, futurum est ut vobis non tam multum sim debitarus, quàm libenter effecturus etiam fortassis aliquando. Quod si parem vobis non referat gratiam, promptissimum tamen referendi declarat animum. Sunt in manibus paginæ aliquot ad te mittendæ, quas ubi rescriperimus mittemus propediem, missuris etiam ad Benettum alias.<sup>3</sup> Spero me habere ex Solomonis Ecclesiaste argumentum Comædiæ nec inutile nec inamænum, quod simul atque lambendo paululum conformabimus tibi perpoliendam atque absolvendam committemus.

Herum tuum,<sup>4</sup> optimum virum, salute cumulabis plurimâ. Huic etiam de nostris impartiemus, cum licebit per otium. Salutabis meos istic amicos omnes, præcipuè Principis coquum primarium. Literæ ad amicos nostros si ad tuas manus pervenerint, singulas quæso tradendas cures diligenter. Christus indolem tuam iudies in majus provehat, Richardè dulcissime. TUUS FOXUS. (Folio 53 b.)

(1) See the letter above to Pinfold.

(2) Dr. Cox was at this time dean of Christ Church.

(3) At folio 85, Lansdowne MSS. 388, is a treatise or exhortation to the contempt of this world, addressed "to his cousin Benett," already sent to "good master Matthew by Salisbury;" see folio 85, 86, 87-92: originally composed in Latin.

(4) Bertie had entered the household of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor, and eventually earl of Southampton. See Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. i. p. 453.

J. FOXUS HEDLEIO SUO 5.

Salutem plurimam, Hedleie optime. Quemadmodum inter reliquas vitæ humanæ voluptates plurimum nos delectat cum amicis interdum sodalibusque nostris confabulari, ita saævè literarum ista officia atque epistolares amicorum inter se Appellationes nihil aliud videntur mihi quam præsens quasi quædam et expressa cum Amicis confabulatio, neque quæquam à vivâ ipsâ linguâ differentes, nisi quod hæc aures illæ oculos tantum exerceant. Quamobrem cum præsentiae tuæ modo hæc datur copia ut coram te conveniamus et colloquamur, per literas tamen ceu animi ac amoris erga te mei nuncios absente te, hoc est pristinae sodalitatæ amicæ multo charissimum salutare ac visere, volupe est; etsi certe nullum erat scribendi argumentum, tamen vel ut salutem tantum, vel ut silenti ingratitude detegeam. Mira profecto sunt hæc tempora in quæ incidimus, faciuntque ut mirari satis nequeam quem tandem exitum huic plusquam babiloniae confusioni Christus sit additurus. Usque adeo ubique nunc crescit pecuniæ ac terrestrarum rerum studium, ut cultus interim divini verbi jacet; cui etsi forte perpaucos intentos videas, ipsos tamen magis hypocrisi quam vero affectu fere afflatos reperias. Tum ita passim alget charitas, ac triumphat mundus quasi videatur clamaturus, aut inquit ille, 'Confidite quia ego vici Christum.' Quo magis te addocet tuique similes omnem adhibere medicinam mundo huic quotidie febricitanti, ut demum rededucatur ad sanitatem, si qua adhuc restat spes convalescentiæ.

Comœdiam illam de Tito et Gesippo<sup>1</sup> hoc autumno in manus cepimus et perfecimus. Huic vix plus profecto duobus mensibus dedimus: verum adhuc sub manu secundam limam subituram premimus: Eam doctori Henseo, si Deus volet, destinabimus. Apud vos si qua fuerit sella vacans pædagogica aut vacatura, sive quid aliud munus utile mihi aut accommodum, quæso, Hedleie mi, amico veteri tuique studiosissimo ut prospicias. Vale in Domino. (Folio 120.)

CLARISSIMO CHARISSIMOQUE VIRO D. HENSEO J. FOXUS IN CHRISTO

salutem. Statueram apud te prolixius accuratiusque de rebus communibus ac privatis quibusdam commentari, justoque literarum officio vel affectum erga te testari meum, vel in scribendo audaciam deprecari, ut consueverunt qui ignoti ad ignotos scribunt, præsertim ad tantos viros. Sed juvenis hujus plusquam præpostera iter maturandi celeritas prorsus omnem mihi longioris characteris copiam abnuerat: qui tamen quoniam istue proficisceretur, ne omnino vacuus literarum ad te veniret, oblatâ istâ occasiunculâ perfunctoriè saltem te salutare ac comicum hoc interim qualecunque carminis donusculem missitare libuit. Comœdiam Autumno hoc a nobis conscriptam ad secundam nunc limam hac quadragesima revocabimus, tibi que Deo annuente destinabimus.

Si qua scholæ præfectura est apud vos Excestræ, quæ moderatorem desiderat, quæso ut honesto suffragio tuo hic nos adjutos velis. Neque enim hic ultra Michaelis [festum] Statuto Collegii nostri commorari licebit, nisi in sacerdotale genus memet castrare ac præcipitare velim. Aut alioqui si in familiâ tuâ locum aliquem concesseris qui studia tua interdum forte expectaverit, nulli equidem lubentius meam maniciparem operam. Stipendium nullum capto, pecuniarum ac ambitionis semper naturâ contemptor maximus. Hunc si dignaberis patrocinio ac clientelâ tuâ, quæso per hunc juvenem tribus verbis significes. (Folio 80 b.)

COLENDO VIRO D. HENSEO

EXONIENSI J. FOXUS OXONIENSIS

Salutem

et gratiam. Scholasticorum aviditatem ut non defendo, ita nec coronam recuso tuam (vir liberal.); quam neque ita rursus affecto sordide, ut non multo tamen libentius [coronam] presbyteralem illam rasamque quam tu appellas sim recepturus, si aut tu Episcopus esses qui posses mittere, aut ego tam frigoris patiens ut tantâ pilorum jacturâ mihi accersendam arbitrarer (patere vicissim jocari tecum). Scholæ Exoniensis præfectum esse honestum virum gaudeo: quod doctum scribis

(1) The said Comedy, or rather Sacred Drama, is preserved at fols. 121-146 and 112-116 of the same volume of the Lansdowne MSS.

etiam gratulor, tum illi encomium hoc tam docti judicantis, tum vobis thesaurum tantum tam commendatæ eruditionis: tantoque impensius gratulor, quanto id magis communis patriæ religionisque nostræ referre intelligo, ut tales nobis quam plurimi contingant artifices, qui juventutis rectè fingendæ tractandæque rationem calleant. Quæquam neque de isto solum oppido interrogabam, sed de aliis quoque si qua istic apud vos juventutis essent feraciora, ut nunc ubique sunt omnia feracissima. Atque id mirum est, quod in tantâ hæc hominum annonâ ac fertilitate tantopere interim honestissimæ humanitatis artes omnes arescant. Sed spero tuâ tuique similium operâ brevi futurum (doctissime Mecænas), ut suos tandem aliquando literis cultus et literatis honos redeat. De familiâ quod scribis facile accipio excusationem tuam, agnosco enim temporum horum tempestates et angustias. Verumtamen utcumque temporum premat iniquitas tuque excusationes adferas, nunquam efficies ut non in familiâ tuâ atque in numero eorum qui tibi proximi sunt constantissimè quique ex animo tibi bene volunt, et censeatur et sentiatur Foxus, tuus semper, velis nolis, futurus. (Folio 82.)

JESUS.

JOHANNES FOXUS HEDLEO 5.

Non tam cæcus sum, Hedleie mi, qui tumultus atque rabiem hujus sæculi non videam; neque tam imprudens, ut me vel cum Empedocle in Etnam vel cum Calano illo in Caucasum hunc ultro præcipitem. Neque rursus necesse est, quisquis Collegiorum hæc ergastula deserit, mox ipsum in scopulos hujus mundi impingere, nisi forte in Collegiis tantum Christianorum portum constituas, atque loco ipso non animo Christianæ vitæ tranquillitatem metiaris: cum mihi contra nullum fretum nullus Euripus vel scopulosior aut tumultuosior videtur quam hæc Collegiorum cænobia. Non omnia quæ splendent, gemmæ illico. Denique quâ parte calcus hic me premit, Hedleie, nescis. Satis mihi hæc rationes omnes utrinque deliberatæ sunt: ne me putes juvenilem temeritatem potius quam iudicium sequi. Consilium tuum hand unquam asperror. Sed non eadem omnium Minerva, non idem genius, non natura similis. Et tu forsitan me non meo animo sed tuo potius metatus es, quum illud consilium ministras. Præterea Michaelis jam festum appetit, et nosti Statuti nostri decretum, neque libuit mihi hoc anno circumcidi. Si scholæ præfecturam nusquam contingat adipisci, equidem fiam alicubi Episcopus ovium. Filia tua nuper te avum fecit puelli pulcherrimi. (Fol. 117.)

## APPENDIX No. XIX. Page 87, note (2).

JOHANNES FOXIUS AD DANIELEM ROGERS.<sup>1</sup>

Quo acerbius animum meum disrueat miseranda filii mei calamitas, temporumque horum imo hominum potius indigna ingratitude, hoc magis me recrearunt mellissimæ tuæ literæ (mi Daniel), miram quandam vixque credibilem veræ amicitiae fragrantiam undique spirantes. Quo nomine æterno Dei filio æternas habeo gratias, qui inscrutabili consilio talem mihi nec opinanti nec promerenti excitavit amicum, quem in his rerum angustiis ne optare quidem potuerim auspiciorem. Atqui vero meum id erat potius omni studio omnique ambitionis genere ejusmodi Patroni amicitiam venari. Nunc quod multo ambitu mihi quærendum erat, id ultro pro ingenuâ tuâ pietate defers. Quæ tua benignitas, si in eum collata fuisset, in quo spes aliqua cerni posset redituri ad te beneficii, aut ejusmodi temporibus meis, quæ minus egerent amicorum præsidii, grati tamen animi dignissimum fuerat argumentum. Jam vero tam indigno homuncioni fracto atque depresso in mediis ærumnis dexteram hanc charitatis tam amice porrigere, quin nec amicitiam modo sed opem etiam operamque tam effuse ac cumulate polliceri scriptisque insuper literis tanquam syngraphâ confirmare, id ego humanitatis rarum exemplum

(1) This Daniel Rogers was the eldest son of John Rogers the martyr. He married Susan, daughter of his father's friend Nicasius Yetswiert (see above, Appendix No. XIV. note (1)), by whom he was introduced at Court; and he became one of the Clerks of the Council to queen Elizabeth. (See Chester's Life of John Rogers.) John Foxe was twice in trouble about his son Samuel, and both times applied for help to this family.

esse dixerim : id ego non tuum nec humanum sed divinum quiddam esse, nec abs te sed a divinâ potius providentiâ proficisci intelligo. Accipio itaque ; imo non accipio ; potius totum hoc tibi remitto, quod defers ; ut jam nec meus sis, neque etiam tuus, sed totus Christi sis. Qui nisi Christi revera esses, nunquam hæc effusa tua veraque Christiana charitas adeo se totam proximi commodis exponeret.

Macte igitur, mi Rogere, virtute, quam tu non e Philosophorum libris sed ex paternis vestigiis hausisse videris : Macte virtute inquam, pergeque eodem modo tui similis esse. Cui si consimiles permultos doctorum hodie haberent collegia, longe aliud nunc sæculum conspiceremus ; certe longe alio in loco res nunc meæ versarentur. Quanquam quod ad res meas privatim attinet, haud magni refert. Id magis dolet, in publicis collegiis gliscere hæc factionum et turbarum incendia, quæ nec Deo placeant nec prosunt ecclesiæ, tum multo minus ipsos profecto autores decent. Cæterum quoniam juvenes sunt, nihil diffido quin aut melior Dei gratia aut major ætatis accessio ad saniora aliquando consilia eos revocabit.

Interim quod ad me miserumque attinet filium, si quid nostrâ in causâ tua possit pietas, *δέομαι εἰς ἡμᾶς κύρωσαι τὴν ἀγάπην σου, ὡς οὐ σημείον ἀλλὰ τεκμήριον τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίας.* Apud D. Cantuariensem quam sim gratiosus, nescio : quod si dignabitur bona tua gratia hic mihi non deesse habebō gratiam. Ad D. Thesaurarium literas habeo quas brevi *ἐὰν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπιτρέπη* daturus sum : in his reddendis ut liceat operâ tuâ uti, rogo plurimum. Lond. August. 9.

Tuus et tuorum omnium in Christo,

JOAN. FOXIUS.

—Harleian MSS. No. 417, fol. 104, and again the same for substance at fol. 117.

*Facsimile of the Title Page of the Strasburg Publication, 1554.*

**CŌMMĒNTĀRĪI**  
RERVM IN ECCLESIA GE-  
starum; māximarumq̄; per  
totam Europā; p̄secutio-  
num, à Vuicleui temporibus  
ad hanc usq̄ ætatē descriptio.  
Liber primus.

*Autorē Ioānne Foxo Anglo.*

**HIIS INCALCĒ ACCESSER-**  
runt Aphorismi Ioannis Vuicleui, cum col-  
lectaneis quibusdā, Reginaldi Pecoki Epia-  
scopi Cicestrensis.

**Item, ὀμίσθησθαι quædam ad**  
Oxonienſes,

**ARGĒNTORATI**  
**Excudebat Vuendelinus Rhelius**  
**Anno M. D. LIII.**



# RERVM

IN ECCLESIA GE-

starum, quæ postremis & pericu-  
losis his temporibus euenerunt, maxi-  
marumq; per Europam persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei

Martyrum, cæterarumq; rerum si quæ insignioris  
exempli sint, digesti per Regna & natio-  
nes Commentarij.

## PARS PRIMA

*In qua primum de rebus per Angliam & Scotiam gestis, atq; in pri-  
mis de horrenda, sub MARIANUPER Regina, per-  
secutione, narratio continetur.*

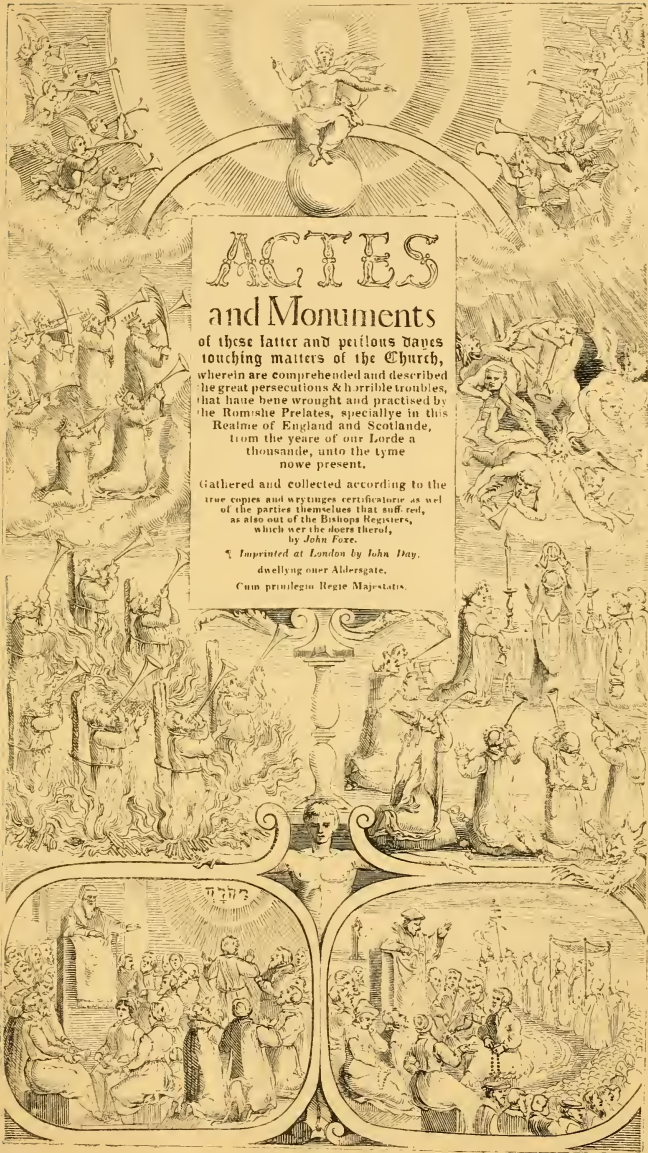
Autore IOANNE FOXO Anglo.



BASILEAE, PER NICOLAUM  
BRYLINGERVM, ET IOAN-  
nem Oporinum.







# ACTES

## and Monuments

of these latter and perilous dayes  
touching matters of the Church,  
wherein are comprehended and described  
the great persecutions & horrible troubles,  
that haue bene wrought and practised by  
the Romishe Prelates, specially in this  
Realme of England and Scotlande,  
from the yeare of our Lorde a  
thousande, unto the tyme  
nowe present.

Gathered and collected according to the  
true copies and wrytings certifiour as wel  
of the parties themselves that suffred,  
as also out of the Bishops Registers,  
which wer the doers therof,  
by John Foxe.

Printed at London by John Day,  
dwelling ouer Aldersgate.  
Cum privilegio Regie Majestatis.



ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

---

THE PREFACES,

&c. &c.

BY JOHN FOXE.



AD

# DOMINUM JESUM CHRISTUM

SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSIMUM,

EUCCHARISTICON

JOHANNIS FOXI.

---

CONFECTO nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auspiciis ac voluntate aggressus, summe et adorande Jesu, idemque Servator clementissime, inchoavi, quodque demum beneficio ac favore exegi atque absolvi, præter omnem certam opinionem et vires meas: superest itaque pro officio meo, ut animula hæc, ceu pro votivâ tabulâ, gratias, si non quantas debeat (utinam enim id possit) at quantas queat maximè, munificentissimæ tuæ persolvat Majestati; quæ tam miserum homuncionem, vel syphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantisque istis, qui vel asellum quemvis ἀχθοφόρον possent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno successu ac solatio tam clementèr suffulserit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic causari attinet, quæ vix æstimari à multis poterit; tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens Majestas, hujus quaecumque sit negotii confectio, quibus quamque non ferendis curis, vigiliis, molestiis constitit; quibus nullo modo pares futuri essemus, nisi faventis gratiæ tuæ numen affulsisset, ac sese quodammodo admiscuisset operi. Quidni enim fatear ac tester ingenuè, quod re ipsâ experti sumus? Persensimus enim, peneque oculis ipsis conspeximus, singularem excel sæ dextræ tuæ ἐνεργείαν non modo in successu negotii provehendo, sed in vitâ etiam spirituque inter labores conservando. Tui igitur muneris est, clementissime Jesu, quòd opus tuis susceptum auspiciis huc usque provectum sit. Nos vicissim, quod nostri sit officii, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum nostro privatim, tum publico quodammodo ecclesiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti causam martyrum tuorum æstimes, quando eorum illustrando nomini tantâ faveas propensione; quanquam verò, si nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non possent non omnibus modis esse illustrissimi, quorum sint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inscripta: et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majestas, nobisque innotescere hominibus, quàm honorificum sit pro tui nominis gloriâ fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, ut eandem cum gloriæ fœnore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm si ipsi nunquam alioqui perdidissent. Habet siquidem peculiare hoc sibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longè à mundo hoc diversum, quod in castris tuis militantes sive vivant, sive moriantur, multò clarescant à funere felicius, quam si vixissent maximè.

Auxilium  
Christum  
in concin-  
nando hoc  
opere.

Sic Cranmerum videmus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Johannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, cæterosque ejusdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto majore occubuisse cum gloriâ in acie tuâ depugnantes, quam si, relicta statione in quâ erant collocati, salutem ipsi suæ causam tuam postposuissent. Quæ enim gens, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetustas, quæ hominum posteritas, eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wiclevum nunquam, aut Cobhamum, natum fuisse existimasset, nisi tuâ in causâ tam

Felix ac  
gloriosum  
pro Chris-  
to mor-  
tem oppete-  
tere.

egressent strenue? Quanto honori illud Hussio Bohemensi, nostroque Tindato fuit, quòd vitam in evangelii tui causâ perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipsi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diversâ parte adversarios tuos, quorum tam multas esse constat cædes, injurias, crudelitates adversus tuos, multaque item occultè et scelestè ab iisdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam sperabant fore palam: et tamen quid unquam in angulis et tenebris ab illis est designatum tam occultè adversus ecclesiam, quod non in apricum produxit tua producatque providentia? Atque ita produxit, ut unde ipsi laudis sibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde summum sibi-ipsis dedecus pepererint et contumeliam, quam nec vitâ effugere, nec morte unquam finire poterint. Quis Guisos, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non novit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterebit dies, aut sepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tantâ multitudinem hostium tuorum recenseo? Cui unquam prosperè cessit tuo rebel-  
lare numini, aut hostium se ecclesie tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre et gloriosum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probrosius? Cardinalitium fastigium cøperunt primò admirari homines, multaque prosequi reverentiâ: sic monachorum et nonnarum collegia suum quondam habebant plausum apud plebem simplicem et credulam. At postquam sprêtâ veritate tuâ cøperunt grassari contra te, tuorumque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem sunt prolapsi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) ut reliqua fæx nihil aliud jam esse præter vocabula quædam ad ignominiam relicta videatur.

Hæc nimirum, sanctissime Domine ac Deus noster! justissimi judicii tui sunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æstimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est, in suo ipsorum regno, tantâ accumules infamiâ et dedecore. Sed omissis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus martyres, quorum nomine meritò à nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis et gratiarum tuæ debetur, simul et habetur, bonitati. Primùm, quòd in ecclesie tuæ causâ dimicantibus tam fortem et alacrem spiritum omnibusque tormentis majorem adversus parricidas papistas subministrasti. Deinde quòd et nobis in illorum desudantibus historiâ propitiis ad eò clementie tuæ favor affuerit. Debetur et hoc privati meo quoque nomine singulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem in hæc tantâ, quantum tu solus novisti, laboris immensitate conservatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amori, quòd beatorum martyrum tuorum, quos mundi hujus ad flammam et cineres adegerit perversitas, causam et innocentiam, velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiamque ecclesie tuæ revocare ac patefacere dignatus sit. Etsi enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo judicio tuo, quum virtutes cælorum movebuntur, omnis eorum adamussim excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hic quoque in ecclesie tuâ causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos uberior gloria, ad nos interea major redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide, ac patientia constare poterit, non quid ipsi solum fecerint, sed quid et nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

Sed hic rursus, dulcissime Jesu! opus est benigno favoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filii martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè majores nostros imitari conveniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine reliquerunt, libertatem: quâ etiam ipsâ nimium abutimur intemperanter, ut jam periculum sit, ne non filii modò martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim intersit discriminis, quàmque prorsus disconveniat ordine toto nostra consuetudo ab illorum vestigiis et disciplinâ, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, ejus nihil non perspicit Majestas ac intuetur, quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui cætera quæque adeoque seipsos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desideriis flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula undique imminentia opibus congerendis, multoque minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrâ verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, omnisque adeo contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur et ambitus? Ac illi quam præclare secum actum putagent, si vel vivere modò licuisset. Ideoque multi finire eorum, qui Mariæ reginæ facultates et possessiones omnes adusque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solam ipsis remitteret conscientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec minus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, sacerdotiis,

Papæ nomen nunc probrosum, Cardinalium, Monachorum, Nonnarum, nomina ad ignominiam nunc relicta.

Deploratio nostrorum temporum.

Quanta degeneratio nostrorum nunc hominum, ab exemplis superiorum martyrum.

consuque dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus et inimicos, non ut vivamus solùm, verùm ut sublimes vivamus et honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quantam constantiam, quam animi alacritate perpessi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam omnem Deo remittentes, cui et causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos adversariorum dejicere, nec minas frangere, non ludibria movere, non pericula, non tormenta ulla consternere, nec delinire blanditiæ potuerunt.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his molliem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam levis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quæ non illico præcipites ac transversos rapiat in avaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, et in quid non malorum? Quæ tam levis objici poterit injuriola, pro quâ non cælum terræ miscemus, mariaque turbamus ab imo? Ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, ut mortem simus unquam tuam causam subituri, si quando res martyrium flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare jussu velimus. Quapropter ut martyrum quidem illorum causam gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto; ita nostram vicissim causam deprecamur, ut qui largitus sis ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires, sicque ecclesie tue affulgeat tua gratia; nec ubi seducti hujus mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinendam evangelii tui victoriam, quam illi in comparandam strenui, videamur. Postremo, quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in eam re operam studiumque posuimus, quo facta gesta que sanctorum tuorum, sanctissime Jesu! ad nominis tui gloriam et in commodum ecclesie publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulque historie tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus; cui et opus ipsum totumque me ipsum, quem tot modis tue misericordie debeo, toto corpore et animam totisque viribus commendo, dedico, consecroque: cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox et lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes ecclesias tribuat personetque! Amen.

Neces- a-  
ria prec-  
tio.



TO

THE QUEENE'S MOST EXCELLENT MAIESTIE,

## QUEENE ELIZABETH,<sup>1</sup>

By the grace of God Queene of England, Francke and Ireland, defendour of the faith, and supreme governour of the saide Realme of Englande and Irelande, next under the Lorde, as well in causes ecclesiasticall, as also to the temporall state appertaining, her humble subject JOHN FOX hartely wisheth and desireth with increase of Gods holy spirite and grace, long to florishe and reigne in perfect health, and much honour, through the mercie and favour of Christ Jesus, our Lorde and æternall Saviour, to the comfort of his church, and glorie of his holy name.

CONSTANTINE the greate and mightie Emperour, the sonne of Helene an Englyshe woman<sup>2</sup> of this youre Realme and countrie (moste Christian and renowned Prynccesse Queene Elizabeth) after he had pacified and established the church of Christ, being long before under persecution, from the tyme of our saviour Christ almost 400 yeres: and comming in his progresse at length to a citie called Cæsaria (where Eusebius wryter of the Ecclesiasticall story was then placed Byshop) required of the sayde Eusebius upon his owne free motion, to demaund and aske of him what so ever he thought expedient or necessary for the state and commoditie of his Churche, promising to graunt unto him the same, whatsoever he should aske, which Eusebius, if he had then required what terrene benefite soever he would, either of possessions to be geven, or of impositions to be released, or any other lyke, &c. he had no doubt obtained his request of that so lyberall, and so noble harted Emperour. But the good and godly Byshop, more neddy then greedy, more spiritually geven, then worldly minded, who had learned rather to take a litle, then to aske much, setting all other respectes aside, made this petition, onely to obtaine at his maiesties hande, under his scale and letters autentique, free leave and license through all the monarchie of Rome, going to all Consulles, Proconsulles, Tribunes, and other officers in all cities and countries, to searche out the names, sufferinges and actes, of all such as suffered in al that time of persecution before, for the testimonie and faith of Christ Jesus. The number of all whiche holy and blessed Martyrs, upon the sayd licence being searched out, amounted to the accompt, for every daye in the Calendary to be ascribed (as Hierome<sup>3</sup> wryting to Chromatius and Heliodorus doth wytnesse) fiftie thousande Martyrs, saving only the first daye of January excepted. For that day beyng assigned to the chousing of their Consulles, was therefore festively solemnized throughout all the Romaine Empire.

(1) From the prefatory pages of Edit. 1563, omitted in all subsequent editions.—Ed.

(2) See Fuller's Ch. Hist. book i. cent. iv. § 15.—Ed.

(3) This was a rather common notion in less "undutiful" times than the present. In the "Liber Festivalis," for instance, it is remarked: "For many sayntes dayes in y<sup>r</sup> yere we leuen unserued for there be so many that we may not serve echone by hemselfe. For as Jherom saythe, that there ben for eche day in the yere x thousande martyrs, out take the fyrst day of January." fol. cxviii. (misprinted cvxiii.) Edit. Paris, 1495. See Fox, vol. i. p. 394.—Ed.

In whiche Historie (moste excellent and noble Queene) two thynges put me in a variable doubt, whether of these two rather to commend and extolle: the good Emperour, or the godly Byshoppe: the one for his Princely proferre, the other for his godly and syncere petition. The Emperour for his rare and syngular affection in favouring and furtherynge the Lordes church, or the Byshoppe in zealyng the publike busines of the Lorde, before the private lucre of hym selfe. Certes in bothe together may to us appeare, what all maner estates may learne to knowe: not onelye what in those dayes was done, but also what ought nowe to be followed. In the Byshop is to be noted: the goodes and ornamentes of the Church cheifly to consist, not in Donatives and patrimonies, but in the blood, actes and lyfe of Martyres, the seeking and settinge foorth whereof ought to occupie the studie of true Christian Byshoppes. In the Emperour also we beholde howe studiously the Nobilitie in those dayes were set to tender the state and utilitie of the Church, and the Ministers of the same; in gevyng to them, not in takyng from them, yea, in preventing their shamefast modestie, with their Princely liberalitie. Such was then the carefull affection of them in those dayes towards the Lorde, that it rebounded also unto his church, and ministerie thereof, in furnishing and in gratifying them, in larging them, in privileging and enrichyng them with ample giftes and Princely benefites, that the lyke affection hath rare ben founde since those dayes: as may appeare in that whiche the Romaine church at this present calleth the donation of Constantine, whiche although it be forged and counterfeited of them selves (as no doubt it is) yet it can not be denied, but that Emperours and Princes were in those dayes Patrones highly beneficial unto the same. Would God the other for their partes had agayne been as moderate in not abusing so great liberalitie upon them bestowed. But of this fewer wordes the better, neither is this the purpose why I do inferre the historie. Wherefore then pertaineth the illation thereof, your maiestie perhappes will muse? Forsoth for two causes speciall.

For first thinking with my selfe to wryte to your Maiestie, as duetie byndeth in the Preface of this boke: then againe pondering with my selfe the famous actes, the memorable doinges, the Princely proceedinges of your grace, and conferringe the same with the like valiaunt factes of that worthy Emperour, I could not enter mention of the one, but must nedes wryte of the other. Such is the mercifull goodnes of almighty God upon his poore afflicted creatures, that though he suffer sometyme the Tyraunt to rage, and the Hypocrite to reigne for the iniquitie of the people, yet some tyme againe, the same hande of the Lorde whiche woundeth, healeth; that presseth, refressheth; that striketh, salueth againe, to make amendes withall. What a sore and dreadful hand of the Lorde in the primative tyme of the church was sene under so many persecuting Emperours, and cruell consules? At length the Lord sent this mild Constantinus, to cease blood, to staye persecution, to refreshe his people. In much like maner what bitter blastes, what smarting stormes have been felt in England duryng the space of certaine yeares, till at last Gods pitifull grace sent us your Maiestie to quenche fier brandes, to asswage rage, to releave innocentes. What a multitude of godly Martyrs were slayne before the tyme of the sayde Constantine, is partly above declared. And likewise what a nombre also before your graces happie reigne were murdered, in this present historie here following is comprehended. Over and besides, to compare tyme with tyme, and place with place: what was in his tyme founde so happie, for whiche we have not as great cause nowe to blesse God in this so gracious a tyme of yours. For as God gave then great reaste to his Church by the reigne of him: so hath it pleased the Lorde with no lesse aboumdance of peace to blesse us by the meanes of you.

The successe of his affayres I graunte was great; and no lesse have wee to geve prayse to God for the marvelous workes brought to passe by you. In considering likewise howe beneficiall, howe carefull, howe bountefull hee was to the Church of the Lorde: although the like Donations have not yet appeared in giftes given by youre grace unto the Church, yet the same care and tendernes of harte in youre Maiestie hath not been lacking: what mekenesse and clemencie was in that noble and great Emperour, whiche is and hath not bene greater in you?

Briefly let Constantinus be never so great: yet wherein is your noble grace

to him inferiour? in many thinges equal, in this superior, for that Constantinus, being only but an helper unto the persecuted, your highnes hath dispatched that persecution from other, under whiche ye were entangled your selfe: and that chiefly (what so ever they pretended) for the truthe of your profession: wherein your grace hath more to rejoyce than in any other thing els beside. For if it be true that Hierome saith *Martyrum passio, triumphus dei*,<sup>1</sup> then what cause have you to rejoyce in the Lorde, when you cause the Lorde to triumph in you? And for so muche as I have begonne to compare, and yet my penne can make no end, this further I wyll adde, that the aide and succour of the saide Constantine in healing the persecuted church, though it was great and worthy commendation, yet reached it no further then his owne dominions.

Here nowe if it were not for suspicion of flatterie, I could recite, not onely what we at home, your natural and loving subjectes: but also what other forraigne Realmes abroad have received by your grace, or rather by Gods grace in you: as neyther the Realme of Scotlande, nor yet of Fraunce to this daye wyll or can deny the same. Of the whiche two Realmes whiche had alwayes been before contrary and mortall enemies to this Realme of Englande, the one of them being so greatly entangled with forraigne enemies, as without your Princely helpe, they were lyke utterly to have been overthrown, must nedes therefore, and do no lesse, I dare say, recompt them selves bound to your Maiestie, then their libertie and cuntry is worth. The other likewise, if their tongues here present myght with one voyce declare, what their hartes inwardly do thinke, no doubt they wold hold up their handes to heaven, and blesse the Lord for the goodnes they have and doe receyve by your gracious meanes. But of this enough, and more perhaps then will be thought to be spoken of simplicitie. But I had rather with suspicion of flatterie to discharge my deutie; then with scrupulous silence to be founde ingratefull.

The second and principall cause why I have induced this foresayde matter of Constantine and Eusebius, is this: for that your Maiestie in markyng the humble petition of the Byshop, and the gentle graunt of the Emperour, maye the rather be intreated to accept this my poore and simple endeavoure, in setting forth this present history, touching the Actes and Monumentes of suche godly Martyrs as suffered before youre reigne for the like testimonie of Christ and his truth. For if then such care was in searching and setting forth the doynges and Actes of Christes faithfull servauntes, suffering for his name in the primitive tyme of the Church; why should they now be more neglected of us in the latter church, such as geve their blood in the same cause and like quarell? For what should we say? Is not the name of Christe as precious nowe, as then? were not the tormentes as great? is not the cause all one? And if the adversaries wyll saye contrarye and repugne agayne, alleaging that those in the primitive tyme suffered then for Christ, these suffered not for Christe, but for Heresie: I wyll answer them againe as Martine Luther answered unto the Pope. Let the Pope, sayd he, and his Popelinges graunt Christ onely to be my Saviour, and that the fayth onely in Christ justifieth a Christian man, I will take him for a good Byshop, and his religion to be ryght. But that he wyll never do, so long as he is Pope. For Pope holy, and fayth onely, can not otherwyse joyne together, but that all his idolatrous worship, his superstitious merites, and trifling traditions must nedes geve place, and lose their autoritie. For in these three I recompte all the Popes whole religion to consist, but of this enough.

Nowe returning agayne to our purposed matter and followyng the example of Eusebius this worthy Byshop, although I can not atcheve that so perfectly as he hath done, yet have I laboured and travayled according to my infirme habilitie, what I may, in collecting and setting forth the actes, fame and memorie of these our Martyrs of this latter tyme of the church, whiche according as my dutie doth bynde me, next under the Lorde, I offer and present here unto your Maiestie, humbly desyring, and nothing yet misdoubting, but that your highnes and singuler clemencie, likewise followyng the steppes of that noble Constantine, with no lesse propensitie of favoure and furtherance, wil accept and also assiste these my laborious travailes to the behoufe of the church, against the importunitie of the malignaunt: if peradventure any suche spurners against the truthe shall appeare, as I feare they wil, bending them selves to

(1) Hieron. Hedibiaz, Quæst. XI; tom. iii. p. 354, edit. 1616.—Ed.

maligne and detracte the doinges hereof, as they do all other thinges, being contrary to their corrupt religion and affection, except your graces assistaunce shall releave and defense<sup>1</sup> me against the same: who in so doing not onely shall make me thinke my paynes and labour herein the better bestowed: but also shall encourage, by the same your princely benignitie, both me and all other my fellowe brethren to proceade (the grace of the Lorde so assisting us) in further travayle, to accomplyshe that whiche our diligence can extende unto for the use of Christes church, utilitie of your Realme, and the glorie of his

holy name: to whom as we geve moost hartie thanks for exalting

your maiestie out of your adversitie; so we

beseche him to conserve you in longe

prosperitie, with the dayes not only

of Constantinus reigne, but

so with them whose reigne

hath been longest in any

commonwealth.

*Vivat Regina in Domino.*

Your Maiesties faithfull and humble subject in the Lord.

J. FOXE.

(1) Foxe might well be anxious to anticipate any evil consequences to himself, when a Priest could utter his mind in manner following respecting his Queen: "Sed et digna incesto eodem patre atque fratre (Henry VIII. Edward VI.) incesta simul soror et filia, quæ hodie etiam regnat Anglicana Jezebel, quæ nec pervenire ad apicem istum *putidissima bellua* potuisset, nisi mira hypocrisis impietatem suam spirante ac vivente Maria catholica Regina oculere didicisset." Boucher *De justa Henrici tertii abdicatione e Francorum regno*, libri iv; Paris. 1589. fol. 195, verso. See Bayle's Dict.

TO THE

RIGHT VIRTUOUS, MOST EXCELLENT, AND NOBLE PRINCESS,

## QUEEN ELIZABETH,

Our dread Lady, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of Christ's Faith and Gospel, and principal Governor both of the Realm, and also over the said Church of England and Ireland, under Christ the Supreme Head of the same, etc., JOHN FOXE, her humble Subject, wisheth daily increase of God's Holy Spirit and Grace, with long Reign, perfect Health, and joyful Peace, to govern his Flock committed to her Charge; to the Example of all good Princes, the Comfort of his Church, and Glory of his blessed Name. 1

CHRIST, the Prince of all princes, who hath placed you in your throne of majesty, under him to govern the church and realm of England, give your royal highness long to sit, and many years to reign over us, in all flourishing felicity, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting joy of all your subjects. Amen!

When I first presented these Acts and Monuments unto your majesty (most dear sovereign, queen ELIZABETH, our peaceable Salome!), which your majesty's rare clemency received in such gentle part, I well hoped that these my travails in this kind of writing had been well at an end, whereby I might have returned my studies again to other purposes after mine own desire, more fit than to write histories, especially in the English tongue. But certain evil-disposed persons, of intemperate tongues, adversaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Christ to have been new-born again, and that Herod, with all the city of Jerusalem, had been in an uproar. Such blustering and striving was then against that poor book through all quarters of England, even to the gates of Louvain, so that no English Papist, almost in all the realm, thought himself a perfect catholic, unless he had cast out some word or other to give that book a blow.

Whereupon, considering with myself what should move them thus to rage, first I began with more circumspect diligence to overlook again that I had done. In searching whereof I found the fault, both what it was, and where it lay; which was indeed not so much in the book itself (to say the truth) as in another certain privy mystery and working of some; of whom John of Avenine shall tell us in his own words, and show us who they be: "Quibus," says he, "audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est, nullus faciendi quæ audire erubescunt. Illic, ubi opus, nihil verentur; hic, ubi nihil opus est, ibi verentur," etc. Who, being ashamed belike to hear their worthy stratagems like to come to light, sought by what means they might the stopping of the same. And because they could not work it *per brachium seculare*, "by public authority," (the Lord of heaven long preserve your noble majesty!) they renewed again an old wonted practice of theirs; doing in like sort herein, as they did sometimes with the Holy Bible in the days of your renowned father of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth: who, when they neither by manifest reason could gain say the matter

(1) Prefixed to the Edit. 1570, and all subsequent editions.—Ep.

contained in the book, nor yet abide the coming out thereof, then sought they, by a subtle devised train, to deprave the translation, notes, and prologues thereof, bearing the king in hand and all the people, that "there were in it a thousand lies," and I cannot tell how many more. Not that there were in it such lies in very deed, but that the coming of that book should not bewray their lying falsehood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make exceptions themselves against it; playing in their stage like as Phormio did in the old comedy, who, being in all the fault himself, began first to quarrel with Demipho, when Demipho rather had good right to lay Phormio by the heels.

With like facing brags these catholic Phormiones think now to dash out all good books, and, amongst others also, these Monuments of Martyrs: which godly martyrs as they could not abide being alive, so neither can they now suffer their memories to live after their death, lest the acts of them, being known, might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruel murders to detestation; and therefore spurn they so vehemently against this book of histories, with all kind of contumelies and uproars, railing and wondering upon it. Much like as I have heard of a company of thieves, who in robbing a certain true man by the highway side, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more than he would be known of, they cried out of the falsehood of the world, marvelling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men. Even so these men deal also with me; for when they themselves altogether delight in untruths, and have replenished the whole church of Christ with feigned fables, lying miracles, false visions, and miserable errors, contained in their missals, portuses,<sup>1</sup> breviaries, and summaries, and almost no true tale in all their saints' lives and festivals, as now also no great truths in our Louvanian books, etc.; yet notwithstanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceive them, they pretend a face and zeal of great verity; and as though there were no histories else in all the world corrupted, but only this History of Acts and Monuments, with tragical voices they exclaim and wonder upon it, sparing no cost of hyperbolical phrases to make it appear as full of lies as lines, etc. Much after the like sort of impudency as sophisters used sometimes in their sophisms to do (and sometimes is used also in rhetoric), that when an argument cometh against them which they cannot well resolve indeed, they have a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragical admiration, whereby to dash the opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand the same to be the weakest and slenderest argument that ever was heard, not worthy to be answered, but utterly to be hissed out of the schools.

With like sophistication these also fare with me, who, when they neither can abide to hear their own doings declared, nor yet deny the same which they hear to be true, for three or four escapes in the book committed (and yet some of them in the book amended), they, neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding that they read, inveigh and malign so perversely the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my accusers I do not so excuse myself, nor defend my book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended. Therefore I have taken these pains, and reiterated my labours in travailing out this story again; doing herein as Penelope did with her web, untwisting that she had done before:—or, as builders do sometimes, which build and take down again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger; so, in recognising this history, I have employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand, partly also to assay, whether by any painstaking I might pacify the stomachs, or satisfy the judgments of these importune quarrellers:—which nevertheless I fear I shall not do, when I have done all I can. For well I know, that all the heads of this hissing Hydra will never be cut off, though I were as strong as Hercules; and if Apelles, the skilful painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning upon a piece of work, which no good artificer would or could greatly reprove, yet was not without some controlling sutor, which took upon him *ultra crepidam*, much more may I look for the like in these controlling days.

Ne sutor  
ultra  
crepidam.

(1) The "Portesse" was the breviary, which contained not only the office of the mass, but all the services except the Form of Marriage. See Ellis's "Original Letters," as quoted in Mr. Russell's Notes on Tyndale's Works. p. 496; Lond. 1831.—ED

Nevertheless, committing the success thereof unto the Lord, I have adventured again upon this story of the church, and have spent not only my pains, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did, so again I exhibit and present the same unto your princely majesty; blessing my Lord my God with all my heart; first, for this liberty of peace and time, which, through your peaceable government, he hath lent unto us for the gathering both of this and other like books, tractations, and monuments, requisite to the behoof of his church, which hitherto, by iniquity of time, could not be contrived in any king's reign since the conquest, before these halcyon days of yours. Secondly, as we are all bound, with public voices, to magnify our God for this happy preservation of your royal estate, so, privately for my own part, I also acknowledge myself bound to my God and to my Saviour, who so graciously in such weak health hath lent me time, both to finish this work, and also to offer the second dedication thereof to your majesty; desiring the same to accept in good worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthiness of the thing given, yet as a testification of the bounden service and good will of one, which, by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to give.

And though the story, being written in the popular tongue, serveth not so greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned, yet I shall desire both you and them to consider in it the necessity of the ignorant flock of Christ committed to your government in this realm of England; who, as they have been long led in ignorance, and wrapped in blindness, for lack especially of God's word, and partly also for wanting the light of history, I thought pity but that such should be helped, their ignorance relieved, and simplicity instructed. I considered they were the flock of Christ, and your subjects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and having as dear souls to the Lord as others; and, though they be but simple and unlearned, yet not unapt to be taught if they were applied.

Profit to  
be taken  
by ex-  
amples of  
christian  
martyrs.

Furthermore, what inconvenience growth of ignorance, where knowledge lacketh, both I considered, and experience daily teacheth. And therefore, hearing of the virtuous inclination of your majesty, what a provident zeal, full of solicitude, you have, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all quarters and countries of this your realm with the voice of Christ's gospel and faithful preaching of his word, I thought it also not unprofitable to adjoin, unto these your godly proceedings and to the office of the ministry, the knowledge also of Ecclesiastical History, which, in my mind, ought not to be separate from the same: that like as by the one, the people may learn the rules and precepts of doctrine, so by the other, they may have examples of God's mighty working in his church, to the confirmation of their faith, and the edification of christian life. For as we see what light and profit cometh to the church, by histories in old times set forth, of the Judges, Kings, Maccabees, and the Acts of the Apostles after Christ's time; so likewise may it redound to no small use in the church, to know the acts of Christ's martyrs now, since the time of the apostles, besides other manifold examples and experiments of God's great mercies and judgments in preserving his church, in overthrowing tyrants, in confounding pride, in altering states and kingdoms, in conserving religion against errors and dissensions, in relieving the godly, in bridling the wicked, loosing and tying up again of Satan the disturber of common-weals, in punishing transgressions, as well against the first table as the second;—wherein is to be seen idolatry punished, blasphemy plagued, contempt of God's holy name and religion revenged, murder, with murder, rewarded, adulterers and wedlock-breakers destroyed, perjuries, extortions, covetous oppression, and fraudulent counsels come to nought, with other excellent works of the Lord: the observing and noting whereof in histories minister to the readers thereof wholesome admonitions of life, with experience and wisdom both to know God in his works, and to work the thing that is godly; especially to seek unto the Son of God for their salvation, and in his faith only to find that they seek for, and in no other means. The continuance and constancy of which faith the Lord of his grace and goodness grant to your noble majesty, and to his whole beloved church, and all the members of the same to everlasting life. Amen.

What use  
cometh by  
reading of  
histories.

AD DOCTUM LECTOREM,

JOHANNES FOXUS.

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COGITANTI mihi, versantique mecum in animo, quàm periculosæ res aleæ sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculosque multorum subeat, his præsertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibusque, ubi tot hominum dissidiis, tot studiis partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, et criticorum sannis fervent fere omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspectè scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbeati profecto felicesque videntur ii, quibus eum vitæ cursum tenere liceat, ut in otio viventes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in theatro otiosi sedentes spectatores, ut nullum interm ipsi vel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me verò, nescio quo pacto, longe diversa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio; quippe cui nec fortunæ illam felicitatem, in cujus complexibus tam multos suaviter foveri video, nec otii amœnitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare, in continuo laborum ac negotiorum fervore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortunâ parum queror, quam semper contempsi; quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modò labores ii tantum vel prodesse vel placere cæteris possent hominibus, quantum me privatum atterant incommòdentque. Nunc ad meæ infelicitatis cumulum accedit insuper, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod, præter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, præter linguæ inamœnitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eò porro auctorem ipsum redigit angustia, ut neque falsa narrare sine injuriâ historiæ, nec verum dicere sine magnâ suâ invidia odioque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo historiæ argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modò temporum res gestas alièque repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam ætatem nostram, nostræque gentis nunc homines etiamnum præsentem vivosque, sic attingat, sic perfricat, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere necessariò faciendum fuit: quæso, quid hîc mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquam frustra me defatigando valetudinem attriverim, oculos perdididerim, senium acciverim, corpus exnauserim, demum ut post hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, sibilis, invidia ac calumniæ exponam? In tot istis asperitatibus eùm nihil me tutum præstare poterit, non Cæsar, non monarchæ, non rex, non regina, non ulla hujus mundi præsidia, præter solam Divini numinis potentem dextram; principio igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutissimum asyllum me recepi, huic me librumque commendaui et commendo. Tum vero insuper in eodem Domino tuum illum candorem, docte pieque lector! eamque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis studiisque te scio præditum, quò nostris his sudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut si approbationem non mereamur, saltem ne favoris desit benignitas: cui si approbatam iri hanc historiæ nostræ farraginei senserimus, cæterorum judicia obrectatorum levius feremus.

Nam alioquî non defuturos sat scio qui variis modis nobis facessent molestiam. Habebit hîc momus suos morsus, sycophanta suos sibilos, nec deerit calumniatori sua lingua et aculeus, quem infigat. Hîc fidem detrahet historiæ; ille artificium in tractaudo, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus judicium



desiderabit. Illi forsân operis displicebit moles, vel minus disposita servataque temporum ratio. Et si nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tantâ religionis pugnâ in tantâ judiciorum, capitum, sensuum varietate, ubi suæ quisque favet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè, aut circumspectè enarrari potest, quod placeat universis? Quin et jam nunc mussitari etiam audio a nonnullis qui longâ sese teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandem "Legenda nostra," ut appellant, "Aurea" evulganda sit: qui si nostram primùm in eo tarditatem reprehensam velint, nã ego suaves istos homines vicissim rogatos velim, ut ipsi prius in eisdem suis se præbeant expeditiores, quam alienam incessant lentitudinem.

Deinde, si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminerint, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam esse festinationem oportere; et bos dicitur lassus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hâc quidem re pro virili nostrâ; egimus spero et pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin et illud ipsorum veniã adjicere liceat, egisse nos maturius quàm ipsis forsân expedit qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturitùs egimus quàm tantì momenti et magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat; cùm à nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandæ historiæ, et in ordinem redigendæ, etc., noverint ii qui testes adfuerunt, et temporis conscii, et laboris socii. Quod si autem "Legendæ suæ Auræ" titulum huic eò accommodant, quòd illius exemplo hanc similiter fabulosam putent historiã, hincque odioso vocabulo ejus præjudicent veritati, quid his respondeam aliud quàm quòd ingenuè suam ipsi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libi differre queant, prius de rebus djudicantes quam noverint. Atque interim quidem illud bene habet, quod ipsos tandem aliquando *legendæ suæ auræ* pudeat tam fabulosæ. Et tamen fabulis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiã intentantes his, si qui *legendæ illi*, hoc est, mendacissimis illorum nugis, auderent detrudere. Quare nihil magis esse possit impium, quàm sacrosanctam ecclesiæ fidem fabulamentis hujusmodi confictisque præter omnem veri fidem deliriis commaculare; tamen ineptissimi isti nugatores, ex suo ingenio cæteros quosque scriptores metientes, nec ipsi verum adferre satagunt, nec afferentibus aliis fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet suis auris somniis similia existimantes? Quin apage cum "Legenda tua Auræ,"<sup>1</sup> nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum scimus, nec ipse ignoras, prodigiosis mendaciorum portentis et vanissimis undique commentis scatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim; tantum abest ut cum verè seriis gravibusque ecclesiæ historiis quicquam commune habeat. Quid? An quia papistis illis tuis et impuris monachis sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam gravem historiæ autoritatem putas in ecclesiã admittendam? Quin eãdem lege et de Eusebii ecclesiasticâ, et Tripartitâ Sozomeni et Socrati [et Theodocriti], cæterorumque historiis judicemus. Sunt præter hæc et alia quedam de sanctis et divinis conscripta miracula, quæ propius ad *legendam* hanc accedunt, et tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut "Legendæ illi Papisticæ" annumerentur, etiam quæ suspectissimæ sunt fidei. Quanquam de scriptoribus cæteris meâ nihil interest censuram ferre. Quod ad hanc verò nostram *περὶ τῶν μαρτυρικῶν* attinet, testatum id velim universis, datam esse à nobis operam sedulo ne quid usquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut ejusmodi quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod

(1) "This work, which was composed by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, is rightly called by Wharton 'an inexhaustible repository of religious fable;' and such was the almost sacred light in which it was considered abroad for upwards of two centuries, that the learned Claude d'Espence, in the year 1555, was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it 'Legenda Ferrea!' The popularity of the work in the fifteenth century is sufficiently attested by the great number of editions of it which were printed in the Latin, Italian, Dutch, German, and French languages. Panzer enumerates upwards of seventy editions in the first language; eight in the second; fourteen in the third; five in the fourth; and three in the fifth." Dibdin's *Typograph. Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 190, upon Caxton's English edition of 1483. Melchior Causs, bishop of the Canaries, has also spoken very freely of the Lives of Saints which were in general circulation in his time (1562); and declares that he could not meet with one collection, which was passable; and with regard to the compiler of the "Legenda Aurea," "wherein," he writes, "you may read of monsters rather than of true miracles; he who wrote this was a man of a brazen face, and a leaden heart." "Loc. Theolog." lib. xi. cap. 6, p. 267, edit. Venet. 1759; or White's "Way to the true Church," § 42, digres. 44, 7, where this testimony, and much more, is quoted to the same effect, Crashaw's "Sermon preached at the Crosse," (Lond. 1609,) p. 154.—Ed.

“ Legendæ illi Aureæ ” (magis dicam plumbeæ) non undique foret dissimillimum. Id quod res ipsa et nativa historiæ facies testari poterit, cujus tota textura ex ipsis episcoporum archivis atque registris, partimque ex propriis martyrum ipsorum literis hausta ac conflata videri poterit. In quâ historiâ etsi neque id exigam ut singula hic pro oraculis habeantur; at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, ut si non plene assequeremur, accederemus tamen quàm proximè ad veterem illam historiæ legem, ut duas res, præcipuas historiæ pestes, vitaremur, timorem videlicet et assentationem; quarum altera sæpe minus dicit, altera semper plus addit, quàm par est, narrationi. Sed hujus rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quàm ex meâ commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simplicem suam et nativam faciem, quam non erit difficile non mucosis naribus lectori ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, sive aliis circumstantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hic quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris proverbii experientia; Faciunt quippe mendaces ut ne veri etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in martyrologicis sanctorum legendis vitisque describendis mendacia ac nugacissimæ somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit ut cæteræ ejusdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, ut vix jam quicquam legi dicive in ecclesiâ cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cum mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos præstitisse. Quod superest, divinæ curandam providentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritateque historiæ hæc hactenus: quæ utinam næ tam vera quidem certa que esset, quàm isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, consimilisque huic, quam dicunt, “ Aureæ ipsorum Legendæ,” aut Vitis Patrum, aut Festivali, aut Dormisecure, cæterisque papisticis istis τοῖς τῶν λήρων λήροις foret. Nunc verò martyrum horum non à nobis ficta, sed inflictà à vobis, supplicia atroxque cædes veriore hanc comprobant historiam, pluresque suæ veritatis testes habent, quàm vellemus ipsi qui historiam scripsimus. Venio jam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ de Calendario fortassis objicietur.<sup>1</sup> Audio enim et hic mihi obstrepere non tacitas modò sententias, sed apertas papistarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè à me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris ecclesiæ divinis, martyribus, confessoribus, virginibusque, novos eorum loco martyres ac confessores infulciam. Primùm, nulli ego veterum divorum hoc facto præjudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter divos à me referuntur isti, quòd inseruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsit, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius Nonus. Porro, neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam ecclesiæ; tum multò minus cultum sancti alicujus instituo. Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo. Utinam Dominicum solum Sabbatum dignè, atque ut par est, transigeremus. Habeant per me suum papistæ Calendarium. Habeat et ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim iidem ne colantur, modò quàm sint vetusti tam verè etiam sancti sint.

Verùm enimvero cum non dubitavit suâ etiam ætate Hieronymus multos existimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis habent in ecclesiâ; quid hic tum diceret Hieronymus, si modo superstes papisticam hanc sanctorum colluviem et Calendaria, tot papis, tot episcopis, et abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quamquam à me quidem non Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut *pro indice* duntaxat, suum cujusque martyris mensem et annum designante, ad privatam lectoris serviret usum. Et tamen si in templis etiam fas sit singulorum mensium dies propriis sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare, quî minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere martyribus, quod ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus, tantâ sibi licentiâ, ne dicam impudentiâ, permiserunt? Si non pœna, sed causa martyrem faciat, cur non unum Cranmerum sexcentis Becketis Cantuariensibus non conferam, sed prætulerim? Quid in Nicolao Ridleo videtur cum quovis divo Nicolao non conferendum? Quâ in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Marsheus, Simpsonus, cæterique christiani martyrii candidati, inferiores summis maximisque illis papistici Calendarii divinis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modò qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc

(1) Our author found the advantage afterwards of having anticipated the objections to his Calendar: see *infra*, vol. iii. p. 385, etc.—Ed.

displiecat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis collocari, sed domesticæ tantùm lectioni præparari.

Sed missis hæc adversariorum calumniis, ad te, docte candideque lector! (quoniam hæc ad te instituta est epistola) tempus est ut recurat oratio, cujus in his rebus iudicium ut pluris æstimo, ita egeo magis hic quoque patrocinio. Scio enim, in vastâ hâc congerie reperies nonnulla ad quæ meritò corruges frontem. Neque verò fieri facilè potuit, præsertim in tantâ operis præcipatione, ut cuncta ad amissum atque ad unguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam excideret authori aliquid, vel ex festinatione eveniret, quod cani solet in proverbiiis nimium præ studio properanti, Cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quàm censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte simul et humanissime lector! ante operis ingressum libuit προοιμάζειν, ut si quid inter evolendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleanthis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum theologorum acumen expressum, aut minus aliqui acutissimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data esse, sed meis; hoc est, crassioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quàm judicantur. Aut si ne id quidem gravissimæ tuæ sententiæ fecerit satis, liceat illâ mihi uti lege, quâ semper permissum est opere in magno, "scriptori obrepere somnum." Quòd si verò tuam hâc in re facilitatem impetravero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obstrepant, Græci memor proverbii, cujus et ipsos commemorasse velim, *μωμησεται τις μᾶλλον ἢ μίσηται*.<sup>1</sup>

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TO THE PERSECUTORS OF GOD'S TRUTH, COMMONLY CALLED  
PAPISTS,<sup>2</sup> ANOTHER PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

If any other had had the doing and handling of this so tragical an history, and had seen the mad rage of this your furious cruelty, in spilling the blood of such an innumerable sort of Christ's holy saints and servants, as, in the volumes of this history, may appear by you, O ye *papists* (give me leave by that name to call you), I know what he would have done therein: what vehemency of writing—what sharpness of speech and words—what roughness of style, in terming and calling you—he would have used; what exclamations he would have made against you; how little he would have spared you. So I likewise, if I had been disposed to follow the order and example of their doing,—what I might have done herein, let your own conjectures give you to understand, by that which you have deserved. And if you think you have not deserved so to be entreated, as I have said, and worse than I have done, then see and behold, I beseech you, here in this story, the pitiful slaughter of your butchery! Behold your own handy work! consider the number, almost out of number, of so many silly and simple lambs of Christ, whose blood you have sought and sucked; whose lives you have vexed; whose bodies you have slain, racked, and tormented; some also you have cast on dunghills, to be devoured of fowls and dogs; without mercy, without measure, without all sense of humanity! See, I say, and behold, here present before your eyes, the heaps of slain bodies, of so many men and women, both old, young, children, infants, new born, married, unmarried, wives, widows, maids, blind men, lame men, whole men; of all sorts, of all ages, of all degrees; lords, knights, gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, deacons, laymen, artificers, yea, whole households and whole kindreds together; father, mother and daughter; grandmother, mother, aunt, and child, etc.; whose wounds, yet bleeding before the face of God, cry vengeance! For, whom have you spared? what country could escape your hands? See, therefore, I say,—read, and behold your acts and facts; and, when you have seen, then judge what you have deserved. And if ye find that I have tempered myself with much more moderation for mine own part (but that I have in some places inserted certain of other men's works,

(1) Plutarch. "de Gloriâ Athen." A Latin version may be seen in Plin. "Hist. Nat." lib. xxxv cap. 9; or § 36.—Ed.

(2) This address is reprinted from Foxe's rare and valuable edition of 1563.

than either the cause of the martyrs or your iniquity hath required), then accept my good will in the Lord, which here I thought to signify unto you in the beginning of this preface, not to flatter or seek for your acceptation (which I care not greatly for), but only as tendering the conversion of your souls, if perhaps I may do you any good. Wherefore, as one that wishes well unto you in the Lord, I exhort you, that with patience you would read and peruse the history of these your own acts and doings, being no more ashamed now to read them, than you were then to do them; to the intent that, when you shall now the better revise what your doings have been, the more you may blush and detest the same.

Peter, preaching to the Jews and pharisees, after they had crucified Christ, cried to them: "Delictorum pœnitentiam agite," and turned three thousand at one sermon. So the said Peter sayeth and writeth still to you, and we, with Peter, exhort you: "Repent your mischiefs; be confounded in your doings; and come, at length, to some confession of your miserable iniquity." First, you see now, your doings, so wicked, cannot be hid; your cruelty is come to light; your murders be evident; your pretty practices; your subtle sleights, your secret conspiracies, your filthy lives are seen, and stink before the face both of God and man. Yea, what have you ever done so in secret and in corners, but the Lord hath found it out, and brought it to light? You hold, maintain, and defend, that ministers ought and may live sole, without matrimony: what filthiness and murdering of infants followed thereupon! Your ear-confessions can say something, but God knoweth more; and yet the world knoweth so much that I need not here to stand upon any particular examples of cardinals, doctors, and others, taken in manifest whoredom at London, at Oxford, at Cambridge, at Chester, and other places more.

But to pass over this stinking Camarine<sup>1</sup> of your unmaidenly lives, I return again to your murders and slaughters, which you may here in this volume not only see, but also number them if you please. God so hath displayed and detected them, that now all the world may read them. As I have said, God, I assure you, hath detected them, who hath so marvellously wrought such help and success in setting forth the same, that I dare assure you, it is not without the will of Him, that these your murders should be opened, and come to light. And what if they were not opened, nor made to the world notorious, but secret only, between God and your conscience? Yet what cause have you to repent and to be confounded, now the world also seeth them, hateth, and abhorreth you for the same! What will you say? what will you, or can you, allege? How will you answer to the high Judge to come? or whither will you fly from his judgment, when he shall come? Think you, blood will not require blood again? Did you ever see any murder, which came not out, and was at length repaid? Let the example of the French Guise work in your English hearts, and mark you well his end. If Christ in his gospel, which cannot lie, doth threaten a millstone to such as do but hurt the least of his believers, in what a dangerous case stand you, which have smoked and fired so many his worthy preachers, and learned ministers! And what if the Lord should render to you double again, for that which ye have done to them! Where should you then become? And hath not he promised in his word so to do? And think you, that that Judge doth sleep, or that his coming day will not come? And how will you then be able to stand in his sight when he shall appear? With what face shall ye look upon the Lord, whose servants ye have slain? Or with what hearts will you be able to behold the bright faces of them, upon whom you have set so proudly here, condemning them to consuming fire? In that day, when you shall be charged with the blood of so many martyrs, what will ye, or can you say? How think ye to excuse yourselves? Or what can you for yourselves allege? Will ye deny to have murdered them? This book will testify and denounce against you; which if you cannot deny now to be true, then look how you will answer to it in that counting day.

(1) *Camarina*, a Sicilian lake, drained contrary to the advice of Apollo (as the ancients supposed), whence a pestilence ensued: the lake, however, cannot be drained, as it lies below the level of the sea. Luther makes a similar metaphorical use of *Lerna*, the Grecian lake, *infra*, vol. iv. p. 675, art. 4. "Camarinam movere" or "tentare," means to make a hazardous attempt. Foxe uses this phrase in the Latin edition (Bas. 1559), p. 4. "Ac quoniam sine magna perturbatione videbat tam periculosam Camarinam tentari haud potuisse, nec subito revelli posse, etc.," translated *infra*, vol. ii. p. 796, "this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or stirred," etc.—Ed.

Peradventure you will excuse yourselves, and say, that you did but the law; and if the law did pass upon them, you could not do with all. But here I will ask, what law do you mean? The law of God, or the law of man? If ye mean the law of God, where do you find in all the law of God, to put them to death, which, holding the articles of the creed, never blasphemed his name, but glorified it, both in life, and in their death? If you answer, by the law of man, I know the law ("ex officio" or rather ex *homicidio*) which you mean and follow. But who brought that law in first, in the time of king Henry IVth, but you? Who revived the same again in queen Mary's days, but you? Further, who kept them in prison before the law, till, by the law, you had made a rope to hang them withal? And think you by charging the law, to discharge yourselves? But you will use here some translation of the fact perchance; alleging that you burnt them not, but only committed them to the secular power, by whom, you will say, they were burnt, and not by you. It will be hard to play the sophister before the Lord. For so it may be said to you again, that the fire burned them, and not the secular power. But I pray you, who put them in? But they were heretics, you will say, and Lutherans, and therefore we burnt them, thinking thereby to do God good service, etc. Of such service-doers Christ spake before, saying, that such should come, who, putting his servants to death, should think to do good service to God. And forso much as, under the pretence of heresy, you put them to death; concerning that matter, there is, and hath been, enough said to you by learning,—if either learned books, or learned sermons could move you. But, to this, none answereth you better than the martyrs themselves, which in this book do tell you, that in the same which you call heresy, they serve the living God. And how do you then serve the living God, in putting them to death, whom they in the death do serve so heartily and so heavenly, as in this book here doth well appear? And because you charge them so much with heresy, this would I know, by what learning do you define your heresy, by the scripture, or by your canon law? I know what you will answer: but whatsoever you say, your own acts and deeds will well prove the contrary. For what scripture can save him, whom your law condemneth? What heresy was there, in speaking against transubstantiation, before Innocent III. did so enact it in his canon, A. D. 1215? What man was ever counted for an heretic, which, worshipping Christ in heaven, did not worship him in the priest's hands, before Honorius III., in his canon, did cause the sacrament to be elevated and adored upon the altar? "Faith only justifying," in St. Paul's time, and in the beginning church, was no heresy, before of late days the Romish canons have made it heresy!

Likewise, if it be heresy not to acknowledge the pope as supreme head of the church, then St. Paul was an heretic, and a stark Lutheran, which, having the scriptures, yet never attributed that to the pope, nor to Peter himself, to be supreme head of the church. So were all the other fathers of the primitive church heretics also, which never knew any such supremacy in the pope, before Boniface I. called himself "universal bishop," six hundred years after Christ. After like sort and manner, if receiving in both kinds, and having the scripture in a popular tongue be a matter worthy of burning, then were all the apostles and martyrs of the first church worthy to be burned, and the Corinthians ill instructed of St. Paul, having both "panem" and "calicem Domini!" Either condemn St. Paul and them, with these, or else let these be quit with the other. The same I may infer of purgatory, the setting up of images, going on pilgrimage, and such like, etc. And, but that I am wearied to see your miserable folly, I might here argue with you. For if your heresy (as you call it) be a sin with you so heinous, that it deserveth burning, then would I know, how can that be a sin now, which was a virtue once? In the time of the old law, it was a virtue amongst the Jews to have no image in the temple. Also, Hezekiah, Josiah, with divers other good kings more, were commended for abolishing the same; and have we not the same commandment still? and how cometh it now to be a vice, which was a virtue then? Likewise in the new law, both Paul and Barnabas would have torn their garments for doing that, for the not doing whereof you burn your brethren now. You see, therefore, how your heresy standeth; not by God's word, for which you burn God's people, but only by your own laws and canons, made by men. Wherefore if

these your laws and canons (without the which the church once did stand and flourish) be now of such force, that the breach thereof must needs be *death*, better it were, either they were never made, or that now they were abolished; seeing both the church may well be without them, and that God's people in no case can well live with them, but be burned for them.

And now, as I have hitherto collected and recited almost all your excuses, and reasons that you can bring and allege for yourselves, (and yet you see they will not serve you,) so I exhort you to turn to that, which only may and will serve; that is, to the blood of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." Wash your bloody hands with the tears of plentiful repentance; and though you cannot call back again the lives of those whom you have slain, yet call yourselves back again from the way of iniquity, and from the path of destruction which you were going to! Consider how long now you have spurned and kicked against the Lord and his truth, and yet, you see, nothing hath prevailed. What have you, but "kicked against the pricks?" If killing and slaying could help your cause, you see what an infinite sort you have put to death; the number of whom, although it doth exceed man's searching, yet Paulus Vergerius, in his book against the Pope's Catalogue, taking a view thereof, doth account them to the number of an hundred thousand persons, slain in Christendom of you (whom he there calleth "papists") in the cause of Christ's gospel within this forty or an hundred years;<sup>1</sup> besides them in queen Mary's time here in England, and besides them within these two years slain in France by the [duke of] Guise, which, as you know, cometh to no small sum. And yet for all this horrible slaughter, and your so many fought fields against the poor saints, what is your cause the better? What have you thereby got, or won, but shame, hatred, contempt, infamy, execration, and to be abhorred of all good men; as may appear, not only by your habit and garment, the form and wearing whereof it shameth and abhorreth men now, as you see, to be brought unto; but also, the title and name of your profession. For though ye profess *poperie* inwardly in your hearts, yet which of you all now is not ashamed to be called a *papist*, and would be angry with me if I should write to you under the name of *papists*? You see, therefore, how little you have won.

Let us compare now your winnings and losses together. And as you have gained but a little, so let us see what great things you have lost; which, first, have spilt your own cause, the quiet of your conscience,—which I dare say shaketh within you. Ye have lost the favour both of God and man, the safety of your souls, and almost the kingdom of the Lord, except you take the better heed. What think you, then, by these your proceedings, to win any more hereafter, which have lost so much already? Do not the very ashes of the martyrs which you have slain rise up still against you in greater armies? Seeing therefore the Lord doth and must prevail, be counselled and exhorted in the Lord; leave off your resisting, and yield to the truth which your own boiling consciences, I am sure, doth inwardly witness and testify, if, for your own wilful standing up, on your credit and reputation, as ye think, ye would come to the confession of the same. And what reputation is this of credit, to be found con-

(1) Petrus Paulus Vergerius was bishop of Capo d'Istria, and many years a confidential agent of the court of Rome. Being suspected of an inclination towards Lutheranism, he retired to Germany, intending to clear himself from the imputation by writing a book "Against the Apostates of Germany." In prosecuting this intention, his eyes were opened, and he became a zealous protestant. He wrote many treatises against popery, but few are extant, owing to their having been destroyed as much as possible by the church of Rome. He died Oct. 4, 1565. His works were about to be collected and published at Tubingen, but only tom. i. appeared, in 1563. The treatise alluded to by Foxe is included in that volume, and is intitled "Postremus Catalogus hereticorum [librorum] Romæ conflatus 1559, continens alios quatuor Catalogos qui post decennium in Italiâ, necnon eos omnes qui in Galliâ et Flandriâ post renatum evangelium, fuerunt editi: cum annotationibus Vergerii." His own dedication of it is dated "Tubingæ, die 12 Sept. 1559." At p. 266, Vergerio enters on the topic of the persecution of the protestants thus—"Cum 40 fluxerint anni à renovato evangelio, horum regnorum et provinciarum fere omnium patres-familias aut sunt extincti aut oblivioni tradiderunt vestros corruptissimos cultus; successit verò alia ætas, quæ longè diversam ac multis magnisque in rebus omninò contrariam doctrinam et disciplinam, hoc est sinceram, hausit." Afterwards, at p. 267, he goes on, "Postremò, quantus est numerus tolerat ætate. non modo eorum qui Mortis, Carcerum, atque Triremium, sed etiam qui exiliorum nostrâ tulerunt. et ferunt etiamnum, martyria. Qui jam migrarunt ad Dominum Deum nostrum per vestra, inquam, martyria sunt fermè millia centum; atque hi ipsi sunt de quibus Scriptura ait, Vidi sub arâ, &c. (Rev. vi. 9, 10.)" Foxe says in the text (supposing the text not corrupt) "forty or an hundred years," apparently doubtful as to the meaning of the "ætas"; it seems pretty clear, however, that Vergerio did not intend it to embrace more than the 40 years "à renovato evangelio."—Ed.

stant in error against the truth; in Antichrist against Christ: in your destruction against saving of your souls? Briefly, and to be short, if my counsel may be heard, better it were for you in time to give over while it is thankworthy, than at length to be drawn, by compulsion of time, will ye, nill ye, to give over your cause, losing both thanks and your cause also. For see you not daily more and more the contrary part (the Lord's arm going with them) to grow so strong against you, that not only there is no hope, but no possibility for your obstinate error to stand against so manifest truth? First, learning, and all best wits, for the most part repugn against you. Most nations and kingdoms have forsaken you, as Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Denmark, Suabia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Epirus, and a great part of Greece; England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, God be glorified, well favourably cometh on, you see, and other more be like to follow: so that if things come handsomely forward, as they begin and are like to do, the pope is like to pay home again shortly his feathers that he hath so long time borrowed. Moreover, universities and schools, in all quarters, to be set up against you; and youth so trained in the same, that you shall never be able to match them.<sup>1</sup>

To conclude, in countries, kingdoms, cities, towns, and churches reformed, your errors and superstitious vanities be so blotted out, within the space of these forty years, in the hearts of men, that their children and youth, being so long nouseled in the sound doctrine of Christ, like as they never heard of your ridiculous trumpery, so will they never be brought to the same.<sup>2</sup> And if nothing else will deface you, yet printing only will subvert your doings, do what ye can, which the Lord only hath set up for your desolation. Wherefore, forsake your cause, and your false hopes, and save yourselves. And take me not your enemy in telling you the truth, but rather your friend, in giving you good counsel—if you will follow good counsel given. Return therefore and reform yourselves; repent your murders, cease your persecutions, strive not against the Lord; but rather bewail your iniquities, which, though they be great, and greater than you are aware, yet they are not so great, but Christ is greater, if ye repent betimes. Ye see here I trust good counsel given; God grant it may as well fructify in you, as on my part it hath proceeded of an open and tender heart; wishing you well to do, as I pray God ye may, so that you and we may agree and consent together in one religion and truth, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be praise for ever. Amen.

TO THE TRUE AND FAITHFUL CONGREGATION OF CHRIST'S  
UNIVERSAL CHURCH,

With all and singular the Members thereof, wheresoever congregated or dispersed through the Realm of England; a Protestation or Petition of the Author, wishing to the same Abundance of all Peace and Tranquillity, with the speedy Coming of Christ the Spouse, to make an End of all Mortal Misery.

SOLOMON, the peaceable prince of Israel, as we read in the first book of Kings, after he had finished the building of the Lord's temple, (which he had seven years in hand,) made his petition to the Lord for all that should pray in the said temple, or turn their face toward it; and his request was granted, the Lord answering him, as we read in the said book; "I have heard," saith he, "thy prayer, and have sanctified this place,"<sup>3</sup> etc. Albeit the infinite majesty of God is not to be compassed in any material walls, yet it so pleased his goodness to respect this prayer of the king, that not only he promised to hear them which there prayed, but also replenished the same with his own glory. For so we read again in the book aforesaid, "Non poterant ministrare propter nebulam, quia replevit gloria Domini domum Domini."<sup>4</sup>

Upon the like trust in God's gracious goodness, if I, sinful wretch, not comparing with the building of that temple, but following the zeal of the builder,

(1) Vergerio, ut suprâ.—Ed.

(3) 1 Kings viii. 30.

(2) Idem.—Ed.

(4) 1 Kings viii. 10.

might either be so bold to ask, or so happy to speed, after my seven years' travail about this Ecclesiastical History, I would most humbly crave of Almighty God to bestow his blessing upon the same; that as the prayers of them which prayed in the outward temple were heard, so all true disposed minds which shall resort to the reading of this present history, containing the Acts of God's holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may, by example of their life, faith, and doctrine, receive some such spiritual fruit to their souls, through the operation of his grace; that it may be to the advancement of his glory, and profit of his church, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

But, as it happened in that temple of Solomon, that all which came thither came not to pray, but many to prate, some to gaze and see news, other to talk and walk, some to buy and sell, some to carp and find fault, and, finally, some also at the last to destroy and pull down, as they did indeed;—for what is in this world so strong, but it will be impugned? what so perfect, but it will be abused? so true, that will not be contraried? or so circumspectly done, wherein wrangling Theon<sup>1</sup> will not set in his tooth?—even so neither do I look for any other in this present history, but that, amongst many well-disposed readers, some wasp's nest or other will be stirred up to buz about mine ears. So dangerous a thing it is now a days to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man must offend the godly, or by true speaking procure hatred of the wicked. Of such stinging wasps and buzzing drones I had sufficient trial in my former edition before;<sup>2</sup> who if they had found in my book any just cause to carp, or, upon any true zeal of truth, had proceeded against the untruths of my story, and had brought just proofs for the same, I could right well have abided it: for God forbid but that faults, wheresoever they be, should be detected and accused. And therefore accusers in a commonwealth, after my mind, do serve to no small stead.

But then such accusers must beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero in his Oration<sup>3</sup> speaketh, which, being sent into the Capitol to fray away thieves by night, left the thieves, and fell to bark at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and bark is not amiss; but to carp where no cause is; to spy in other straws; and leap over their own blocks; to swallow camels, and to strain gnats; to oppress truth with lies, and to set up lies for truth; to blaspheme the dear martyrs of Christ, and to canonize for saints those whom Scripture would scarce allow for good subjects;—that is intolerable. Such barking curs, if they were well served, would be made a while to stoop; but with these brawling spirits I intend not at this time much to wrestle.

Wherefore to leave them a while, till further leisure serve me to attend upon them, thus much I thought, in the mean season, by way of Protestation or Petition, to write unto you both in general and particular, the true members and faithful congregation of Christ's church, wheresoever either congregated together, or dispersed through the whole realm of England; that, forasmuch as all the seeking of these adversaries is to do what they can, by discrediting of this history with slanders and sinister surmises, to withdraw the readers from it, this, therefore, shall be, in few words, to premonish and desire of all and singular of you (all well-minded lovers and partakers of Christ's gospel), not to suffer yourselves to be deceived with the big brags and hyperbolic speeches of those slandering tongues, whatsoever they have or shall hereafter exclaim against the same, but indifferently staying your judgment till truth be tried, you will first peruse and then refuse; measuring the untruths of this history, not by the scoring up of their hundreds and thousands of lies which they give out, but wisely weighing the purpose of their doings according as you find; and so to judge of the matter.

To read my books I allure neither one nor other. Every man as he seeth cause, so let him like as he listeth. If any shall think his labour too much in reading this story, his choice is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof shall recompense the reader's travail, then would I wish no man so light eared, as to be carried away for any sinister clamour of adversaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they find, but therefore find faults because they would deprave. As for me

(1) Hor. Ep. lib. i. 18. — Ed.

(2) The first edition, London, 1563.—Ed.

(3) Orat. ii. pro Roscio, cap. 20.—Ed.



and my history, as my will was to profit all and displease none, so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose been simple; and certes the cause no less urgent also, which moved me to take this enterprise in hand.

The  
partial  
dealing of  
story-  
writers.

For, first, to see the simple flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort, so miserably abused, and all for ignorance of history, not knowing the course of times and true descent of the church, it pitied me that this part of diligence had so long been unsupplied in this my-country church of England. Again, considering the multitude of chronicles and story-writers, both in England and out of England, of whom the most part have been either monks, or clients to the see of Rome, it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories. Whose painful travail albeit I cannot but commend, in committing divers things to writing, not unfruitful to be known nor unpleasant to be read; yet it lamented me to see in their Monuments the principal points which chiefly concerned the state of Christ's church, and were most necessary of all christian people to be known, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honour specially of the church of Rome, or else to the favour of their own sect of religion. Whereby the vulgar sort, hearing and reading in their writings no other church mentioned or magnified but only that church which here flourished in this world in riches and jollity, were drawn also to the same persuasion, to think no other church to have stood in all the earth but only the church of Rome.

In the number of this sort of writers, besides our monks of England (for every monastery almost had his chronicler) I might also recite both Italian and other-country authors, as Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martin, Antoninus, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziarde, George Lily, Polydore Virgil, with many more, who, taking upon them to intermeddle with matters of the church, although in part they express some truth in matters concerning the bishops and see of Rome, yet, in suppressing another part, they play with us, as Ananias and Sapphira did with their money, or as Apelles did in Pliny,<sup>1</sup> who, painting the one half of Venus coming out of the sea, left the other half imperfect: so these writers, while they show us one half of the bishop of Rome, the other half of him they leave imperfect, and utterly untold. For as they paint him out, on the one part, glistening in wealth and glory, in shewing what succession the popes had from the chair of Saint Peter, when they first began, and how long they sat, what churches and what famous buildings they erected, how far their possessions reached, what laws they made, what councils they called, what honour they received of kings and emperors, what princes and countries they brought under their authority, with other like stratagems of great pomp and royalty; so, on the other side, what vices these popes brought with them to their seat, what abominations they practised, what superstition they maintained, what idolatry they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the express word of God, into what heresies they fell, into what division of sects they cut the unity of christian religion, how some practised by simony, some by necromancy and sorcery, some by poisoning, some indenting with the devil to come by their papacy, what hypocrisy was in their lives, what corruption in their doctrine, what wars they raised, what bloodshed they caused, what treachery they traversed against their lords and emperors, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templars and Saracens, and in bringing others under their feet, also in beheading some; as they did with Frederic and Conradine, the heirs and offspring of the house of Frederic Barbarossa, in the year 1268;<sup>2</sup> furthermore, how mightily Almighty God hath stood against them, how their wars never prospered against the Turk, how the judgments of the godly-learned from time to time have ever repugned against their errors, etc.—of these and a thousand other more not one word hath been touched, but all kept as under benedicite, in auricular confession.

When I considered this partial dealing and corrupt handling of histories, I thought with myself nothing more lacking in the church than a full and a complete story; which, being faithfully collected out of all our monastical writers and written monuments, should contain neither every vain-written fable (for that would be too much), nor yet leave out any thing necessary, for that would be too little; but, with a moderate discretion, taking the best of every one, should both ease the labour of the reader from turning over such a number of

<sup>1</sup> Plin. xxxv. cap. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See *Intâ*, vol. ii. pp. 455—509, 472, and vol. iv. pp. 143, 144.—Ed.

writers, and also should open the plain truth of times lying long hid in obscure darkness of antiquity: whereby all studious readers, beholding as in a glass the stay, course, and alteration of religion, decay of doctrine, and the controversies of the church, might discern the better between antiquity and novelty. For if the things which be first, after the rule of Tertullian, are to be preferred before those that be later, then is the reading of histories much necessary in the church, to know what went before, and what followed after; and therefore not without cause "historia," in old authors, is called the Witness of Times, the Light of Verity, the Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, and Shewer of Antiquity, etc., without the knowledge whereof man's life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error; as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later times of the church, when the bishops of Rome, under colour of antiquity, have turned truth into heresy, and brought such new-found devices of strange doctrine and religion, as, in the former age of the church, were never heard of before, and all through ignorance of times and for lack of true history.

For, to say the truth, if times had been well searched, or if they which wrote histories had, without partiality, gone upright between God and Baal, halting on neither side, it might well have been found, the most part of all this catholic corruption intruded into the church by the bishops of Rome, as transubstantiation, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, auricular confession, forced vows of priests not to marry, veneration of images, private and satisfactory masses, the order of Gregory's mass now used, the usurped authority and "summa potestas" of the see of Rome, with all the rout of their ceremonies and weeds of superstition overgrowing now the church; all these, I say, to be new-nothings lately coined in the mint of Rome, without any stamp of antiquity, as by reading of this present history shall sufficiently, I trust, appear. Which history therefore I have here taken in hand, that as other story-writers heretofore have employed their travail to magnify the church of Rome, so in this history might appear to all christian readers the image of both churches, as well of the one as of the other; especially of the poor oppressed and persecuted church of Christ. Which persecuted church, though it hath been of long season trodden under foot by enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in histories, and almost scarce visible or known to worldly eyes, yet hath it been the true church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, in preserving the same in all extreme distresses, continually stirring up from time to time faithful ministers, by whom always have been kept some sparks of his true doctrine and religion.

"Primum quodque verissimum est."

Image of both churches.

Now forasmuch as the true church of God goeth not, lightly,<sup>1</sup> alone, but is accompanied with some other church or chapel of the devil to deface and malign the same, necessary it is therefore the difference between them to be seen, and the descent of the right church to be described from the apostles' time: which, hitherto, in most part of histories hath been lacking, partly for fear, that men durst not, partly for ignorance, that men could not, discern rightly between the one and the other. Who, beholding the church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, so shining in outward beauty, to bear such a port, to carry such a train and multitude, and to stand in such high authority, supposed the same to be the only right catholic mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true church of Christ. Wherein they were far deceived: for although the right church of God be not so invisible in the world that none can see it, yet neither is it so visible again that every worldly eye may perceive it. For like as is the nature of truth, so is the proper condition of the true church, that commonly none seeth it, but such only as be the members and partakers thereof. And, therefore, they which require that God's holy church should be evident and visible to the whole world, seem to define the great synagogue of the world, rather than the true spiritual church of God.

The descent of Christ's church from the apostles' time described.

How the true church of Christ is visible and not

In Christ's time who would have thought but that the congregations and councils of the Pharisees had been the right church? and yet had Christ another church in earth besides that; which, albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the world, yet was it the only true church in the sight of God. Of this church meant Christ, speaking of the temple which he would raise again the third day; and yet after that the Lord was risen, he showed not himself to the

1) "Lightly," *i. e.* commonly, usually. Todd's Johnson. See *infra*, p. 380, note (1).—ED.

world, but only to his elect, which were but few. The same church, after that, increased and multiplied mightily among the Jews; yet had not the Jews eyes to see God's church, but did persecute it, till at length all their whole nation was destroyed.

After the Jews, then came the heathen emperors of Rome, who having the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could do, to extinguish the name and church of Christ. Whose violence continued the space of three hundred years. All which while the true church of Christ was not greatly in sight of the world, but rather was abhorred everywhere, and yet notwithstanding the same small silly flock, so despised in the world, the Lord highly regarded and mightily preserved. For although many then of the christians did suffer death, yet was their death neither loss to them, nor detriment to the church; but the more they suffered, the more of their blood increased.

The anti-  
quity and  
descent  
of the  
church in  
England.

In the time of these emperors God raised up then in this realm of Britain divers worthy preachers and witnesses, as Elvanus, Meduinus, Meltivianus, Amphibalus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, and other more: in whose time the doctrine of faith, without men's traditions, was sincerely preached. After their death and martyrdom it pleased the Lord to provide a general quietness to his church, whereby the number of his flock began more to increase.

In this age then followed here in the said land of Britain Fastidius, Ninianus, Patricius, Bacchiarus, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Elvodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinodus, Samuel, Nivius, and a great sort more, which governed the church of Britain by christian doctrine a long season; albeit the civil governors for the time were then dissolute and careless (as Gildas very sharply doth lay to their charge), and so at length were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while, about the space of four hundred years, religion remained in Britain uncorrupt, and the word of Christ truly preached, till, about the coming of Augustine and of his companions from Rome, many of the same Britain-preachers were slain by the Saxons. After that began the christian faith to enter and spring among the Saxons, after a certain Romish sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tolerable than were the times which after followed, through the diligent industry of some godly teachers which then lived amongst them; as Aidan, Finian, Colman archbishop of York, Bede, John of Beverly, Alcuin, Noetus,<sup>1</sup> Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealtesus, Alexander, Neckham, Negellus, Fenallus, Ælfricus, Sygeferthus, and such other; who, though they erred in some few things, yet neither are so grossly nor so greatly to be complained of in respect of the abuses that followed. For as yet, all this while, the error of transubstantiation and elevation, with auricular confession, was not crept in for a public doctrine in Christ's church, as, by their own Saxon sermon made by Ælfric, and set out in the volumes<sup>2</sup> of this present history, may appear. During the which mean time, although the bishops of Rome were had here in some reverence with the clergy, yet had they nothing as yet to do in making laws touching matters of the church of England: but that only appertained to the kings and governors of the land, as is in this story to be seen.

Transub-  
stantia-  
tion not  
yet re-  
ceived for  
a public  
doctrine.

When the  
church  
began to  
fall from  
God.

And thus the church of Rome, albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet, during all this while, it remained hitherto in some reasonable order, till at length, after that, the said bishops began to shoot up in the world through the liberality of good princes, and especially of Matilda, a noble duchess of Italy, who at her death made the pope heir of all her lands, and endued his see with great revenues.<sup>3</sup> Then riches begat ambition, ambition destroyed religion, so that all came to ruin. Out of this corruption sprang forth here in England, as did in other places more, another Romish kind of monkery, worse than the other before, being much more drowned in superstition and ceremonies, which was about the year of our Lord, 980. Of this swarm was Egbert, Agilbert, Egwin, Boniface, Wilfrid, Agatho, James, Romain, Cedda, Dunstan, Oswold, Athelwold; Athelwin, duke of East-Angles; Lanfranc, Anselm, and such others.<sup>4</sup>

When  
monkery  
began to  
reign in  
England.

(1) Respecting the foregoing worthies, see *infra*, pp. 349—353, 363, 364, 376; and vol. ii. p. 30.—Ed.

(2) See vol. v. p. 280.—Ed.

(3) Æneas Sylvius saith, that Matilda made the pope heir of those lands which are called the patrimony of St. Peter. Ex Aventino, lib. 6. See *infra*, vol. ii. 116—120.—Ed.

(4) For more about these worthies see *infra*, pp. 350—353, 355, 358, 359, 368; and vol. ii. 50—54, 62, 65, etc.—Ed.

And yet in this time also, through God's providence, the church lacked not some of better knowledge and judgment, to weigh with the darkness of those days. For although king Edgar, with Edward his base son, being seduced by Dunstan, Oswald, and other monkish clerks, was then a great author and fautor of much superstition, erecting as many monasteries as were Sundays in the year, yet, notwithstanding, this continued not long. For, eftsoons after the death of Edgar, came king Ethelred and queen Alfrida his mother, with Alferus duke of Merceland, and other peers and nobles of the realm, who displaced the monks again, and restored the married priests to their old possessions and livings.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, after that, followed also the Danes, which overthrew those monkish foundations, as fast as king Edgar had set them up before.

And thus hitherto stood the condition of the true church of Christ, albeit not without some repugnance and difficulty, yet in some mean state of the truth and verity, till the time of pope Hildebrand, called Gregory VII. which was near about the year 1080, and of pope Innocent III. in the year 1215: by whom all together was turned upside down, all order broken, discipline dissolved, true doctrine defaced, christian faith extinguished; instead whereof, was set up preaching of men's decrees, dreams and idle traditions. And whereas, before, truth was free to be disputed amongst learned men, now, liberty was turned into law, argument into authority. Whatsoever the bishop of Rome denounced, that stood for an oracle of all men to be received without opposition or contradiction; whatsoever was contrary, ipso facto it was heresy, to be punished with faggot and flaming fire. Then began the sincere faith of this English church, which held out so long, to quail. Then was the clear sunshine of God's word overshadowed with mists and darkness, appearing like sackcloth to the people, who neither could understand what they read, nor yet were permitted to read what they could understand. In these miserable days, as the true visible church began now to shrink and keep in for fear, so up started a new sort of players, to furnish the stage, as school-doctors, canonists, and four orders of friars; besides other monastical sects and fraternities of infinite variety; which, ever since, have kept such a stir in the church, that none for them almost durst rout, neither Cæsar, king, nor subject. What they defined, stood; what they approved, was catholic; what they condemned, was heresy; whomsoever they accused, none almost could save. And thus have these, hitherto, continued, or reigned rather, in the church, the space now of full four hundred years and odd. During which space the true church of Christ, although it durst not openly appear in the face of the world, was oppressed by tyranny; yet neither was it so invisible or unknown, but, by the providence of the Lord, some remnant always remained from time to time, which not only showed secret good affection to sincere doctrine, but also stood in open defence of truth against the disordered church of Rome.

In which catalogue, first, to pretermit Bertram and Berengarius, who were before pope Innocent III. a learned multitude of sufficient witnesses here might be produced; whose names neither are obscure nor doctrine unknown; as Joachim, abbot of Calabria, and Almeric, a learned bishop, who was judged an heretic for holding against images in the time of the said Innocent. Besides the martyrs of Alsace, of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the said Innocent<sup>2</sup> in one day, as writeth Ulric Mutius.<sup>3</sup> Add likewise to these the Waldenses or Albigenses, which, to a great number, segregated themselves from the church of Rome. To this number also belonged Reymund, earl of Thoulouse, Marsilius Patavinus, Gulielmus de Sancto Amore,<sup>4</sup> Simon Tornacensis, Arnoldus de Nova Villa, Johannes Semeca, besides divers other preachers<sup>5</sup> in Suabia standing against the pope, a. d. 1240;<sup>6</sup> Laurentius An-

(1) See *infra*, vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.—Ed.

(2) This was in the year 1212—but the bp. of Strasburg was the more immediate executioner: vide "Mutii Chron." lib. xix. apud "Rerum Germ. Scripp." tom. ii. p. 809. Ratisbonæ, 1726.—Ed.

(3) The title of this work, which may be seen more at length in "Sagittarii Introduct. in Hist. Eccles." (tom. ii. p. 113, and tom. i. p. 95,) is "De Germanorum primâ origine, moribus, institutis, etc." Auct. H. Mutio Basil. 1539.—Ed.

(4) Extravagant [Alexandri IV.] cap. "Non sine multa." [This Extrav. of pope Alexander IV. is given by Bzovius, "Annal. Eccl. post Baron." sub an. 1257, § 5, dated Lateran. III. Cal. Apr. pont. nostri an. 3. See *infra*, vol. ii. p. 752.—Ed.]

(5) Ex Nicol. Eymerico. [Many of the presumed heretics here mentioned find a place in his work entitled "Directorium Inquisitorum Nicolai Eymerici, cum Commentt. Fr. Pegnæ:" Romæ, 1587. Pp. 248, 254, 265, etc.—Ed.]

(6) Alb. Crantzii. [Saxonia, lib. viii. c. 16.—Ed.]

glicus, a master of Paris, A.D. 1260; Petrus Johannes, a minorite,<sup>1</sup> who was burned after his death, A.D. 1290; Robertus Gallus, a dominic friar, A.D. 1292; Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, who was called "Malleus Romanorum,"<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1250; Lord Peter of Cugnières, A.D. 1329. To these we may add, moreover, Gulielmus Ockam, Bonagratia Bergomensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Laudensis, Ulric Hangenor, treasurer to the emperor, Johannes de Ganduno,<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1330, mentioned in the Extravagants; Andreas de Castro, Buridanus, Euda,<sup>4</sup> duke of Burgundy, who counselled the French king not to receive the new-found constitutions and Extravagants of the pope into his realm; Dantes Algerius, an Italian, who wrote against the pope, monks, and friars, and against the donation of Constantine, A.D. 1330; Taulerus, a German preacher;<sup>5</sup> Conradus Hager, imprisoned for preaching against the mass, A.D. 1339; the author of the book called "Pœnitentiarius Asini," compiled about the year 1343; Michael Cesenas, a grey friar; Petrus de Corbaria, with Johannes de Poliaco, mentioned in the Extravagants, and condemned by the pope; Johannes de Castilione, with Franciscus de Arcatara, who were burned about the year of our Lord, 1322;<sup>6</sup> Johannes Rochtaylada, otherwise called Haybalus, with another friar martyred about the year 1346; Franciscus Petrarcha, who called Rome the whore of Babylon, &c. A.D. 1350;<sup>7</sup> Gregorius Ariminensis, A.D. 1350; Joannes de Rupe Scissa,<sup>8</sup> imprisoned for certain prophesies against the pope, A.D. 1340; Gerhardus Ridder, who also wrote against monks and friars a book called "Lacrymæ Ecclesiæ," A.D. 1350; Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno, Joannes Monachus Cardinalis, Armachanus, Nicolaus Orem, preacher, A.D. 1364; Militzius, a Bohemian, who then preached that antichrist was come, and was excommunicated for the same, A.D. 1366; Jacobus Misnensis, Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian born, and a writer against the pope, A.D. 1370; Joannes Montziger, rector of the university of Ulm, A.D. 1384; Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica, Henricus de Iota, Henricus de Hassia, etc.<sup>9</sup>

I do but recite the principal writers and preachers in those days. How many thousands there were which never bowed their knees to Baal, that is known to God alone. Of whom we find in the writings of one Bruschius,<sup>10</sup> that six-and-thirty citizens of Mentz were burned, A.D. 1390: who, following the doctrine of the Waldenses, affirmed the pope to be the great Antichrist. Also Massæus recordeth of one hundred and forty, who, in the province of Narbonne, were put to the fire, for not receiving the decretals of Rome; besides them that suffered at Paris, to the number of four-and-twenty at one time, A.D. 1210: and the next year after there were four hundred burnt under the name of heretics; besides also a certain good eremite, an Englishman, of whom mention is made in John Bacon,<sup>11</sup> who was committed for disputing in Paul's church against certain sacraments of the church of Rome, A.D. 1306.<sup>12</sup>

To descend now somewhat lower in drawing out the descent of the church. What a multitude here cometh of faithful witnesses in the time of John Wickliff, as Ocliff,<sup>13</sup> Wickliff (A. D. 1379); William Thorp, White, Purvey, Pateshul,

Ex Christiano  
Massæo.

(1) He is mentioned in "Genebrard's Chronology," p. 670, Edit. 1599.—Ed.

(2) By Matthew Paris, p. 876. Edit. 1640.—Ed.

(3) Rather "Janduno." See "Oudin de Script. Eccles." tom. iii. col. 883.—Ed.

(4) In Flacius Illyricus, from whom all of the witnesses in this and the next paragraph are borrowed, it is "Eudo." See "Cat. test. verit.," col. 1665. Edit. 1608. Foxe himself also reads "Eudo," *infra*, vol. ii. p. 706.—Ed.

(5) Ex Joan. Aventino, lib. vii. Extravagant. cap. "Licet infra doctrinam." Ex bullis quibusdam Othonis Episc. Herbipolensis.

(6) Extravagant. Iohan. XXII. Ex Joan. Froisard. vol. i. cap. 211.

(7) Ex Trithemio.; Ex hulla Gregorii, cap. 11; Ex Illyrico.

(8) The same person as Rochtaylada, just before mentioned.—Ed.

(9) Henricus de Hassia was vice-chancellor of Paris, canon of Worms, and finally professor of theology at Vienna, where he died, from 1384 to 1397. The letter, which appears in vol. iii. p. 189 of the present edition of Foxe, is assigned to him by Fabricius (Bibliotheca mediæ et inf. Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 219. Edit. Patavii, 1754).—Ed.

(10) Gaspar Bruschius Egranus; "De omnibus Germaniæ Episcopatus Epitomes," lib. primus. Archiep. Moguntinum comprehendens; 8vo. Norimb. 1549; see a long list of his writings in Gesneri Bibliotheca, p. 256, edit. 1583; also Sagittarii Introd. in Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 498.—Ed.

(11) Dist. ii. Quæst. I. [John Bacon, alias Baconthorpe, præceptor to Armachanus, mentioned *infra*, vol. ii. pp. 749, 782. He wrote, in 1321, "Commentaria seu Quæstiones in 4 libros Sententiarum." (Bale, Cave.)—Ed.]

(12) The contents of this and the preceding paragraph will be found amplified *infra*, vol. ii. pp. 301, 349, 350, 509—534, 613—640, 705—711, 727, 752—782.—Ed.

(13) "Johannes Wyclif, reassumens damnatas opiniones Berengarii et Oclefe, astruere laboravit, post consecrationem in missâ à sacerdote factam remanere ibidem verum panem et vinum ut fuere per prius." Walsingham, Hist. sub anno 1381. Foxe mentions Ocliff again *infra*, vol. ii. p. 791; see note in the Appendix on that passage.—Ed.

Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoin, William Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, about the year 1401; John Badby, A.D. 1410; Nicholas Tailer, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, with an anchoress called Matilda, in the city of Leicester; lord Cobham; sir Roger Acton, knight; John Beverley, preacher; John Huss, Jerome of Prague, a schoolmaster, with a number of faithful Bohemians and Thaborites not to be told; with whom I might also adjoin Laurentius Valla, and Joannes Picus, the learned earl of Mirandula. But what do I stand upon recital of names, which almost are infinite?

Wherefore, if any be so far beguiled in his opinion [as] to think the doctrine of the church of Rome, as it now standeth, to be of such antiquity, and that the same was never impugned before the time of Luther and Zuinglius now of late, let them read these histories: or if he think the said history not to be of sufficient credit to alter his persuasion, let him peruse the acts and statutes of parliaments, passed in this realm, of ancient time, and therein consider and confer the course of times; where he may find and read, in the year of our Lord 1382,<sup>1</sup> of a great number (who there be called evil persons) going about from town to town in frieze gowns, preaching unto the people, etc. Which preachers, although the words of the statute do term there to be dissembling persons, preaching divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the embleishment of christian faith, and of holy church, etc. as the words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding, every true christian reader may conceive of those preachers to teach no other doctrine, than now they hear their own preachers in pulpits preach against the bishop of Rome, and the corrupt heresies of his church.

Furthermore, he shall find likewise in the statutes,<sup>2</sup> in the year of our Lord 1461, another like company of good preachers and faithful defenders of true doctrine against blind heresy and error. Whom, albeit the words of the statute there, through corruption of that time, do falsely term to be false and perverse preachers, under dissembled holiness, teaching in those days openly and privily new doctrines and heretical opinions, contrary to the faith and determination of holy church, etc., yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth histories, and conferreth the order and descent of times, shall understand these to be no false teachers, but faithful witnesses of the truth; not teaching any new doctrine contrary to the determination of holy church, but rather shall find that church to be unholy which they preached against; teaching rather itself heretical opinions, contrary both to antiquity and verity of Christ's true catholic church.

Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithful favourers and followers of God's holy word, we find in the year 1422, specified in a letter sent from Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, to pope Martin V.,<sup>3</sup> in the fifth year of his popedom, where mention is made c<sup>2</sup> so many here in England, infected (as he said) with the heresies of Wickliff and Huss, that without force of an army, they could not be suppressed, etc. Whereupon the pope sent two cardinals to the archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gathered of all spiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the chamber apostolic; and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made up of chalices, candlesticks, and other implements of the church, etc.

What shall need then any more witnesses to prove this matter, when you see, so many years ago, whole armies and multitudes thus standing against the pope? who, though they be termed here for heretics and schismatics, yet in that which they call heresy served they the living Lord within the ark of his true spiritual and visible church.

And where is then the frivolous brag of the papists, who make so much of their painted sheath; and would needs bear us down, that this government of the church of Rome, which now is, hath been of such an old standing, time out of mind, even from the primitive antiquity; and that there never was any other church demonstrable here in earth for men to follow, besides the said only catholic mother church of Rome? when as we have sufficiently proved before, by the continual descent of the church till this present time, the said church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new-begun matter, but

(1) Stat. in anno 5, Rich. II. A. D. 1382.

(2) Stat. in anno 2, H. IV. cap. 15, A. D. 1401.

(3) Ex literis Archiepisc. Cant. ad Martin. V., A. D. 1422.

even the old continued church by the providence and promise of Christ still standing; which, albeit it hath been of late years repressed by the tyranny of Roman bishops more than before, yet notwithstanding it was never so oppressed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his gospel, against heresies and errors of the church of Rome, as, in this history, more at full is to be seen.

Bloody marks of Christ's passion seen on men's garments in Germany, A. D. 1501.

Let us now proceed further as we began, deducing this descent of the church unto the year 1501. In which year the Lord began to show in the parts of Germany wonderful tokens, and bloody marks of his passion; as the bloody cross, his nails, spear, and crown of thorns, which fell from heaven upon the garments and caps of men, and rocks of women; as you may further read in this history.<sup>1</sup> By the which tokens Almighty God, no doubt, pre-signified what grievous afflictions and bloody persecutions should then begin to ensue upon his church for his gospel's sake, according as in this history is described; wherein is to be seen what christian blood hath been spilt, what persecutions raised, what tyranny exercised, what torments devised, what treachery used, against the poor flock and church of Christ; in such sort as since Christ's time greater hath not been seen.

Seventy years of captivity well near expired.

And now by revolution of years we are come from that time of 1501, to the year now present 1570.<sup>2</sup> In which the full seventy years of the Babylonish captivity draweth now well to an end, if we count from the first appearing of these bloody marks above-mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of Luther and his persecution,<sup>3</sup> then lacketh yet sixteen years. Now what the Lord will do with this wicked world, or what rest he will give to his church after these long sorrows, he is our Father in heaven, his will be done in earth as seemeth best to his divine Majesty.

Exhortation to the church of England.

In the mean time let us, for our parts, with all patient obedience wait upon his Grace's leisure, and glorify his holy name, and edify one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing and contending one against another, yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And forasmuch as it is the good will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst us for a short time; yet let us strive in the mean while, what we can, to amend the malice of the time, with mutual humanity. They that be in error, let them not disdain to learn. They which have greater talents of knowledge committed [to them], [let them] instruct in simplicity them that be simple. No man liveth in that commonwealth where nothing is amiss; but yet because God hath so placed us Englishmen here in one commonwealth, also in one church, as in one ship together, let us not mangle or divide the ship, which, being divided, perisheth; but every man serve with diligence and discretion in his order, wherein he is called—they that sit at the helm keep well the point of the needle, to know how the ship goeth, and whither it should; whatsoever weather betideth, the needle, well touched with the stone of God's word, will never fail: such as labour at the oars start for no tempest, but do what they can to keep from the rocks: likewise they which be in inferior rooms, take heed they move no sedition nor disturbance against the rowers and mariners. No storm so dangerous to a ship on the sea, as is discord and disorder in a weal public. What countries and nations, what kingdoms and empires, what cities, towns, and houses, discord hath dissolved, in stories is manifest; I need not spend time in rehearsing examples.

The God of peace, who hath power both of land and sea, reach forth his merciful hand to help them up that sink, to keep up them that stand, to still these winds and surging seas of discord and contention among us; that we, professing one Christ, may, in one unity of doctrine, gather ourselves into one ark or the true church together; where we, continuing stedfast in faith, may at the last luckily be conducted to the joyful port of our desired landing-place by his heavenly grace. To whom, both in heaven and earth, be all power and glory, with his Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

(1) See *infra*, vol. iv. p. 257.—Ed.

(2) The year in which Foxe published his second edition.

(3) See *infra*, vol. iv. p. 262.—Ed.

## THE UTILITY OF THIS STORY.<sup>1</sup>

SEEMING the world is replenished with such an infinite multitude of books of all kind of matters, I may seem, perhaps, to take a matter in hand superfluous and needless, at this present time to set out such volumes, especially of histories; considering now-a-days the world is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plenty thereof, but of all other treatises, so that books now seem rather to lack readers, than readers to lack books. In which multitude of books, I doubt not but many do both perceive, and inwardly bewail, this insatiable boldness of many now-a-days both in writing and printing; which, to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man else beside; and would therefore no man should think that unadvisedly or with rashness I have attempted this enterprise, for assuredly I have been not only doubtful, but also both bashful and fearful within myself for setting the same abroad. And why? First, I perceived how learned this age of ours is in reading of books, neither could I tell what the secret judgments of readers would conceive, to see so weak a thing to set upon such a weighty enterprise; not sufficiently furnished with such ornaments able to satisfy the perfection of so great a story, or sufficient to serve the utility of the studious and the delight of the learned. Which ability the more I perceived to be wanting in me, the less I durst be bold to become a writer.

Multitude  
of books  
lamented.

But again, on the other side, when I weighed with myself what memorable acts and famous doings this latter age of the church hath ministered unto us by the patient sufferings of the worthy martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registered in books, should lie buried by my default, under darkness of oblivion. Methought somewhat was to be said of them for their well-deserving, and something, again, of our parts, for benefits by them received. But, above all other things, nothing did so much stir me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and special regard of the common utility which every man plentifully may receive by the reading of these our "Monuments" or Martyrology; which history as I have taken in hand chiefly for the use of the English church, so have I framed it in that tongue which the simple people could best understand.

Now, if men commonly delight so much in other chronicles which entreat only upon matters of policy, and rejoice to behold therein the variable events of worldly affairs, the stratagems of valiant captains, the roar of foughten fields, the sacking of cities, the hurlyburly of realms and people; and if men think it such a gay thing in a commonwealth to commit to history such old antiquities of things profane, and bestow all their ornaments of wit and eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserve in remembrance the lives, acts, and doings, not of bloody warriors, but of mild and constant martyrs of Christ; which serve not so much to delight the ear, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of christian godliness! As first, by reading thereof we may learn a lively testimony of God's mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of Atheists, and all the whole nest of Epicures. For like as one said of Harpalus<sup>2</sup> in times past, that his doings gave a lively testimony against God, because he, being so wicked a man, escaped so long unpunished; so, contrariwise, in these men, we have an assured and plain witness of God, both in whose lives and deaths appeared such manifest declarations of God's divine working; whiles in such sharpness of torments we behold in them strength so constant above man's reach, such readiness to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, such cheerfulness and courage in suffering; besides the manifold sense and feeling of the Holy Ghost, which they in their lives so plentifully tasted in their afflictions, as in reading of their letters evidently we may understand. Over and besides this, the mild deaths of the saints do not a little avail to the stablishing of a good conscience, to learn the contempt of the world, and to come to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirm faith, increase godliness, abate pride in prosperity, and in adversity do open an hope of heavenly comfort. For what man, reading the misery of

Comparison  
between  
worldly  
soldiers  
and the  
soldiers  
of Christ.

(1) This short piece is given as it stands in the third edition of 1570, two or three expressions only being altered according to the first edition of 1563.—Ed.

(2) Cicero, "De Naturâ Deor." lib. iii. cap. 34.—Ed.



these godly persons may not therein, as in a glass, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godless? For if God give adversity unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evil not fear? And whereas by reading of profane stories we are made perhaps more skilful in warlike affairs; so by reading of this we are made better in our livings, and besides are better prepared unto like conflicts (if by God's permission they shall happen hereafter), more wise by their doctrine, and more stedfast by their example.

To be short, they declare to the world what true christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer; which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, methinks I have good cause to wish, that, like as other men, even so also kings and princes, who commonly delight in heroical stories, would diligently peruse such monuments of martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their walls, cups, rings, and gates. For doubtless such as these are more worthy of honour than an hundred Alexanders, Hectors, Scipios, and warlike Julies. And though the world judgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Judge, certes such are most reputed in deed, not that kill one another with a weapon, but they who, being rather killed in God's cause, do retain an invincible constancy against the threats of tyrants, and violence of tormentors. Such as these are the true conquerors of the world, by whom we learn true manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the world. With this valiantness did that most mild Lamb, and invincible Lion of the tribe of Judah first of all go before us. Of whose unspeakable fortitude we hear this propheticall admiration: "Who is this," saith he, "which walketh so in the multitude of his strength?"<sup>1</sup> forsooth, the high Son of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conquering the world after the same manner he was conquered.

The like dance did all his other martyrs follow, to whom the ancient antiquity of the church did attribute so great honour, as never king or emperor could purchase in this world with all their images, pillars, high spires, triumphs, temples, and all their solemn feasts. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the memory but also the relics of those good martyrs were received and kept amongst the ancient christians. We have also for witness the learned hymns and songs of Prudentius and Nazianzen, wherewith Pindarus did never so much set out his triumphs of Olympia and Nemea. I need not here rehearse the learned orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chrysostome, Ambrose, and Jerome, who never showed their eloquence more, than when they fell into the commendations of the godly martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to martyrs; with what gratulation, rejoicing, mirth, and common joy, the afflictions of those godly, dying in Christ's quarrel, were sometime received and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the church did well consider how much she was beholden to their benefits, by whose death she understood her treasures to increase. Now then if martyrs are to be compared with martyrs, I see no cause why the martyrs of our time deserve any less commendation than the others in the primitive church; which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise, whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatness of their torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought, to the amendment of posterity, and increase of the gospel. They did water with their blood the truth that was newly springing up; so these, by their deaths, restored it again, being sore decayed and fallen down. They, standing in the forward of the battle, did receive the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught us, by that means, to overcome such tyranny; these, with like courage again, like old beaten soldiers, did win the field in the rearward of the battle. They, like famous husbandmen of the world, did sow the fields of the church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these, with fatness of their blood, did cause it to batten and fructify. Would to God the fruit might be speedily gathered into the barn, which only remaineth behind to come!

Again, if we ascribe such reputation to godly preachers (and worthily), who diligently preach the gospel of Christ, when they live notwithstanding, by the benefit of time, without all fear of persecution; how much more reasonable cause

Comparison between the martyrs of the primitive church, and of the later church.

(1) Isa. lxiii. 1.

have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their lives for the defence of the same!

All these premises duly of our parts considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous martyrs in this our age, let us not fail then in publishing and setting forth their doings; lest, in that point, we seem more unkind to them, than the writers of the primitive church were unto theirs. \* And though we repute not their ashes, chains, and swerds [swords] in the stead of relics, yet let us yield thus much unto their commemoration, to glorify the Lord in his saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their lives at the least with like innocency. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors; and is it so great a matter then for our part to mortify our flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the riches and glory of the world for the love of Christ, but also their lives; and shall we then keep so great a stir one against another for the transitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done unto them, and when their very hearts' blood gushed out of their bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready for every trifling offence to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They, wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their persecutors; and therefore ought we, who are now the posterity and children of martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but, being admonished by their examples, if we cannot express their charity toward all men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any, and if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving, and not revenging, the same. And let us not only keep our hands from shedding of blood, but our tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, from martyrdom, or loss of life, according to their example, and to yield up the same in the defence of the Lord's flock. Which thing if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the world than now is. And thus much touching the utility and fruit to be taken of this history.

TO

## ALL THE PROFESSED FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS OF THE POPE'S PROCEEDINGS.

### FOUR QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED.

To you all and singular who profess the doctrine and religion of the pope your holy father, and of your mother-church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholics, commonly termed Papists, wheresoever abiding in the realm of England, these four questions or problems hereunder following I would move; desiring you all either to muse upon them, or to answer them at your leisure.

Four demands or questions put forth to the papists.

#### The First Question.

First, forsomuch as mount Sion (which God calleth by the prophet Isaiah "the hill of his holiness"), beareth in the Scripture an undoubted type of the spiritual church of Christ; and forsomuch as the said Isaiah,<sup>1</sup> prophesying of the said mount Sion, saith in these words, "Non nocebunt neque affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus," etc.; that is, "They shall not kill nor hurt in all my holy hill, saith the Lord," etc. And again, in the same chapters, thus we read, "Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardus cum hædo accubabit, vitulus et leo et ovis unâ commorabuntur, et puellus parvulus ducet eos," etc.;

The first question.

(1) Isaiah xi. 9, and lxx. 25.

that is, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard with the kid; the calf, the lion, and the sheep shall feed together, and a young child shall rule them. The cow also and the bear shall abide together with their young ones, and the lion shall eat chaff and fodder like the ox," etc.

Objec-  
tion.

Upon these premises now followeth my question: How the church of Rome can be answerable to this hill of Sion, seeing in the said church of Rome is, and hath been, now so many years, such killing and slaying, such cruelty and tyranny shewed, such burning and spilling of christian blood, such malice and mischief wrought, as, in reading these histories, may to all the world appear?

Refuta-  
tion.

To this if they answer, and expound these words of the prophet, as pertaining to the church triumphant; thereunto I reply again, that by the words in the same place and in the same sentence expressed, that sense cannot stand; forasmuch as the prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in God's holy mountain, without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, and showeth also the cause of that godly peace; "Because," saith he, "the earth is replenished with knowledge and science of the Lord," etc. And furthermore the prophet, speaking of the same day when this shall be, addeth, saying, "In that day the Root of Jesse shall stand for a sign to the people, for the Gentiles to be converted, and to seek unto him," etc.; which day in no wise can be applied to the church in heaven triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Public  
execution  
of laws  
not for-  
bidden in  
Scripture.  
The con-  
ditions  
and prop-  
erties of  
the true  
church.

Touching which place of Isaiah, further here is to be noted by the way, that, by this peaceable mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the states, as well ecclesiastical as temporal), is not restrained the public penalty of good laws needful to be executed upon public malefactors, but here is restrained the fierceness, revenge, cruelty, and violence of men's affections. To which affections men being commonly subject by nature, through grace and working of the gospel are altered, reformed, and changed to another disposition; from stoutness to softness, from violence to sufferance, from fierceness to forbearing, from pride to humility, from cruelty to compassion, from wiliness to simplicity, from solemn singularity to humanity and meekness. Which virtues, if they had been in the church of Rome (according to the rule of St. Paul, "Which willeth men that be stronger to bear with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meekness," etc.<sup>1</sup>), I should not have needed now at this time to write such a long history as this, of the suffering of so many martyrs.

## The Second Question.

The  
second  
question.  
The  
deadly  
hatred  
of the  
papists  
against  
the pro-  
testants  
grounded  
upon no  
just cause  
or de-  
serving.

My second question is this, To demand of you, catholic professors of the pope's sect, who so deadly malign and persecute the protestants professing the gospel of Christ; what just or reasonable cause have you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye bear unto them, that neither you yourselves can abide to live with them, nor yet will suffer the others to live amongst you? If they were Jews, Turks, or infidels, or, in their doctrine, were any idolatrous impiety, or detestable iniquity in their lives; if they went about any deadly destruction, or privy conspiracies to oppress your lives, or by fraudulent dealing to circumvent you; then had you some cause to complain, and also to revenge. Now seeing in their doctrine ye have neither blasphemy, idolatry, superstition, nor misbelief to object unto them—seeing they are baptized in the same belief, and believe the same articles of the creed as ye do; having the same God, the same Christ and Saviour, the same baptism, and are ready to confer with you in all kind of christian doctrine, neither do refuse to be tried by any place of the Scripture—how then riseth this mortal malice of you against them? If you think them to be heretics, then bring forth, if ye can, any one sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, expounded by the censure of most ancient doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confess the same? See and try the order of their lives and doings; what great fault find you? They serve God, they walk under his fear, they obey his law, as men may do; and though they be transgressors towards him, as other men are, yet toward *you* what have they done, what have they committed or deserved, why you should be so bitter against them?

(1) Rom. xv. 1. Gal. vi. 1.

What offended the poor inhabitants of Merindol and Cabriers, when the bishop of Aix, the cardinal of Tours, and other bishops of France, wresting from Francis, the French king, a commission, sent Minerius with his captain John de Gray, to destroy their country, A. D. 1530; who, driving the poor people there into a barn full of straw, set the barn on fire, and burned up men, women, and children? And, likewise, in a church exercised the like cruelty upon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand young and old, women, children, and young infants, besides seven whole towns, with the most part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the said country of Provence.

Malice and cruelty of papists against the country of Merindol and Cabriers.

Also, before that, what offended the citizens of Tholouse and Avignon, when pope Gregory IX. set Louis IX. the French king to war against them, and against Raymund their earl, without cause; where also the said king died at the siege?

Citizens of Tholouse and Avignon.

Or, to speak of later years, what hurt or harm did the poor protestants in the town of Vassy;<sup>1</sup> who, being peaceably at a sermon, were miserably slain and cut, men, women, and children, by the duke of Guise and his armed soldiers? Besides other infinite examples almost not to be numbered of like cruelty, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other countries more.

The protestants of the town of Vassy.

But to let other countries pass, let us turn now to the peaceable government in this realm of England, under this our so mild and gracious queen now presently reigning. Under whom you see how gently you are suffered, what mercy is shewed unto you, how quietly ye live. What lack you that you would have, having almost the best rooms and offices in all the realm, not only without any loss of life, but also without any fear of death? And though a few of your arch-clerks be in custody, yet in that custody so shrewdly are they hurt, that many a good protestant in the realm would be glad with all their hearts to change rooms and diet with them, if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure have slipt over the seas; if their courage to see countries abroad did so allure them, who could let them? Yet this is certain, no dread there was of death that drave them. For what papist have you seen in all this land to lose either life or limb for papistry,<sup>2</sup> during all these twelve years hitherto since this queen's reign? And yet, all this notwithstanding, having no cause to complain, so many causes to give God thanks, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety, but hope for a day, and fain would have a change. And to prevent your desired day, ye have conspired, and risen up in open rebellion against your prince, whom the Lord hath set up to be your governor.

Clemency and mercy shewed to papists.

And as you have since that now of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable state of Scotland, in murdering most traitorously the gentle and godly regent of Scotland (who, in sparing the queen's life there, when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore lost his own), so, with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would you disturb the golden quiet and tranquillity of this realm of England, if ye might have your wills. Which the merciful grace of the Almighty, for Christ his Son's sake our Lord, forefend and utterly disappoint. Amen!

Traitorous murdering of the Lord James, regent of Scotland.

Wherefore, these premises considered, my question is to ask of you and know, what just or reasonable cause ye have of these your unreasonable doings, of this your so mortal and deadly hatred, fury, and malice, you bear against these your even-christened; of these your tumults, conjurations, gaping, and

The cause of these later persecutions in the church.

(1) For particulars upon this, among other schemes, for lessening and keeping down the members of the reformed church in France, see "Hist. Eccles. des Eglises reformées au Royaume de France." Anvers, 1580, vol. ii. pp. 1—3; or "Recueil des choses mémorables avenues en France sous le règne de Henri II., Charles IX., etc." p. 148; also Laval's History of the Reformation in France; book iv. § 10.—Ed.

(2) This freedom from molestation is admitted by all the sects in the church of Rome, including the Jesuits: "thus" (to use Watson's words) "these great emperor-like Jesuits do speak to her majesty: 'In the beginning of thy kingdom thou didst deal something more gently with catholics; none were then urged by thee, or pressed either, to thy sect, or to the denial of their faith. All things indeed did seem to proceed in a far milder course: no great complaints were heard of: there were seen no extraordinary contentions or repugnancies; some there were that, to please and gratify you, went to your churches. But when afterwards thou didst begin to wrong them,' &c. 'And when was that, our great messeigneurs? Surely whensoever it was (to answer for you) we ourselves—certain catholics of all sorts—were the true causes of it.'" See Watson's Important Considerations, p. 40, edit. Lond. 1831.—Ed.

hoping, rebellions, mutterings, and murders, wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole world? Of all which mischiefs, if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtless to be none other but only the private cause of the bishop of Rome, that he is not received, and the dignity of his church exalted.

Touching which cause how unreasonable and unjust it is, more shall be said (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shall see their answer, if it shall so please them, or any of them, to answer this question. In the mean time, this, for a brief note shall suffice: that it standeth not with the Scripture, but contrary to the Scripture, that the bishop of Rome should so revenge his own private cause.

The plantation of the pope's supremacy proved not to be of God.

If this title and plantation be good, and of God, why doth he not refer it unto God? And no doubt, but if it be so, God will maintain it, though the whole world said No. If it be otherwise, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the world said Yea. Yea, the greatest argument to prove this plantation of the pope's supremacy not to be of God, is, that the pope, fighting in his own private cause, by outward and worldly force, seeketh his own glory. Christ our Saviour, being here refused himself, yet neither revenged his own cause, nor sought his own glory, but only the glory and will of his Father, thus speaking of himself, "Si ego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est, Pater meus est qui glorificat me," etc.; that is, "If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me,"<sup>1</sup> etc. Even so I say with Scripture, that if the pope's proceedings were planted of God, he would not so wrestle for his glory as he doth; but forsomuch as he seeketh by such cruelty and bloodshed to exalt himself, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he should be brought low.<sup>2</sup>

### The Third Question.

The two beasts in the book of Revelation described.

My third question I take of the thirteenth chapter of the book of Revelation. Which book, as it containeth a prophetic history of the church, so likewise it requireth by histories to be opened. In this chapter mention is made, first, of a certain beast coming out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, with ten diadems of blasphemy: unto the which beast the dragon, the devil, gave his strength, and great power to fight against his saints, and to overcome them, and to make forty-two months;<sup>3</sup> of the which beast one of his heads was wounded at length to death.

The second beast, with horns like a lamb.

After this, immediately in the same chapter, mention followeth of another beast rising out of the land, having two horns like a lamb, and spake like a dragon, and did all the power of the former beast before his face, and caused all dwellers of the earth to worship the beast, whose head was wounded and lived. Who also had power to give spirit and life to the said former beast, to make the image of the beast to speak, and to cause all men, from the highest to the lowest, to take the mark of the beast in their hands and foreheads; and whosoever worshipped not the image of the beast should be killed.

Upon this description of these two beasts riseth my question; wherein I desire all papists, from the highest to the lowest, either to answer, or to consider with themselves, what the spirit of the prophecy meaneth by the said two beasts. Neither is the mystery of this prophecy so obscure, but, being historical, by histories it may be explained and easily expounded. Writing, therefore, to the papists, as men expert in histories, my question is this: That seeing the prophecy of these two beasts must needs prefigure some people or dominion in the world, of some high estate and power, they will now declare unto us, *what* people or domination this should be; which, if they will do plainly and truly, according to the marks and properties of the said two beasts here set forth, they must needs be driven, of force inevitable, to grant and confess the same to agree only to the city and empire of Rome, and to no other; which, by these reasons following, of necessity must needs be concluded.

The first beast rising out of the sea.

First, The beast which came out of the sea, having the strength, the seat and power, of the great dragon (the devil, called the prince of this world) committed to him, who also had power given over all tribes, nations, languages, people, and countries in the earth, must needs be an empire or monarchy of

(1) John viii. 54.

(2) Luke xviii. 14.

(3) See *infra*, p. 288 of this volume, note (2).—Eo.

great force, passing all other monarchies in the world besides: and this must needs argue the empire of Rome and none other.

Secondly, In that the beast had seven heads and ten horns, with ten diadems full of blasphemy upon them; those seven heads being expounded in the said book<sup>1</sup> for seven hills, notoriously importeth the city of Rome, wherein were seven hills contained. The like also may be thought of the ten horns, being there expounded for ten kings (signifying, belike, the ten provinces or kingdoms of the world, subdued to the Roman empire), with ten crowns of blasphemy upon their heads; all which conveniently agree to the city of Rome.

The monarchy of Rome.

Thirdly, Where the said beast had power to make forty-two months,<sup>2</sup> and to fight against the saints, and to overcome them, etc.; thereby most manifestly is declared the empire of Rome, with the heathen persecuting emperors, who had power given the space of so many months (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, two hundred and ninety-four years) to persecute Christ's church, as, in the table of the primitive church hereafter following, is discoursed more at large.

Fourthly, Where the prophet speaketh of one of the heads of the beast to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured again; by that ye have to understand the decay and subversion of the city of Rome, and of Italy, which, being one of the heads of the Roman monarchy, was subdued by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, and the city of Rome thrice sacked and taken, between the reign of Honorius emperor of Rome, and the time of Justinian emperor of Constantinople; and so remained this head of Rome wounded a long time under the dominion of the Lombards, till at length this wound was cured again, as the sequel of this prophecy declareth. For so it followeth in the aforesaid chapter of the Revelation: "And after this I saw," saith he, "another beast rising out of the land, having two horns like the lamb, and spake like the dragon. Who practised all the power of the first beast before his face, and caused all the inhabitants of the earth to worship the first beast, whose head was wounded and cured again, etc. And to him it was given to give life to the image of the beast, and to make it speak: and also to make all them that will not worship the image of the beast, to be slain, and caused all, from the most to the least, both rich and poor, free-men and bond-men, to take the mark of the beast in their right hand and in their foreheads, so that none should buy and sell unless he had the beast's mark about him," etc.

The wounded head of the beast in the Revelation, what it meaneth.

The second beast, rising out of the land, pretending the horns of a lamb, what it meaneth.

The description of this second beast being well viewed, it cannot be avoided, but needs must be applied to the bishop of Rome, and to none other, as by the history and order of times is evident to be proved. For who else representeth the horns of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world," but only he? Who speaketh with the voice of the dragon so proudly as he? The voice of the dragon spake once to Christ, "That all the glory of the world was his, to give to whom he would, and that he would give it," etc. And doth not this false-horned lamb, speaking in the same voice of the dragon, say by the mouth of pope Gregory VII., "That all the kingdoms of the earth were his, and that he had power in earth to loose, and take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where he would,"<sup>3</sup> etc.?

The mystery of the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation expounded.

Furthermore, at what time the declining state of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought under subjection of the Lombards, then the pope stirred up Pepin and Charlemagne, to take his part against the Lombards, and to restore again the old glory of that monarchy to his former state. And, therefore, who cured the wounded head of this beast again, but only he? Who gave life and speech to the image of the beast, but he? who, after that, by the help of the French kings, he had subdued those Lombards, with other aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome into his own hands, so repaired and advanced the fame and name of Rome, that since that time all persons, from the highest to the lowest, both rich and poor, have been glad to send and seek to Rome,

The image of the old monarchy revived by the bishop of Rome.

(1) Rev. xvii.

(2) Of these forty-two months, and the exposition thereof, read after

(3) Ex Platina in Vitâ Gregor. VII. [He thus calls upon the apostolical choir to second his assumptions: "Agite igitur apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi, vestrâ auctoritate interpositâ, confirmate, ut omnes nunc demum intelligant, si potestis in cœlo ligare et solvere; in terrâ quoque imperia, regna, principatus—et quicquid habere mortales possunt—auferre et dare vos posse," etc.; fol. 180, edit. Lugduni, 1512. A somewhat different turn is given to this address by the author cited in Bower's "Lives of the Popes," (vol. v. p. 280,) Paulus Bernriedensis.—Ed.]

Power to do the works of the beast before his sight.

yea, kings, emperors, queens, and dukes, have been glad to kiss that bishop's feet, and to lead his horse by the bridle. So that the majesty of Rome, in the old heathen emperors' days, was never more terrible nor glorious, nor ever had more power to persecute and overcome God's saints, than these lamb-like bishops of Rome have had, and have exercised, these five hundred years in Christendom. And, therefore, who else in all the world hath so much power to do the works of the first beast before his face, as he? or who but he alone, who forceth both high and low, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive the seal, and to become loyal to the city and see of Rome? so that whosoever hath not the mark whereby to be known to hold of the church of Rome, shall have no place to buy and sell, nor to occupy in all Christendom.

Now if any papist whatsoever, in answering to this my question, can apply this propheticall mystery of these two beasts otherwise than thus, I would heartily desire him to take so much pains to satisfy this doubt at his good pleasure and leisure. In the mean season, let this stand for a *Corollarium*: that the bishop of Rome, by this description, must be that second beast prophesied to come in the latter time of the church under a false pretended lamb, to restore again the old persecutions of Rome, and to disturb the whole church of Christ, as this day too truly is come to pass.

### The fourth Question.

As touching my fourth question, although I could urge you with another like propheticall place of Scripture, no less evident against the bishop of Rome, taken out of the second epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, where mention is made of the son of perdition, "sitting in the temple of God, as God, and advancing himself above all that is called God, &c."—Which place ye can by no reasonable evasion avoid—yet notwithstanding to let this pass, I turn my question to ask this of you: Whether the religion of Christ be mere spiritual, or else corporal? If ye affirm it to be corporal, as was the old religion of the Jews, consisting in outward rites, sacrifices, and ceremonies of the law; then shew, if ye can, what any one outward action or observation is required in christian religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a christian man for remission of sins and salvation, save only the two sacramental ceremonies of outward baptism, and of the Lord's supper? Howbeit, neither these also as they are corporal; that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sins, nor salvation, but only are visible shews of invisible and spiritual benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom we serve be spiritual; how can his religion and service be corporal, as we are taught by the mouth of our Saviour, saying, "God is a Spirit, and therefore they that worship him must worship in spirit and verity, etc."

Religion of Christ spiritual, and not corporal. The pope turneth the spiritual religion of Christ to a corporal religion. The whole sum of the pope's eatholic religion set forth in parts.

Now if ye grant (as ye must needs) this our christian religion to be spiritual, and not a corporal religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point, of all these things, which ye strive for so much with us, to be spiritual, but altogether corporal, and extern matters and ceremonial observations, nothing conducing to any spiritual purpose: as your outward succession of bishops, garments, vestures, gestures, colours, choice of meats, difference of days, times, and places, hearing, seeing, saying, touching, tasting, numbering of beads, gilding and worshipping images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloisters, abstaining from flesh and white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping ember-days, hearing mass and divine service, seeing and adoring the body in form of bread, receiving holy-water and holy-bread, creeping to the cross, carrying palms, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage-going, censing, kneeling, knocking, altars, super-altars, candlesticks, pardons. In orders, crossing, anointing, shaving, forswearing marriage. In baptism, crossing, salting, spatling, exorcising, washing of hands. At Easter, ear-confession, penance-doing, satisfaction; and in receiving, with beards new shaven, to imagine a body where they see no body; and though he were there present to be seen, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of itself, without faith, condueth no more than it did to the Jews. At Rogation-days, to carry banners, to follow the cross, to walk about the fields. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At Hollomas to watch in the church, to say a dirge, and commemorations, and to ring for All-Souls, to pay tythes truly, to give to

the high altar. And if a man will be a priest, to say mass and matins, to serve the saint of that day, and to lift well over his head, &c. In sickness to be annealed, to take his rites; after his death to have funerals, and obits said for him, and to be rung for at his funeral, month mind, and year mind, &c. Add moreover to these the outward sacrifice of the mass, with *opus operatum sine bono motu utens*. &c.

All which things above recited, as they contain the whole summary and effect of all the pope's catholic religion; so are they all corporal exercises, consisting in the extern operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right catholic christian, then it may be said, that men may be made perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the Holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that which flesh and blood of his [own] strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the Holy Ghost did work?

But now the order of our religion, and way of salvation, consisteth not in such corporal or outward things as these, but in other more high and more spiritual gifts, which far exceed the capacity of flesh and blood; of the which gifts, the chiefest and only main cause that saveth man, and remitteth sins, is his faith in Christ. Which faith I thus define; for a man to believe, by the bloodshedding of Jesus the Son of God his sins to be forgiven, God's wrath to be pacified, and himself to be justified perfectly from all accusations that can be laid unto him. And though the papists make a light matter of this, to believe in Christ; and when they hear us say, That faith only justifieth, they object to us again, and make it a small matter to be saved, if faith only justifieth us; yet notwithstanding, this faith, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attain thereto, unless God's holy Spirit from above do draw him.

Moreover, besides this faith, many other things are incident also to the doctrine of our salvation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as sacraments and seals of faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same: so baptism, and the supper of the Lord, are as testimonies and proofs, that by our faith only in Christ we are justified; that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine, so, by the blood of Christ our sins are purged, and the hunger of our souls relieved by the death of his body.

Upon the same faith riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things also, as fruits and effects, do follow after faith; as peace of conscience, joy in the holy Ghost, invocation, patience, charity, mercy, judgment, and sanctification. For God, for our faith in Christ his Son, therefore giveth into our hearts his holy Spirit of comfort, of peace, and sanctification, whereby man's heart is moved to a godly disposition to fear God, to seek him, to call upon him, to trust unto him, to stick to him in all adversities and persecutions, to love him; and, for his sake also, to love our brethren; to have mercy and compassion upon them, to visit them if they be in prison, to break bread to them if they be hungry, and, if they be burdened, to ease them; to clothe them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houseless; with such other spiritual exercises of piety and sanctification as these, which therefore I call spiritual, because they proceed of the holy Spirit and law of God, which is spiritual.

And thus have ye a catholic Christian defined, first after the rules of Rome, and also after the rule of the gospel. Now confer these antitheses together, and see whether of these is the true Christian, the ceremonial man after the church of Rome, or the spiritual man with his faith and other spiritual fruits of piety following after the same. And if ye say that ye mix them both together, spiritual things with your corporal ceremonies, to that I answer again, that as touching the end of remission of sins and salvation, they ought in no case to be joined together, because the main cause of all our salvation and remission is only spiritual, and consisteth in faith, and in no other.

And therefore upon the same cause I come to my question again, as I began, to ask whether the religion of Christ be a mere spiritual religion; and whether in the religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but only mere corporal things required, to make a catholic man. And thus I leave you to your answer.

A man may be a catholic by the pope's religion, without any working of the Holy Ghost.

The nature of true christian religion. Salvation of man standeth only in faith in Christ.

No light matter to flesh and blood.

Many things incident to salvation besides faith; but not as causes thereof.

Works of sanctification, how they come and follow faith.



In turning over the first leaves of this book,<sup>1</sup> thou shalt find, gentle reader, the arguments of Pighius and Hosius, wherein thus they argue: that forso much as Christ must needs have a catholic church ever continuing here in earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort; and seeing no other church hath endured continually from the apostles, visible here in earth but only the church of Rome; they conclude, therefore, the church of Rome only to be the right catholic church of Christ.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said; that forso much as the *medius terminus* of this argument, both in the *major* and *minor*, consisteth only in the words "visible and unknown," if they mean by this word "visible," in the *major*, that Christ's church must be seen here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false. Likewise, if they mean by the same word "visible" in the *minor*, that no other church hath been seen and known to any, but only the church of Rome, they are likewise deceived. For the true church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the world can see it, but only they which have spiritual eyes, and be members thereof; nor yet so invisible again, but such as be God's elect, and members thereof, do see it, and have seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot do so; whereof read more in the Protestation, above prefixed, to the church of England.

FOUR CONSIDERATIONS GIVEN OUT TO CHRISTIAN PROTESTANTS,  
PROFESSORS OF THE GOSPEL; WITH A BRIEF EXHORTATION  
INDUCING TO REFORMATION OF LIFE.

The First Consideration.

As, in the pages before, "Four Questions" were moved to the catholic papists, to answer them at their leisure; so have I here, to the christian gospellers, four considerations for them to muse upon with speed convenient.

The first consideration is this: that every good man well weigh with himself the long tranquillity, the great plenty, the peaceable liberty, which the Lord of his mercy hath bestowed upon this land during all the reign hitherto of this our sovereign and most happy queen Elizabeth, in such sort as the like example of God's abundant mercies is not to be seen in any nation about us; so, as we may well sing with the psalm in the church, "Non fecit taliter omni nationi, et opes gloriæ suæ non manifestavit eis;" first, in having the true light of God's gospel so shining among us, so publicly received, so freely preached, with such liberty of conscience without danger professed; having, withal, a prince so virtuous, a queen so gracious, given unto us, of our own native country, bred and born amongst us, so quietly governing us, so long leant unto us, in such peace defending us against such as would else devour us; briefly, what could we have more at God's hand, if we would wish? Or what else could we wish in this world that we have not, if this one thing lacked not—grace to use that well which we have?

The Second Consideration.

As these things first are to be considered concerning ourselves, so, secondly; let us consider likewise the state and times of other our countrymen and blessed martyrs aforepast; what storms of persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what enemies they were matched, with what crosses pressed, under what princes, under what prelates, they lived, or rather died, in the days of king Henry the fourth, king Henry the fifth, king Henry the seventh, king Henry the eighth, queen Mary, etc.; under Bonner bishop of London, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Cholmley, Story, bishop Arundel, Stokesley, Courtney, Warham; at what time children were caused to set fire to their fathers, the father adjured to accuse the son, the wife to accuse the husband, the husband the wife, brother the sister, sister the brother; examples whereof are plenty in this book to be seen.

(1) See *infra*, pp. 7, 8, of this volume.—Ed.

## The Third Consideration.

Thirdly, let us call to mind, considering thus with ourselves, these good men and worthy martyrs in those dangerous days, tasting as they did the heavy hand of God's sharp correction, beginning commonly with his own house first; if they were alive now in these halcyon-days, under the protection of such a peaceable prince, O what thanks would they give to God! How happy would they count themselves, having but half of that we have, with freedom only of conscience and safety of life! Or, if in case we ourselves had been in those times of theirs, so troubled and distressed as they were, spoiled of goods, hated of the world, cited in consistories, pinched in prisons, sequestered from house, wife, and children, looking for nothing but death; what would we say? what would we think? what would we do? Much otherwise doubtless than we do now. God grant we may do better; for worse I think we cannot if we would. John Wickliff, William Swinbery, Thorpe, Sawtry, with a number of godly men more, being then glad, in friese-gowns, going barefoot, to preach where they could; if they were now alive, how glad would they be of these days, what pains would they take, yea, what pains would they not take in preaching the gospel, not for lucre, nor for money, nor passing for promotions or dignities of the church! Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, with divers worshipful gentlemen a great number, if they, being in our state, might enjoy with us their houses and lands, with the good favour of their prince (as then they could not), how gladly would they have contented themselves, though they never raised their rents and fines to the undoing of their poor tenants! Likewise in the time of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the nobility and gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might have had half this tranquillity which we have, to enjoy the liberty of God's word and true use of the sacraments without molestation of Romish prelates, what would they have cared how simply they walked in their attire, without any such monstrous pomp in pranking up themselves, as we Englishmen in these reformed days walk now, more like players on a stage, than God's children in his church.

## The Fourth Consideration.

Wherefore, well-beloved, these things being so, let us call ourselves to mind, considering the times that have been, the times that be, and the times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the favour of God only that doth support us in the midst of so many enemies, let us beware that in no wise we provoke his indignation. If it be his truth and gospel that we profess, let us walk in the light of his truth, and keep ourselves within the compass of his gospel. What the gospel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? and yet who followeth what he knoweth? If St. Paul willeth every one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Jesus; and if the Lord Jesus himself testifieth plainly his kingdom not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that kingdom so spiritual, and our conditions so worldly, match well together? To rip up all our deformities in particular I mind not here, neither need I, the same being so evident to all men's eyes, that who cannot see our excessive outrage in pompous apparel, our carnal desires and unchaste demeanors, without fear of God, our careless security, without conscience, as though there were no judgement to come, our studies so upon this world, as though there were no other heaven? What pride and idleness of life, double dissembling in word and deed, without simplicity, avarice unsatiable, little regard to hear God's word, less to read it, least of all to follow it, every man aspiring to worldly wealth and promotion, little or no mercy to the poor, racking of rents and fines, bribing and taking unmeasurable. What should I speak of the contentions and unbrotherly divisions amongst us, most lamentable to see, but more lamentable, if all were seen which may or is like to follow upon the same? Such were the times once of the church before the horrible persecution of Dioclesian; for so we read, such hatred and disdain, through much peace and prosperity of the church, to creep in amongst the churchmen.

Wherefore let us be exhorted, dearly beloved, to reclaim ourselves while time doth serve. If we find the Lord so gracious in sparing us as he doth, let not that make us worse, but better. It is a lewd child that will not learn without

beating. A well-minding man will be good; not forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As adversity, if it come, ought not to dismay us; so prosperity, now present, ought not to puff us up in security, considering what commonly is wont to follow; as Plato well writeth, "Summæ atque effrenatæ libertatis servitutem plerumque asseclam esse," Of immoderate liberty and too much security, followeth most commonly extreme servitude. And as Hippocrates saith, "dispositions of bodies, when they are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subject to danger of sickness," &c. Let us therefore, having light given us, walk like the children of light. Otherwise, if we walk like children of disobedience, God hath his rods to scourge us; if we will needs be rebels, he hath his Pharaohs and Nabuchadnezzars to plague us. Or if we will be so inordinate and (with reverence be it spoken, without offence to God or man) so doggish and currish one to another, the Lord lacketh not his dog-striker to whip us. And would God our lives were such, that the destruction and ruin, here of late seen among us, may portend nothing against us, as I trust there is no cause for us to fear; but rather to fear the Lord, and walk in his obedience, and amend that which is amiss amongst us. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus bless thee, gentle reader, that long thou mayest read, and much thou mayest profit. Amen.

*Pax prædicantibus, gracia audientibus, gloria Jæsu Christo. Amen.*

THE KALENDER.



THE KALENDER

JANUARYE hath 31 dayes.

The Moone 30.

FEBRUARY hath 28 dayes.

The Moone 29.

		Days of their death.	Years of the Lord.			Days of their death.	Years of the Lord.
3	A	1 Circumcision.		d	1	William Thorpe, Priest, Confessor.	1407
	b	2 John Wicklief, Preacher, martyr	1387	11	e	2 Purification of our Ladye.	
11	c	3 John Aston, Confes.	1382	19	f	3 John Claydon, martyr.	1413
	d	4 William Sawtrey, Priest, martyr.	1401	8	g	4 Richard Turmine, martyr.	1413
19	e	5 Swinderby a Priest martyr.		A	5	Zisca, a Confessour.	1416
8	f	6 Epiphany.		16	b	Syr John Ould Castell, Lord Cobham, Martyr.	1418
	g	7 Syr Roger Acton, Knyghte, martyr.	1401	5	c	7 Richarde Houeden, martyr.	1430
16	A	8 John Brown, Gentleman, martyr.	1413	d	8	Thomas Bageley, Priest, martyr.	1431
5	b	9 John Beucerley, Preacher, martyr.	1413	13	e	9 Paule Crabs, martyr.	1431
	c	10 Richarde Silbecke, martyr.	1413	2	f	10 Thomas Rhodon, martyr.	1436
18	d	11 John Castellane, Doctour, martyr	1521	g	11	Raynolde Preecke, Bis. Confessour.	1457
2	e	12 Thomas Whytell, minister martyr.	27 1525	10	A	12 Sir Roger Onley, Knight, Martyr.	1441
	f	13 Bartlet Grene, Gentleman, martyr.	27 1556	b	13	Elenor Cobham, Gentlewoman, Confessor.	
10	g	14 John Tudson, mar.	27 1556	18	c	14 Mother of the Lady Yong, martyr.	1490
A	15	Thom. Went, martyr.	27 1556	7	d	15 Thomas Norbice, martyr.	1507
18	b	Thomas Browne, martyr.	27 1556	e	16	Thomas of Bekles, martyr.	1510
7	c	Isabel Foster, mar.	27 1556	f	17	Thomas Bungaye, martyr.	1511
	d	Joane Clarue, alias Lashford, martyr.	27 1556	15	g	18 D. Martin Luther, Confes.or.	1546
15	e	John Thomas, mar.	31 1556	4	A	19 Pope of Cay, martyr.	1512
4	f	Anne Albright alias Champnes, martyr.	31 1556	12	b	20 Peake, martyr.	1512
	g	Joane Catmer, martyr.	31 1556	1	c	21 George Carpenter, martir.	1527
12	A	Agnes Snothe, martyr.	31 1556	d	22	John Rogers, Preacher, martyr.	1555
1	b	Joane Sole, mar.	31 1556	9	e	23 Lawrence Saunders, Preacher, martyr.	1555
	c	William Waterer, martyr	15 1556	f	24	J. Hooper, Bys. Mar.	1555
9	d	Conuer. of Paule.		g	25	Rowland Tylour, Decretour, martyr.	1555
	e	Steven Kemp, mar.	15 1557	17	26	Mathy. Apo.	
	f	William Way, martyr.	15 1557	16	A	26 Robert Farrar, Bys. Martyr.	1555
17	g	Thomas Hudson, martyr.	15 1557	22	b	27 Agnes Potten, mar.	1556
6		William Howricke, martyr.	15 1557	14	c	28 Tronehields wife, martyr.	1557
	A	Will. Prowtting, martir.	15 1557				
14	b	Nicholas Final, } mar.	16 1557				
		Math. Bradbrige, } mar.	16 1557				
8	e	John Philpot, } mar.	1557				
		Thomas Steuens. } mar.	1557				

THE KALENDER.

MARCHE hath xxxi dayes.

The Moore 30.

Dayes of their death.  
Year of our Lord.

APRIL hath xxx daies.

The Moore 29.

Dayes of their death.  
Year of the Lord.

MARCHE hath xxxi dayes.		Dayes of their death.	Year of our Lord.	APRIL hath xxx daies.		Dayes of their death.	Year of the Lord.
d	1	William Tailoure, martir.	2 1422	g	1	Rob. Hatches, Archer, } mar.	4 1519
e	2	John Meselianus, a Doctoure, martir.	1479			Hawkins, }	
f	3	Doctor Meselus, alias Basilus. Confes.	11 1490	A	2	Thomas Bounde, mar.	4 1519
g	4	Henry Sudphen, mar.	1524	b	3	Wrigsham, mar.	4 1519
A	5	John Hougley, mar.	1526	c	4	Hansdale, mar.	4 1519
b	6	Petrus Flesteditus, mar.	1528	d	5	Mistres Smith, Widow, mar.	4 1519
c	7	Adolphus Clabachus, mar.	1528	e	6	James Baynham, Gentleman, mar.	30 1532
d	8	Patricke Hammelton, mar.	1528	f	7	Jo. Broocke, Confes	2 1555
e	9	Tho. Witten, mar.	1530	g	8	George Marshe, Preacher, mar.	24 1555
f	10	Tho. Bilney, Mar.	1531	A	9	William Flower, Minister, mar.	2 1555
g	11	Daby Foster, mar.	1531	b	10	Robert Drakes, Minister, martir.	24 1556
A	12	Edward Frese, Confes.	1531	c	11	Thomas Tymmes, mar.	24 1556
b	13	Valentyne Frese and his wyfe, mar.	1531	d	12	Rich. Spurge, } mar.	24 1556
c	14	Father Bate, Confes.	1531	e	13	Tho. Spurge, }	
d	15	Rablin White, mar.	5 1555	f	14	John Cabell, mar.	24 1556
e	16	Thomas Tomkins, mar.	13 1555	g	15	George Ambrose, mar	24 1556
f	17	Thomas Higbed, Gentleman, mar.	18 25 1555	A	16	John Harker, Minister, mar.	2 1556
g	18	Thomas Cawson, Gentleman, mar.	23 1555	b	17	Christopher Lister, Minister, mar.	28 1556
A	19	William Hunter, mar.	25 1555	c	18	John Mace, mar.	28 1556
b	20	William Pigot, mar.	28 1555	d	19	John Spenser, mar.	28 1556
c	21	Stephen Ruygh, mar.	28 1555	e	20	Simond Joyne, mar.	28
d	22	John Lawrence, Minister, mar.	29 1555	f	21	Richard Nichol, mar.	28 1556
e	23	Thomas Cranmer, Archebyshop: Mar.	21 1556	g	22	John Hamonde, mar.	28 1556
f	24	Rob. Spicer, mar.	24 1356	A	23	St. George, Martir.	
g	25	Annunciation of our Ladye.		b	24	Thomas Loseby, mar.	12 1556
A	26	William Coberley, mar.	24 1556	c	25	Marke Evangelist.	
b	27	Maudrell, mar.	24 1556	d	26	Henry Ramsey, mar.	12 1557
c	28	Richard Crashfield, mar.	15 1557	e	27	Thomas Chyrtle, mar.	12 1577
d	29	Cuthbert Simpson, mar.	28 1558	f	28	Margaret Hyde, mar.	12 1557
e	30	Hugh Fox, mar.	28 1558	g	29	Agnes Stanley, mar.	12 1557
f	31	John Debenish, mar.	28 1558	A	30	William Nichol, mar.	1558

THE KALENDER.

MAY hath xxxi dayes.			Days of their death.	Years of our Lord.	JUNE hath xxx daies.			Days of their death.	Years of our Lord.
The Moone 30.					The Moone 29.				
11	b	1 Philip and James, Apos.			e	1 Hierom of Prage, mar.		1	1416
	c	2 John Hus, Martyr.			f	Anne Askewe, Jo. Lassells, grile.	} m.		
19	d	3 Hieronymus Savanarola, Martyr.	23	1499	f	2 Jo. Adas, Nico. Bell- ma, Tho. Hawks,			19
8	e	4 Dominick, mar.	23	1499	g	3 Tho. Wattes, John Simpso, John Ardeley	} m.	10	1555
	f	5 Siluester, mar.	23	1499	a	4 Nic. Chamberlayn, mar. Tho. Hosniöd,			15
16	g	6 Fryer Rog, mar		1531	b	5 W. Bramford,	} mar.		
5	a	7 Robert Kyng, mar.		1532	e	6 Tho. Hurland, Tho. Os- ward, Thom. Keade, Ch. Abington, mars.			6
	b	8 Robert Debnam, mar.		1532	d	7 T. Wood, m. Tho. Milles,	} mar.	26	1556
13	c	9 Nicholas Marshe, mar.		1532	e	8 W. Adherall, minister, conf. John Clement, Confess. A Marchants Serbat, mar.			23
2	d	10 John Cardmaker, alias Cay- loue, Preacher, mar.	31	1555	f	9 H. Adlington, Lau. Pernam,	} mar.	27	1556
	e	11 John Warne, mar.	31	1555	g	10 Henry Wylfe, W. Ballywell,		} mar.	27
10	f	12 Margaret Ellis, Confes.	13	1556	a	11 Ch. Bower, George Serle, Edmud Hurst,	} mar.		27
	g	13 Hugh Lauerocke, mar.	15	1556	b	12 Lion Cawche, Kase Jackson,		} mar.	27
18	a	14 John Apprice, mar.	15	1556	c	13 John Roth, Eliza Pepper, Agnes George, mars. Thomas Parret, confess. Hut and Ambrose, cof.			27
7	b	15 Katharin Hut, Wydowe, mar.	16	1556	d	14 John Morpce, confess.		28	1556
	c	16 Elizabeth Chackwell, mar.	16	1556	e	15 Rog. Bernard, Adam Fos- ter, Rob. Lawson, mars.		29	1557
5	d	17 Bone Horucs, mar	16	1556	f	16 Walter Apelby, Petronill hys wife, Edmund Allen, Katheryn hys wyfe, mars.		30	1557
4	e	18 A blinde Boye, and another with hym, mar.	5	1556	a	17 Jo. Bradbrige, A Manning, Elizabeth a blinde mayde, m.		18	1557
	f	19 Thomas Spycer, mar.	21	1556	b	18 Thomas More, mar.		18	1557
2	g	20 John Denny, mar.	21	1556	c	19 Nico. Whight, Nico. Par- due, J. Fishcorcke, Bar- bara Final, mars.		19	1557
1	a	21 William Pole, mar.	21	1556	d	20 <i>Natiuite of S. John Bap</i> Bradbriges widow, Bendens wife,	} mar.	19	1557
	b	22 John Slesh, Confes.	30	1556	e	21 Wilsens wyfe, Kic. Woodman, G. Steph- ens, W. Maynard, Alex- anders Hosmons man, ms.			22
0	c	23 William Norant, mar.	29	1557	a	22 Thomasna Woods mayde,		22	1557
	d	24 Steuen Gratwick, mar.	29	1557	b	23 Margerye Horice, James Horice, son, Denis Bur- ges, Asdowns wite, Groues wyfe, mars.		22	1557
17	e	25 John Thurstone, Confes.		1557	c	24 Henry Ponde R. Eastlande, Ro. Southam, Mat. Ri- carby, mars.		27	1558
6	f	26 William Seaman, mar.	19	1558	d	25 <i>Peter &amp; Paul Apostles.</i> John Lloyd, John Holyday		27	1558
	g	27 Thomas Carman, mar.	19	1558	e	26 Roger Hollad, mars.		27	1558
14	a	28 Thomas Hudson, mar.	19	1558	f				
9	b	29 William Harries, mar.	26	1558					
	c	30 Richard Day, mar.	26	1558					
11	d	31 Christian George, mar.	26	1558					



THE KALENDER.

JULY hath xxxi dayes.

The Moone xxx.

Dayes of their death.

Years of our Lord.

19	g	1	Henry Voy, mar.	1	1522
			John Esch, mar.		
8	A	2	John Frith, } mar.	4	1533
			Andrew Hewet, }		
	b	3	Antony Perso, } mar.	18	1543
			Robert Testwood, }		
			Wen. F. Inne more, }		
16	e	4	Tho. Bradford, } mar.	1	1555
			preacher, }		
			John Neafe, }		
5	d	5	Jone Polley, mar.		1555
	e	6	William Myng, minister, mar.	2	1555
13	f	7	Richard Hoke, mar.		1555
2	g	8	John Blande, } mar.	12	1555
			preacher, }		
			Jhen Franke, }		
A		9	Humphrey Middleton, mar.	12	1555
10	b	10	Nich. Shetterden, mar.	12	1555
	c	11	Willia. Dighel, mar.		1555
			Diricke Caruer, mar.	12	1555
18	d	12	John Lauder, mar.	23	1555
7	e	13	Thomas Jueson, mar.		1555
	f	14	Nicolas Hauke, mar.		1555
15	g	15	John Aleworth, confes.		1555
4	A	16	John Careles, cof.	1	1556
	b	17	John Gwyn, } mar.	16	1556
			Julius Palmer, a Scholemaster, and Askine, }		
12	c	18	Ka. Cabches, Paratline Masse, & her Child not one hower olde, & Gupllemyc Gilbert, } mar.	17	1556
1	d	19			
	e	20			
9	f	21	Tho. Dugate, } mar.	18	1556
			Jho. Foreman, }		
			Anne Cree, }		
			Simō. Miller, } mar.	13	1556
			Eliza Coper, }		
	g	22	Mary Magdalene.		
17	A	23	Richard Deoman, minister, mar.	10	1558
6	b	24	Willia. Pikes, mar	14	1558
	c	25	James Apostle		
14	d	26	Stephen Cotton, mar	14	1558
3	e	27	John Slade, mar.	14	1558
	f	28	Steue Night, mar	14	1558
			Rob. Milles, mar.	14	1558
11	g	29	Rob. Dines, mar	14	1558
A		30	Tho. Venbrick, gentleman, mar.	29	1558
b		31			

AUGUST hath xxxi dayes.

The Moone xxx.

Dayes of their death.

Years of our Lord.

8	e	1	Leonard Keyser, mar.	16	1527
16	d	2	James Abbes, mar.	2	1555
5	e	3	John Denley, gentleman, mar.	8	1555
	f	4	John Newman, mar.	28	1555
13	g	5	Patricke Patyngham, mar.	28	1555
2	A	6	William Coker, mar.	23	1555
	b	7	William Hopper, mar.	23	1555
10	c	8	Henry Laurence, mar.	23	1555
	d	9	Richard Collier, mar.	23	1555
18	e	10	Willia. Stere, mar.	23	1555
7	f	11	Richard Wryght, mar.	23	1555
	g	12	Elizabeth Warne, mar.		
15	A	13	George Tankerfield, mar.	26	1555
4	b	14	R. Smith, mar.	8	1555
	c	15	Stephen Horwod, mar.	30	1555
2	d	16	Thomas Fusse, mar.	30	1555
1	e	17	William Hail, mar.	31	1555
	f	18	Robert Samuel. Preacher, mar.	31	1555
9	g	19	Jone Mast, mar.	1	1556
A		20	William Bongeor, mar.	2	1557
17	b	21	Robert Purcas, mar.	2	1557
6	c	22	Thomas Bennold, mar.	2	1557
	d	23	Agnes Silbersyde, alias Smith, mar.	2	1557
14	e	24	Barthelmew, Apos.		
3	f	25	Ellin Ewryng, mar.	2	1557
	g	26	Elizabeth Folkes, Mayde, mar.	2	1557
11	A	27	William Munt, mar.	2	1557
	b	28	Alice Munt, mar.	2	1557
	c	29	Rose Allyn, Mayde, mar.	2	1557
8	d	30	John Johnson, } mar.	2	1557
			George Egles, }		
	e	31	One Fryer, and the sayde George Egles Sister, mar.	2	1557

THE KALENDER.

SEPTEMBER hath 30 dayes.

The Moone XXIX.

Dayes of their death.

Yeare of our Lord.

OCTOBER hath 31 dayes.

The Moone xxx.

Dayes of their death.

Yeare of our Lord.

SEPTEMBER hath 30 dayes.		Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.	OCTOBER hath 31 dayes.		Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.		
The Moone XXIX.				The Moone xxx.					
6	f	1	Father Abraham, mar.	1428	16	A	1	Barihoret Myllou, mar.	1534
5	g	2	Wylliam Wyghht, priest, mar.	1428	5	b	2	John de Burge, a rich merchant, mar.	1534
	A	3	John Maddon, priest, mar.	1428	13	c	3	The Receyuer of Paunts, mar.	1534
13	b	4	William Gardiner, mar.	1552	2	d	4	Henry Poile, mar.	1534
2	c	5	W. Allen, mar.	1555			4	Catelle, a Schole-Mistris, mar.	1534
	d	6	Thomas Cob, } mar.	1555			5	Stephen de la Foarge, a Marchat, mar.	1534
			Thomas Coo, } mar.	1555	10	f	6	Wylliam Tyndall, mar.	1536
10	e	7	William Androwe, confess.	1555			7	William Keyton, mar.	1537
	f	8	T. King, confess.	1555	10	g	7	Puttedew, mar.	1537
	g	9	Thomas Leis, confess.	5	18	A	8	John Lambert, alias Nicolson, mar.	1538
7	A	10	George Catmer, } mar.	6	15	b	9	Collins, mar.	1538
			Robert Strater, } mar.	6	15	c	10	Cowbrige, mar.	1539
			Ant. Burward, } mar.	6	15	d	11	Peter, a Germane, mar.	1539
14	b	11	George Bradbrige, } mar.	6	4	e	12	Launcelot, mar.	1539
	c	12	James Cutty, } mar.	6			f	John, a Painter, mar.	1539
4	d	13	Thomas Hayward, } mar.	1555	12	g	13	Giles Germaine, mar.	1539
			John Goreway, } mar.	1555	1	A	14	Robert Barnes, mar. } mar.	1541
	e	14	Robert Globber, } mar.	20			15	Thomas Garrard, } mar.	1541
			Cornel. Bugay, } mar.	20			16	William Hierome, } mar.	1541
12	f	15	Edwarde Sharpe, mar.	8			17	William Wolsey, mar.	4
1	g	16	Thon Hart, } mar.	24			18	Robert Pigot, mar.	4
			T. Rabensdale, } mar.	24			19	Luke Evangelist.	1555
			A Shomaker, } mar.	24			20	Nicholas Ridley, Bis. mar.	16
			A Corler, } mar.	24			6	Hugh Latimer, Bis. mar.	16
A	17	17	Tho. Horne and } mar.	23			g	John Web, gent. } mar.	31
			another woman, } mar.	23			14	George Koper, } mar.	31
9	b	18	John Kurde, mar.	20			A	Gregory Packe, } mar.	31
	c	19	Cicily Ormes, mar.	23				Adam Malles, mar.	12
			Joyce Lewis, mar.	10			3	Mark Burges, } mar.	1560
17	d	20	Kafe Allerton, } mar.	17				William Hoker, } mar.	1560
			Richard Rothe, } mar.	17				Dauy Mylle, } mar.	1560
6	e	21	Mathew Appostle.				c	Simson, prist.	
	f	22	James Ausco and } mar.	17				Beberech, frier.	
			Margerye his wife, } mar.	17			11	Keyler, black fryer.	
14	g	23	Agnes Bøgeor, } mar.	17				Dauy Stratto, gēt.	
			Mar. Turstoun, } mar.	17			19	Porman Gorley, Vicar of Dolor.	
3	A	24	John Warren, mar.	1557			f	A black Chanō, with 4 other.	
	b	25	Christia. Globber, } mar.	1557			8	Simon and Jude.	
			Tho. Athoche, } mar.	1557			A	Thre dyed in pryson at Cicesier, confes.	18
11	c	26	John Mylles, } mar.	1557			16	Mother Seaman, confess.	1556
			Nico. Wolden, } mar.	1557			5	Mother Bennet, confess.	1556
19	d	27	John Ashdone, mar.	1557					
	e	28	Thomas Spurdaunce, mar.	1557					
8	f	29	Michaell Archangell.						
	g	30	John Fortune, mar.	1557					

# THE KALENDER.

NOVEMBER hath 30 dayes.

*The Moore xxix.*

DECEMBER hath 31 dayes.

*The Moore xxx.*

Dayes of their death.

Yeare of our Lord.

Dayes of their death.

Yeare of our Lord.

NOVEMBER hath 30 dayes.		Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.	DECEMBER hath 31 dayes.		Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
d	1 The Feaste of all Sayntes.			f	1 Wyllyam Tracy, Esquier, confes.	1534	
e	2 Rycharde Flekings, mar.	1541		g	2 Peter Sapience, mar.	1545	
f	3 Richard Spenser, mar.	1541		a	3 George Bucker, alias Adū. Dalp, mar.		
g	4 Andrew Hewet, mar.	1541		b	4 An olde man of Bucking- hamshire, mar.	1531	
a	5 John Porter, confes.	1542		c	5 Two gray Fryers, mar.	1581	
b	6 Thomas Barnard, mar.	1542		d	6 Thon Hiltō, confes.	1513	
c	7 James Morton, mar.	1542		e	7 John Coygues, confes.	1517	
d	8 George Wyarde, Gentle- man, mar.	1546		f	8 Robert Warde, confes.	1517	
e	9 John Kirbye, mar.	1546		g	9 A Scholer of Abbeble, mar.	1522	
f	10 Roger Clarke, mar.	1546		a	10 A Jew, mar.	4 1528	
g	11 Richard Bayfield, alias So- mersā, mar.	1531		b	11 Richard Hun, mar.	20 1515	
a	12 John Clarke, confes.	1556		c	12 John Tewbery, mar.	7 1531	
b	13 Dunstone Chittenden, confes.	1556		d	13 James Gore, confes.	13 1555	
c	14 Wyllyam Foster, mar.	1556		e	14 Wyllyam Wyseman, con- fessor.	18 1555	
d	15 Alice Potkins, confes.	1556		f	15 John Philpot, Preacher, mar.	22 1557	
e	16 John Archer, conf.	1556		g	16 John Rough, Preacher, mar.	22 1557	
f	17 Hooke, mar.	1556		a	17 Margāret Mering, mar.	22 1558	
g	18 John Hallingdale, mar.	18 1557		b	18 Thomas Tyler, confes.	1558	
a	19 Wyllyam Sparow, mar.	18 1557		c	19 Mathew Withers, confes.	1558	
b	20 Rycharde Gybson, Gentle- man, mar.	18 1557		d	20 Dale, confes.	1550	
c	21 Saunder Gouche, mar.	4 1558		e	21 Thomas Apostle.		
d	22 Elizabeth Druer, mar.	4 1558		f	22 Wyllyam Playn.		
e	23 Philip Hunkrey, mar.	5 1558		g	23 Elizabeth Lawson, confes.	1550	
f	24 John Dauge, mar.	5 1558		a	23 J. Globber, confes.		
g	25 Henry Dauge, mar.	5 1558		b	24 Nicholas Burton, mar.	22 1562	
a	26 John Corneforth, mar.	5 1558		c	25 Nativity of our Lord.		
b	27 Christopher Brown, mar.	10 1558		d	26 Stephen, Mar.		
c	28 John Herste, mar.	10 1558		e	27 John Evangelist.		
d	29 Alice Snothe, Mathe. Knight, } mar.	10 1558		f	28 Childermasse.		
e	30 Andrew Apostle	13 1558		g	29 Thomas Rhedonensis, an Erle, mar.	1436	
				a	Picus Arandula, Erasmus Rotero- dam,	1497 1513	
				b	30 Mar. Bucer, Pau. Phagins, Philip Melancton, Peter Martir,	} confes. 1549 1551 1562	
				c	31 King Edwarde the Sixt, con- fessour.	1553	

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## NOTITIA WYCLIFFIANA.

1. THE Wycliffe Pedigree at the College of Arms, and Whitaker's Richmondshire, supply the following notices:—

Robert de Wycliffe, by Kirby's inquest in 1272, 6 Ed. I., held 12 carrucates of land in Wyclif, Thorp, and Girlington.

Roger de Wyclif was living in 1319, Ed. II.

Roger de Wyclif, the same or more probably his son, lies buried at Wyclif church under a brass,<sup>1</sup> with

John Wyclif of Wyclif, Esq.<sup>s</sup> by an inquisition post mortem, in 1367, is said to have held by military service 3 carrucates of land in Thorp-super-Teese.

William Wyclif of = Frances, daughter of Wyclif, Esq. married Sir Robert Belarise, Knt.

John Wyclif, armiger, of Wyclif, in co. York, = Anne, alibi Agnes, daughter of Sir Thomas 3 Dec. 1 Hen. VI. (1422): living in 22 Hen. VI. (1444). Rokesby of Rokesby, Knt.

After which the Pedigree is perfect.

2. In the Subsidy Rolls, 1 Ed. III. [A.D. 1327], we find Robert de Wyclive taxed 1s. 6d. at Wyclive cum Gyllinge: in the Subsidy Rolls, 6 Ed. III. [A.D. 1332], we find Rogerus de Wycliff taxed 3s., and Millo de Wycliff 8d., at Wycliffe cum Grillington.

For the Will of Robertus de Wyelyf, dated Sept. 8th, 1423, from the Durham Langley Register, fol. 115, see *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Surtees Society).

3. The following Table of early Rectors of Wycliffe on the Tees is printed in Dr. Whitaker's Richmondshire, from Torre's Archdeaconry of Richmond.

<i>Instituted.</i>	<i>Rector.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>	<i>Vacant.</i>
2 Augt. 1362.	Dns. John de Clervaulx.		per Mort'.
7 Augt. 1363.	Dns. Robert de Wycliffe, Cl.	Catharine relicta Rogi de Wycliffe.	
7 Oct. 1369.	Dns. William de Wycliffe.	Johannes de Wycliffe.	
	Dns. Henry Hugate, Cap.	Idem.	
17 May, 1435.	Dns. William Marshall. John Forster, Cap.	Johannes de Wycliffe, Armiger.	per Mort'.

4. The *Athenæum* (No. 1747, Saturday, April 20th, 1861, p. 529) supplies the following verification of the Reformer's birthplace:—

"April 15, 1861.

"I have recently become possessed of information which enables me to make a much nearer approach than has yet been made, towards settling the question concerning the exact birthplace of our Reformer, John Wycliffe. As I am not likely to be printing again on this subject, I shall be obliged if you will allow me to deposit this information in the *Athenæum*.

"Our great authority on this point is Leland, who says in one of his works, that 'John Wyclif, hereticus, was born at Spreswel, a poor village, a good mile from Richmond.' ('Itinerary,' v. 99.) And in another place, when speaking of the parish of Wycliffe, he writes, 'Uude Wigclif, hereticus, originem duxit.' ('Collectanea,' tome I. part ii. p. 329.) No one who has written about Wycliffe has

(1) See the Inscription in Whitaker's Richmondshire.

(2) The same who as relict of Roger presented Robert de Wycliffe to the rectory, August 1362, and died soon after. (See § 3.)

(3) The same who presented Dominus William de Wycliffe to the rectory, August 1363; and Dominus Henry Hugate, August 1367. (See § 3.) This William de Wycliffe was no doubt the Scholar of Baliol when John de Wycliffe was Master. (See § 6, and page 944.)

been able to discover the place which Leland designates Spreswel. When I made my first inquiries on this subject, I was assured by authority in which I thought it became me to confide, that there was not, and that there never had been, any place in Richmondshire named Spreswel. My conjecture at that time—now more than thirty years since—was, that possibly there might have been some house or place near Wycliffe which bore the name of Spreswel in the fourteenth century, and that the Reformer might have been born on that spot, though still a Wycliffe, of the family sustaining that name at Wycliffe. ('Life and Opinions of Wycliffe,' I. 233, Ed. 1831.) Dr. Whitaker, in his 'History of Richmondshire,' finding no place named Spreswel near Richmond, happens to find a place named Hipswel in that neighbourhood, and as Hipswel and Spreswel sound somewhat alike, the Doctor imagines that this Hipswel may have been Leland's Spreswel. But, to me this way of getting out of a difficulty was very unsatisfactory.

"Not long since, Bligh Peacock, Esq. a gentleman in Sunderland, known to be fond of antiquities, favoured me with a letter stating that there is a spot about three miles below the parish of Wycliffe, called Old Richmond, set down as such in the local maps, and which the traditions of the neighbourhood describe as more ancient than modern Richmond; and that at 'a good mile' from this Richmond there was, in the last century, 'a poor village,' or chapelry, called Spreswel. I applied for further information, and Mr. Peacock sent me the following statement from a friend:—

"Spreswel, or Speswel, stood close to the river Tees, half-a-mile from Wycliffe, and on the same side of the river. There was a chapel there, in which were married William Yarker and Penitent Johnson; and their son John related the occurrence to me, his grandson, many times. The above couple were the last married there, for the chapel soon after fell down. The ploughshare has since passed over its site, and all is now level."

"The signature to this statement is that of 'John Chapman,' a gentleman of respectable position in Gainsford, a parish adjoining the spot called Old Richmond, and whose ancestors, as the above statement indicates, have been resident in that district through several generations.

"Mr. Chapman further states that Francis Wycliffe, who died at Barnard Castle thirty years ago, and who was the last descendant of the Wycliffes bearing that name, always spoke of the Reformer as being, in the belief of the Wycliffes of Wycliffe, a member of their family, and as born at Spreswel.

"So at last we come upon Leland's 'Spreswel, a poor village, a good mile from Richmond,' and we find this Spreswel still marked by local and family tradition as the birthplace of Wycliffe. Dr. Whitaker's fancy about Hipswel turns out to be, what I always supposed, one of those bits of etymological ingenuity by which antiquaries and historians have been so often led astray; and my old conjecture, which supposed the Reformer to have been of the Wycliffe family at Wycliffe, and still to have been born at some place in the neighbourhood then known by the name of Spreswel, comes to be a conjecture singularly verified by fact. Modern Richmond is ten miles from Wycliffe, Hipswel is still more distant. The extinct Spreswel was not half-a-mile from it.

"ROBERT VAUGHAN."

5. In Merton College it appears from the *Computus* of Richard Byllingham, who was Bursar from the Annunciation to the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula in 30 Ed. III., that one Wyklif was Seneschal or Steward for the week in which Ascension Day fell (*i. e.* June 2d, 1356, by Nicolas's Tables); which will account for the sum received by him from the Bursar for the Fellows' commons that week being above the average; "Wyklif iij<sup>ii</sup>. viii<sup>a</sup>. v<sup>d</sup>. obm.—pro festo facto in die Ascensionis pro xviii. extraneis." He must have been a Fellow, and of some standing. The Catalogues of Fellows of that date are not authentic, and were probably made up in Elizabeth's reign from Bursars' Rolls and other such documents. In the oldest Catalogue *John* Wyclif appears, and no other. On the same Roll with Wyklif appears the name of Benger, of course another Fellow. Benger's name appears once more as a Seneschal of the week in 34 Ed. III., 1360-1. His Christian name is not stated: in fact, the weekly Seneschals seldom have their Christian names attached. For this information the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Right Rev. Dr. Hobhouse, formerly Fellow of Merton,

and since bishop of Nelson in New Zealand. Richard Bengier was one of Wyclif's "consortes" in the affair of Canterbury Hall, and acted as proctor for his party at the Court of Rome. (See page 930.) Wood, Wharton, Tanner, and Barlow, all say that the Reformer began his studies at Merton.

6. In Baliol College, from Carta No. 34 in pyxide Mickle Benton it appears, that Robert de Derby was Master of Baliol Nov. 20th, 1356: in the same pyxis is another Carta, which represents "Mag. Job. de Wiclif" as "procurator magi. et scholarium" "die Lunæ in fest. Natal. Dni. Edw. III. 34," i.e. Monday, Dec. 28th, 1360. The presumption is, that John de Wiclif was then Master of Baliol; for in pyxide Abbotsley, Nos. 9—13, are five Cartæ relating to a vacancy in the living of Abbotsley, in one of which (Carta 10), dated April 9th, 1361, the "Scholares" of Baliol (among whom appears one William de Wycliff) present "Johñes de Wycliff Magister sive Custos Collegii vel Aulæ de Balliolo, suburb. Oxon." to the rectory of Abbotsley, and appoint him their "procurator" for taking possession of the living. From another Carta it appears that he went to the spot, rang the bells, and performed all things usual at the induction of a clergyman; and the Gynwell Register, folio 367, states that he presented himself before the bishop of Lincoln as "Custos sive Magister Aulæ de Balliolo," and exhibited the Pope's Bull for the appropriation of Abbotsley to Baliol, in July 1361. The same Register, folio 123, shows that he was instituted to the rectory of Fylingham May 14th, 1361, on the presentation of the Master and Scholars of Baliol, at which time we know that he was Master from the Abbotsley transaction. From Carta 28 in pyxide Sti. Laurentii in Judaismo it appears that John Hugate was Master of Baliol in 1366. The mention above (§ 3) of Henry Hugate, as presented by John de Wyclif to the rectory of Wyclif on the Tees, shows a connexion or friendship between the Wyclifs and the Hugates; and that John Hugate succeeded John de Wyclif in the Mastership collaterally proves that John Wyclif of Baliol belonged to the family on the Tees. —From No. 12 of the Abbotsley Cartæ it appears, that William de Kingston was Wycliff's immediate predecessor in the mastership of Baliol.

7. Queen's College, Oxford, was at first a house in which three or four students in theology, with the name of "scholars," answering to the modern "fellows," found a poor subsistence. There is no list extant of original entrances in 1340; but the Bursar's Compoti for 1347, 1350, and for most years after that, are extant, wholly or in part. This series has been very carefully examined by an antiquary of the last century, and more recently in the year 1853: from these it appears that there were usually four sets of rooms let in the College, evidently not always to members of the College. On these rolls we find mentioned not only John Wyclif, but also John de Trevisa and Nicholas Herford, known friends of the Reformer; and (what is very important) William Middleworth and William Selby, two of the three "consortes" of John Wyclif in the affair of Canterbury Hall. (See above, p. 930.) The following extracts from these "Compoti," never before made public, will be acceptable to the reader.

1363 ("ab 8<sup>o</sup> die Oct. 1363 ad 19 Oct. 1364"). "Item duobus operariis circa cameram Wiclif per quatuor dies iiis."

1365 ("a 21<sup>o</sup> Martii, 1365, usque ad 26 Sept. 1366"). "Item de duobus annis de camera Wyclive xls."

1369. Heading, "Compotus Mag. Job. Trevisa a 5 Maii ad 29 Sept. 1369." Middleworthy, Herford, and Trevisa are all Fellows this year.

1369-72 (from Sept. to Sept.). The same three are Fellows during these three years.

1373-4 (from Sept. to Sept.). The same three are Fellows. Trevisa's chamber repaired. His name is spelt two ways on this roll.

1374-5 (from Sept. to Sept.). Heford (*sic*) and Midde!worth are now acting as Bursars, with two others. Middelworth and another go to London on College business.

"Item pro stramine ad co-operiendam latrinam Wyclif iis. Item mulieri trahenti idem iiijd. Item de xv<sup>d</sup>. solutis co-operienti latrinam Wyclif. Item de 1<sup>d</sup>. obm. pro nouschyn<sup>1</sup> ad eandem. Item pro lateribus et clavis ad idem

(1) *Nouschyn* probably means a door-fastening: see Du Cange, vv. *Nochia* and *Nusea*; and Schützer's Gloss. Teuton. in v. *Nuosci*, where it appears that *Nuschin* (Teut.) means Fibula, a clasp or buckle.

opus vid. Item de *xd.* solutis uni tegulatori super latrinam Wyclif." Among the "Pensiones" we have, "Item pro camera Mag. Joh. Wiclif *xxs.*"

1378-9 (July to July). Middelworth is Fellow.

1380 (beginning Aug. 2). For chamber rent we find these entries :—

"Pro pensione Selby *xxs.*

Pro pensione Wiclif *xxs.*"

1381 ("a festo S. Dionysii, 1381, ad F. Circumcisionis, 1382"), payment to Willielmo Middelwrye as a Fellow.

1385. "Item pro expensis præpositi et Medulworth London ante festum Natalis Domini *iiii. xixs. vid. ob.*" (N.B.—Middleworth is not a Fellow this year.) "Item pro brevibus pro Trevisa et Trevet *xxd.*" "Item pro brevibus contra Trevisa *xxd.* in festo Joh. Bapt." Among the "Pensiones camerarum" we have "Item rec. de M. Willielmo Selby pro duobus annis *xxs.*" "Item de M. Willielmo Medulworth *xiii. iiijd.*"

1386 (November). "Item tectoribus pro Camera Selby et pro latrinâ *ixd.*" Selby is again mentioned among the "Pensiones camerarum."

"Item rec. de M. Joh. Trevisa *iiii. viz. iiii. marc.* pro pensione cameræ suæ de quatuor annis præcedentibus, et *vis. viijd.* ad satisfaciendum pro brevibus contra ipsum impetratis."

1388. Selby again pays chamber rent.

1392-3. A man is sent to Lincoln "pro testamento Willielmi Selby ex præcepto præpositi." Johannes Trevisa pays *xxs.* "per manus Cowby servieutis sui," part of an old debt: he was, therefore, no longer resident.

1394-5 ("a festo transl. S. Thomæ episc. 1394," to the same in 1395). John Trevisa pays "*xxs.* de antiquâ obligatione suâ." "Item de Mag. Will. Middelword pro magnis concordautiis<sup>1</sup> *iiii. xiii. iiijd.*" Middelword makes a donation "ad dorsarium<sup>2</sup> Aulae."

1395-6. John Trevisa pays room rent "pro anno Regis *xviii.*" [1394-5].

1398-9. John Trevisa pays part of an old debt. †

The above Extracts have been made from the Bursars Rolls, after a careful examination of them from 1347 to 1400, omitting 1348, 1349; and the Editor is much indebted to the present archbishop of York, for his kindness in copying and transmitting them when Fellow, Tutor, and Bursar of Queen's College.

The John Wycliff here mentioned, closely connected as he was with Trevisa and Herford, Selby and Middleworth, may fairly be presumed to have been both the Reformer and the Warden of Canterbury Hall. It seems fair to conclude also, that he was the same with the John de Wycliff of Baliol, who probably, after vacating the Mastership in consequence of accepting the rectory of Fylingham, resided some time on his benefice, then returned to Oxford about Christmas 1363, and resided at Queen's for two years, not as a Fellow, but as a Divinity Student, maintaining himself on his rectory. This account would synchronise with the above Extracts, and with the appointment to the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall in Dec. 1365. It is worthy of remark, that both the Warden of Merton and the Master and Scholars of Baliol had given messuages in Oxford towards Islep's infant foundation (see Document VI. above), which would be an additional recommendation of the Wycliff of Merton and Baliol to Islep's favour.

8. From the Bokyngham (Lincoln) Register, Memoranda, folio 56, we learn that John de Wycleve, rector of Fylingham, obtained, April 13th, 1368, a licence of non-residence for two years "insistendo literarum studio in Universitate Oxon.;" and from the same Register, folio 419, it appears that Nov. 12th following he exchanged Fylingham for Ludgershall, on the presentation of "Frater Johannes de Pavely, Prior Hospitalis Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia." It appears from the same Register that Wycliffe was still rector of Ludgershall Nov. 11th, 1371; and that William Neubald was rector May 29th, 1376. See also p. 946, *infra*.

9. In the Patent Rolls, 48 Ed. III. p. 1, m. 23, and the Privy Seals, 48 Ed. III., we find a grant of royal letters presenting "dilectum clericum nostrum Johanuem de Wyclif" to the rectory of Lutterworth, dated Shene "vii. die Aprilis, anno

(1) Probably the *Concordantiæ Magnæ* of Hugo de S. Caro is meant, as presented by Middleworth to the College Library.

(2) *Dorsarium* means a curtain (Adelung's Glossary).

regni quadragesimo octavo," 1374. He went shortly after on an embassy to treat with the Pope's envoys at Bruges, in Flanders (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vii. 41): in the Exchequer account given in by Wycliffe, he acknowledges having received 60*l.* for his expenses July 31st, anno Regis 48: the charges were, at 20*s.* per diem from July 27th, the day on which he set out from London, to Sept. 14th, the day on which he returned, 50*l.*; the passage both ways, 2*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*; total, 52*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* He is called Prebendary of Aust, in the Collegiate Church of Westbury, diocese of Worcester, about July 13th, 1375, and is stated to have had royal letters, "per breve de privato sigillo," ratifying his appointment, dated Nov. 6th, Pat. Rolls, 49 Ed. III. p. 1, m. 8: there is no notice of it, however, among the Privy Seals, and another person was appointed to the same prebend Nov. 18th, Pat. Rolls, 49 Ed. III. p. 2, m. 11.

10. A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1841, "W. C."<sup>1</sup> (see "Gent.'s Mag.," N. S. vol. xvi. pp. 146, 378, 591, 605; xvii. pp. 234, 388), discovered the following entries in the Archbishopial Registers at Lambeth, relative to one John de Whyteclive:—

"xij Kal. Augusti anno Domini supradicto [1361] dominus Simon Dei gratiâ Cantuar' archiepiscopus apud Maghefeld contulit vicariam ecclesiæ parochialis de Maghefeld predicto, vacantem per mortem domini Radulphi Baker de Sevenoakes ultimi vicarii ejusdem et ad suam collacionem spectantem, domiuo *Johanni de Whyteclive* presbytero, et ipsum vicarium instituit in eadem cum onere residendi in eâ: ad quod faciendum juramentum præstitit corporale juxta formam constitutionis Othonis et Ottoboni, &c. et statim Ricardus Wodeland nomine decani de Southmallyng induxit eum in corporalem possessionem ejusdem vicariæ, præsentibus in collacione discretis viris Magistro Ricardo de Warmington auditore, Johanne de Barton secretario nostro, præsentibusque in inductione eodem Magistro Ricardo auditore, et Magistris Roberto de Spaldyng et Michaelæ de Heynton presbyteris." (Ex Registro Islep, folio 287 *b.*)

"*John Whyteclive*," vicar of Mayfield, is also mentioned in the will of John Watford, rector of Snargate, Kent, proved 6 Id. (8) September, 1368 (Reg. Wyttlesey, fol. 137): "Item lego domino Johanni Whyteclive vicario de Maghefeld v marcas ad celebrandum pro animâ meâ." He is also appointed co-executor, and in the probate co-administrator, with Walter Dautry, rector of Retherfeld, the next parish to Mayfield.

"Quintodecimo Kal. Januarii anno Domini supradicto (December 18th, 1380) apud Aumberle venerabilis in Christo pater dominus Willielmus, Dei gratiâ Cicestrensis episcopus, vice mandato et auctoritate nostris sibi per nos in hæc parte commissis de data apud Lambeth xiiij die mensis Decembris anno Domini predicto, domino Simoni Russell presbytero vicariam Ecclesiæ parochialis de Maghefeld, decanatus de Southmallyng, nostrorum patronatus et jurisdictionis immediatæ, per resignationem domini *Johannis Whiteclive* presbyteri, ultimi vicarii ibidem, (ex causâ permutationis de dictâ vicariâ cum ecclesiâ parochiali de Horstedkaynes Cicestr. dioc. quam idem dominus Simon primitus obtinebat, ex certis causis et legitimis per eundem venerabilem patrem auditis examinatis discussis et approbatis in manus ejusdem factæ et per ipsum admissæ) vacantem, et ad collacionem domini pleno jure spectantem, contulit, &c." (Ex Registro Sudbury, folio 134 *a.*)

*John Whyteliff's* will appears in the Courtney Register, folio 207, made Nov. 12th, and proved Nov. 21st, 1383: it describes him not only as rector of Horstedkaynes, but also as prebendary of Chichester. He directs his body to be buried in the chapel of the Hospital of St. Peter and Paul at Maidstone. The Registers of Chichester Cathedral do not commence till 1396, and the date of his collation to the prebend cannot be ascertained.

"W. C." contends that it was this individual, and not the Reformer, whom Islep appointed Warden of his new foundation of Canterbury Hall, Oxford; and there is something to be said for this opinion. It would be quite natural that archbishop Islep, after four years' favourable experience of him at Mayfield, should select him for Warden of his new Hall. Archbishop Parker states in his "Antiqu. Brit. Ecclesiæ," that Islep gave the rectories of Mayfield and Pageham to Canterbury Hall; though only the latter was actually conveyed (see p. 929).

(1) The late William Courthope, Esq. of the College of Arms.



"W. C." also alleges, that neither the Reformer himself, nor his great adversary Walden, nor Walsingham, nor Knyghton, full of ill-will and invective as their writings are against the Reformer, once mentions his ejection from the Wardenship.

It is not easy, however, to set aside the tradition that the Reformer was the Warden of Islep's Hall. William Woodford, in his lectures at the Grey Friars, of which he was a monk, preparatory to the feast of Corpus Christi, June 10, 1381,<sup>1</sup> says distinctly:—"Et hæc contra religiosos insania generata est ex corrupcione. Nam priusquam per religiosos possessionatos et prælatos expulsus fuerat de aula monachorum Cantuarie, nichil contra possessionatos attemptavit, quod esset alicujus ponderis; et priusquam per religiosos mendicantes reprovatus fuit publicè de heresibus de sacramento altaris, nichil contra eos attemptavit, sed posteriùs multipliciter eos diffamavit; ita quòd doctrinæ suæ malæ et infestæ contra religiosos et possessionatos et mendicantes generatæ fuerunt ex putrefactionibus et melancholiis." (*Septuaginta duo Questiones de Sacramento Eucharistie*, MS. Harl. 31, fol. 31.) We may add the following: "Wiclif studuit in collegio Cantuar.: et indutus russeta veste longa nudis pedibus incedebat." (*Ex Chronico incerti auctoris*, cited in Leland's Collect. ii. 409.) The monk of St. Alban's, whom Foxe cites,<sup>2</sup> might have derived his information from his own Society, the abbot of which was one of the persons appointed by the Pope to eject Wyclif and his companions. (See page 930.) Some positive evidence on the other side seems wanting, to outweigh this testimony. Woodford's statement moreover is the more entitled to credit, as Selby and Middleworth and John Wycliffe himself were still surviving, and a host of witnesses would have been able at once to contradict the friar, had he been mistaken in connecting the Reformer with Canterbury Hall.—The Reformer's bold defence of the King *versus* the Pope in 1367, while the cause was yet pending in the papal court, in proportion as it seems impolitic, would serve the more to prove the depth of his convictions and the straightforwardness of his character. And, after all, his ejection probably strengthened his interest at Court, and would, in that case, be no matter of regret.—Stephen of Birchington says that Islep gave Ivechurch not Mayfield to his new Hall, and so contradicts Parker. But, anyhow, archbishop Parker makes the Reformer the Warden of Canterbury Hall: "In eo tum Collegio educatus est Johannes Wicliffe, de quo deinceps plura dicenda sunt. Is summa ope Monachis restitit. Sed archiepiscopi potentia et Papæ ad quem appellatum erat gratiâ Monachi superiores in causa fuerunt, quibus seculares Clerici cedere coacti sunt." (Ed. Hanovæ, 1605, p. 249.)—The vicar of Mayfield was appointed to the vicarage expressly *cum onere residendi in eâ*; and we find no licence of non-residence, nor resignation and re-appointment to the vicarage, in the Register, though in folio 246 of the Courtney Register we find no less than three appointments to the vicarage of Mayfield in about two months.

It is very remarkable that the name of the Warden of Canterbury Hall as well as that of the Reformer is always spelt with the first syllable *Wy* or *Wi*. Whereas the vicar of Mayfield's name in four different Registers is with a radical *t* in the first syllable, *Whyte*, *White*, and *Whyt*, suggesting the idea of his being a native of one of the numerous Whitecliffs, so called from some white rock in the locality. A portion of the parish of Sevenoaks was called Whytelyff, and belonged at that time to the See of Canterbury. (See Hasted's Keut, tome i. pp. 341, 342.) Accordingly we find an appointment in the Wytlesey Register (folio 66 *b*) to the "Balliva de Whytelyff." It is curious that John de Whytelyff's predecessor in the vicarage of Mayfield was Radulphus Baker *de Sevenoakes*: and he himself may have been a native of the Whytelyff portion of the same parish, and so have come under the notice and patronage of Islep.

The Abbotsley documents at Baliol show that the Society then consisted of "discreti viri *Magister* Johannes de Wykelyffe (Wycliffe, Wycliff, or Wyclif), *domini* Hugo de Wakfeld, Johannes de Hugate, Johannes de Prestwold, Rogerus de Grisburgh, Willielmus Alayn, Thomas de Lincolnia, Willielmus de Wykelyffe (or Wyclif), Ricardus de Assewell, Johannes Bridd, et Hugo de Felton, clerici

(1) See Shirley's "Fasciculi Zizaniorum," p. 517, note.

(2) See before, page 797 of this volume, line 6.

Universitatis Oxon'. Eboracensis, Lincoln'. London'. Dunelm'. dioc.," who appointed "dilectum sibi in Christo *Magistrum* Johannem de Wykelyffe magistrum sive custodem Collegii predicti" as "procuratorem suum verum et legitimum," to take possession of Abbotsley in the name of the College. The distinction between *Magister* and *Dominus* in the above extract refers to the M.A. and B.A. degrees;<sup>1</sup> and suggests another pretty decisive proof that the Warden of Canterbury Hall was a different individual from the vicar of Mayfield. For the Warden in his appointment by Islep, in his removal by Langham, and in the papal process, is always styled *Magister*, save that his opponents in the suit cunningly drop the prefix, knowing that friar Wodehull's want of the M.A. degree disqualified him for the Wardenship according to the University Statutes. Whereas Johannes de Whyteclyve, vicar of Mayfield, in all the four archiepiscopal Registers in which he is mentioned, is invariably styled *dominus* to his dying day, and even in the probate of his will; which proves that he never attained the M.A. degree, if ever he took any academic degree at all. He was an ordinary man, who owed his promotion to some accidental circumstances, as already hinted.—The same distinction also suggests a reason, why Wyclif of Merton was elected Master of Baliol, viz. that Baliol had not then a single M.A. among its resident members, and would be proud to have a man of Wycliffe's reputation at their head.

Though the Reformer could well afford to be calm under his defeat, yet it is not true that he nowhere in his writings alludes to the subject, as "W. C." affirms. In the following passage from his "De Ecclesiâ," cap. 15 (MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, Denis cccc. fol. 180 v°), he quotes the "familiare exemplum" (as he calls it) of Canterbury Hall as a warning to those who might wish to devote their property to pious uses, that unless due precautions were taken their pious intentions might be frustrated: "Homo potest facere nedum bonum de genere, sed bene moraliter; et tamen cum hoc et in hoc peccare venialiter, ut ista pars habet dicere in familiari exemplo. Nam dominus Symon Hyslep, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, fundavit unum Collegium in Oxonia plus pia intentione, ut evidentius creditur, quam de fundatione cujuscunque abbatie in Anglia, et ordinavit quod in ea sub forma laudabili studeant ad utilitatem ecclesie puri clerici sæculares; quod et factum est. Et tum ipso mortuo, simoniace cum commentis mendacii<sup>2</sup> eversum est tam pii patroni propositum, et illis expulsis pauci alii, non egentes sed divitiis affluentes; contra decretum captum ex dictis B. Hieronymi xii. qu. 2, 'Gloria episcopi est pauperum opibus providere: ignominia sacerdotis est propriis studere divitiis.' Et cum prætextu illius facti sôphistici, 'Episcopus et suum capitulum sunt una persona, a qua non licet alienare bona illius ecclesie,' ista persona vindicat bona illius collegii proprietarie possidere. Unde consulendum videtur domino Wyntoniensi ut caveat hanc cautelam. Credo autem quod dictus Symon peccavit fundando dictum collegium,<sup>3</sup> sed non tantum quantum Anti-Symon qui ipsum dissolverat." "From this case," Wycliffe says, "my lord of Winchester sees fit to protect himself against exception in this form." Wykham founded New College in 1579, ten years after the Canterbury Hall case had been settled. Wycliffe's intimate acquaintance with the history of the affair after that lapse of time, and the terms in which he condemns the papal verdict, are just such as might have been expected on the supposition that he himself had been the victim. See *British Quarterly Review*, vol. 28, pp. 388—391.

On the whole, then, the view given after the Queen's College Extracts, while it is supported by old tradition, seems the more probable. When we consider the troublesome temper of Wodehull, and the antipathy of the Reformer to the Regulars, and the credit which he had gained with the University in his public controversy with them in 1360, and his peculiar qualifications as a theologian for carrying out Islep's intentions in founding the new Hall, we must allow it to be a natural thing for Islep to confer the appointment on him, and for Wyclif to accept it. We may add, that the peculiar terms in which Islep describes Wyclif

(1) For a similar distinction between *Magister* and *Dominus* see above, vol. i. Foxe's Life, p. 5, note.

(2) Referring to the false allegations of archbishop Langham and the monks: vide *suprà*, p. 928, note (1).

(3) Not that he erred in the fact of founding the Hall, which Wycliffe commends, but in allowing the grasping Regulars any control over it.

as "in artibus Magistratum" (see Document IX.) seem to imply that he was appointed out of regard to the University Statutes, which were violated by Wodehull's obtaining his D.D. degree, without having graduated in Arts. When he came forward in 1367 as "particularis regis clericus," to defend the King against the Pope's claim of tribute, he mentions the danger to which he thereby exposed himself "ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis privari" (Lewis, p. 365); which exactly suits the man who was Rector of Fylingham and Warden of Canterbury Hall, but whose right to the latter preferment was then under discussion in the Pope's court. As his sentiments and character became developed, his bishop may have troubled him about his non-residence at Fylingham, which he was obliged at length to pay for in the shape of a licence, and afterwards by exchanging Fylingham for the less valuable living of Ludgershall, so as to get within an easy distance of Oxford. There is a passage in one of his writings, which perhaps describes his own case:—"Also if such Curates ben stirred to gone learn God's Law, and teach their Parishens the Gospel, commonly they shullen get no leave of Bishops but for Gold; and when they shullen most profit in their Learning, then shullen they be clepid home at the Prelates' will." ("Why poor Priests have no Benefices," Lewis, p. 294.)

11. Another correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine" (in the No. for August 1844) produces apparent evidence from the will of William de Askeby, archdeacon of Northampton, dated London, Nov. 11th, proved 13 Kal. Jan. (20 Dec.) 1371 (Reg. Wyttlesey, f. 119 *b*), that there was a *third* contemporary clergyman John Wyclif; for the testator leaves a bequest of "100*s.* vel unam robam meliorem Magistro Johanni de Wyclif, rectori ecclesie de Lekehamstede," Bucks, diocese of Lincoln, and appoints "Magistrum Johannem de Wyclif, rectorem ecclesie de Ludgersale," co-executor with John de Swynestede, Matthew de Merston, Robert, rector of Abyngton, and Hugo de Whiteacre: the rector of Ludgersale is also appointed in the probate co-administrator with Hugo de Whiteacre.

This evidence however, on examination, turns out to be fallacious; for the Bokyngham Register shows, that John de Barton was instituted rector of Lekehamstede, Oct. 1, 1361, on Hugh Chastillon's presentation, and exchanged it for Bernoldby, co. Lincoln, 1375: also that John d'Autre was instituted to the rectory of Lekehamstede, July 2d, 1375, on John Barton's resignation, on the presentation of Sir Hugh Chastillon, Knt. The archdeacon of Northampton, from whose testament the proof of John Wickliffe's rectorship is brought, seems, when he made it, to have been near his end; for he was then (Nov. 11th) in London, where the will was proved Dec. 20th; and we can easily imagine him to have dictated Lekehamstede by a momentary inadvertence or failure of memory. The party drawing the will wrote as he was instructed, without even a suspicion of error; but it is singular that there is a tick in the margin of the Lambeth Register against "Lekehamstead," apparently hinting some error. The will, however, in this state was sent to Stowe Park, and proved there Jan. 5th following, and is so entered in the Bokyngham Register, folio 101.

END OF VOL. II.

vnirentur. Christum itaque suum corpus spiritualiter dixit impartire, sed tamen ita spiritualiter vt veraciter. Non quidem vt per hanc similesque voces vllam crassam et carnalem intelligentiam concipiamus, qualem (inquit) Capharnitæ olim somniabant, sed vt mysterij (inquit) ineffabilem maiestatem aliquibus vocibus exprimere elaboremus. Nam modus ille, quo Christus præsens adest suamque suppeditat fidelibus carnem, omnino inexplicabilis existit. Credendum vero est (ait) Dei potentia et Spiritus operatione ac virtute hoc tam illustre mysterium confici, cœlumque terris illo momento coniungi. Sicuti beatus Gregorius dixit, Ima iunguntur summis. Hoc vero esse sacrum illud babulum quo qui in baptismo per Spiritum sanctum sunt regenerati ad immortalitatem alerentur, Christique corpus per fidem sub sacramento percipi, dixit; perceptum vero, tam corpus quam animam ad immortalitatem vegetare.

Rogatus etiam quid de transubstantione sentiret, respondit, Sese multum in ea causa laborasse: multum primo illi sententiæ, quæ transubstantiationem affirmat, fauisse, atque diligenter et studiose nec paruo tempore in illius disquisitione versatum esse, comperissequè infinitum et nodosum atque prope inexplicabile absurditatis examen ex illa sententia erumpere et dimanare. Quibus diluendis quum ipse sibi parum satisfaceret, ad scholasticorum se scripta contulisse, Gabrielemque et alios eius farinae scriptores euoluisse. Sperabat etenim illorum opera et subsidio, eas omnes quæ ex transubstantiatione asserta nascuntur incommoditates dilui et depelli posse. Quæ spes penitus frustrata fuit. Nam ridicula multa, inepta, et indigna quæ chartis linirentur aut de tanto mysterio effutirentur, se in illorum lucubrationibus inuenisse dicebat. Itaque post illorum (sicuti aiebat) lectionem, illa de transubstantione opinio, indies apud se deferuescens, magis et magis elanguebat. Ergo conludebat se sentire nullam esse huiusmodi, qualis a scholasticis confingitur, transubstantiationem. Antiquiores vero scriptores huic de transubstantiatione opinionis palam reclamare dicebat: E quibus nominatim numerauit Iustinum, Irenæum, et Tertullianum, aptissimos illius opinionis aduersarios et hostes. Illud preterea adiecit, vniuersam scholam non intelligere quid esset consecratio; quam ille definiuit esse plenam et integram sacræ communionis actionem.

Item rogatus num præsentem in sacra sua cœna Christum venerari debeamus et colere, respondit, Nos debere; idque et pietati et nostræ religioni conuenire, vt Christum in sacramento præsentem colamus. Rogatus de sacramento visibili quod oculis et aspectui obicitur, quodque sacerdotis manu in sublime leuatur, respondit, Nihil quod visibile esset, quodque oculorum sensu perciperetur, esse adorandum, Christumque nec in sublimiorem et celsiorem locum extolli, nec in inferiorem posse deprimi, adeoque nec sursum posse leuari nec deorsum.

Item, quum esset ab eo quæsitum quid sentiret de illa consuetudine, qua sacramentum in solemnibus pompis et ambarualibus supplicationibus atque (vt vulgariter dici solet) processionibus circumfertur, respondit, Illam sibi consuetudinem semper multum displicuisse, adeoque ipsum ante annos sexdecim contra illum abusum Cantabrigiæ e suggestu pronunsiasse, illumque ritum improbase: Christum vero et fructuosum et germanum huius sacramenti vsum disertis verbis expressisse, cum diceret, Accipite—qua voce (inquit) donum se daturum exprimit: Manducate—quo vocabulo illius sui tam eximij doni proprium vsum commonstrat: Hoc est corpus meum—quibus verbis, quidnam illo dono ipsis largiretur, et quam illustre ac splendidum munus donaret, euidenter et clare explicat. Itaque superstitiones illas pomparum ostentationes, tanquam adulterinas et fucatas religionis laruas prorsus damnandas et repudiandas esse putauit.

Quum rogaretur num vtile esse putaret, facere defunctorum commemorationem in precibus, respondit, Sibi vtile videri et religiosum atque pium; idque ex libris Machabeorum confirmari posse: quos (inquit) libros etiamsi diuus Hieronimus tanquam Apocryphos tantum pro ecclesiæ ædificatione non etiam dogmatum assertione in templis esse perlegendos censeat, mihi tamen ea in causa reliquorum scriptorum consensus, quibus omnibus isti libri pro canonicis probantur, præponderat. Tum vero quum rogaretur, vt quid de trigintalibus missis et missis de Scala cœli sentiret eloqueretur, dixit, Superstitiosas illas, irreligiosas, et inutiles esse, atque ex purulento et sordido superstitionis fonte profluere et dimanare, illumque quem promitterent fructum non prestare. Sacrificium vero dominicæ cœnæ, Eucharistiam inquam, illud sacrificium negauit pro peccatis vel viuorum vel mortuorum offerendum esse.

Transubstantio.

Veneratio.

Defunctorum commemoratio.

Fidei  
iustifica-  
tio.

Demum vero vltro, atque (quantum memini) sua sponte, nemine eum rogante, has de nostra per Christum iustificatione protulit sententias. Doleo (inquit) pænitetque precorque vt deus mihi ignoscat, quod tam obnixe et tam asseueranter huic propositioni, (nempe 'sola fides iustificat') obstiterim. Verum ego semper verebar ne in libertatem carnis raperetur, atque eam quæ in Christo est vitæ innocentiam contaminaret. At illa propositio, 'sola nimirum fides iustificat,' vera (inquit) et suavis et plena spiritualis solatiij existit, si modo germane et recte intelligatur. Quumque quæreretur, quem ille germanum et verum illius sensum esse diceret, Ego (inquit) fidem illam viuificam, quæ in solo seruatore nostro Christo conquiescit, quæ illum amplectitur, intelligo, adeoque vt in vno seruatore nostro Christo tota nostra salutis fiducia defigatur.

Opera.

Opera quidem pia (inquit) suam habent coronam et præmium, propriaque mercede non destituuntur. æternum tamen et cœleste regnum non merentur: Nulla (inquiens) opera, nulla omnino, beatam illam et fœlicem atque perpetuam immortalitatem nobis comparare possunt, non illa etiam quæ sub gratia per Spiritus sancti impulsu fiunt; Beata etenim et immortalis gloria nobis mortalibus confertur a Patre cœlesti propter filium suum et seruatorem nostrum Christum, sicuti Diuus Paulus testatur, Donum, inquiens, Dei vita æterna.

Atque hec quidem sunt, quæ ego ad quæstiones sibi propositas eum respondisse audiui. Nec vero usquam (quod memini) ab ea quam ab ipso enunciatam audiui sententia deflexi. Dominus noster Iesus Christus has turbulencias, quibus ecclesia iactatur, tempestates compescere dignetur, miserumque suum ouile miserabiliter iam dissipatum et dispersum propitiis intueatur et aspiciat, propter nomen sanctum suum. Amen. Ipse tuam amplitudinem gubernare dignetur et seruet. Londini iij Nouembris, &c.

## No. XII.

## ACCOUNT OF THE EXAMINATIONS OF JOHN ROGERS, MARTYR.

(See page 593 of this Volume.)

From the Lansdowne MSS. 389, fol. 190-202.<sup>1</sup>

Y<sup>o</sup> CONFESSIO<sup>n</sup> & ANSWERE OF IOHN ROGERS, MADE VNTO Y<sup>o</sup> LORDE CHAUNCE-  
LOUR & Y<sup>o</sup> RESTE OF Y<sup>o</sup> K. & Q. MOSTE HONORABLE COUNSELL, Y<sup>o</sup> 22 OF  
IANUARIE AN: 1554.<sup>2</sup>

*Ch.* Firste, y<sup>o</sup> lorde chauncelour<sup>3</sup> sayd vnto me, syr, you have heard of y<sup>o</sup> state of y<sup>o</sup> realme, in which it standeth now?

*Ro.* No, my lorde, I have bene kepte in cloose preson, & excepte there hath bene some generall thinge sayd at y<sup>o</sup> table, when I was at dyner or supper, I have heard nothinge,—& there I have heard nothinge whervpon any speciall thinge myghte be grounded.

*Ch.* (*mockinglye*) Generall thinges, generall thinges! ye have heard of my lorde cardinales comminge,<sup>4</sup> syr, and that y<sup>o</sup> whole parlimente hath received his blessinge,<sup>5</sup> not one resisinge vnto it, but one man *speakinge* againste it:<sup>6</sup> such an vnite & such a mirakle hath not bene seen: & all they, of which there are 160 in one howse, save one (whose name I know not<sup>7</sup>), have, with one assente & consente, received pardon of their offences, for y<sup>o</sup> schisme that we have had in England, in refusinge y<sup>o</sup> holy father of Rome to be y<sup>o</sup> head of y<sup>o</sup> catholic church, &c.: how say you? are you *contented* to vnite & kuite yourselfe to y<sup>o</sup> faith of y<sup>o</sup> catholic church, with us, in y<sup>o</sup> state *which is now* in England? wyl ye do that?

*Ro.* Y<sup>o</sup> catholic church I never dyd nor *never* wyl dissente from.

*Ch.* Nay, but I speake of y<sup>o</sup> state of y<sup>o</sup> catholic church in that wyse in which we now stand in England, havinge received y<sup>o</sup> pope to be supreme head.

*Ro.* I know none other head but Christe of his catholic church, neither wyl I acknowledge y<sup>o</sup> bishop of Rome to have any *other* authoritie then any other bishop hath by y<sup>o</sup> word of God, *neither yet* by y<sup>o</sup> doctrine of y<sup>o</sup> old & pure catholic church 400 yeares after Christe.

*Ch.* Whye diddest thou then acknowledge kynge Henry y<sup>o</sup> 8th to be supreme head of y<sup>o</sup> church,<sup>8</sup> yf Christe be y<sup>o</sup> only head?

*Ro.* I never graunted hym to have any supremacie in spirituall thinges, as are y<sup>o</sup> forgevnes of synnes, gevinge of y<sup>o</sup> Holy Goste, authoritie to be a iudge above y<sup>o</sup> word of God, &c.

(1) The Lansdowne<sup>e</sup> copy is much more complete, and sometimes has better readings, than that used by Foxe. The chief variations from Foxe's text are shown by italics. The discrepancies arise probably from the obscurity of the original MS., written by snatches, with bad ink and paper, and often difficult to decipher.

(2) Old Style; = 1555 in the modern computation.

(3) Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. He was then, as a member of the Council, sitting in the capacity of Lord Chancellor, thus designated throughout the MS.

(4) Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's Legate, landed at Dover on the 21st or 22d of November, 1554, from whence he proceeded to Gravesend, and came to the Court at Whitehall on the 24th of the same month, his attainder having been reversed on the 22d.—*Diary of Henry Machyn; Grey Friars' Chronicle; Journals of the House of Commons.*

(5) This event took place on the 30th of November, 1554, and not on the 29th, as is commonly said. The two Houses of Parliament agreed to the Supplication, as it was called, on the 29th, and, during the afternoon of the next day (being the Feast of St. Andrew) it was read to the king and queen at the Palace at Whitehall, the members of Parliament being present and by them presented to the Legate, who, after delivering an appropriate oration, pronounced a general absolution.—*Journals of the House of Commons.*

(6) The evident meaning of this sentence is, that there was no absolute resistance to this submission on the part of any of the members of that Parliament, and that there was but one man who even spoke in opposition to it, he, perhaps, joining in the general humiliation.

(7) These words are evidently parenthetical on the part of Rogers, and not of the Lord Chancellor, who must have known who was the daring individual referred to, viz. Sir Ralph Bagnall. See note in the Appendix to this volume on p. 593, line 24. Strype's authority for his identity occurs in one of the Foxe MSS. He was knighted by the Protector Somerset, after the battle with the Scots, in 1546.

(8) Referring to the fact, that Rogers thus addressed the king in his Dedication of the Matthew Bible.

*Ch.* (*bishops of Durham and Worcester*) Yea, sayd he, & y<sup>e</sup> bishops of Duresme<sup>1</sup> & Worcester,<sup>2</sup> yf thou haddeste sayd so in his dayes (& *noddod on me with a laughter*), thou haddeste not bene alive nowe.

*Ro.* Which thinge I denyed, & wold have tolde how he was sayd & mente to be supreme head, but they looked & laughed one vpon an other, & made a *businessse at yt*, so that I was constrained to let it passe: there lyeth also no greate waight thervpon, for all y<sup>e</sup> world knoweth what y<sup>e</sup> meaninge was.<sup>3</sup>

Y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Chauncellor *told my* lorde William Hawarde<sup>4</sup> that there was no inconuenience therein, to have Christe to be supreme head & y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome *therto*; & when I was readye to have answered that there cowlde not be ij. heades of one church, & *more* plainly declared y<sup>e</sup> vanitie of that his reason, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Chauncellor sayd, what sayste thou? make vs a directe answer, whether thou wylte be one of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, or not, with vs, in y<sup>e</sup> state *that we are in nowe*.

*Ro.* My lord, I cannot beleve that ye yourselves do thinke in your heartes that he is supreme head in forgevinge of *synnes*, &c., as is *aforesayd. for ye, & all that be of y<sup>e</sup> realme*, have now xx. yeares longe preached, & some of you also written, to y<sup>e</sup> contrarye,<sup>5</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> parlimente *had* so longe agone condescended vnto yt:<sup>6</sup> & there he interrupted me thus:

*Ch.* Tushe, *man!* that parlimente was, of moste great crueltie, constrained to abolishe & put away y<sup>e</sup> primacie of y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome.

*Ro.* With crueltie? weie then, I perceave ye take a wrong way, with crueltie to perswade mens consciences, for it should appeare by your doynge nowe, that y<sup>e</sup> crueltie then used hath not perswaded your consciences: how wold ye then have our consciences perswaded with crueltie?

*Ch.* I talke to ye of no crueltie, but that they were so often & so cruelly called vpon in that parlimente, to let that acte goo forwarde, yea, & even with force driven therunto; whereas, in this parlimente, it was so vniformely received, &c., as is *more plainly beforesayd*.

*L. P.* Here my Lorde Pagette<sup>7</sup> told me more plainly what my lorde chancellor mente.

*Whie then*, my lorde, what wyll you conclude therby? that y<sup>e</sup> first parlimente was of y<sup>e</sup> lesse authoritie, because but few condescended vnto it, & this laste parlimente of *greater* authoritie, because moo condescended vnto it? it goeth not *by that*, my lorde, by y<sup>e</sup> more or *lesse* parte, but by y<sup>e</sup> wyser, truer & godlyer parte: & I wold have sayd more, but y<sup>e</sup> lorde chauncellor interrupted me *agayne* with his question, to answer him yet *ones agayne*; for sayd he, we have mo to speake with then *you*, which muste come in after ye: & so there were, in dede, x. persones moo out of Newgate, besydes ij. that were not called; of which x. one was a citizen of London,

(1) Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, formerly bishop of London. Lloyd in his "State Worthies" says of him, that "he spoke more harshly against the Protestants than he acted; being politically presumed to bark the more that he might bite the less, and observed to threaten much in London and do little in his own diocese." Most writers give him an amiable character. He had been Elizabeth's god-father, and was upwards of 80 years old at her accession; but he could not take the oath of supremacy, and she was obliged finally to suspend him. He was not, however, sent to prison; but committed to the nominal custody of archbishop Parker, with whom he lived in comfort at Lambeth, where he died Nov. 18th, 1559.

(2) Rogers thus designates Nicholas Heath, of whose promotion to the archbishopric of York he was probably ignorant. This is proved by the last paragraph of these Examinations, omitted by Foxe; hence note (5), supra, p. 593, stating that Richard Pates was the individual intended, who was only bishop of Worcester designate, must be expunged. All writers agree in speaking highly of Heath's moral and intellectual character; but he was a thorough Papist. After Gardiner's death he was made Lord Chancellor. He was deprived by Elizabeth, but after three months' imprisonment was allowed to retire to his own property at Chobham in Surrey, where he died in 1579.

(3) Rogers' explanation, doubtless, would have been in unison with the doctrines afterwards so admirably embodied in the 37th Article of the Church of England.

(4) Lord William Howard, or William first Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral. He was the eldest son by a second marriage of Thomas duke of Norfolk. He had been in favour during the two preceding reigns, but was a thorough Papist; yet is said to have shown more moderation during the persecution than most of his fellows. Elizabeth continued him in her Privy Council, made him Lord High Chamberlain, and finally Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He died Jan. 11th, 1573.

(5) Both Gardiner and Tunstall had written as Rogers intimates. See above, page 594 of this volume, note (1), and vol. v, pp. 74-99.

(6) This was the Parliament of 1534, which abolished the authority of the pope in the kingdom, and declared Henry to be the supreme head of the Church. Gardiner himself had, by a solemn oath, voluntarily acknowledged this Act, and sworn fidelity to its requirements. (See vol. v. p. 71.)

(7) William, first Lord Paget, a thorough Papist. He appears to have been an able but unprincipled man, managing to keep in favour with four different Governments. He was even one of Lady Jane Grey's Privy Council, but promptly sent in his adhesion to Mary, who treated him with marked respect. Elizabeth would not trust him. He died at West Drayton, June 1565, in his fifty-seventh year.

which graunted vnto them, & ix. of y<sup>e</sup> contrary, which all came to prison agayne, & refused y<sup>e</sup> cardinales blessing & authoritie of his holy father, &c., savinge that one of these ix. was not asked y<sup>e</sup> question otherwise then thus—whether *that* he would be an honeste man, as his father was before hym? & *he*, answeringe yea, was so discharged by y<sup>e</sup> frendshyppe of my lorde William Howarde, as I *dyd vnderstande*: he had me tell hym what I wold do—whether *that* I wold entre one church with y<sup>e</sup> whole realme, as it is nowe?

*Ro.* No, I wyll firste see it proved by y<sup>e</sup> scriptures: let me have penne, ynke, & bookes, &c., & I wyll take vpon me so plainly to set furth y<sup>e</sup> matter that y<sup>e</sup> contrary *shuld* be proved to be true; & *let any man conferre with me that wold by writinge.*

*Ch.* Nay, that shall not be permitted ye: thou shalte never have so much profered thee as thou haste nowe, yf thou refuse it—*yf thou wylte not now condescende & agree to y<sup>e</sup> catholic church: there are ij. thinges, mercie & iustice: yf thou refuse y<sup>e</sup> Quenes mercye now, then shalte thou have iustice ministred vnto ye.*

*Ro.* I never offended nor was disobediente vnto her grace, *yet wyll I not refuse her mercye: but yf this shalbe denyed, to conferre by writinge, & y<sup>e</sup> way to trye out the trueth, then is it not well, but to farre out of y<sup>e</sup> waye: ye yourselves all be they that brought me to y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of y<sup>e</sup> pretended primacie of y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome, whan I was a younge man, xx. yeares agone, & wyll ye now, without collocation,<sup>1</sup> have me to say & do y<sup>e</sup> contrarye? I cannot be so perswaded.*

*Ch.* Yf thou wylte not receive y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome to be supreme head of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, then *shalte* thou never have her mercye, thou maiste be sure: and as touchinge conferringe and tryall, I am forbydden by y<sup>e</sup> scriptures to vse any conferringe & tryall with y<sup>e</sup>; for S. Paule teacheth me that I *shall* shunne & eschewe an heretike after one or ij. monitions, knowinge that such a man is overtrown & is fawtye, in *that* he is condempned by his owne iudgemente. Tit. 3.<sup>2</sup>

*Ro.* My lorde, *nego assumptum.* I denye *that ye take in hand to prove, that is to witte*, that I am an heretike: prove ye that firste, & then allége y<sup>e</sup> aforesayd texte.

*Ch.* But still the lorde chauncellor played on one stringe: yf thou wylte entre into one church catholic with vs, &c., tell vs that, or elles thou shalte never have so much profered ye agayne as you haste nowe.

*Ro.* I will fynde it fyrste in y<sup>e</sup> scriptures, & see yt tried therby, yer I receive hym to be supreme head.

*B. of Worc.* Whye, do you not know what is in your crede—credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam?

*Ro.* I fynde not y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome there; for catholyke signifyeth not y<sup>e</sup> Romishe church: it signifyeth y<sup>e</sup> consente of all true teachinge churches of all tymes & of all ages; but how shuld y<sup>e</sup> Romishe bishop's be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines which are plainly and directly againste y<sup>e</sup> Word of God? *shuld he be y<sup>e</sup> head of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, that so doth?* that is not possible.

*Ch.* Shew me one of them, one, one, let me heare one.

*Ro.* I remember myselfe, that amonge so many I were beste to shew one. *Well, sayd I, I wyll shew you one.*

*Ch.* Let me heare that.

*Ro.* Y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome & his church saye, *synge, & read all that they do, in Latin, in y<sup>e</sup> congregation*, which is directly & playnly againste y<sup>e</sup> worde of God, *that is to wete, againste y<sup>e</sup> 1st. to y<sup>e</sup> Corinthians y<sup>e</sup> 14th chapter.*

*Ch.* I denye that; I deny that that is againste y<sup>e</sup> word of God; let me see you prove yt; how prove you yt?

*Ro.* Thus, quod I, & beganne to say y<sup>e</sup> texte, *qui loquitur lingua, &c.; to speake with tonges is to speake with a strange tonge, as Latin or Greke, &c., & so to speake is not to speake vnto men, but to God.*<sup>3</sup>

*Ch.* This he granted, that they spake not vnto men, but vnto God.

*Ro.* Well, then yt is in wayne to men.

*Ch.* No, for one man speaketh in one tonge & an other in an other, & all well.

*Ro.* Nay, I wyll prove *that than neither to God nor to man, but to y<sup>e</sup> wynde; wyll-*

(1) *I.e.* comparing or examining one thing with another: used by early writers as a synonym of "conference."

(2) Titus iii. 10, 11.

(3) The object of Rogers was to entrap his interlocutors into an admission, the consequences of which they did not foresee, until he proposed to add the climax to his argument, when they sought their usual resort of a clamorous confusion.



ynge to have declared how and after what sorte these ij. textes do agree,—for they muste agree—they be both y<sup>e</sup> sayinges of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Goste, spoken by y<sup>e</sup> apostle S. Paule, *that is* to wytte, to speake not to men but to God, & to speake into y<sup>e</sup> wynde,<sup>1</sup> —& so to have gone forward with y<sup>e</sup> prooffe of my *begonne matter*: here arose a noyse and confusion.

*Ch.* To speake vnto God, & not vnto God, were vnpossible; sayd y<sup>e</sup> lorde chauncellor.

*Ro.* I wyll prove them possible.

*Lorde William Howarde.* No, sayd my Lorde William Howarde to my lorde chauncellor, now I wyll beare you witnes (*what witnes it was, know all y<sup>e</sup> godly wyse*) that he is out of y<sup>e</sup> way; for he graunted fyrste that they which speake in a straunge speche speake vnto God, & now he sayth y<sup>e</sup> contrary, that they speake neither to God nor to man.

*Ro.* I have<sup>2</sup> granted, sayd I, turninge myselfe to my lorde William Howarde, as ye reporte: I have alleaged y<sup>e</sup> one texte, & now come to y<sup>e</sup> other, *and* they muste agree, & I can make them to agree; & as for you, ye vnderstand not y<sup>e</sup> matter.

*Lorde William Howarde.* I vnderstand so much, that *it* is not possible.

*Secretary Bowne.*<sup>3</sup> This is a poynte of sophistrie.

*Ch.* Then my lorde chauncellor began to tell my Lorde W. Howard, that when he was in high Ducheland, *they all,*<sup>4</sup> which before had prayed & vsed their service in Duche, began then to turne parte into Latin and parte into Duche.

*Bishop of Worcestre.* Yea, & at Whittenburge to, sayd my lorde of Worcestre.

*Ro.* Yea, *quod I* (but I could not be heard for y<sup>e</sup> noyse), in an Vniuersitie, where men for y<sup>e</sup> moste parte vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> Latin, & yet not all in Latin; & wold have told y<sup>e</sup> order, & so have gone forward both to have answered my lorde, & to have proved y<sup>e</sup> thinge that I had taken in hand; but perceiuinge their talkyng & noyse, was fayne to thinke thus in my hearte, suffringe them, in y<sup>e</sup> meane tyme, to take one one thinge & an other an other: alas! neither will these men heare me, yf I speake, neither wyll they suffer me to write; there is no remedye but let them alone, & committe y<sup>e</sup> matter to God: yet I began to *have gone* forward & sayd that I wold make y<sup>e</sup> textes to agree, & prove all my purpose well inough.

*Ch.* No, no, thou canste prove nothinge by y<sup>e</sup> scripture: y<sup>e</sup> scripture is dead *and* muste have a lively *exposition*.

*Ro.* No, no, y<sup>e</sup> scripture is alive: but let me goo forward with my purpose.

*Bishop of Worcestre.* Nay, nay, all heretikes have alleaged y<sup>e</sup> scriptures for them, & therfore muste we have a lively *exposition* for them.

*Ro.* Yea, all heretikes have alleaged y<sup>e</sup> scriptures for them, but were confuted by y<sup>e</sup> scriptures, & by none other expositours.

*Wore.* Yea, but *y<sup>e</sup> heretikes* wold not confesse that they were overcome by y<sup>e</sup> scriptures; I am sure of that.

*Ro.* I beleve that; yet were they overcome *therby*, & in all counsaylls were disputed with & overthrowen by y<sup>e</sup> scriptures: & here I wold have declared how they oughte to *have proceded* in these dayes, & so have come agayne to my purpose, but *that* was impossible, for one asked one thinge, an other sayd an other, that I was fayne to hold my peace & let them talke: & whan I wold have taken holde on my prooffe, my lorde chauncellor bad to prison with me agayne.

*Ch.* Away, away, sayd he, we have moo to talke withall: yf I wold not be reformed (*for* so he termed it), away, away.

*Ro.* Vp I stood, for I had kneled all y<sup>e</sup> while.

*Sr. Ric. Sothw.* Then said Syr Richard Sothwell<sup>5</sup> vnto me (which stood in a windoe by),—thou wylte not burne in this geare, when it commeth to y<sup>e</sup> purpose; I know well that.

(1) 1 Cor. xiv. 2, 9.

(2) Foxe inserts "not." The Latin says (p. 271): "Respondeo: Nequaquam ita rem habere, quemadmodum ipse acciperet: tantum a me adductum quendam D. Pauli locum, quem voleham cum alterâ ejusdem contextus sententiâ conciliare: hucque jam venturum fuisse me, si licuisset."

(3) Sir John Bourne was one of Mary's principal secretaries. He was a bigoted Papist, and very zealous in the persecution of the Protestants. He died May 1575, leaving large estates in Worcestershire.

(4) Foxe reads "they at Halle," and the reply of Rogers decidedly implies that Foxe gives the true reading. The bishop of Worcester immediately mentioned Wittenberg particularly, on account of Rogers' former residence there.

(5) Sir Richard Southwell had been of the Privy Council of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. He was a timeserver. He became a leading and bitter persecutor under Mary. He was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in 1552, and was in great favour during Mary's reign. His subsequent history is unknown.

*Ro.* Sir, I cannot tell, but I truste to my Lord God, yes; lifting up myne eyes vnto heaven.

*Bishop of Elye.* Then my Lorde of Elye,<sup>1</sup> *very gentelye, trulye,* told me much of y<sup>e</sup> Queen's maiesties pleasure and meaninge, & sette out that with large wordes, sayinge that she tooke them that wold not receave y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome's supremacie to be vnworthy to have her mercye, &c.

*Ro.* I sayd, I wold not refuse her mercye: I never offended her in all my lyfe, & I besoughte her grace & all ther honours to be good unto me, reservinge my conscience.

*Secretary Burne.* No,—*quod then* a greate sorte of them, & specially Secretary Bowrne,—a maryed prieste, and hath not offended y<sup>e</sup> law! &c.

*Ro.* I sayd, that I had not broken y<sup>e</sup> Queene's lawe, nor any lawe of y<sup>e</sup> realme therein, for I maryed where it was lawfull.

*Secretary Bourne, &c.* Where was that? sayd they, thinkynge that to be vnlawfull in all places.

*Ro.* In Ducheland; & yf ye had not here in England made an open law that priestes myght have wives,<sup>2</sup> I wold never have come home agayne: for I brought a wyfe & viij children with me, which thinge they mighte be sure that I wold not have done, sayd I, had not the lawes of this realme permitted it before: then was there a greate noyse, some sayinge that I was come to soone with such a sorte—I shuld fynde a soower cominge of it—& some one thinge & some au other.

*One.* And one sayd, I could never perceave well *how* that there was ever catholic man or countree that ever granted that a prieste mighte have a wyfe.

*Ro.* The catholic church never denyed mariage to prieste nor to any other man, sayd I, & therewith was goynge out of y<sup>e</sup> chambre, y<sup>e</sup> sergeante that broughte me thither havinge me by y<sup>e</sup> arme.

*Worcester.* Then y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Worcester turned his face towardes me, & sayd that I wyste not where y<sup>e</sup> church was or is.

*Ro.* And I sayd, yes, that *could I well tell*;<sup>3</sup> but therewith went y<sup>e</sup> sergeante with me out of y<sup>e</sup> doore: this was y<sup>e</sup> very true effecte of all that was spoken vnto me, & of all that I answered thervnto.

And here *I wold gladly have made*<sup>4</sup> a more perfecte answer to all y<sup>e</sup> former obiections, & also a due prooffe of all that I had taken in hand, but at this presente I was informed that I shuld y<sup>e</sup> nexte morne come to further answer, wherfore I am compelled to leave out that which I wold moste gladly have done; desyringe *herewith* y<sup>e</sup> hearty & vnfayned helpe of y<sup>e</sup> prayers of all Christ's true membres—y<sup>e</sup> true impes<sup>5</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> true unfayned catholic church—that y<sup>e</sup> Lord God of all consolation wyll now be in y<sup>e</sup> same case & distress; that I & they all may despice all maner of threttes & crueltye, & even y<sup>e</sup> bytter burninge fyer and dredfull darte of death, & sticke lyke true souldiours to our deare & lovinge captaine Christe, our only Redeemer & Saviour, & also y<sup>e</sup> only true head of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, that doth all in us, which is y<sup>e</sup> very proprietie of an head—*Eph. 1,*<sup>6</sup> *which thyng* all y<sup>e</sup> bishops of Rome can not do; & that we *traitorously runne* not out of his tentes, or rather out of y<sup>e</sup> playne fyeld from hym, in y<sup>e</sup> moste jeopardde of y<sup>e</sup> battle, but persever in y<sup>e</sup> fyghte, yf he wyll not otherwyse delyver us, tyll we be most cruellye slayne of his enemies: for this I moste heartely, & at this presente, with weepinge teares,

(1) Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely. He was attached to the Romish Church, but was so honest and considerate as to command the esteem of both parties. Ralph Morice in a letter to John Day (Harl. MSS. 410, fol. 183) says, that "Cranmer loved him more than any man living, and was even so fond of him that the people thought he would have cut off his finger or any other member for him, if he wanted it." Compelled to sit as one of Cranmer's judges he wept sorely, and apologized for the necessity. He always treated the Protestants with lenity. He refused to acknowledge Elizabeth, and was deprived; but lived in comfort at Lambeth, and died in August 1570.

(2) Rogers refers to the Act passed in 1548 (2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 21), which repealed all previous "laws, canons, constitutions, and ordinances" prohibiting the marriage of ecclesiastics. A later Act (5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 12) defined more particularly the former one, and declared the legitimacy of all such marriages (and their issue) as had previously occurred.

(3) See Text afterwards, last paragraph.

(4) Rogers had, doubtless, stealthily, and at different times since his examination, written to this point; when, on the evening of the 27th of January, he was informed that he was to be again arraigned on the following morning. In the course of that night he therefore added this concluding paragraph, evidently (from its contents) hoping that he might be able to deliver the MS. into some friendly hand during the next day.

(5) Imp: A graft, scion, shoot, offspring, or child.—*Richardson.* The application of this word has materially changed since those days.

(6) Ephesians i. 22.

most instantly & earnestly desyre & beseech you all praye : & also, yf I dye, to be good to *my poor wufe, beyng a stranger*, & all my litle sowles, hers and my children ; whom, with all y<sup>e</sup> whole faythfull & true catholic church of Christe, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde of lyfe & death save, kepe, & defende, in all y<sup>e</sup> troubles & assaultes of this wayne world, & bringe at y<sup>e</sup> last to everlasting saluation, y<sup>e</sup> true & sure inheritance of all *christians* : amen, amen.

Y<sup>e</sup> 27th<sup>1</sup> of ianuarie at nighte.

Y<sup>e</sup> 2 CONFESSON OF JOHN ROGERS MADE AND THAT SHULD HAVE BENE MADE, YF I MIGHTE HAVE BENE HEARD, Y<sup>e</sup> 28 & 29 OF IANUARIE, ANNO DNI. 1554.<sup>3</sup>

Firste, being asked agayne *yf* I wold come into one church with y<sup>e</sup> byshoppes & y<sup>e</sup> whole realme, as was now concluded by parlamente & all y<sup>e</sup> realme *beinge* converted to y<sup>e</sup> catholic church of Rome, &c., & so receave y<sup>e</sup> mercye before profered me—arisynge again with y<sup>e</sup> whole realme out of y<sup>e</sup> schisme and error in which we had long bene—with recantation of myne errors, &c. ; I answered that, before, I could not well tell what *his*<sup>4</sup> mercy meante, but now I *vnderstand* : it was a mercye of y<sup>e</sup> antichristian church of Rome, which I vtterly refused ; & that y<sup>e</sup> *arysynge* which he spake of was a very fall into error and false doctrine ; & that I had *bene* and wold be able, by God's grace, to prove that all y<sup>e</sup> doctrine *that ever I had* taught was true and catholie, & that by y<sup>e</sup> scriptures and y<sup>e</sup> authoritie of y<sup>e</sup> fathers that lyved 400 yeares after *y<sup>e</sup> deathe of Christe*, &c.

*Ch.* That shuld not, *nor mighte, or oughte* to be granted me, *quod he*, for I was but a private man, & mighte not be heard againste y<sup>e</sup> determination of y<sup>e</sup> whole realme : shuld, whan a parlamente had concluded a thinge, one or any private person have authoritie to discusse whether *that* they had done righte or wronge ? no, that may not be.

*Ro.* I answered, shortlye, that all y<sup>e</sup> lawes of *man mighte not rule y<sup>e</sup>, worde of God, nor could not*, but that they all must be discussed & iudged therby, & obey therto, & my conscience nor no *Christian's* could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed *therefrom*, &c., *waytinge* to have sayd much more.

*Ch.* But y<sup>e</sup> lorde chauncellor began a *long tale* to a very small purpose concerninge myne answer, *but* defaced me, that there was nothinge wherfore I shuld be heard, but arrogancye, & pryde, & vayne glorye, &c.

*Ro.* I also graunted myne *ignorance* to be greater then I coulde expresse, or then he tooke it, but *yet* feared not, by Godes assistance and strength, to be able by wrytinge to performe my worde ; neither *was, I thanked God therefore*, so utterly ignoraunte as he wold *have made* me, but all was of God, to whom he thankes rendred therefore : *prowde* man was I never *none*, nor yet vayne glorious : all y<sup>e</sup> world knew well, *sayd I*, where & on which syde pryde, arrogancye, & vayne glory was : it was a poore pryde that was or is in vs, God it knoweth, *sayd I*.

*Ch.* Then *he sayd*, that I at y<sup>e</sup> firste dashe condemned y<sup>e</sup> Quene & y<sup>e</sup> whole realme to be of y<sup>e</sup> Church of antichriste, & burdened me highlye therewithall.

*Ro.* I answered, that y<sup>e</sup> Quenes maicstie (God save her grace !) wold have done well inough, yf it had not bene for his counsell.

*Ch.* He sayd, y<sup>e</sup> Quene wente before hym, and *that* it was her owne motion.

*Ro.* I sayd, I *could nor wold never* beleve it.

*Bishop of Carlil.* Then sayd Doctor Aldriche y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Karill,<sup>5</sup> *that* y<sup>e</sup> byshoppes wold beare hym wiines.

*Ro.* Yea, quod I, I believe well ; & with that y<sup>e</sup> people laughed : for that day *were many there*, but on y<sup>e</sup> morowe they *had* kepte y<sup>e</sup> doores shutte, and wold let none in but y<sup>e</sup> byshoppes adherentes & servauntes, in maner.<sup>6</sup>

(1) Foxe's copy inserts "day," which Rogers purposely omitted, as he designed to show that he was writing at *night*.

(2) Foxe's copy interpolates the word "second."

(3) Old Style ; =1555 in the modern.

(4) Rogers is addressing the Lord Chancellor.

(5) Robert Aldrich, bishop of Carlisle, was always a thorough Papist, but sufficiently flexible to retain his bishopric from his first appointment in 1537, through the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and to be still in high favour with Mary's Government. He survived Rogers only about four weeks, dying March 5th, 1555.

(6) The line added here in Foxe's copy ought not to be omitted : "yea and the first day the thousandt man came not in." The Latin says (p. 274) : "Siquidem complures eo aderant die ex plebe auditores : quum in superiori actione, atque eo item qui sequebatur actionis die, vix millesima eorum pars, qui auscultaturi adveniant, admittebatur, præter eos duntaxat qui communi cum episcopis sedere conspirabant."

*Master Controller & Secretary Bourne.* Then master Controller<sup>1</sup> & secretary Bourne, they wold have stand vp also to beare hym witnes, and dyd.

*Ro.* I sayd, it was no greate matter;—&, to say y<sup>e</sup> trueth, *thoughte* that they were good *helpes* therto themselves, & as greate *impellers* & *movers* of y<sup>e</sup> *Quene* therto as was y<sup>e</sup> Lord Chancellor: but I sayd *nothinge* therin, knowyng that they were to styrge & mightie of power, & that they shuld be beleved before me, yea, before our Saviour Christe, and all his prophettes & apostles thereto in these dayes.

*Ch.* Then, after many wordes, he asked me what I *meante* concerninge y<sup>e</sup> sacramento? & stood vp, & put of his cappe, and all his felow bishoppes, of which there were a greate sorte new men *which I knew not*,—*many of them askyng* whether I beleved in y<sup>e</sup> sacramento to be y<sup>e</sup> very body & blowd of our Saviour Christe, that was borne of y<sup>e</sup> virgin Marye & hanged on y<sup>e</sup> crosse, *really, substantially, &c?*

*Ro.* I answered, that I had *ofte tymes* tolde hym that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore surp<sup>t</sup>ected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion: but *seyng* y<sup>e</sup> *falsehod* of their doctrine in all other *pointes*, & y<sup>e</sup> defence therof only by force & crueltie *thoughte* their doctrine in this matter to be as false as y<sup>e</sup> reste; for *Christe could not be corporally there, & I could not otherwise understand really & substantially to signify then corporallye, & so could not Christe be there & in heaven also*: & here I somewhat set out his charitie after this sorte: my Lorde, quod I, ye have dealte with me moste cruelly; for ye have *sente me to prison without lawe & againste lawe*,<sup>2</sup> & kepte me there almoste a yeaere & a halfe; for I was almoste halte a yeaere in my howse, where I was obediente vnto you, God it knoweth, and spake with no man; & now have bene a full yeaere in Newgate, at greate *coste* & charges, havinge therto<sup>3</sup> a wife & x. children to fynde,—& I had never peny of my lyvings, *neither of y<sup>e</sup> prebende, nor of y<sup>e</sup> residence, neither of y<sup>e</sup> vicarage of Sepulchre*,<sup>4</sup> againste y<sup>e</sup> lawe.

*Ch.* He answered, that Dr. Ridley, that had given them me, was an vsurper, and therefore I was y<sup>e</sup> vnjuste *possessor* therof.

*Ro.* Was y<sup>e</sup> kyng, than, an vsurper, quod I, that gave Dr. Ridley y<sup>e</sup> bishoprike?

*Ch.* Yea, quod he, & began to set out y<sup>e</sup> wronges that y<sup>e</sup> King had done *them both*,—*I meane y<sup>e</sup> bishop of London & to hymselfe*; but yet, quod he, I misvse my termes to call y<sup>e</sup> King vsurper: but y<sup>e</sup> worde was gone out of y<sup>e</sup> abundance of y<sup>e</sup> hearte before, & I thinke that he was not very soorve for yt. I mighte have sayd more concerninge that matter, & also concerninge *Sepulchres*,<sup>5</sup> but dyd not.

*Ro.* I asked hym, wherfore he *sente me to prison*?

*Ch.* He sayd, because I preached againste y<sup>e</sup> Quene.

*Ro.* I answered that *was not so*, & I wold be bownde to prove & stand to y<sup>e</sup> tryall of y<sup>e</sup> lawe, that no man shuld be able to prove yt, & thervpon wold set my lyfe. I preached, quod I, a sermon at y<sup>e</sup> crosse, after y<sup>e</sup> Quene came to y<sup>e</sup> Tower, but therin was nothinge sayd againste y<sup>e</sup> Quene; *witnes* to all y<sup>e</sup> audience, which was not small: & that he had, after examination, let me goo at libertie,—after y<sup>e</sup> preachinge of y<sup>e</sup> sermon.

*Ch.* Yea, but thou diddeste read thy lectures, agaynst y<sup>e</sup> commaundemente of y<sup>e</sup> counsell.

*Ro.* That dyd I not: let that be proved & let me dye for yt! thus have ye now, againste y<sup>e</sup> law of God and man, handled me, and never sente for me, never

(1) Sir Robert Rochester. He had been one of Mary's officers, when Princess; and had suffered imprisonment for his faithfulness to her. On her accession he was of course liberally rewarded, and received the Order of the Garter, the Comptroller'ship, and a seat in her Privy Council, as well as the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. He died Nov. 1557.

(2) Rogers and his companions claimed not only that there was no statute justifying their imprisonment, but also that their persecutors acted in violation of the laws that entitled them to their liberty, and this was the double charge he now brought against them.

(3) *I.e.* in addition.

(4) These words, though few, afford us the following important information:—1st. That Rogers held the preferments specified at the time of his incarceration, and did not acknowledge that he had even yet been legally deprived of them; 2dly. That during the past year, at least, the income from those livings had been entirely withheld from him; and 3dly. That his family had probably been ejected from his Prebendal residence attached to St. Paul's, where he appears to have lived until he was sent to Newgate. It is possible, however, that his reference to "the Residence" meant some income derived from it, and that his family had occupied the Vicarage house attached to St. Sepulchre's.

(5) Rogers does not give us elsewhere any explanation of this somewhat mysterious insinuation.

conferred with me, never *spake* of any learninge, till nowe, that *you* have gotten a whippe to whippe me with, & a sweord to cut of my necke, yf I wyll not condescende vnto your mynde: this charitie doth all y<sup>e</sup> world vnderstand.

I mighte & wold have added, yf I *mighte* have bene suffred to speake, that it had bene tyme enough to take awaye mens lyvings, and therto to have prisoned them, after that they had offended lawes,—for they be good citizens that breake not lawes,—& worthy of prayse, & not of punishement,—*but it was to much, & these wordes I spake*: to kepe men in preson so longe, till they *mighte* catche a man in y<sup>e</sup> lawe, & so *kyll hym*. I could & wold have added y<sup>e</sup> example of Daniel, which, by a craftye devised lawe, was caste into y<sup>e</sup> lyons denne. Item, I mighte have declared that I moste humblye desyred to be set at libertye,—sendinge my wyfe vnto hym with a supplication (beinge greate with childe), and with her viij. honeste weomen, or therabout, to Richemonte,<sup>1</sup> at Christemas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my howse. Item, I wrote ij. supplications to hym of<sup>2</sup> Newgate & sente<sup>3</sup> my wyfe vnto hym many tymes: Master Gosnold<sup>4</sup> also, that worthy man, who is now departed in y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, laboured for me, & so dyd many other worthy men also take paynes in y<sup>e</sup> matter: these thinges declare my *Lorde's* antichristian charitie,—that he hath & doth seke my blood, & y<sup>e</sup> destruction of my poore wyfe & x. children: this was y<sup>e</sup> shorte summe of y<sup>e</sup> wordes spoken y<sup>e</sup> firste day, y<sup>e</sup> 28. of Januarye, at after noone, after that Master Hoper had bene y<sup>e</sup> firste, & Cardmaker y<sup>e</sup> seconde,<sup>5</sup>—*which forsooke vs, & stoke not to his tackle, but shranke from vnder y<sup>e</sup> banner of our Master & Captayne Christe: y<sup>e</sup> Lorde graunte hym to returne & fyghte with vs*, till we be smitten downe together, yf y<sup>e</sup> lordes wyll be so to permitte it; for yet shall not an heare of our heades perishe againste hys wyll, but with his wyll: whervnto, y<sup>e</sup> same lorde graunte vs to be obediente vnto y<sup>e</sup> ende, & in y<sup>e</sup> ende, amen; swete, mightie, & mercifull Lorde Jesu, y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Dauid & of God! amen; let every true christian say & pray.

*Ch.* And then, about *iiij. of y<sup>e</sup> clocke* y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Chancellor sayd, that he muste yet vse with me *charitie of y<sup>e</sup> church*<sup>6</sup> (what maner of charitie, do all true christians well vnderstand, that is. y<sup>e</sup> same that y<sup>e</sup> foxe doth with y<sup>e</sup> chickens, & y<sup>e</sup> wolfe with y<sup>e</sup> lambes). & gave respite till y<sup>e</sup> nexte morowe, to see yf I wold remember my selfe well, come to y<sup>e</sup> catholic (so he calleth his antichristian, false) church agayne, & repente, & they wold receave me to mercye.

*Ro.* I sayd, that I was never out of y<sup>e</sup> true catholic church, nor ever wold be; but into his church wold I, by God's grace, never come.

*Ch.* Well, then, is our church false & antichristian?

*Ro.* Yea.

*Ch.* And what is y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> sacrament?

*Ro.* False, quod I, & caste my handes abroad: then sayd one, that I was a player; to whom I answered not, *not passinge of his mocke*.

*Ch.* Come agayne to morowe, betwixte 9. & 10.

*Ro.* I am ready to come agayne, whensocuer ye call: & so was I broughte by

(1) Richmond.

(2) *Sic*; but "out" is evidently intended.

(3) This furnishes the only ground for presuming that Rogers had, while in prison, any communication with his family, by which he might have learned of the existence of his eleventh child. But, knowing the extreme restraint under which he was kept, we may reasonably make other explanations of this passage. These visits of his wife to Gardiner may have taken place very soon after he was sent to Newgate, in January 1554, and before the birth of the child whose expected advent he referred to, when he spoke of her as going to Richmond at the preceding Christmas. Of her successful maternity he may, therefore, never have heard, and so, with a sacred regard for truth, claimed only the ten children of whom he certainly knew. It is, also, not impossible that he may have been able to send occasional messages to his family, but have been strictly prevented from receiving any in return. And again, as has been before stated, when he speaks of sending his wife, he may have only meant that he was aware of her repeated applications to Gardiner, and that he approved of them.

(4) John Gosnold.

(5) Foxe here adds the words "in examination before me." He then omits entirely the succeeding sentences in italics, relating to the defection of Cardmaker, supplying their place with the following: "The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till," &c. Foxe himself, in other portions of his work, refers to Cardmaker's conduct on this occasion in no very flattering terms. This indicates, that whatever deviations may occur in Foxe's text from the original MS. of Rogers were introduced by some one else before the MS. reached Foxe.

(6) The "charity of the Church," to which the Lord Chancellor referred, consisted in allowing persons in Rogers' position three distinct opportunities for recantation and submission. This was only his second, and he was therefore to be remanded to another day. Of course, in this case, it was a ridiculous form; but Gardiner was a great stickler for forms, and it enabled him to give an outward religious character to the real sentiments by which he was actuated.

y<sup>e</sup> shiriefes to y<sup>e</sup> Counter in Southwarke,<sup>1</sup> Master Hoper<sup>2</sup> goynge before me, & a greate multitude of people, beinge *pressed so*, that we had much *adoo* to goo in y<sup>e</sup> streates; thus much was done y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> of ianuarye.

Y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup>, about 9 of y<sup>e</sup> clocke, we were sente for in y<sup>e</sup> morninge, & by y<sup>e</sup> shyriefes fetched from y<sup>e</sup> Counter in Southwarke to y<sup>e</sup> church agayne, that is, to S. Marie-over-y<sup>e</sup>-waye,<sup>3</sup> where we were y<sup>e</sup> day before; & when Master Hoper was condemned, as I vnderstood afterward, then sente they for me.

Ch. And y<sup>e</sup> lord chancellor sayd vnto me, Rogers, here thou waste yesterday, & we gave ye libertie to remembre thy selfe this nighte, whether that thou woldeste come to y<sup>e</sup> holy catholic church of Christe agayne or not: tell vs now what thou haste determined,—whether that thou wilt be repentaunte & soorye, & wilt returne & take mercye agayne?

Ro. My lord, I have remembered my selfe righte well, what ye yesterday layd for you,<sup>4</sup> & desyre you to geve me leave to declare my mynde—what I have to saye therunto—and that done, I shall answer you to your demaunded question: when I yesterday desyred that I myghte be suffred, by y<sup>e</sup> scriptures & y<sup>e</sup> authoritie of y<sup>e</sup> firste, beste, & pureste church, to defend my doctrine by writinge,—meaninge not only y<sup>e</sup> *primacye*, &c., but also all y<sup>e</sup> doctrine that ever I had preached,—ye answered that it mighte not nor oughte to be graunted me, for I was a private man<sup>5</sup> (*trathe it is, quod I*); & that y<sup>e</sup> parliamente was above all y<sup>e</sup> authoritie of all private persones, & mighte not have y<sup>e</sup> sentence therof fownde faultye by me, beinge but a private person: & yet, my lord, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a generall councill, & after that ye whole councill had determined & agreed vpon an acte or article, that one man comminge in afterwarde hath, by y<sup>e</sup> worde of God, declared so pithelye that y<sup>e</sup> councill had erred in decreyng y<sup>e</sup> sayd article, that he causyd y<sup>e</sup> whole councill to alter & chaunge their acte or article before determined; & of these examples I am able to shew ij. I can also shew y<sup>e</sup> authoritie of S. Austen, that when he disputed with an heretike, *neither wold he have hymselfe nor y<sup>e</sup> heretike, to leane to y<sup>e</sup> determination of ij. former councells, of y<sup>e</sup> which y<sup>e</sup> one made for hym & y<sup>e</sup> other for y<sup>e</sup> heretike that disputed againste hym, but sayd that he wold have y<sup>e</sup> scriptures to be their iudge, which were common & indifferente for them both, and not proper to either of them.* Item, I could shewe y<sup>e</sup> authoritie of a learned lawyer Panormitanus, which sayth that vnto a simple lay man, that bringeth y<sup>e</sup> word of God with hym, there oughte more credite to be geven, then to a whole councill gathered together, *without y<sup>e</sup> scriptures: these thinges well prove that I oughte not to be denyed to say my mynde, & to be heard againste a whole parliamente,—bringinge y<sup>e</sup> word of God for me, & y<sup>e</sup> authoritie of y<sup>e</sup> olde church, 400 yeares after Christe,—albeyt, that every man in y<sup>e</sup> parliamente had willingly, & without respecte of feare & favour, agreed therto* (which thinge I doubted not a litle of); specially seyng that y<sup>e</sup> lyke had bene permitted in y<sup>e</sup> old church, even in generall councells, yea, & that in one of y<sup>e</sup> chiefe councelles that ever was, vnto which neither any of our actes of parliamente, for y<sup>e</sup> moste parte, nor yet of y<sup>e</sup> late generall councelles of y<sup>e</sup> bishoppes of Rome, oughte to be compared: for let Henry 8. call a parliamente, and beginne to determine a thinge (*quod I*, & wold have alleaged y<sup>e</sup> example of y<sup>e</sup> acte makynge y<sup>e</sup> queen a bastarde,<sup>6</sup> & of makynge hymselfe *supreme* head,—but could not, beinge interrupted of one Sir Anthonie Browue, whom God forgeve), then wyl you (appoyntinge to my lord chancellor), & ye, & ye, & *sic de singulis* (appoyntinge to y<sup>e</sup> reste of y<sup>e</sup> bishoppes), saye, amen; yea, & it lyke your grace, it is mete that it so be enacted, &c.<sup>7</sup>

(1) The Compter in Southwark. Down to the year 1541, the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalen adjoined each other, but were that year united, by Act of Parliament, under the name of St. Saviour. The old parish church of St. Margaret was converted into an assize or sessions house, one portion of it being used as a prison, and called the Compter in Southwark. It was in the immediate vicinity of St. Mary Overy's church. The Compter was afterwards removed to Mill Lane, Tooley Street.

(2) Bishop Hooper.

(3) St. Mary-over-the-way = St. Mary Overy—a natural contraction, especially as Rogers wrote it.

(4) This is a singular expression, but it is plainly "laid for you" in the MS., and Foxe himself always retained it in that form. "Laid" must mean "alleged:" "ab ipsis heri allata argumenta." (Latin, p. 276.)

(5) Foxe reads "p. rson."

(6) The Act of 1533 (25 Henry VIII. c. 22) established the succession in the children of Aune Bol-y-n, and thus virtually rendered illegitimate the present Queen, the daughter of queen Catharine; but Rogers probably referred to the Act of 1536 (28 Henry VIII. c. 7), in which the terms were more definite and positive.

(7) The foregoing was a bit of pleasantry on the part of Rogers, but contained a severe sarcasm that appears to have been felt and instantly resented.

*Ch.* Here, my lord chancellor wold suffre me to speake no more : *he* bad me sitte downe, mockinglye sayinge that I was *for* to be instructed of them, & I wold take vpon me to be their instructour.

*Ro.* My lord, I stand, & sitte not : shall I not be suffred to speake for my lyfe ?

*Ch.* Shall we suffre thee to tell a tale, & to prate ? quod he, & stood vp, & began to *deface*<sup>1</sup> me, after his old arregaunte, prowde fashion, *markinge* that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which *thinge he wold hynder, & dashe* me out of my tale ; & so he dyd, for I could neuer be suffred to come to my tale agayne, no, not to one worde of it : but he had much lyke communication with me as he had y<sup>e</sup> day before, &, *as is accustomed to hym*, taunte for taunte, & checke for checke ; for in that case, beinge Godes cause, I told hym he shuld not make me afraid to speake.

*Ch.* See what a spirite this fellow hath ! sayd he, fyndynge faulte at myne accustomed earnestnes & hearty maner of speakyng.

*Ro.* I have a true spirite, sayd I, agreinge & obeinge to y<sup>e</sup> word of God ; & wold further have sayd that I was neuer y<sup>e</sup> worse, but y<sup>e</sup> better, to be earnest in a true, juste cause, & in my Master Christes matters ; but mighte not be heard ; & at y<sup>e</sup> length he proceded *further* to his excommunication & condempnation, after that I had tolde hym that his church of Rome was y<sup>e</sup> church of Antichriste,—meaninge y<sup>e</sup> false doctrine, & y<sup>e</sup> tyrannicall lawes & maintenaunce *therof*, & cruell persecution vsed by y<sup>e</sup> sayd church (of y<sup>e</sup> which y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Winchester, & y<sup>e</sup> reste of his fellow bishoppes that are now in England, are y<sup>e</sup> chiefe membres), not all y<sup>e</sup> men & weomen in y<sup>e</sup> popes church. *Item*, when I was sayd to have denyed y<sup>e</sup> sacramente,—wherof he made his wonte reverente mention,<sup>2</sup> more to maynteyn his kyngdom therby then for y<sup>e</sup> true reverence of Christes institution—more for his owne & his popishe generation's sake then for religion or Godes sake,—I told hym after what ordre, for y<sup>e</sup> maner of his speakeinge was not agreinge *with* my wordes, which are before recited in y<sup>e</sup> communication that we had in y<sup>e</sup> 28 of Januarie ; wherwith he was not contented, & asked y<sup>e</sup> audience whether *that* I had not *simpliciter* denyed y<sup>e</sup> sacramente ? & they wold have sayd & dyd what he lusted, for y<sup>e</sup> moste of them were of his owne servauntes at that day,—y<sup>e</sup> 29 day, I meane : at y<sup>e</sup> last, *I wyll neuer denye it, quod I, that I sayd* that your doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> sacrament is false, but yet I tell you after what ordre I sayd it : to be shorte, he redde my condempnation before me, particulerly mentioninge therin but ij. articles,—that y<sup>e</sup> Romishe catholic churche is y<sup>e</sup> church of Antichriste, & that I denyed y<sup>e</sup> realitie of y<sup>e</sup> sacrament, &c. ; he cursed me to be disgraded,<sup>3</sup> & condempned to be put into y<sup>e</sup> handes of y<sup>e</sup> laye, & gave me over into y<sup>e</sup> shierifes handes (which were much better then his), & sente vs to y<sup>e</sup> Clynke,<sup>4</sup> there to remayne to night ; & when it was darke *carryed vs*, with bylles & weapons inough, & out of y<sup>e</sup> Clynke led vs through y<sup>e</sup> bishop's howse,<sup>5</sup> & so through S. Marye Over y<sup>e</sup> Wayes church yarde, & so into Southwarke, & over y<sup>e</sup> Bridge, on procession, to Newgate, through y<sup>e</sup> citie.

*Ch.* When he had redde *his* condempnation, he declared that I was in y<sup>e</sup> greate Curse, & what a vengeable<sup>6</sup> daungerous matter it were to eate & drinke with vs, or to gyve vs any thinge ; for all that so dyd shuld be partakers of y<sup>e</sup> same greate Curse.

*Ro.* Well, my lorde, quod I, here I stande before God, & *you all* this honorable

(1) Foxe reads "face." "Deface" is equivalent to the modern "bully."

(2) *I. e.* taking off his cap. This was a ceremony which Gardiner invariably performed when the real presence was spoken of, and was supposed to be a token of reverence similar to that now used when repeating the Saviour's name in the Creed ; but Rogers does not appear to have had much confidence in the honesty of his motives.

(3) Gardiner was pronouncing upon Rogers the *great curse* of his church, to which the language doubtless has reference.

(4) The Clink—a small place of confinement on the Bankside ; so called from its being the prison of the Clink Libery, or manor of Southwark, belonging to the bishops of Winchester. It was used chiefly for the reception of disorderly persons and other petty offenders. It stood at the corner of Maid Lane, and was abandoned about 1745, having become unsafe from decay. Its successor, also on the Bankside, was burnt during the riots in 1780, after which no other was established.

(5) Winchester House—the residence of the bishops of Winchester—a magnificent palace, of which there are now very few, if any, vestiges remaining. It was converted into a prison for the Royalists in 1642, and passed into private hands in 1649. It was afterwards recovered by the bishop, at the Restoration, but was never again used as the residence. It possessed a park of about sixty or seventy acres, but the entire site is now covered by wharves, warehouses, manufactories, and other buildings.

(6) Vengeable—with a vengeance, awfully, extremely.

audience, & take hym to witnes, that I never wittinglye & willingly taughte any false doctrine, & therefore *I have* a good conscience before God & *before* all good men; & *am not aferde* but that you & I shall come before a iudge *which* is righteous, before whom I shalbe as good a man as you, & *where*, I nothinge doubt, I shalbe fownde a true membre of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, & euerlastingly saved: & as for your false church, y<sup>e</sup> nede not to excommunicate me *thereout*; I have not bene in it these xx. yeares, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde be *praysed* therfore! but now ye have done *that* ye can, my lorde, I praye you graunte me one thinge yet.

*Ch.* What is that?

*Ro.* That my poore wyfe, beinge a straunger, may come & speake with me so longe as I lyve; for she hath x. children that are hers & myne, & somewhat I wold counsell her what were beste to doo for her.

*Ch.* No: she is not thy wyfe.

*Ro.* Yes, my lorde, & hath bene these xviii. yeares.

*Ch.* Shuld I graunte her to be thy wyfe?

*Ro.* Chewse, whether you wyll or not: she shalbe so, never y<sup>e</sup> lesse.

*Ch.* She shall not come at thee, quod he.

*Ro.* Then *have I* tryed out all your charitie, sayd I: ye make yourselves highly displeas'd with y<sup>e</sup> matrimonie of priestes, but ye mayntein their open whordome,—as in Wales, where every prieste hath his hoore openly dwellinge with hym, even as your holy father suffreth *in all Duchelande, & in Fraunce, y<sup>e</sup> priestes to do y<sup>e</sup> lyke*: thereto he answered not, but looked as it were a fraunte at yt: & thus departed I, & sawe hym laste.

*But now, dearly beloved, heare what I wold have sayd further, & what I had devised y<sup>e</sup> night before, partely, as y<sup>e</sup> lord knoweth, with sighinge & teares, partely with prayer, & partely by imagininge in my mynde after what order I wolde speake, when I shuld come before y<sup>e</sup> foresayd judges: <sup>1</sup> y<sup>e</sup> beginninge ye have before heard: now heare how I was utterly purposed to have proceeded.*

*As in Henry y<sup>e</sup> Eightes dayes, ye in your parliamentes folowed only his wyll & pleasure, even to graunte y<sup>e</sup> queen's majesty to be a bastard,<sup>2</sup> (God it well knoweth, againste your willes, & as ye well knowe, againste y<sup>e</sup> willes of y<sup>e</sup> whole realme, for y<sup>e</sup> moste parte, & that of all states, riche & poore, spirituall and temporall, gentle & vngentle, &c.)—lykewise, y<sup>e</sup> takinge away of y<sup>e</sup> supremacie of y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome,<sup>3</sup> with other mo things not a few;—even so in King Edwardes dayes dyd y<sup>e</sup> moste of y<sup>e</sup> learned of y<sup>e</sup> cleargie (againste their wylles, as it doth now appeare) sette their handes to y<sup>e</sup> mariage of priestes, (as deanes & archdeacons, Doctours & masters of colledges, to y<sup>e</sup> nombre of 70 or there aboutes,) & y<sup>e</sup> moste parte of y<sup>e</sup> bishoppes to y<sup>e</sup> alteration of y<sup>e</sup> service into Englishe, & to y<sup>e</sup> takinge away of y<sup>e</sup> positive lawes, which before had prohibited y<sup>e</sup> said mariage;<sup>4</sup>—this, I say, they dyd for y<sup>e</sup> duke of Somersettes & others of y<sup>e</sup> kynge's executors pleasure: lykewise, when y<sup>e</sup> duke of Somersette was beheaded, & y<sup>e</sup> duke of Northumberlande began to rule y<sup>e</sup> roste, looke, what he wold desyre, that he had, specially in his laste parliament;<sup>5</sup> so that, what his wyll was to be enacted, that was enacted: & in lyke maner, synce y<sup>e</sup> queen's majestie came to y<sup>e</sup> governaunce of y<sup>e</sup> realme, committinge y<sup>e</sup> same to y<sup>e</sup> cure of the bishop of Winchester (& very fewe others, but he rulinge y<sup>e</sup> matter, as*

(1) This passage furnishes us with an interesting picture of Rogers during the night that he passed in the Southwark Compter.

(2) See the page before the last, note (6).

(3) The Act of 1536 (28 Henry VIII. c. 10) is here referred to, although the King had been declared supreme head of the church two years before (26 Henry VIII. c. 1).

(4) Here Rogers states an important historical fact, omitted in Foxe's copy, and, it is believed, to be found originally nowhere but here. The only reference to it is by Strype (*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 209), who says: "Before the bill passed in the House, it was debated earnestly, and sifted thoroughly in the Convocation. And however the clergy was supposed to be prejudiced for the celibacy of the priests, yet (as we learn from one who seems to have been a member in that Convocation, or, at least, well acquainted with the transactions of it) there was in the Lower House, of Deans, Archdeacons, Doctors, Heads of Colleges, to the number of seventy, that set their hands in allowance of the marriage of priests (as in the Convocation the last year were fifty-three voices for it). And most of the Bishops in the Upper House set their hands to the taking away the positive laws that prohibited such marriage." In the margin, against this passage, Strype places the words, "John Rogers in his intended speech to the Lord Chancellor." This reference has always hitherto seemed mysterious, because, on examining this "intended speech" in the "Acts and Monuments" nothing of the kind was to be found.

(5) It is difficult to determine to what particular Acts of the last Parliament of Edward VI. Rogers here refers. There do not seem to have been any that should have been particularly obnoxious to the Romish clergy, unless it was one dissolving the bishopric of Durham, whose rich revenues the duke of Northumberland desired to convert to his own use. The reference is probably to the acts of that duke generally, which all tended to the ultimate success of his ambitious designs.



all England knoweth to be true), y<sup>e</sup> consente of y<sup>e</sup> whole parlamente foloweth his head & his will; so that now (against their willes, without doubte, & against y<sup>e</sup> willes of many thousandes true heartes of y<sup>e</sup> realme, as they of y<sup>e</sup> parlamente howse well know), they have condescended vnto hym, & what he can not doo in one parlamente, that he doth in another; for he hath had iij., all vnder y<sup>e</sup> title of y<sup>e</sup> quene (or elles he were shameles), in a yeaere & a halfe:<sup>1</sup> & now, I say, since he ruled y<sup>e</sup> roste, tell me how many thinges they in their parliaments have condescended vnto againste their willes, yea, & y<sup>e</sup> heartes & willes of y<sup>e</sup> whole realme—let all England beare me witnes—as that y<sup>e</sup> quene shuld marye with a forein prince; that y<sup>e</sup> service in Englishe shuld be taken awaye; that y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome shuld have his old authoritie, &c. I speake only of those examples which have bene seen in our tyme, & which all England know to be true. I wyll leave out many other old examples that mighte well be rehearsed: by all these, I say, (& many other, who so wold read y<sup>e</sup> chronikles of England, & y<sup>e</sup> old actes therto appertayninge, comparinge y<sup>e</sup> actes made in any kynges dayes to y<sup>e</sup> chronicles of this tyme), it may welbe seen that our parliaments are & have bene, specially, for y<sup>e</sup> moste parte, in these latter 100 yeaeres, but y<sup>e</sup> will & pleasure of one, or of a very fewe of y<sup>e</sup> heades, either of y<sup>e</sup> kynges or of y<sup>e</sup> counsailours; & y<sup>e</sup> lyke is to be seen in y<sup>e</sup> moste of y<sup>e</sup> generall counselles of y<sup>e</sup> latter tymes, that is to wete, that have been within these 4 or 5 hundred yeaeres: wherepon I mighte moste justelye conclude that none of these other parliaments or counselles mighte or oughte to hindre, but that I or any other man, bringinge y<sup>e</sup> worde of God, & y<sup>e</sup> consente of y<sup>e</sup> old catholic church of y<sup>e</sup> moste pure tyme, that is, 400 yeaeres after Christe, shuld & oughte to have bene heard, to write or speake even againste y<sup>e</sup> determination, consente, decree, acte or article of any parlamente or generall counsell, yf they in any poynte or poyntes differed or disagreed from Godes holy worde, yea, although they had all. with their willes consented therunto. I hold my peace, how much more it is lawfull, when men be compelled to agree: but this acte to make y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome supreme head by y<sup>e</sup> worde of God, otherwise then as a minister; to bynde & to loose in heaven & in earth; & to have y<sup>e</sup> exposition of y<sup>e</sup> scriptures in his power, & to be above them in authoritie; to allowe what shalbe scriptures & what not; to make articles of our faith; to make lawes vnto which all men muste obey, vpon payne of damnation; to have authoritie above all other bishoppes, yea, above emperours & kynges, &c. (for there is a whole sea of errours comprehended vnder & in these wordes, yf pope is y<sup>e</sup> head of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church),—it is againste y<sup>e</sup> scriptures, which assigne vs Christe to be y<sup>e</sup> head of y<sup>e</sup> church, even here in earth. I speake De ecclesia militante—of y<sup>e</sup> warfayinge church that in this world warrith againste y<sup>e</sup> devell, y<sup>e</sup> world, & y<sup>e</sup> fleshe, &c.—but of that rotten head of Rome there is no mention made in them: wherefore, by y<sup>e</sup> word of God, he hath no such authoritie: wherefore I may conclude that I, or any other man, havinge y<sup>e</sup> word of God on our sydes, may speake againste such an acte, & oughte to be heard, & y<sup>e</sup> parliaments to geve place to y<sup>e</sup> worde of y<sup>e</sup> ever livinge God, & not God to y<sup>e</sup> acte of parlamente: Of Godes word there shall not one tittle perishe, but it shalbe all fulfilled & performed that is therein contened, & vnto it muste all men, king & queen, emperour, parliaments & generall counselles obey—and y<sup>e</sup> word obeyith no man—it can not be chaunged nor altered, neither may we adde or put any thinge thereto, nor take no thinge therfrom; but y<sup>e</sup> parlamente or generall counsell may be altered, & chaunged, & a contrary thinge determined, as also there be divers & enough examples already shewed, & with tyme & bookes I could shewe many moo: yea, I wyll put you a mery case, in y<sup>e</sup> middeste of my sorowe. I put yf case that Henry 8. shuld rise agayne, & come to y<sup>e</sup> nexte parlamente: wold he not then be King still, thinke ye? yes, verelye: when he than shuld perceive that his actes were chaunged, there wold be no small hurly-burlye: what wold then y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Winchester say, & y<sup>e</sup> other rochette rowte,<sup>2</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> whole swarme of deanes, archdeacons, prebendaries, & dignities in y<sup>e</sup> convocation howse, yea, & all y<sup>e</sup> Lordes, knightes, & burgesses of y<sup>e</sup> parlamente thereto? verely, that they had offended y<sup>e</sup> King's majestie, desyre pardon, & chaunge y<sup>e</sup> acte agayne, or repeale y<sup>e</sup> new found act, & away with y<sup>e</sup> pope agayne, &c.: & peradventure some that sitte nowe very high

(1) The first Parliament met on the 5th of October, 1553, and was dissolved on the following 6th of December; the second assembled April 2d, 1554, and lasted only to May 5th, in the same year; the third commenced on the 12th of November, 1554, and was dissolved January 16th, 1555.

(2) I. e. those who wore the *rochet*—a white linen garment worn by bishops and some other ecclesiastics when officiating, differing from the ordinary surplice by being gathered at the wrists.

shuld daunce trunchemore,<sup>1</sup> after y<sup>e</sup> sounde of y<sup>e</sup> axe of y<sup>e</sup> Tower, so longe till their blood were all spent, & that they could pante no more for lacke of breath, &c. yea, syr, but Henry 8 commeth no more here—we are not aferde of hym. in dede it appeareth so, by y<sup>e</sup> actes that are paste, & by your dedes nowe, for our bishoppes are not afrayd to say that we were in a schisme & in an heresie all this while synce y<sup>e</sup> abolishinge of y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome's autoritie, & that is in dede to make Henry 8 & Edward 6 schismatices & heretikes, albeit that they abstayne from y<sup>e</sup> playne speakinge & sayinge so: there are a greate sorte in England that are not so blynde but that they can perceiue this juglinge righte well: oh, how well dyd Henry 8 bestowe his bishoprikes vpon such prelates! what traytorous heartes bare they vnto hym in his lyfe tyme! let all men consyder this: but now to y<sup>e</sup> purpose: what yf Henry 8 arise not to reigne in England? can not God raise vp an other kynge of lyke zeale & power, yea, of a much better zeale then ever he had? yes, I dare say, ye wyll graunte that: nowe, yf that shuld come by y<sup>e</sup> dayes of these bishoppes & of this presente cleargye, wold they not all downe on their mary bones, & obey to y<sup>e</sup> puttinge awaye of y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Rome agayne, & turne about agayne as faste as ever they dyd, & come to y<sup>e</sup> crosse<sup>2</sup> agayne, & preche againste his vsurped power, &c.? who doubteth therof? turne, & turne, & turne agayne, is y<sup>e</sup> very lyfe & proprietie of our popishe prelates, & of y<sup>e</sup> whole crowne shaven clergie: wherfore, seinge this is true, whye shuld y<sup>e</sup> parliamente be of such force that men mighte not, havinge y<sup>e</sup> worde of God on their sydes, be heard, yea, rather be highly allowed to speake againste it? this, I muste tell you, by y<sup>e</sup> waye; ye make so many chaunges, & turne so ofte about therein, that at y<sup>e</sup> length, I muche feare, God will make a very straunge turninge amonge you: I praye God it prove not soo.

Ch. My Lorde chauncellor tolde me that we gospie preachers marred y<sup>e</sup> realme.

Ro.<sup>3</sup> Let all men be judges, that have a zeale to religion & trueth, whether this turninge about of y<sup>e</sup> papistes have not broughte y<sup>e</sup> simple lay people, yea, & many worldly wise men therto, to this poynte, that they can not tell whom they shuld beleve, or wherunto they shuld truste: neither is it any meruell, for there is no man so blynde but he seeth that yf there be any lawe of man to force them, they wyll all turne from y<sup>e</sup> pope to y<sup>e</sup> king, & from y<sup>e</sup> pope to y<sup>e</sup> king<sup>4</sup> agayne; from y<sup>e</sup> Latin service to y<sup>e</sup> Englishe, & from y<sup>e</sup> English to y<sup>e</sup> Latin agayne; from whoredom & advoutrie<sup>5</sup> to lawfull mariage, & from mariage to hooredom & advoutrie agayne; from y<sup>e</sup> masse to y<sup>e</sup> communion, & from y<sup>e</sup> communion to y<sup>e</sup> masse agayne, &c.: yea, & yf a kynge shuld nowe come, that wold make another chaunge, after y<sup>e</sup> maner as y<sup>e</sup> late innocente Edwarde dyd, & adde y<sup>e</sup> force of lawes, which lacked in his dayes, they wold turne agayne from y<sup>e</sup> popes supremacie to y<sup>e</sup> kynges, from y<sup>e</sup> Latin service to y<sup>e</sup> Englishe, from y<sup>e</sup> masse to y<sup>e</sup> communion, &c.; yea, & yf there came in 20 yeares 10 kynges of divers religion, & made 10 chaunges in y<sup>e</sup> 20 yeares, that is, every 2 yeaere a chaunge, addinge, I saye, force thervnto, they wold care for no god, but turne about with y<sup>e</sup> kynges, & every kynges god shuld be a true god, & his religion y<sup>e</sup> true religion,—I meane, y<sup>e</sup> livinge & raingninge kinge shuld be set furth to y<sup>e</sup> vttermoste, & his god & religion to be y<sup>e</sup> true God & true religion, & y<sup>e</sup> dead kinge shuld have y<sup>e</sup> false god & false religion: so that these bishoppes & y<sup>e</sup> cleargie wold lyve 20 yeaeres, & still say that they had y<sup>e</sup> true God & true religion, & yet every ij. yeaere preache a contrary religion: how can this be? Item, all y<sup>e</sup> world seeth with what crueltie they deale: they wyll not take any order by disputation or conference, either by mouth or penne: they punishe before & without lawe: they have imprisoned vs now almoste a yeaere & a halfe, &, takinge our livinges awaye y<sup>e</sup> firste day,<sup>6</sup> have kepte vs there so longe till they could gette a lawe to make vs either to denye our doctrine (I call yt ours because we were y<sup>e</sup> ministers of it, for it is assuredly y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of God taughte by Christe, y<sup>e</sup> prophettes, & apostles), or elles to take our lyves from vs moste cruelly

(1) "Dance Trunchemore." This is unmistakably the expression in the MS., but the old glossaries throw no light upon its derivation or meaning, which can only be gathered from the context. It was probably a cant phrase, similar to "dance upon nothing" descriptive of hanging, and may be a corruption of "tranche de mort"—the cut of death—as indicating decapitation.

(2) Paul's Cross.

(3) Here follows a spirited defence of the Protestant preachers against the charge that they were disturbers of the realm.

(4) The words "Pope" and "King," as used the second time, should evidently be transposed.

(5) From the French *avouerie*, adultery.

(6) This seems to determine the fact, that the preachers derived no income from their respective livings, from the first day of their personal restraint, whether in prison or in their own dwellings.

& tyrannouslye, & yet in their wordes pretende mercye & charitie: they are, verelye, even y<sup>e</sup> men that David paynteth out in y<sup>e</sup> figure & paterne of Saul, Ps. 5,<sup>1</sup> non est in ore eorum veritas, cor eorum vanum est, sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum, linguis suis dolose agebant, judica illos Deus; that is, there is no truth in their mouth, their hearte is vayne, or full of corruption or wickednes,—that is, full of deceipte & guile,—their throate is an open sepulchre,—that is, a grave that, lyinge open, looketh for a corpse, to rotte it & eate it vp: even so do our enemies, with their fayre paynted wordes & fyne tales, go about to drawe vs unto them, & to make vs forsake God, & to fall from hym: how say ye, say they, wyll y<sup>e</sup> come into one church with us? so shall ye receive mercye, &c.: is not this to deale subtellye with their tonges? are not such mens throates an open sepulchre? sed judica eos Deus,—but o Lorde, destroye them, judge & condemne them. Thus much wold I have sayd of y<sup>e</sup> firste poynte,—that I, beinge a private person, & havinge on my syde Godes moste holy worde, & y<sup>e</sup> consente of y<sup>e</sup> moste olde true & catholic church, as is aforesayd, that is to saye, havinge on my syde God hymselfe & his holy catholic electe & chosen church, oughte not to have bene denyed to write—for that was my requeste<sup>2</sup>—knowynge that they wold, as they also dyd, dashe & face me out with wordes, & with crynginge all againste me—one selye soule—and so to have declared myne innocencie: yea, if they had bene or yet were men of God, they muste moste lovingly have embraced this profferre: but what they allwayes have bene, that they be, & I feare me, wilbe continuallye: y<sup>e</sup> Lorde converte them, yf it be his blessed wyll, & yf they be such men as may be partakers of y<sup>e</sup> prayers of Godes electe & chosen; amen.

I have also declared which preachers marre them: & yt is moste sure that we,—preachinge Godes worde syncerelye & trulye, as we have (y<sup>e</sup> Lord be thanked therfore!) vndoubtedly done, yea, & that vnfaynedlye, heartely, & earnestlye,—oughte to be allowed for y<sup>e</sup> savers & helpers of y<sup>e</sup> realme; & our aduersaries, doyng y<sup>e</sup> contrarye,—preachinge false lyes & mens traditions of ashes, candles, palmes, water, bread, belles, herbes, dead sayntes, rotten bones, y<sup>e</sup> popes poyson & destruction of sowles,—rockynge vs all in blyndnes, with latin abominable masses, processions & other service, ringinge, synginge, blessinge, yea, & cursynge & burninge therto, &c. (for who can reckon vp all their trimme toys, fowle teacherye, false fayned fantasyes, lowde lyes, hypocrisye, & idolatrie, &c.?)—these, these thinges wyll bringe y<sup>e</sup> realme to vtter ruine, specially seyng it hath refused y<sup>e</sup> warninge of God through vs his true preachers: this shall ye moste assuredly fynde to be true, yf ye repent not, & amende quicklye. I can not at this tyme be any longer in this matter, although I righte gladly wold.

Ch. Wherefore I now proceed to y<sup>e</sup> 2. thinge that I had to saye, which was that my Lorde Chancellor had y<sup>e</sup> day before sayd his pleasure of them that ruled y<sup>e</sup> ranke y<sup>e</sup> while he was in preson; & also rejoysed as though God had made this alteration even for his sake & his catholic church, as he calleth it; & to declare, as it were by mirakle, that were we before in a schisme & heresy, & ye realme<sup>3</sup> to an vnitie & to a truthe, & I can not tell wherto,—there was I fullye purposed to have sayd:

Ro. Secondarilye, my Lorde, whereas you yesterday so highlye disprayed y<sup>e</sup> gouernance of them that ruled in innocent K. Edwardes dayes, it may please your lordship to vnderstande that we poore preachers, whom ye so evell allowe, dyd moste boldly & plainly rebuke their evell gouernance in many thinges, especially their covetousnes, neglecte, & small regarde to lyve after ye gospele, & also their negligence to cause other to lyve thereafter, with moo thinges then I can now rehearse: this can all London testifie with vs. I wold also have tolde hym what I myselfe, for my poore parte, dyd ones at Paul's crosse, concerninge y<sup>e</sup> abuses of abbeyes & other church goodes, & I am assured righte well that never a papiste of them all dyd ever so much therein as I dyd, I thanke God therfore. I was also, as is well knowne, fayne to answer therfore before all y<sup>e</sup> counsell, & many of my brethren dyd y<sup>e</sup> lyke; so that we, for y<sup>e</sup> not rebukynge of their faultes, shall not

(1) Psalm v. 9—11.

(2) After the mockery called a disputation at Oxford, when the words of Rldley and Latimer were so grossly perverted, the Protestant preachers generally refused all proposals to dispute, unless they should be allowed to put their arguments in writing, which they thought could not be falsified or distorted to their discredit.

(3) Foxe's copy inserts "was now brought."

answere before God, nor *shalbe* blameworthy before men: therof let y<sup>e</sup> gentlemen & courtiers themselves, & all y<sup>e</sup> citizens of london, testifie what we dyd. But, my L., ye could not abyde them for that which they did vnto you, & for that they were of a contrarye religion vnto you: it is private hate (was I fullye determined to have sayd) that makes you to reporte so evell of y<sup>e</sup> governaunce; & ye may now say what ye *luste* of them, when they be partlye dead & gone, & partlye by you put out of office: but what shalbe sayd of you, *when you come downe, downe*, ye shall then heare; & (I muste say my consciencie) I feare me ye have & wyll *do*, with your governaunce, bringe england out of Godes blessinge into a warme sunne: I praye God ye do not. I am an Englishe man borne, & God knoweth, do naturally wishe well to my cuntrye,—& my Lorde, *have ofte proved that y<sup>e</sup> thinge which I much dreame of, & feare shall come to passe, doth in dede followe*. I praye God that I may fayle of my gessinge in this behalfe. I *moste heartely desire it of hym*: but, truely, that will not be with expellinge y<sup>e</sup> true worde of God out of y<sup>e</sup> realme, & with shedyng of innocent blood.

And as touchinge your reioysinge, as though God had sette you alofte to punishe vs, by mirakle,<sup>1</sup> & to minister iustice, yf we wyll not receive your holy father's mercye, &c. & therby to declare your church true & ours false,—to that I answer thus: Godes works *are* wonderfull, & are not to be comprehended & perceived of mans wisdom—not by y<sup>e</sup> witte of y<sup>e</sup> moste wyse and prudente; yea, they are sooneste deceived, & do moste easily iudge amisse of Godes wonderfull workes, that are moste wise. God hath made all y<sup>e</sup> wisdom of y<sup>e</sup> world folishnes, 1 Co. i. &c.,<sup>2</sup> *dedit dilectam animam suam in manibus inimicorum ejus*, Ierem. 12,<sup>3</sup> he doth put his beloved & deare hearte into y<sup>e</sup> handes of *his* enemies therof: this thinge doth God, which thinge all wise men accompte to be y<sup>e</sup> moste folishe and vnwise *pointe* that can be: will y<sup>e</sup> wise of *this* world, trowe ye, put their moste deare friendes & tenderly beloved children into their enemies handes, to kyl *them*, slaye, burne, &c.? *it* is a madnes above all madnes vnto them, & yet doth God vse this order, & this is an high & a singular wisdom in his sighte, which y<sup>e</sup> world taketh to be moste extreme madnes. Can y<sup>e</sup> world shewe a cause whie he put that moste holy man, John *y<sup>e</sup> Baptiste*, into *Herodes* handes to be beheaded, & that in pryson, secretlye, without open judgemente, moste tyrannouslie? whye he suffred y<sup>e</sup> create multitude of innocente children to be *moste cruellye slayne* of Herode of Ascalon, *which was father to hym that kylled John y<sup>e</sup> Baptiste*?<sup>4</sup> whie he suffred his beloved apostle S. James to be beheaded of another Herode (as I suppose, but can not well tell for *lacke of bookes*) Acts 12?<sup>5</sup> *which*<sup>6</sup> suffred his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob to be 400 years in thraldome & bondage vnder Pharao; & all y<sup>e</sup> stocke of Juda and Benjamin, his beloved children & church, to come vnder y<sup>e</sup> power, sword, & tyrannie of Nabucodonosor, &c.? *no*, verelye; but his true catholic church knoweth divers causes hereof, which are now to longe to rehearse, & which I wold righte gladly shewe, yf I had *bookes & tyme*; but this I am righte sure of, that it was not because y<sup>e</sup> aforesayd godly men were in heresy, & subiecte to false godes services & idolatrie, & that their aduersaries were men of God, & beloved of God, &c.: y<sup>e</sup> contrarye was true: John Bapt. was beloved of God, & Herode hated, & so furth of y<sup>e</sup> reste: & John Bapt., y<sup>e</sup> innocent children, James, y<sup>e</sup> children of Israel in Egypte & Babylon, were y<sup>e</sup> catholic membres & people of God, & their aduersaries, into whose handes they were put & delivered, and that of God and by his good wyll & pleasure, were idolatours & y<sup>e</sup> people of y<sup>e</sup> Devell, &c.; but wold be called y<sup>e</sup> chiefe membres of God, & reioysed that they had y<sup>e</sup> true God, & that it was nowe declared by miracles that y<sup>e</sup> Israelites had but a false god & false religion, seinge they were deliuered into y<sup>e</sup> Babylonians handes, &c.: & all y<sup>e</sup> other, y<sup>e</sup> Herodes & Pharaos I meane, plainly determined that, yf y<sup>e</sup> men which they kylled & handled evell had bene Godes people, God wold never have suffred them to have come into their handes, but rather have done y<sup>e</sup> contrarye: *who let*

(1) Foxe here inserts—"for so you report and brag openly of yourself"—omitted in the Lansdowne MS.

(2) Foxe quotes 1st Cor. chaps. 1 and 2. He should have added the third, in the 19th verse of which appears the language used by Rogers.

(3) Jeremiah xii. 7.

(4) Foxe's copy transposes the last two sentences evidently that they might stand in the order of the events they refer to.

(5) Acts xii. 1, 2.

(6) Foxe here very properly reads "why he," no doubt the reading of the original MS.

*John y<sup>e</sup> Bapt. be kylled of Herode, &c.*<sup>1</sup> Even y<sup>e</sup> lyke is nowe to be seen in vs, & in our moste cruell aduersaries: not therefore are they y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, because our mercifull God<sup>2</sup> hath at this presente geuen our lyves into their handes; neither are we therefore heretikes, because we suffre punishement at their handes, as y<sup>e</sup> Lord chancellor, by his rejoycinge, semeth to gather: y<sup>e</sup> contrarye is hereby to be gathered, that we be y<sup>e</sup> membres of y<sup>e</sup> true catholic church, because we suffre for y<sup>e</sup> same doctrine which John Bapt., James, y<sup>e</sup> Israelites, yea, Christe & his Apostles [suffred for],<sup>3</sup> (of which none taughte of our aduersaries doctrine, that that rotten antichristian head of Rome shuld be y<sup>e</sup> head of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, but have manifestlye taughte y<sup>e</sup> contrarye, speciallye Paule, 2 Thess. 2,<sup>4</sup> & Daniel in y<sup>e</sup> 11;<sup>5</sup> which thinge, yf I mighte have lyfe & bookes, I wold so set furth, that all y<sup>e</sup> world shuld see it as I *dyd* teache),—& our aduersaries, with their antichristian head, y<sup>e</sup> membres of y<sup>e</sup> Develles churche, as they vndoubtedlye are. And in lyke case as y<sup>e</sup> above mentioned holy men, though they in their dayes were counted to be heretikes, seditious, & disturbers of y<sup>e</sup> whole worlde, (for vnto John Bapt. it was sayd Jo. 1.<sup>6</sup>, Wherefore baptizeste thou, yf thou be not Elias nor that prophete, &c.? as who saye, thou haste no such authoritie to beginne a newe ceremonie in y<sup>e</sup> church, for we be in ordinarye possession of y<sup>e</sup> church, & of vs thou haste *no such authoritie*, we abyde by our *old* circumcision, &c.: & y<sup>e</sup> lyke could I declare of James, & of all y<sup>e</sup> apostles & prophettes, & of our Saviour Christe hymselfe, that they were all condemned as heretikes, & blasphemers of God, & disturbers of y<sup>e</sup> whole worlde: Paule & Silas, Act. 16<sup>7</sup>, *muste heare these wordes* of y<sup>e</sup> Philippians, These men trouble our citie, & yet be they Jewes, & preache institutions which it is not lawfull for vs to receive, seynge we be Romayns: & in y<sup>e</sup> 17th of y<sup>e</sup> Actes,<sup>8</sup> y<sup>e</sup> wise men of this world, such as gave their indeavour to wisdom, sayd by S. Paule, Quid vult spermologus hic dicere? that is, what wyl this prater saye? (as my *Lorde* sayd to me, Shall we suffer this felow to prate? when I wold fayne have sayd that thinge that I have here written) triffler, newes carier or bringer, that *telles* whatsoever men wyl have hym, for gayne & advantage; that wyl, for a peece of bread, say what ye wyl have hym, &c.: an other sayd, in y<sup>e</sup> same place, He semeth to be a preacher of new develles: & Acts 21,<sup>9</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Jewes saye by Paule, layinge handes on hym, Helpe, o ye Israelites, *sayd* they, this is y<sup>e</sup> man that teacheth all men euery where againste y<sup>e</sup> people (meaninge y<sup>e</sup> Jewes), & y<sup>e</sup> lawe, & this place (meaninge Jerusalem), & yet was never a worde of *this* true: & Actes 22,<sup>10</sup> y<sup>e</sup> same Jewes sayd of Paule, Out of y<sup>e</sup> earth with that man, or awaye with hym, for it is not lawfull for hym to lyve: (how many moo of these ensamples are to be founde in y<sup>e</sup> bible!)—although, I say, these men were in their dayes taken for heretikes of them that were then in authoritie, & of y<sup>e</sup> greate multitude of y<sup>e</sup> worlde, yet it is now well known—& verye shortlye after their deathes was knowne, yea, & even in their lyves—to y<sup>e</sup> true cath. church, that they were not only of y<sup>e</sup> true cath. church, but also y<sup>e</sup> fownders & builders therof, & y<sup>e</sup> chiefe & speciall membres, notwithstandinge y<sup>e</sup> sinister iudgemente that y<sup>e</sup> wise & mightie & y<sup>e</sup> greate multitude of y<sup>e</sup> world had on them, & in their consciences they were alwayes assuredly certified of y<sup>e</sup> same: even y<sup>e</sup> same shall y<sup>e</sup> world fynde true in vs, shortlye after our deathes, as also there be at this howre, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde be thanked therefore! not a fewe that already know it; & we ourselves also are, by Godes grace, assuredly certified in our *owne* consciences that we are no heretikes, but membres of y<sup>e</sup> true cath. church; & our aduersaries, y<sup>e</sup> bishoppes & popishe cleargie, which wyl *now* have that title, y<sup>e</sup> membres of Sathans church, & their antichristian head of Rome with them. Yea, but here they wyl crye out,—loo, these men wyl still be lyke John

(1) "Who" seems to mean, "whereas he,"—*i. e.* God. Foxe for this sentence in Italics substitutes the words "and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezar"—which seems a misrepresentation of Rogers' meaning. The preceding words, "have done the contrary," seem only to imply, that He would rather have kept His people out of the hands of their enemies. Rogers' style is sometimes rather obscure, and he does not assist his readers with capitals and good punctuation.

(2) In the midst of their severest sufferings, and what would seem to unsanctified hearts the great injustice to which they were subjected, Rogers and others of his time and class recognised God as *merciful*. Such language breathes the very spirit of resignation and strong faith.

(3) These two words are enclosed in brackets in the MS., and were, doubtless, very properly supplied by the transcriber, to complete the sense of the passage.

(4) Rogers probably refers to 2nd Thessalonians, ii. 8—12. Foxe adds "John in the Apocalypse"—which does not appear in this MS.

(5) Daniel xi. Rogers probably refers to the prophecy contained in the 36—40 verses.

(6) John i. 25.

(7) Acts xvi. 20—21.

(8) Acts xvii. 18.

(9) Acts xxi. 28.

(10) Acts xxii. 22.

y<sup>e</sup> Bapt., y<sup>e</sup> prophettes & apostles, &c. : I answer, we make not ourselves lyke vnto them in y<sup>e</sup> singuler vertues & gyftes of God geuen vnto them, as of miracles doynge, & of many other thinges : y<sup>e</sup> similitude & lyknes of them & vs consisteth not in all thinges, but only in *one*, that is, that we be lyke them in doctrine, & in y<sup>e</sup> suffringe persecution & infamie for y<sup>e</sup> same : we have preached their very doctrine, & none other thinge, & that we be able sufficiently to declare by their writings : for my parte, I have profered to prove y<sup>e</sup> same, as is now often sayd : & *therefore* do we suffre y<sup>e</sup> lyke reproche, shame, & rebuke of y<sup>e</sup> world, & y<sup>e</sup> lyke persecution, leesynge<sup>1</sup> our lyves & goodes, forsakyng (as our master Christe commaundeth) father, moither, systren, brethren, wives, & children, & all that there is,—beinge assured of a joyfull resurrection, & to be crownd in glorye with them, accordinge to y<sup>e</sup> vnfallible promisses made vnto vs in Christe, our only & sufficiente mediatur, reconciler, prieste, sacrifice, which hath pleased y<sup>e</sup> Father, & quieted & pacified his wrath againste our synnes, & made vs without spotte or wrinkle in his syghte, by imputation, although we, of & in ourselves, are bespotted and beblotted with many fylthye synnes, which yf y<sup>e</sup> greate merceye graunted in Christe dyd not put away, not imputinge them vnto us, of his measureles and vnspcakable merceye & love to save vs, wold have broughte vs to euerlastinge damnation & death perpetuall, &c. : herein, and in *none other thinge*, do we affirm ourselves to be lyke vnto our head Christe, and all his apostles, prophettes, martyrs, and saynetes ; and herein oughte all christen men to be lyke them, & herein are all christen men and weomen lyke them, euery one accordinge to y<sup>e</sup> measure of y<sup>e</sup> fayth that God hath dealte vnto them, & to y<sup>e</sup> diversitie of y<sup>e</sup> gyfte of y<sup>e</sup> Spirite geuen vnto them, &c. But, *syrr*, let vs nowe consyder, that yf it be Godes good wyll & pleasure to geue *ouer* his owne beloved hearte, that is, his beloved church & y<sup>e</sup> membres therof, into y<sup>e</sup> handes of their enemies, to chasten, trye, & prove them, & to bringe them to y<sup>e</sup> true vnfayned *knowledginge* of their owne naturall *stubborne disobedience* towards God & his commaundementes,—as touchinge y<sup>e</sup> love of God, & of their brethren & neighbours, & their naturall inclination, readines, & desyre to love creatures, to seke their own lustes, pleasures, & thinges forbydden of God, & to obteyn a trewe repentaunce & sorrowfulnes therefore ; & to make them sigh & crye for y<sup>e</sup> forgevenes *therof*, & for y<sup>e</sup> avde of y<sup>e</sup> Spirite, dayly, to mortifye & kyll y<sup>e</sup> sayd evell desyres & lustes ; yea, & ofte fallinge into grosse outwarde synnes, as David dyd, Peter, Magdalen, & other ; to arise agayne also therout, with a mightie cryng for merceye, &c., & for many other causes ;—let vs consyder what he *after* doth with y<sup>e</sup> sayd enemyes, into whose handes he hath geuen his tenderly beloved dearlynges, & crosseth them for a small while, accordinge to his good pleasure, as all fatheres do with their children, Heb. 12, Proverb 3.2—he viterlye destroyeth & everlastinglye danneth y<sup>e</sup> *enpenitente* enemies. Let Herode tell me what he wanne by kyllyng James, & persecutinge Peter, & Christe's tender dearlynges, & beloved spowse & wyfe his church ; verely, God thoughte hym not worthy of *death*, to have it ministred vnto hym by men or angelles, or any worthy creatures ; but those small & yet moste vile beastes, lice & small vorines, muste consume & kyll his beastlye, vile, tyranuous bodye : Pharao & Nabugodonosor, for all their pryde & moste mightie power, muste at y<sup>e</sup> length let Godes dearlyngs goo frelye away out of their lande, yea, & out of their bandes of tyrannie : for when it could not be obtained at their handes, that Godes congregation mighte have true merceye ministred vnto them, but y<sup>e</sup> counterfette merceye of these our dayes, that is to say, extreme crueltye, & even y<sup>e</sup> very & that moste horrible and cruell death, God arose & awooke out of his sleape, & destroyed those enemies of his flocke, with a mightie hande & stretched out arme. Pharao dyd, with moste greate & intollerable burthens & labours, oppresse & bringe under y<sup>e</sup> poore Israelites, & yet dyd y<sup>e</sup> courtiers vndoubtedlye noyse abroad that y<sup>e</sup> kynge was mercifull vnto them, to suffre them to lyve in his lande, & to sette them aworke, that they mighte gette their lyvinge : yf he should thruste them out of his land, whether shuld they goo, lyke a sorte of vagabondes & runagates, &c. ? this title & name of merceye wold that tyraunte have, & so dyd his *false, flatteringe* courtiers spredde his vayne prayse abroad. Have not we *even* y<sup>e</sup> lyke ensamples nowe a dayes ? Oh that I had nowe tyme to write certayn thinges pertayninge to our Winchester's merceye. How mercyful he hath bene *vnto* me & *vnto* my good

(1) Lesing : from *lese*, equivalent to *lose*.—Richardson.

(2) Hebrews xii. 7 ; Proverbs iii. 12.

brethren I wyll<sup>1</sup> speake of; neither yet vnto y<sup>e</sup> duke of Suffolkes moste innocente daughter, & to *her* husbonde, &c.; for although their fathers were fawtye, yet had their youth & lacke of experieuce deserved a pardon by all true merciful mens judgementes:<sup>2</sup> oh that I had tyme to paynte out this matter aryghte! but there be many alyve that can do yt better when I am dead. *But* Pharao had his plages, & his moste flourishyng lande was by his counterfette mercye, which was in dede righte crueltie & abominable tyrannye, vtterly destroyed: & thinke y<sup>e</sup> that this bloodye butcherlye bishop of Winchester & his moste bloody brethren shall escape? or that England shall, for their offences, and speciallye for y<sup>e</sup> mayntenance of their idolatrie & wilful folowinge of them, not abyde a great brunte? Yes, vndoubtedly: yf God looke not mercifullye vpon Englande, y<sup>e</sup> seedes of vtter destruction are sowne *therin* alreadye, by these hypocriticall tyrantes & antichristian prelates, popishe papistes, & double traytours to their naturall cuntrye: and yet they speake of mercye & of blessinge, of y<sup>e</sup> catholic church, of vnitie, of power, & strengtheninge of y<sup>e</sup> realme, &c.: this double dissimulation wyll shew itselfe one daye, when y<sup>e</sup> plage commeth, which wyll vndoubtedlye lighte upon these crowne shorne captaynes, and that shortelye, whatsoever y<sup>e</sup> godlye & y<sup>e</sup> poore realme suffre in y<sup>e</sup> mean while, by Godes good suffraunce and wyll! Spite of Nabugodonosors bearde, & maugrye<sup>3</sup> his hearte, y<sup>e</sup> captive, thrall, & miserable Jewes muste come home agayn, & have y<sup>e</sup> citie & temple buylded vp agayne, *through* Zorobabell, Esdras, & Neemiah. &c.; & y<sup>e</sup> whole kyngdom of Babylon to ruine muste goo, & *their honour be taken* of strangers, y<sup>e</sup> Persians and Medians:—so shall y<sup>e</sup> dispersed<sup>4</sup> Englishe flock of Christe be broughte agayne into y<sup>e</sup> former state, or to a better, I truste in y<sup>e</sup> Lorde God, then it was in innocente King Edwardes day's; & our bloodye babylonicall bishoppes, & y<sup>e</sup> whole crowne *shaven* companye, broughte to vtter shame, rebuke, ruine, decaye, & destruction: for God can not, nor vndoubtedlye wyll not suffre y<sup>e</sup> false hynged doctrine, their hypocrysie, bloodsheddyng, whoredom, idlenes, & *pleasante lyfe in all pleasure*, their thrasonicall *boastinges* & *pryde*, & malicious, *envious, poyson stomackes* towardes his poore & miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, If judgemente beginneth at y<sup>e</sup> howse of God, what shalbe y<sup>e</sup> ende of them that beleve not y<sup>e</sup> gosple? yf y<sup>e</sup> righteous shalbe scante saved, where shall y<sup>e</sup> vngodly and y<sup>e</sup> sinfull appeare? some shall have their punishmente here in this world & in ye world to come to; & they that escape in this world shall not escape euerlastinge damnation, &c.: this shalbe your sawce, o y<sup>e</sup> wicked papistes! make ye mery here as longe as ye may.

*Thus much of y<sup>e</sup> second parte: y<sup>e</sup> 3th & laste thinge that I wold have spoken of shuld have bene an answeere to myne old Master Dr. Hethe<sup>5</sup> now bishop of Worcester; which sayd that I coulde not tell hym where y<sup>e</sup> church is, as I have mentioned in y<sup>e</sup> confession at y<sup>e</sup> firste tyme of all, when we were called before y<sup>e</sup> counsell in y<sup>e</sup> bishop of Winchester's howse,—I answeringe that I coulde: for lacke of tyme I conclude: Godes pece be with you: amen.*

(1) A "not" is wanting in the Lansdowne MS.: supplied in Foxe's copy.

(2) It will be seen that Rogers does not implicate the Queen in the sad fate of Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley, but casts all the responsibility upon Gardiner. He repeatedly charges upon him all the mischief that was then being done, both in Church and State.

(3) *I.e.* maugre or mauger; Fr. *malgré*: in spite of.

(4) Foxe's copy reads "dispersed:" see the Glossarial Index.

(5) "Mine old master, Dr. Heath." This settles the hitherto disputed question, whether it was Nicholas Heath, or Richard Pates, who was present officially on the day of the trial of Rogers, Hooper, and others. Foxe, in his first edition, in a marginal note in another place, states that Heath was meant, and in subsequent ones makes Rogers say the same in the text. Some however have insisted that Pates was at that time Bishop of Worcester, Heath having been promoted to the Archbishopric of York. But the fact is that, although these changes had been nominally made, neither of them came into possession of the temporalities of their respective Sees, until after Rogers' death; Pates on the 5th, and Heath on the 26th of the following March. (*Nicholas' Historic Peerage*.) Rogers was, therefore, technically correct, and Heath was still Bishop of Worcester, although Archbishop of York elect. (See account of Heath in Note (2) in the second page of this Appendix.) What Rogers meant by styling Heath his "old master," it has been impossible to determine, but it is quite probable that he may have been his tutor while at Cambridge. Their age was about the same, but Heath was considerably the senior of Rogers in the University, having taken his degrees about four years before him.













