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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF
✓
JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. III.—PART II.

Seeleys,

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In iunctio penitentia penitentibus
Dni ni non pyxando suffragia
quantitatem sem et haminis.



INJUNCTION OF PENANCE.



Substance of the Answer of the Council to the Supplication.

*Henry
V*A. D.
1415.

First, as touching the protestation of John Huss, whether it be true or false, it shall be made evident in the process of his cause. Moreover, whereas they say that the adversaries of John Huss have perversely drawn certain things out of his books, that, also, the matter itself shall declare in the end; when, if it shall be found and decreed that John Huss is unjustly and untruly accused, it shall then come to pass that his adversaries shall incur perpetual ignominy and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the deputies of the council with a safe conscience may receive or take them in that man's cause, unto whom there is no faith nor credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do, upon the fifth day of June next John Huss shall be brought again unto Constance, and there have free liberty to speak his mind before the council, and then they will lovingly and gently hear him.

John
Huss in
no case
must be
bailed.No credit
to be kept
with a
heretic.

But the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promise.—The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication of this tenor unto the emperor:

Supplication of the Barons to the Emperor Sigismund for John Huss.

Unto the most high and mighty prince, the lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious lord, faithful and true service in all things, and at all times. Most serene prince and gracious lord, we signify unto your serenity, that we all together, with one mind, consent, and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend fathers and lords, the deputies of the four nations, and to the whole sacred council of Constance, this our supplication hereunder written, as reasonable, just, and worthy of consideration; the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.¹

Wherefore we most humbly require and desire your princely majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renown of that most famous kingdom of Bohemia, whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly the true lord, heir, and successor; and also foreseeing unto the liberty of your safe-conduct; that you would, beholding with a favourable countenance these reasonable and just supplications which we have put up to the lords aforesaid, interpose your good offices with the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they may effectually hear us in this our just petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid. But lest the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous kingdom of Bohemia (and such be our slanderers also) should hereafter slander us, that we had made unlawful and unreasonable requests unto the said most reverend lords; therefore, we desired of them, that it would please them to decree to authorise our said supplication by setting to their public hand. In like wise, we do earnestly beg of your serene highness, that you would vouchsafe and be pleased to give us your testimonial to the premises.

But what answer the emperor made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge, that this good emperor was brought and led even unto this point, through the obstinate mischief of the cardinals and bishops, to break and falsify his promise and faith which he had made and promised: and this was their reason whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe-conduct, or by any other means unto him, who was suspected or judged to be a

The king
forced by
the im-
portunity
of the
cardinals
to break
promise.

(1) The copy of the supplication before written, which was presented unto the deputies of the council, was here inserted, whereunto that which followeth was annexed. See page 440.

Henry V. heretic. But by the epistles and letters of John Huss, a man may easily judge what the king's mind was. Now we will proceed in the history.

A. D. 1415.

Mischievous counsel of the papish band.

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

The crafty counsel of the papists stopped by the emperor

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

John Huss forced to keep silence by outrage of the bishops and priests

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of these reverend fathers; for here happened a strange and shameful matter. With much ado they had scarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witnesses upon the same against him, but, as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad herd or flock began so to cry out upon him, that he had not leisure to speak one only word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it a bruit or noise of wild beasts, and not of men; much less was it to be judged a congregation of men gathered together, to judge and determine so grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and cry did ever so little cease, that he might

answer any thing at all out of the holy Scriptures or ecclesiastical doctors, by and by he should hear this godly reply upon him: "That maketh nothing to the purpose."¹

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

On that day, which was the seventh of June, somewhere about seven of the clock, the sun a little before having been almost wholly eclipsed, this same flock assembled again in the cloister of the friars minor, and by their appointment John Huss was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the noble men, lords Weneclaus de Duba and John de Clum, and the notary named Peter, who were great friends of the said Huss, did follow, to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard read, on the accusation of Michael de Causis, these words following: "John Huss hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the chapel of Bethlehem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague, of the which errors some of them he hath drawn out of Wickliff's books, and the rest he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the same very obstinately and stiffly. First, that after the consecration and pronounciation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread." And this was proved by the witness of John Protway, parish-priest of St. Clement's in Prague; John Peeklow, preacher at St. Giles' in Prague; Benise, preacher in the castle of Prague; Andrew Brode, canon of Prague; and divers other priests. Unto this John Huss, taking a solemn oath, answered that he never spake any such word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbishop of Prague forbade him to use any more that term or word 'bread,' he could not allow the bishop's commandment; forsomuch as Christ, in the sixth chapter of John, doth eleven times name himself the bread of angels, which came down from heaven, to give life unto the whole world: but as touching material bread, he never spake any thing at all. Then the cardinal of Cambray, taking a certain bill in his hand, which he said he received the day before, said unto John Huss: "Do you prove universalities 'a parte rei,' i. e. 'by part of a thing?'" When John Huss answered that he did, because St. Anselm and divers others had so done, the cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner: "It followeth

Henry
V.A. D.
1415.An out-
rageous
council.See
Appendix.A great
eclipse of
the sun.They
went
forth
with
swords
and
staves,
as it had
been to
take a
thief.Peter and
John fol-
low Christ
into the
bishop's
house.
Matter
made
against
John
Huss.
False witness
against
John
Huss.
His
answer.
Naming
of bread
forbidden
by the
arch-
bishops.

(1) The like practice, in these later days, was used at Oxford against the godly fathers.

Henry V.

A. D.
1415.

The cardinal
sophisticateth
with John
Huss.

then," said he, "that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: for the consecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remain the common substance of material bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remain, then is the proposition proved: if contrariwise, then doth it follow, that by the ceasing of the singularity, the universal ceaseth any more to be."—John Huss answered, "Truly it ceaseth to be in this singular material bread, by reason of the transubstantiation, when it is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ; but notwithstanding, in other singularities the subject remaineth."

The dis-
putation of
the
English-
men.

Then a certain Englishman by that argument would prove out of the first position, that there remained material bread. Then said John Huss, "That is a childish argument, which every boy in the schools knoweth:" and thereupon gave a solution. Then another Englishman would prove, that there remained material bread in the sacrament, because the bread after the consecration was not annihilated. Unto whom John Huss answered, "Although," said he, "the bread be not annihilated or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to be, by reason of the alteration of its substance into the body of Christ."

Another
English-
man.

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

John
Huss
agreeth
with that
blind
time in
the sacra-
ment.

Stokes,
an Eng-
lishman.

False
witness.

John
Huss
falsely ac-
cused for
calling
St. Gre-
gory a
rhymet.

Then they returned again unto the testimony of them who were spoken of a little before, who, every man for himself affirmed, with an oath, that which he had said; among whom John Protway, parish priest of St. Clement's in Prague, when he should come to confirm his testimony, added more, that John Huss should say, that St. Gregory was but a rhymet, when he did allege his authority against him. Unto whom John Huss answered, that in this point they did him great

injury, forasmuch as he always esteemed and reputed St. Gregory for a most holy doctor of the church.

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased, the cardinal of Florence turned himself towards John Huss and said: "Master, you know well enough that it is written, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all witness is firm and stable; and here you see now almost twenty witnesses against you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongst whom some have heard you teach these things themselves, the others by report and common bruit or voice do testify of your doctrine; and all together, generally, bring firm reasons and proofs of their witness, unto the which we are forced and constrained to give credit; and, for my part, I see not how you can maintain and defend your cause against so many notable and well learned men." Unto whom John Huss answered in this manner: "I take God and my conscience to witness, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fantasy to teach in such sort or manner, as these men here have not feared to witness against me that which they never heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more esteem, yea, and without comparison, regard the witness of my Lord God, before the witness and judgment of all mine adversaries, upon whom I do in no point stay myself."

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

Then was there read a certain article of accusation, in the which it was alleged, that John Huss had taught, and obstinately defended, certain erroneous articles of Wickliff's in Bohemia. Whereunto Huss answered, that he never taught any errors of John Wickliff's, or any other man's. "Wherefore, if it be so that Wickliff hath sowed any errors in England, let the Englishmen look to that themselves." But to confirm their article, there was alleged that John Huss did withstand the condemnation of Wickliff's articles, the which had been first made at Rome. And afterward also, when the archbishop of Prague, with other learned men, held a convocation at Prague for the same matter, when they would have there been condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the catholic faith or doctrine, but were either

Henry V.

A. D. 1415.

The cardinal of Florence. Twenty witnesses prevailed against John Huss, but the testimony of all Bohemia could not serve on his part.

The cardinal of Cambray. See Appendix.

He meaneth Gerson.

Another accusation for defending Wickliff's articles.

Henry
V.A.D.
1415.Certain
articles of
Wickliff
that John
Huss
stood to.

heretical, erroneous, or offensive; he answered, that he durst not agree therunto, for offending of his conscience, and especially for these articles: that Silvester the pope, and Constantine, did err in bestowing those great gifts and rewards upon the church: also, that the pope or priest, being in mortal sin, cannot consecrate nor baptize. "This article," said Huss, "I have thus limited, so as I should say, that he doth unworthily consecrate or baptize, for that, when he is in deadly sin, he is an unworthy minister of the sacraments of God." Here his accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant, that the article of Wickliff was written by John Huss *totidem verbis* in the treatise which he had made against Stephen Paletz. "Verily," said John Huss, "I fear not to submit myself even to the punishment of death, if you shall not find it so as I have said." When the book was brought forth, they found it written as John Huss had said. He added also, moreover, that he durst not agree unto them who had condemned Wickliff's articles for this article, "The tenths are pure alms."

Whether
tenths be
pure
alms.

Here the cardinal of Florence objected unto him this argument: "To constitute alms it is requisite, that it should be given freely without bond or duty: but tenths are not given freely, but of bond or duty: therefore are they no alms." John Huss, denying the major of this syllogism, brought this reason against him: "Forsomuch as rich men are bounden, under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the six works of mercy, which Christ repeateth in Matthew xxv., and these works are pure alms; ergo, alms are also given by bond and duty." Then an archbishop of England, stepping up, said: "If we all be bound unto those six works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, who have nothing at all to give, should be damned." "I answer," said Huss, "unto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those who had wherewithal to do those works. They, I say, are bound to give alms under pain of damnation."

Alms
stand of
duty.See
the
context.

He answered moreover, unto the minor of the first argument, that tenths were at first given freely, and afterward made a bond and duty; and when he would have declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. He declared also divers other causes why he could not, with safe conscience, consent unto the condemnation of Wickliff's articles. But howsoever the matter went, he did affirm and say, that he did never obstinately confirm any articles of Wickliff's, but only that he did not allow and consent that Wickliff's articles should be condemned, before sufficient reasons were alleged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation.

The mind
of John
Huss
touching
the con-
demna-
tion of
Wickliff's
articles.

'And of the same mind,' saith John Huss, 'are a great many other doctors and masters of the university of Prague; for when Sbinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliff's books to be gathered together in the whole city of Prague, and to be brought unto him, I myself brought also certain books of Wickliff's, which I gave unto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any error or heresy in them, he would note and mark them, and I myself would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he showed me no error nor heresy in them, burned my books, together with those that were brought unto him, notwithstanding he had no such commandment from pope Alexander V. But, notwithstanding, by a certain policy, he obtained a bull from the said pope by means of Jaroslus, bishop of Sarepta, of the order of Franciscans, that all Wickliff's books, for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there were none named), should be taken out of all men's hands. The archbishop, using the

Wickliff's
books
burned in
Prague
by the
arch-
bishop
Swince.

authority of this bull, thought he should bring to pass, that the king of Bohemia and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wickliff's books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheless, calling together certain divines, he gave them in commission to sit upon Wickliff's books, and to proceed against them by a definitive sentence in the canon law. These men, by a general sentence, judged all those books worthy to be burned; which when the doctors, masters and scholars of the university heard report of, they, all together, with one consent and accord (none excepted but only they, who before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in judgment), determined to make supplication unto the king to stay the matter. The king, granting their request, sent by and by certain unto the archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing, as touching Wickliff's books, contrary unto the king's will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the king, the matter was passed over. In the mean time pope Alexander V. being dead, the archbishop, fearing lest the bull which he had received of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed soldiers, consumed and burned all Wickliff's books. Besides this great injury, the archbishop by means of his bull aforesaid, committed another no less intolerable; for he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the pope; who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewise unto his successor John XXIII.: before whom when, by the space of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocates to defend my cause, I appealed unto the high judge Christ.'

Henry V.

A. D. 1415.

The university of Prague maketh supplication to the king for saving of Wickliff's books.

Wickliff's books burned in Prague against the king's will.

A decree that no man should teach any more in chapels.

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

John Huss appealeth to the pope, and from the pope to Christ.

Whether it be lawful to appeal to Christ or no.

The popish church derideth Christ.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation in this manner; that John Huss, to confirm the heresy which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wickliff's books, said openly these words: "That at what time a great number of monks and friars, and other learned men were gathered together in England, in a certain church, to dispute against John Wickliff, and could by no means vanquish him, or give him the foil, suddenly the church-door was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wickliff's enemies hardly eescaped without hurt." He added moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wickliff's soul was. Whereunto John Huss answered, that a dozen years before any books of divinity of John Wickliff's were in Bohemia, he did see certain works of philosophy of his, which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understood the good and godly life of the said Wickliff, he spake these words: "I trust," said he, "that

Huss accused for trusting that Wickliff's soul is saved.

Henry V.

A. D.
1415.

Wickliff is saved; and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish, that my soul were in the same place where John Wickliff's is." Then again did all the company jest and laugh at him.

Sedition
laid to his
charge.

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

Huss ac-
cused for
moving
certain
tumults
against
the cler-
gy, and
division
in the
univer-
sity of
Prague.

A story of
popes.

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

*See
Appendix.*

Why
Sbinco
and other
of the
clergy did
fly out of
Prague.

A few years after, it happened, when pope Gregory would not refuse and give over his seat and office at the request of the cardinals, that the whole college of cardinals sent letters to the king of Bohemia, requiring him, that, together with them, he would renounce and forsake his obedience unto pope Gregory; and so it should come to pass, that by the authority of a new bishop he should recover again his imperial dignity. For this cause the king consented to the will of the cardinals as touching a neutrality; that is to say, that he would neither take part with pope Gregory at Rome, neither yet with Benedict XII., residing at Avignon, who was also named pope, as it doth appear by chronicles. In this cause then, forso much as the archbishop Sbinco with the clergy were against the king, and, abstaining from the divine service, many of them departed out of the city, yea, and even the archbishop himself, having first broken down the tomb of Saint Wenceslaus, and against the king's will taken and burned Wickliff's books:—thereupon the king, without any gainsaying, suffered that certain goods of theirs, who of their own wills were fled away, should be spoiled; that they might not consent or accord with the archbishop. Whereupon it is easy to be understand and known

that John Huss was falsely accused for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one Naso,¹ rising up, said: "The clergy do not abstain from the divine service, because they will not swear to consent unto the king, but because that they are spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance." And the cardinal of Cambray, who was one of the judges said: "Here I may say somewhat which is come into my mind. When I came from Rome, the same year that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certain prelates of Bohemia; of whom when I demanded what news they had brought out of Bohemia, they answered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact; for all the clergy were spoiled of their substance, and very ill entreated and handled."

Then John Huss, alleging the same cause which he did before, went forward unto the second part of the article which was objected against him, denying also that it happened through his fault, that the Germans departed from the university of Prague. "But when the king of Bohemia, according to the foundation of Charles IV., his father, granted three voices unto the Bohemians, and the fourth unto the Germans; thereat the Germans grudging that they should be deprived of part of their voices, whereof they had had three, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themselves with a great oath, and under a great penalty,² both of their fame and also money, that none of them should return again unto Prague. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confess, that for the commodity and profit of my country I did approve and allow the doings of the king, unto whom of duty I owe obedience. And because you shall not think that I have spoken any untruth, here is present Albert Warren Trapius, who was Dean of the faculty of arts, who had sworn to depart with the rest of the Germans; he, if he will say the truth, shall easily clear me of this suspicion."

*Henry V.**A. D. 1415.*

A declaration how the Germans departed from the university of Prague.

See Appendix.

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

The slander of the unshamefast sycophant

(1) This doctor Naso was counsellor to king Wenceslaus.

(2) The penalty of money was a hundred silver shock.

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 Paletz speaketh against John Huss.

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

Huss committed to custody.
See Appendix.

This done, the said John Huss was committed to the custody of the archbishop of Riga, under whom Jerome of Prague was also prisoner. But before he was led away, the cardinal of Cambray, calling him back again in the presence of the emperor, said, "John Huss, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto Constance, neither the emperor himself, nor the king of Bohemia, could have compelled you to do it." Unto whom John Huss answered: "Under your license, most reverend father! I never used any such kind of talk or words. But this I did say, that there were in Bohemia a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, who did favour and love me, who also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come unto this town of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither of the king of Bohemia." With that the cardinal of Cambray, even for very anger began to change his colour, and despitefully said: "Do you not see the unshamefastness of the man here?" And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Huss had spoken, said, that John Huss had spoken very well; "for on my part," said he, "who, in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realm of Bohemia, yet always, if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily by the space of one year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they have done it who are of more force or puissance than I am, and have stronger castles and places than I have?" After the lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinal of Cambray said, "Let us leave this talk; and I tell you, John Huss! and counsel you, that you submit yourself unto the sentence and mind of the council, as you did promise in the prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour."

And the emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying:

The emperor's oration to John Huss.

Albeit that there be some who say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our letters of safe-conduct; notwithstanding, I can well prove, by the witness of many princes and noblemen, that the said safe-conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my lord de Duba and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prague, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the council, and to answer as touching your faith and doctrine; and, as you see, my lords the cardinals and bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you; for which we have great cause to thank them. And forasmuch as divers have told us, that we may not, or ought not, of right to defend any man who is a heretic, or suspected of heresy; therefore, now we give you even the same counsel which the cardinal of Cambray hath given you already,

that you be not obstinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do submit yourself under such obedience as you owe unto the authority of the holy council, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses: which thing if you do according to our counsel, we will give order that for the love of us, of our brother, and the whole realm of Bohemia, the council shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easy and tolerable penance and satisfaction. Which thing if you, contrariwise, refuse to do, the presidents of the council shall have sufficient wherewithal to proceed against you. And, for our part, be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintain or use this stiffness of opinions, which you have hitherto maintained and used. Wherefore our advice and counsel is, that you submit yourself wholly unto the judgment of the council.

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Unto whom John Huss answered in this sort; "O most noble emperor! I render unto your highness immortal thanks, for your letters of safe-conduct." Upon this lord John de Clum did interrupt him, and admonished him that he did not excuse himself of the charge of obstinacy. Then said John Huss: "O most gentle lord! I do take God to my witness, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obstinately; and that for this same intent and purpose I did come hither of mine own good-will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine than mine, I would then change mine opinion without any further doubt." After he had spoken and said these things, he was sent away with sergeants.

Answer
of John
Huss
unto the
emperor.

See
Appendix.

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

Thirty-
nine
articles
laid to
John
Huss.

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

The Answer of John Huss to twenty-six Articles concerning his Book of the Church.

I, John Huss, unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, do confess that I have written a certain small treatise, entituled, 'Of the Church;' a copy whereof was showed me in presence of notaries by the three

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1415.First
article.Second.
St. Paul
never
member
of the
devil.Two
manner
of separa-
tions
from the
church.Third.
The
members
of the
church
never fall
finally
away.Fourth.
The pre-
destinate
is always
a member
of the uni-
versal
church.Fifth.
To be in
the
church,
and a
member
of the
church.
Predesti-
nation.Sixth.
Both
good and
bad in the
church.The
seventh
article.

commissioners of the council, that is to say, by the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castel-a-mare, and the bishop of Lebus: which commissioners, in reproof of the said treatise, delivered unto me certain articles, saying, that they were drawn out of the said treatise, and were written in the same.

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

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

The third article: 'No part or member of the church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forasmuch as the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall.' This proposition is thus placed in my book: 'The reprobate of the church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same, forasmuch as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away; because that the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away.' This is proved by 1 Cor. xiii., and Romans viii.: 'All things turn to good to them which love God.' Also, 'I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God:' as it is more at large in the book.

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

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

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

The seventh article: 'Judas was never no true disciple of Jesus Christ.' I answer, and I do confess the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed afore, and by St. Augustine (Causa xxxiii. quest. 3, 'De Pœnitentiâ,' Dist. 4, c. 8.)

where he doth expound the meaning of St. John, in the first epistle, chap. ii., where he saith, 'They came out from amongst us, but they were none of us.'—'He knew from the beginning all them that should believe, and him also that should betray him, and said, Therefore said I unto you, that none cometh unto me except it be given him of my Father. From that time many of the disciples parted from him.' But were not those also called disciples, according to the words of the gospel? And yet, notwithstanding, they were no true disciples, because they did not remain and continue in the word of the Son of God, according as it is said, 'If you continue in my word, you be my disciples:' forsomuch, then, as they did not continue with Christ as his true disciples, so likewise are they not the true sons of God: although they seem so, unto Him they are not so, unto whom it is known what they shall be, that is to say, of good, evil." Thus much writeth St. Augustine. It is also evident that Judas could not be the true disciple of Christ, by reason of his covetousness: for Christ himself said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose, 'Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.' Forsomuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lord's will, and follow him, he was a thief, as it is said in John xii.; and a devil, John vi.; whereby it is evident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true, but feigned disciple. Whereupon St. Augustine, writing upon John, declaring how 'the sheep hear the voice' of Christ, saith, "What manner of hearers, think ye, his sheep were? Truly Judas heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the shepherd; but being clothed in a sheep's skin, he lay in wait for the shepherd."

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The eighth article: 'The congregation of the predestinate, whether they be in the state of grace or no, according unto present justice, is the holy universal church; and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same church which hath neither wrinkle, nor spot in it, but is holy and undefiled, which the Son of God doth call his own.' Answer: The words of the book out of the which this article was drawn are these: 'Thirdly, the church is understood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithful, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present justice, or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of which St. Paul maketh mention in Ephesians v.: 'Christ so loved his church, that he delivered and offered himself for the same,' &c. I pray you then, is there any faithful man who doth doubt that the church doth not signify all the elect and predestinate, which we ought to believe to be the universal church, the glorious spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, which we ought firmly to believe according to our creed; 'I believe the holy catholic church:' and of this church do St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, and divers others make mention.

Eighth
article.The
church is
taken
sometime
for the
congregation
of the
elect and
faithful,
and so is
the article
taken in
the creed.

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

Ninth
article.Peter
never was
head of
the whole
universal
church.

The tenth article: 'If he that is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true vicar. But, if so be he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of St. Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the vicar of Judas Iscariot.' I answer, the words of my book are these: 'If he who is called the vicar of St. Peter, walk in the ways of christian virtues aforesaid, we do believe verily that he is the true vicar, and true bishop of the church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, contrary both to St. Peter, and to our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore St. Bernard, in his fourth book, did write in this sort unto pope Eugene: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancy, being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed; what fruit or profit do thy flock or sheep receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings

Tenth
article.
The vicar
of Christ,
how he is
to be
taken.

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of devils than of sheep. St. Peter and St. Paul did not so; wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not St. Peter.' These be the very words of St. Bernard.¹ It followeth after, in my book, 'That if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to that which St. Peter used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousness, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot, who loved and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ.' As soon as they had read the same, those who ruled and governed the council, beheld one another, and making mocks and mouths, they nodded their heads at him.

Eleventh
article.

The eleventh article: 'All such as do use simony, and priests living dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the seven sacraments, as unbelieving bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keys or censures, rites and ceremonies; neither of the divine service of the church, nor of veneration or worshipping of relics; neither of the orders constituted and ordained in the church; neither yet of indulgences or pardons.' I answer, that it is placed in this manner in my book. 'This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as do sell and make merchandise of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making fairs and markets of the holy sacraments, and living in all kinds of voluptuousness and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villanous kind of living: they do pollute and defile the holy ecclesiastical state. And albeit that they profess in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and consequently believe not in God; but, as unbelieving bastards, they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seven sacraments of the church. And this appeareth most evidently, forasmuch as all such do utterly contemn and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi: Unto you, O priests! be it spoken, which do despise and contemn my name.' Chap. i.

Prelates
making
merchan-
dise of
holy or-
ders.Twelfth
article.
The pope
taketh his
original
from the
emperors.

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

Thir-
teenth
article.
The pope
is not the
head of
any parti-
cular
church.

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

Four-
teenth
article.

The fourteenth article: 'It ought not to be believed that the pope, whatever he be, may be the head of any particular church, unless he be predestinate or ordained of God.' I answer, that I do acknowledge this proposition to be true; and this is easy to prove, forasmuch as it is necessary that the christian faith should be depraved, forasmuch as the church was deceived by N., as it appeareth by St. Augustine.

Fif-
teenth.
The
pope's
power
vain.

The fifteenth article: 'The pope's power as vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and address his life according to Jesus Christ, and follow the manners of St. Peter.' I answer, that it is thus in my book; 'That it is meet and expedient that he who is ordained vicar, should address and

(1) Bern. ad Eugen. Ep. l. [cap. 2. § 5; cap. 3. § 6.]

frame himself, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him who did put him in place.' And John Huss said, moreover, before the whole council: 'I understand that the power and authority in such a pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is frustrate and void, as touching the merit and reward which he should obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office.' Then certain others standing by, asked of him, saying, 'Where is that gloss in your book?' John Huss answered, 'You shall find it in my treatise against Master Paletz:' whereat all the assistants, looking one upon another, began to smile and laugh.

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

The seventeenth article: 'The cardinals¹ are not the manifest and true successors of the other apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus.' I answer, that it is thus written in my book, and it proveth itself sufficiently; 'For if they enter in by another way than by the door, which is the Lord Jesus, they be murderers and thieves.'

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

The eighteenth article: 'A heretic ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the ecclesiastical censure.' These are my words, 'That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, especially forasmuch as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judge such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death.' As touching the first point, it may evidently be seen in Luke xii. And for the second, it appeareth also by the woman who was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in John viii.; and it is said in Matthew xviii., 'If thy brother have offended thee,' &c. Mark, therefore, what I do say, that a heretic, whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with christian love and gentleness by the holy Scriptures, and by the reasons drawn and taken out of the same; as St. Augustine and others have done, disputing against the heretics. But if there were any, who, after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leave off, their stiffness of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporal or bodily punishment.

As soon as John Huss had spoken those things, the judges read in his book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them who delivered a heretic unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresy; and compared them unto the high priests, Scribes and Pharisees, who said unto Pilate, 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death,' and delivered Christ unto him: and yet notwithstanding, according unto Christ's own witness, they were greater murderers than Pilate. 'For he,' said Christ, 'who hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence.' Then the cardinals and bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Huss, saying: 'Who are they that thou dost compare or assimule unto the Pharisees?' Then he said, 'All those who deliver up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the Scribes and Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto Pilate.' 'No, no,' said they again; 'for

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Distinction of merit and of office.

Sixteenth article. Holiness cometh not by sitting, but by following.

Seventeenth article

Eighteenth article. John Huss condemneth the cruelty of the prelates in seeking the death of heretics

The betraying and condemning of innocents.

(1) The cardinals do count it heresy, that they should be compelled to be followers of the apostles.

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all that, you spake here of doctors.' And the cardinal of Cambray, according to his accustomed manner, said: 'Truly they who have made and gathered these articles, have used great lenity and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable and horrible.'¹

Nineteenth
article.
The church
militant
standeth
in three
parts.

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

Twentieth
article.

The twentieth article: 'The ecclesiastical obedience is a kind of obedience which the priests and monks have invented without any express authority of the holy Scriptures.' I answer and confess, that those words are thus written in my book. I say that there be three kinds of obedience, spiritual, secular, and ecclesiastical. The spiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the law and ordinance of God, under which the apostles of Jesus Christ did live, and all Christians ought to live. The secular obedience is that which is due according to the civil laws and ordinances. The ecclesiastical obedience is such as the priests have invented, without any express authority of Scripture.

Three
kinds of
obedi-
ence.

True
obedi-
ence
ruled by
God's
com-
mand-
ment.

The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part who giveth the commandment, as on his, also, who doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in Deut. xxiv. 'Thou shalt do all that which the priests of the kindred of Levi shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.'

Twenty-
first arti-
cle.

The twenty-first article: 'He that is excommunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the pope and the general council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the excommunications and curses of the pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I answer, that I do not acknowledge this proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my book, that they had both done me, and such as favoured me, great wrong; and that they refuse to hear me in the pope's court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeal to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the pope to the council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should seek an uncertain remedy. And, therefore, last of all, I have appealed to the Head of the church, my Lord Jesus Christ; for he is much more excellent and better than any pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forasmuch as he cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause; neither can he condemn the innocent. Then spake the cardinal of Cambray unto him, and said: 'Wilt thou presume above St. Paul, who appealed unto the emperor, and not unto Jesus Christ?' John Huss answered: 'Forasmuch then as I am the first that do it, am I, therefore, to be reputed and counted a heretic? And yet notwithstanding St. Paul did not appeal unto the emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Christ, who spake unto him by revelation, and said: Be firm and constant, for thou must go unto Rome. And as he was about to rehearse his appeal² again, they mocked him.

Appeal-
ing unto
Christ:

forbidden
by the
cardinal
of Cam-
bray.

Twenty-
second
article.
A knot
found in
a rush.

The twenty-second article: 'A vicious and naughty man liveth viciously and naughtily; but a virtuous and godly man liveth virtuously and godly.' I answer, my words are these: 'That the division of all human works is into two parts; that is, that they be either virtuous or vicious; forasmuch as it doth appear, that if any man be virtuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then virtuously and godly. And, contrariwise, if a man be vicious and naughty, that which he doth is vicious and naughty.' For as vice, which is called crime or offence (and thereby understand deadly sin), doth universally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the subject (that is, of the man who doth them), so likewise virtue and godliness do quicken all the acts and doings of the virtuous

See
A. D. 1415.

(1) And how could this cardinal of Cambray understand the books of John Huss being written in Bohemian speech, which he understood not?

(2) For this appeal of John Huss, see page 467.—ED.

and godly man; insomuch that he, being in the state of grace, is said to pray and do good works even sleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and divers others affirm. And it appeareth in Luke vi., 'If thine eye (that is to say, the mind or intention) be simple (not depraved with the perverseness of any sin or offence), all the whole body (that is to say, all the acts and doings) shall be clear and shining, (that is, acceptable and grateful unto God). But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened.' And in 2 Cor. x.; 'All things that you do, do them to the glory of God.' And likewise in 1 Cor. xvi. it is said, 'Let all your doings be done with charity.' Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity is virtuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This saying may well be proved out of Deut. xxiii., where God speaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his commandments is blessed in the house and in the field, outgoing and in-coming, sleeping and waking; but he that doth not keep his commandments, is accursed in the house and in the fields, in going out and in coming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is evident by St. Augustine, upon the psalm, where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and consequently be virtuous and good? And contrariwise it is understood of him who is in deadly sin, of whom it is spoken in the law, that whatsoever the unclean man doth touch, is made unclean. To this end doth that also appertain, which is before repeated out of Mal. i. And Gregory, in the first book and first question, saith, 'We do defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when we come unworthily to the table, and when we, being defiled, do drink his blood.'" And St. Augustine, on Psalm cxlvi. [§ 2, col. 1638, ed. 1689] saith, 'If thou dost exceed the due measure of nature, and dost not abstain from gluttony, but gorge thyself up with drunkenness, whatsoever laud and praise thy tongue doth speak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same.'

When he had made an end of this article, the cardinal of Cambray said: 'The Scripture saith that we be all sinners. And again, If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and so we should always live in deadly sin.' John Huss answered, 'The Scripture speaketh in that place of venial sins, which do not utterly expel or put away the habit of virtue from a man, but do associate themselves together.' And a certain Englishman, whose name was W., said: 'But those sins do not associate themselves with any act morally good.' John Huss alleged again St. Augustine's place upon Psalm cxlvi., which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said, 'What makes this to the purpose?'

The twenty-third article: 'The minister of Christ, living according to his law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edify the people, ought to preach; notwithstanding the pretended excommunication of the pope. And moreover, if the pope, or any other ruler, do forbid any priest or minister, so disposed, to preach, that he ought not to obey him.' I answer, that these are my words: 'That albeit the excommunication were either threatened or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of St. Peter, and the other apostles, That we ought rather to obey God than man.' Whereupon it followeth, that the minister of Christ, living according unto this law, &c., ought to preach, notwithstanding any pretended excommunication; for it is evident, that it is commanded unto the ministers of the church to preach the word of God [Acts v.], God hath commanded us to preach and testify unto the people; as by divers other places of the Scripture and the holy fathers, rehearsed in my treatise, it doth appear more at large. The second part of this article followeth in my treatise in this manner: 'By this it appeareth, that for a minister to preach, and a rich man to give alms, are not indifferent works, but duties and commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the pope, or any other ruler of the church, do command any minister disposed to preach, not to preach, or a rich man disposed to give alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him.' And Huss added moreover; 'To the intent that you may understand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, which is unjustly disordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the law and God's

Henry
V.A. D.
1415The tree
that is
good,
bringeth
forth good
fruit.Cardinal
of Cam-
bray ob-
jecteth.Twenty
third
article.
Forbid-
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To forbid
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and to for-
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alms, is
both one.

*Henry
V.*

commandments; for which, the meet minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.'

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1415.*

How the
popes's
curtings
are
blessings.

Then they objected unto him, that he had said, that such kind of excommunications were rather blessings. 'Verily,' said John Huss, 'even so I do now say again, that every excommunication, by which a man is unjustly excommunicated, is unto him a blessing before God; according to that saying of the prophet, I will curse where you bless: and contrariwise, They shall curse, but thou, O Lord! shalt bless.' Then the cardinal of Florence, who had always a notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said: 'The law is, that every excommunication, be it ever so unjust, ought to be feared.' 'It is true,' said John Huss, 'for I do remember eight causes, for which excommunication ought to be feared.' Then said the cardinal: 'Are there no more but eight?' 'It may be,' said John Huss, 'that there be more.'

Twenty-
fourth
article.

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

A minister
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is more
bound to
preach,
than to do
any other
work of
mercy,
the pope's
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standing.
Twenty-
fifth
article.

The twenty-fifth article: 'The ecclesiastical censures are antichristian, such as the clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and servitude of the common people; whereby if the laity be not obedient unto the clergy at their will and pleasure, it doth multiply their covetousness, defend their malice, and prepare a way for Antichrist. Whereby it is an evident sign and token, that such censures proceed from Antichrist; which censures in their processes they do call fulminations or lightnings, whereby the clergy do chiefly proceed against such as do manifest and open the wickedness of Antichrist, who thrust themselves into the office of the clergy.' These things are contained in the last chapter of his treatise of the church.—I answer, and I deny that it is in that form: but the matter thereof is largely handled in the twenty-third chapter. And in the examination of his audience, they gathered certain clauses still more contrary thereunto; the which when they had read, the cardinal of Cambray renewed his old song, saying: 'Truly, these are much more grievous and offensive, than the articles which are gathered.'

Censures
of the
popes's
church
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the pope's
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*See
Appendix.*

Twenty-
sixth
article.

The twenty-sixth article: 'There ought no interdict to be appointed unto the people, forasmuch as Christ the high bishop, neither for John Baptist, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdict.' My words are these: 'When I complained, that for one minister's sake an interdict was given out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laud and praise of God. And Christ, the high bishop, notwithstanding that the prophet was taken and kept in prison, than whom there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not give out any curse or interdict, no not when Herod beheaded him; neither when he himself was spoiled, beaten, and blasphemed of the soldiers, Scribes, and Pharisees, did he then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his disciples to do the same, as it appeareth in Matt. v. And Christ's first vicar, following the same doctrine and learning, saith [1 Pet. ii.], Hereunto are ye called: for Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps, who, when he was cursed and evil spoken of, did not curse again. And St. Paul, following the same order and way, in Rom. xii., saith, Bless them that persecute you.' There were besides these, many other places of Scripture recited in that book; but they being omitted, these only were rehearsed, which did help or prevail to stir up or move the judges' minds.

Christ in
torrible
pain, but
prayed
for all.

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

Forasmuch as mention was made; page 464, of the appeal of the said Huss, it seemeth good to show the manner and form thereof.

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1415.

The Copy and Tenor of the Appeal of John Huss.

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

Wherefore behold I, staying myself upon this most holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgment, and the excommunication determined by the bishops, Scribes, Pharisees, and judges, who sit in Moses' seat, and resign my cause wholly unto him; so as the holy patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostome, appealed twice from the council of the bishops and clergy; and Andrew, bishop of Prague, and Robert, bishop of Lincoln, appealed unto the sovereign and most just Judge, who is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly that all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and especially the princes, barons, knights, esquires, and all others who inhabit our country of Bohemia, should understand and know these things, and have compassion upon me, who am so grievously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis, my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the canons of the cathedral church of Prague, and given and granted out by Peter, cardinal-deacon of the church of Rome by the title of St. Angelo, and also ordained judge by pope John XXIII.; who hath continued almost these two years, and would give no audience unto my advocates and proctors, which they ought not to deny—no not to a Jew or pagan, or to any heretic whatsoever he were; neither yet would he receive any reasonable

He
appeals
from
pope
John
XXIII.
unto
Christ.

The
fervent
com-
plaint
and
prayer of
Christ,
against
wicked
judges.

After the
example
of Christ,
he
maketh
his
prayer to
God.

A godly
prayer of
John
Huss. He
appealeth
from men
to Christ.

John
Huss
com-
plaineth
of Mi-
chael de
Causis,
his great
enemy.

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excuse, for that I did not appear personally; neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole university of Prague with the seal hanging at it, or the witness of the sworn notaries, and such as were called to witness. By this all men may evidently perceive that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or disobedience, forasmuch as it was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes, that I did not appear in the court of Rome.

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

The proctor of John Huss, laid in prison at Rome. The pope proved to do against his own canon law.

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

Here follow seven Articles, said to be drawn out of the Treatise which John Huss wrote against Stephen Paletz.

The first article: 'If the pope, bishop, or prelate, be in deadly sin, he is then no pope, bishop, nor prelate.' Answer: I grant therunto, and I send you unto St. Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostome, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; who do say moreover, that whosoever is in deadly sin, is no true Christian; how much less then is he pope or bishop? Of whom it is spoken by the prophet Amos, 'They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became princes, and I knew them not,' &c. But afterwards I do grant, that a wicked pope, bishop, or priest, is an unworthy minister of the sacrament, by whom God doth baptize, consecrate, or otherwise work, to the profit of his church: and this is largely handled in the text of the book by the authorities of the holy doctors; for even he who is in deadly sin, is not worthily a king before God, as appeareth in 1 Kings xv.; where God saith to Saul by the prophet Samuel, 'Forasmuch as thou hast refused and cast off my word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more king.'

While these things were thus entreating, the emperor, looking out of a certain window of the cloister, accompanied with the Count Palatine, and the burgrave of Nuremberg, conferring and talking much of John Huss: at length he said, that there was never a worse or more pernicious heretic than he. In the mean while, when John Huss had spoken these words as touching the unworthy king, by and by the emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat those words again; which after that he had done, his duty therein being considered,

First article.

The emperor's judgment of John Huss.

the emperor answered: 'No man doth live without fault.' Then the cardinal of Cambray, being in a great fury, said: 'Is it not enough for thee that thou dost contemn and despise the ecclesiastical state, and goest about, by thy writings and doctrine, to perturb and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to throw kings out of their state and dignity?' Then Paletz began out to allege the laws, whereby he would prove that Saul was king even when those words were spoken by Samuel; and therefore that David did forbid that Saul should be slain, not for the holiness of his life, of which there was none in him; but for the holiness of his anointing. And when John Huss repeated out of St. Cyprian, that he did take upon him the name of Christianity in vain, who did not follow Christ in his living: Paletz answered, 'Behold and see what a folly is in this man, who allegeth those things which make nothing for the purpose; for albeit any man be not a true Christian, is he not, therefore, true pope, bishop, or king? when these are names of office, and to be a Christian, is a name of merit and desert: and so may any man be a true pope, bishop, or king, although he be no true Christian.' Then said John Huss: 'If pope John XXIII. were a true pope, wherefore have ye deprived him, of his office?' The emperor answered: 'The lords of the council have now lately agreed thereupon, that he was true pope; but for his notorious and manifest evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the church of God, and did spoil and bring to ruin the power thereof, he is rejected and cast out of his office.'

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The cardinal of
Cambray

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

Second
article.

The third article: 'If the pope be a wicked man, and especially a reprobate, then, even as Judas the apostle, he is a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant church, forasmuch as he is no part or member thereof.' Answer: My words are thus: 'If the pope be an evil or wicked man, and especially if he be a reprobate, then even as Judas, so is he a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant church? whereas he is not truly any member, or part thereof: for, if he were a member of the holy church, then should he be also a member of Christ; and if he were a member of Christ, then should he cleave and stick unto Christ by the grace of predestination and present justice; and should be one Spirit with God, as the apostle saith in 1 Cor. vi., 'Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?'

Third
article.

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

Fourth
article.

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

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article.

thief and robber. Then the bishops and cardinals, looking one upon another, said, that he was a true pope, and laughed John Huss to scorn.

The fifth article: 'The pope is not, neither ought to be called, according unto his office, Most holy; for then the king ought also to be called Most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, lictors, and devils, ought also to be called Holy.' Answer. My words are otherwise placed, in this manner: 'So ought a feigner to say, that if any man be a most holy father, then he doth most holily observe and keep his fatherliness; and if he be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he most wickedly keep the same. Likewise, if the bishop be most holy, then is he also most good; and when he saith that he is pope, it is the name of his office.' Whereupon it followeth, that 'the man who is pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a most holy man; and consequently by that his office he is most good.' And forasmuch as no man can be good by his office, except he do exercise and use the same his office very well; it followeth, that 'if the pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or use his office well: forasmuch as he cannot use the office well, except he be morally good [Matt. xii.], How can you speak good things, when you yourselves are evil?' And immediately after it followeth, 'If the pope, by reason of his office, be called Most holy, wherefore should not the king of Romans be called Most holy, by reason of his office and dignity? when the king, according to St. Augustine's mind, representeth the Deity and Godhead of Christ, and the priest representeth only his humanity. Wherefore, also, should not judges, yea, even tormentors, be called Holy, forasmuch as they have their office by ministering unto the church of Christ?' 'These things are more at large discoursed in my book; but I cannot find or know,' saith John Huss, 'any foundation whereby I should call the pope Most holy, when this is only spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy; thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the pope Most holy?'

Sixth
article.

The sixth article: 'If the pope live contrary unto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elected and chosen, according to human election, yet doth he ascend and come in another way than by Christ.' Answer. The text is thus: 'If the pope live contrary to Christ, in pride and avarice, how then doth he not ascend and come in another way into the sheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door, our Lord Jesus Christ?' But admit, as you say, that he did ascend by lawful election (which I call an election principally made of God, and not according to the common and vulgar constitution and ordinance of men), yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved, that he should ascend and come in another way: for Judas Iscariot was truly and lawfully chosen of the Lord Jesus Christ unto his bishopric, as Christ saith in John vi., And yet he came in another way into the sheepfold, and was a thief, and a devil, and the son of perdition. Did he not come in another way when our Saviour spake thus of him, He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me? The same also is proved by St. Bernard unto pope Eugenius. Then said Paletz: 'Behold the fury and madness of this man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be, than to say, Judas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding he did ascend another way, and not by Christ?' John Huss answered: 'Verily both parts are true, that he was elected and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascend, and came in another way; for he was a thief, a devil, and the son of perdition.' Then said Paletz: 'Cannot a man be truly and lawfully chosen pope, or bishop, and afterwards live contrary to Christ? And that, notwithstanding, he doth not ascend by any other ways.' 'But I,' said John Huss, 'do say, that whosoever doth enter into any bishopric, or like office, by simony, not to the intent to labour and travail in the church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuously, and unrighteously, and to the intent to advance himself with all kind of pride, every such man ascendeth and cometh up by another way, and, according unto the gospel, he is a thief and a robber.'

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

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

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Now there remain six articles of the¹ thirty-nine. These are said to be drawn out of another treatise which he wrote against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

Six Articles drawn out of the Treatise of John Huss, written against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

The first article: 'No man is lawfully elected or chosen, in that the electors, First article or the greater part of them, have consented with a lively voice, according to the custom of men, to elect and choose any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successor of Christ, or vicar of Peter in the ecclesiastical office; but in this, that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church. he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto.' Answer: These things which follow are also written in my book. 'It standeth in the power and hands of wicked electors, to choose a woman into the ecclesiastical office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, who was called John, who held and occupied the pope's place and dignity, by the space of two years and more.' It may also be, that they do choose a thief, a murderer or a devil, and, consequently, they may also elect and choose Antichrist. It may also be, that for love, covetousness, or hatred, they do choose some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elected and chosen; insomuch as the electors, or the greater part of them, have consented and agreed together according to the custom of men, upon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest successor or vicar of Peter the apostle, or any other in the ecclesiastical office. Therefore they who, most accordingly unto the Scripture, do elect and choose, revelation being set apart, do only pronounce and determine by some probable reason upon him whom they do elect and choose: whereupon, whether the electors do so choose good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is chosen; for in that point, that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon saith Christ, in John x., Give credit unto works.'

The second article: 'The pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy church of God.' Answer. I wrote it thus in my treatise: 'That I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reason of the doctor, how this question is contrary to the faith, to say, That if the pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church? Behold, the truth cannot decay or fail in disputation, for did Christ dispute against the faith, when he demanded of the Scribes and Pharisees [Matt. xii.], Ye stock and offspring of vipers! how can ye speak good things, when you yourselves are wicked and evil? And behold, I demand of the scribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the stock of vipers, how is he the head of the holy church of God, that the Scribes and Pharisees, who were in the council-house of Prague, may make answer hereunto? For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speak good things, forasmuch as he may be in state of grace according to present justice, than to be the head of the holy church of God. Also in John v., our Saviour complaineth of the Jews, saying: How can you believe, which do seek for glory amongst yourselves, and do not seek for the glory that cometh only of God? and I, likewise, do complain, how that if the pope be a reprobate, can he be

(1) "The" is put in: see above, p. 459.—Ed.

*Henry
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the head of the church of God, who receiveth his glory of the world, and seeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more possible, that the pope being a reprobate should believe, than that he should be the head of the church of God; forasmuch as he taketh his glory of the world.'

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1415.Third
article.

The third article: 'There is no spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head in the spirituality, to rule the church, which should be always conversant with the militant church.' Answer: I do grant it. For what consequent is this? The king of Bohemia is head of the kingdom of Bohemia: Ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant church? Christ is the head of the spirituality, ruling and governing the militant church by much more and greater necessity than Cæsar ought to rule the temporality; forasmuch as Christ, who sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth necessarily rule the militant church as head. And there is no spark of appearance that there should be one head in the spirituality ruling the church, that should always be conversant with the militant church, except some infidel would heretically affirm, that the militant church should have here a permanent and continual city or dwelling-place, and not inquire and seek after that which is to come. It is also further evident in my book, how unconsequent the proportion of the similitude is, for a reprobate pope to be the head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be the head of the kingdom of Bohemia.

Fourth
article.

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

See
Appendix.Fifth
article.

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

Sixth
article.

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

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

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Other Nineteen Articles objected against John Huss, being in Prison.

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

First
article.
Paul, how
he was
both a
blas-
phemer,
and also a
member
of Christ.

The second article: 'Christ doth more love a predestinate man being sinful, than any reprobate in what grace possible soever he be.' Answer: My words are in the fourth chapter of my book entituled, 'Of the Church:'. 'And it is evident that God doth more love any predestinate being sinful, than any reprobate in what grace soever he be for the time; forasmuch as he willeth that the predestinate shall have perpetual blessedness, and the reprobate shall have eternal fire.' Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both as his creatures, yet he doth more love the predestinate, because he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to say, life everlasting, which is greater and more excellent than grace only, according to present justice. And the third article of those articles before,¹ soundeth very near unto this: that the predestinate cannot fall from grace. For they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense.

Second
article.
Predesti-
nation.

The third article: 'All the sinful, according to present justice, are not faithful, but do swerve from the true catholic faith, forasmuch as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sin but in that point, that he doth swerve from the faith.' Answer: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did think upon the punishment which is to be laid upon sinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the divine knowledge and understanding, &c. then, undoubtedly, they would not so offend and sin. This proposition is verified by the saying of the prophet Isaiah, 'Thy rulers are unfaithful, misbelievers, fellows and companions of thieves; they all love bribes and follow after rewards.' Behold, the prophet calleth the rulers of the church 'infidels,' for their offences; for all such as do not keep their faith inviolate unto their principal Lord, are unfaithful servants, and they also are unfaithful children who keep not their obedience, fear, and love unto God, their Father. Item, This proposition is verified by the saying of the apostle, Titus i. 'They do confess that they know God, but by their works they do deny him.' And forasmuch as they who are sinful, do swerve away from the meritorious work of blessedness, therefore they do swerve from the true faith grounded upon charity, forasmuch as faith without works is dead. To this end doth also appertain that which the Lord speaketh [Matt. xxiii.] of the faithful and unfaithful servant.

Third
article
Whoso
commit-
teth
deadly
sin,
swerveth
from the
faith.

The fourth article: 'These words of John xxii.: Receive the Holy Ghost; and, Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, &c. and Matthew [xvi. and xviii.], For lack of understanding shall terrify many Christians, and they shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceived by them, presuming upon the fulness of their power and authority.' Answer: This sentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that it is first of all to be supposed, that the saying of our Saviour is necessary, as touching the virtue of the word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a priest to bind and loose, except that binding and loosing be in heaven. But, for the lack of the true understanding of those words, many simple Christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselves,

Fourth
article.
Bind-
ing and
loosing,
unless
they be
well un-
derstood,
minister
too much
fear or
presump-
tion.

(1) The reference is to the first series, consisting of twenty-six. See page 459.—ED.

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that whether they be just or unjust, the priests may, at their pleasures, whensoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant priests do also presume and take upon them to have power to bind and loose whensoever they will. For many foolish and ignorant priests do say, that they have power and authority to absolve every man confessing himself, of what sin or offence soever it be, not knowing that in many sins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that a hypocrite do confess himself, or such a one as is not contrite for his sin; whereof proof hath oftentimes been found, and it is evident, forasmuch as the letter doth kill, but the Spirit doth quicken.

Fifth
article.
Binding
and loos-
ing
chiefly
and prin-
cipally
belong to
Christ.

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

To true
absolu-
tion four
things are
required.

Sixth
article.

The sixth article: 'The priests do gather and heap up out of the Scriptures those things which serve for the belly; but such as appertain to the true imitation and following of Christ, those they reject, and refuse as impertinent unto salvation.' Answer: This, St. Gregory doth sufficiently prove in his seventeenth Homily, alleging the saying of Christ, 'The harvest is great, the workmen are few;' speaking also that which we cannot say without grief or sorrow, that 'albeit there be a great number who willingly hear good things, yet there lack such as should declare the same unto them; for behold, the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcity of workmen in the harvest of the Lord. We take upon us willingly priesthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of priesthood.' And immediately after he saith, 'We are fallen unto outward affairs and business, for we take upon us one office for honour's sake, and we do exhibit and give another to ease ourselves of labour. We leave preaching, and as far as I can perceive we are called bishops to our pain, who do retain the name of honour, but not the verity.' And immediately after he saith, 'We take no care for our flock; we daily call upon them for our stipend and wages; we covet and desire earthly things with a greedy mind; we gape after worldly glory; we leave the cause of God undone, and make haste about our worldly affairs and business; we take upon us the place of sanctity and holiness, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles,' &c. This writeth St. Gregory, with many other things more in the same place. Also in his Pastoral, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also St. Bernard, as in many other places, so likewise in his 33d Sermon upon the Canticles, he

Priests
more
given to
their own
lucre and
belly,
than to
the ser-
vice of
Christ

saith, 'All friends and all enemies, all kinsfolks and adversaries, all of one household, and no peace-makers; they are the ministers of Christ, and serve Antichrist; they go honourably honoured with the goods of the Lord, and yet they do not honour,' &c.

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

Seventh
article.The
pope
doing un-
godly, is
not to be
feared.

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

Eighth
articleThe pope
doing
contrary
to Christ,
is not the
vicar of
Christ,
but Anti-
christ.

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

Ninth
article.

The tenth article: 'It is lawful to preach notwithstanding the pope's inhibition.' Answer: The article is evident, forasmuch as the apostles did preach contrary to the commandment of the bishops of Jerusalem. And St. Hilary did the like, contrary to the commandment of the pope, who was an Arian. It is also manifest by the example of cardinals, who, contrary to the commandment of pope Gregory XII., sent throughout all realms such as should preach against him. It is also lawful to preach under appeal, contrary unto the pope's commandment. And finally, he may preach who hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey.

Tenth
article.To preach
against
the pope's
command-
ment

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

Eleventh
article.How far
prelates
are to be
obeyed.

(1) John Huss need not prove this article, the pope will prove it himself.

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

Twelfth
article.

The clergy
and
laity may
judge of
the works
of their
prelates.

The twelfth article: 'It is lawful for the clergy and laity, by their power and jurisdiction, to judge and determine of all things pertaining to salvation, and also of the works of prelates.' Answer: I have thus written in my book; 'That it is lawful for the clergy and laity to judge and determine of the works of their heads and rulers;' it appeareth by this: that the judgment of the secret counsels of God in the court of conscience is one thing, and the judgment of the authority and power of the church is another. Wherefore subjects first ought principally to judge and examine themselves [1 Cor. xi.] Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertain unto their salvation, for a spiritual man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alleged as touching the first judgment, and not the second; as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the same place I do say that the layman ought to judge and examine the works of his prelate, like as Paul doth judge the doings of Peter in blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them, according to this saying, 'Beware of false prophets,' &c. Thirdly, to rule over the ministry: for the subject ought by reason to judge and examine the works of the prelates. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and rejoice: but if they be evil, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to do the like, lest they be damned with them, according to this saying: 'If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.'

Secret in
the court
of con-
science.
Open in
the court
of atho-
rity.

Thir-
teenth
article.
To god-
ward all
wicked
ministers
be sus-
pended.

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

Four-
teenth
article.
The lay-
people
sup-
planted
by the
clergy.

The fourteenth article. (The answer which he made to the twenty-fifth article, in prison, sufficeth for this; that is to say, that the clergy, for their own preferment and exaltation, do supplant and undermine the lay-people, do increase and multiply their covetousness, cloke and defend their malice and wickedness, and prepare a way for Antichrist. The first part he proveth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, who named himself 'Benedict,' by the example of Angelus Coriarius, who named himself 'Gregory XII.;' and also by the example of John XXIII.; likewise by Ezekiel xiii. and xxiv., and out of Gregory, who saith, 'What shall become of the flock, when the shepherds themselves are become wolves,' &c.; also out of Hosea, Micah, and other of the prophets, and many places of St. Bernard. The second part is proved by Jeremiah viii., Gregory,

in his seventeenth Homily, and St. Bernard upon the Canticles. The third part of this article is also proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickedness of any schism but only the clergy, alleging Scriptures, and bringing reasons there-for? Who excuseth simony, but only the clergy? likewise covetousness in heaping together many benefices? and lechery and fornication? For how many of the clergy are there now-a-days who do say, it is no deadly sin; alleging (albeit disorderly) the saying of Genesis, 'Increase and multiply?' Hereby also is the fourth part of the article easily verified. For the way of Antichrist is wickedness and sin, of which the apostle speaketh to the Thessalonians; Gregory in his Register, Pastoral, and Morals: also St. Bernard, upon the Canticles, plainly saith; 'Wicked and evil priests prepare the way for Antichrist.'

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Appendix.*

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

Fifteenth
article.
The dis-
honesty
of such as
gathered
charges
against
Huss.

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

Sixteenth
article.

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

Seven-
teenth
article

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

Eigh-
teenth
article.

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

Nin-
teenth
article.

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John
Gerson
chancel-
lor of
Paris.

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

Second Series of Nineteen Articles formerly contained in or picked, by the Parisians, out of the Treatise of John Huss of Prague, which he entitled "Of the Church," following in this part or behalf the errors, as they term them, of John Wickliff.

First
article.

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

Second.

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

Third.

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

Fourth.

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

Fifth.

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

Sixth.

The sixth article: 'That every man who liveth uprightly, according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent; yea, although he be forbidden or excommunicated by any prelate or bishop, even as he might and ought to give alms: for his good life in living, together with his learning, doth sufficiently send him.' This is a rash and temerarious error, offensive, and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Seventh.

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

Eighth.

The eighth article: 'That the pope ought not to be called most holy, and that his feet are neither holy nor blessed, nor ought they to be kissed.' This error is temerariously, unreverently, and offensively published.

Ninth.

The ninth article: 'That according to the doctrine of Christ, heretics, be they ever so obstinate or stubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed nor excommunicated.' This is the error of the Donatists, temerariously, and not without great offence, affirmed against the laws of the ecclesiastical discipline; as St. Augustine doth prove.

The tenth article: 'That subjects, and the common people, may and ought publicly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their superiors and rulers, as having power given them of Christ, and the example of St. Paul so to do.' This error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience, and sedition, and the curse and malediction of Ham. Henry
V
A. D.
1415.

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

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

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

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

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

The sixteenth article: 'That in these days, and for a long time before, there hath been no true pope, no true church, nor faith, which is called the Romish church, whereunto a man ought to obey; but that it both was, and is, the synagogue of Antichrist and Satau.' The error, in this article, is in this point, That it is derived from, and taketh its foundation upon, the former articles. Sixteenth.

The seventeenth article: 'That all gift of money given unto the ministers of the church, for the ministration of any spiritual matter, doth make such ministers, in that case, users of simony.' This error is seditious and temerarious, forasmuch as something may be given unto the clergy, under the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without the selling or buying of any spiritual thing. Seventeenth.

The eighteenth article: 'That whosoever is excommunicated by the pope, if he appeal to Christ, he is preserved that he need not fear the excommunication, but may utterly contemn and despise the same.' This error is temerarious and of arrogancy. Eighteenth.

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

This declaration following, the masters of Paris, by their whole voice and consent, did add and adjoin unto these nineteen articles, for their reason and determination.

Reasons and Determinations of the Masters of Paris.

We affirm, That these articles aforesaid are notoriously heretical, and that they are judicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, lest they do infect others. For albeit they seem to have a zeal against the vices of the prelates and the clergy, which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet is it not according unto knowledge: for one of a sober and discreet zeal suffereth and lamenteth those sins and offences, which he seeth in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, forasmuch as devils are not cast out through Beelzebub, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Ghost, who willeth, that in correction

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Appendix.

the measure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the saying, 'Mark who, what, where, and why, by what means and when.' Prelates and bishops are bound, under grievous and express penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themselves against the aforesaid errors, and such others, and the maintainers of them: for let it always be understood and noted, that the error which is not resisted is allowed; neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or society in him, who slacketh to withstand a manifest mischief.

These things are laid down as an instruction by the way, under correction.

John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, unworthy.

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

Now to return to the story: when the first thirty-nine articles, which I have before rehearsed, were all read over, together with their testimonies, the cardinal of Cambray calling unto John Huss, said:—

The words of the cardinal of Cambray unto John Huss after his accusation.

A double inconvenience for John Huss to fall into.

'Thou hast heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them there are; and now it is thy part to devise with thyself what thou wilt do. Two ways are proponed and set before thee by the council, whereof the one of them thou must, of force and necessity, enter into. First, That thou do humbly and meekly submit thyself unto the judgment and sentence of the council, that whatsoever shall be there determined, by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear, and suffer the same. Which thing if thou wilt do, we, of our part, both for the honour of the most gentle emperor here present, and also for the honour of his brother, the king of Bohemia, and for thy own safeguard and preservation, will treat and handle thee with as great humanity, love, and gentleness, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we have propounded unto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and license thereunto: but this thou shalt well understand, that here are such manner of men, so clear in understanding and knowledge, and having such firm and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment and peril, if thou shouldst any longer will or desire to defend the same. This do I speak and say unto thee, to counsel and admonish thee, and not as in manner of a judge.'

This oration of the cardinal many others prosecuting, every man for himself did exhort and persuade John Huss to the like; unto whom, with a lowly countenance, he answered:

'Most reverend fathers! I have often said, that I came hither of mine own free will, not to the intent obstinately to defend any thing, but that if in any thing I should seem to have conceived a perverse or evil opinion, I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind; whereof, except I shall allege most firm and strong reasons, I will willingly submit myself, as you require, unto your information.'

Then there starte up one, who, with a loud voice said, "Behold, how craftily this man speaketh: He termeth it information, and not correction or determination." "Verily," said John Huss, "even as you will term it, information, correction or determination: for I take

God to my witness, that I speak nothing but with my heart and mind."

Then said the cardinal of Cambray: "Forasmuch, then, as thou dost submit thyself unto the information and grace of this council, this is decreed by almost threescore doctors, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose room and place the Parisians have succeeded; and also it is approved by the whole council, not one man speaking the contrary thereunto: First of all, that thou shalt humbly and meekly confess thyself to have erred in these articles which are alleged and brought against thee: Secondly, that thou shalt promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not hold, or teach, any of these articles: And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles.

Upon which sentence, when many others had spoken their minds at length John Huss said:

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

Then said the emperor: "Why mayest not thou without danger also renounce all those articles which thou sayest are falsely alleged against thee by the witnesses? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all errors, neither doth it follow that therefore, by and by, I have professed any error." To whom John Huss answered: "Most noble emperor! this word to abjure, doth signify much otherwise than your majesty doth here use it." Then said the cardinal of Florence, "John Huss, you shall have a form of abjuration, which shall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will easily and soon determine with yourself, whether you will do it or no." Then the emperor, repeating again the words of the cardinal of Cambray, said; "Thou hast heard that there are two ways laid before thee: First, that thou shouldest openly renounce those thy errors which are now condemned, and subscribe unto the judgment of the council, whereby thou shouldest try and find their grace and favour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opinions, the council shall have sufficient, whereby, according to their laws and ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee." To whom John Huss answered; "I refuse nothing, most noble emperor! whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience, or say that I professed those errors which it was never in my mind or thought to profess. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are objected

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The cardinal of
Cambray appoint-
eth John
Huss certain
condi-
tions
whereby
he may be deli-
vered.

The em-
peror ex-
horteth
John
Huss to
recant.

The em-
peror re-
hearseth
the cardi-
nal of
Cam-
bray's
words.

Henry V. against me, and specially concerning ecclesiastical offices, and the state of the ministry."

A. D. 1416. But when other men began to speak, the emperor himself began to sing the same song which he had sung before. "Thou art of lawful age," said the emperor; "thou mightest easily have understood what I said unto thee yesterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto these witnesses who are worthy of credit, forasmuch as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth is tried: how much more then, by so many witnesses of such worthy men? Wherefore, if thou be wise, receive penance at the hands of the council with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifest errors, and promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them; which if thou refuse to do, there are laws and ordinances whereby thou shalt be judged of the council."

The force of false witness. The emperor to John Huss.

An old bishop of Poland.

Objection of a priest better fed than taught.

Paletz against John Huss.

A new heap of slanders.

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

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

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

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

John Huss waxeth faint and weary.

Then was there another article read, in which was contained, that three men were beheaded at Prague, because, through Wickliff's

doctrine and teaching, they were contumelious and slanderous against the pope's letters; and that they were, by the same Huss, with the whole pomp of the scholars, and with a public convocation or congregation, carried out to be buried, and by a public sermon placed among the number of saints. And the same Dr. Naso, of whom you have heard certain testimonies already recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he himself was present, when the king of Bohemia commanded those blasphemers so to be punished.

Then said John Huss: "Both those parts are false, that the king did command any such punishment to be done, and that the corses were by me conveyed with any such pomp unto their sepulture or burial, whereas I was not even present: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the king. Then Paletz confirmed the affirmation of Dr. Naso, his fellow, with this argument (for they both laboured to one end and purpose): That it was provided by the king's commandment, that no man should once speak against the pope's bulls: but these three spake against the pope's bulls: ergo, by virtue of the king's commandment, they were beheaded.¹ And what John Huss's opinion and mind was, as touching these men, it is evident enough by his book intituled 'Of the Church,' wherein he writeth thus:² "I believe they have read Daniel the prophet, where it is said, 'And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captivity, and many shall fraudulently and craftily associate themselves unto them.'" And afterward he saith; "How is this fulfilled in those three lay-men, who, not consenting to but speaking against the feigned lies of Antichrist, offered their lives there-for; and many other were ready to do the same; and many were fraudulently associate unto them, who, being feared by the threatenings of Antichrist, are fled, and have turned their backs," &c.

When these things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous strange study, they held their peace for a certain space; for this Paletz, and the aforesaid Dr. Naso had also added, that John Huss, in an open sermon, had inflamed and stirred up the people against the magistrates, insomuch that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselves against the magistrates; and by that means was it, he said, that those three were ready to suffer death for the truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit or help that the king could do. Then the Englishmen exhibited the copy of a certain epistle, which they said was falsely conveyed unto Prague, under the title of the University of Oxford, and that John Huss did read the same out of the pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praise John Wickliff to the citizens of Prague. When they had read the same before the council, the Englishmen demanded of John Huss, whether he had read the same openly or no. Which when he had confessed, because it was brought thither by two scholars under the seal of the university, they also inquired of him, what scholars they were. He answered; "This my friend (meaning Stephen Paletz) knoweth one of them as well as I; the other, I know not what he was."

Then they first inquired of John Huss, as touching the last man, where he was. John Huss answered: "I heard say, that on his return into England he died by the way." As touching the first,

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Another quarrel against John Huss touching these three men be-headed at Prague.

John Huss be-lie-d.

See Appen-dix.

Another quarrel picked by English-men against John Huss.

The testi-monial of Oxford for Wick-liff, brought to Prague.

(1) Ex puris affirmativis non consistit argum. in 2 figura.

(2) Cap. 21.— Eu

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the stone
of Wick-
liff's se-
pulchre
brought
for a relic
to Prague.

Paletz said, that he was a Bohemian and no Englishman, and that he brought out of England a certain small piece of the stone of Wickliff's sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this present, do reverence and worship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done, and that John Huss was the author of them all.

Then the Englishmen exhibited another epistle, contrary to the first, under the seal of the university, the effect and argument whereof was this: "The senate of the university, not without great sorrow and grief, have experimented and found, that the errors of Wickliff are scattered and spread out of that university throughout all England. And to the intent, that through their help and labour, means may be found to remedy this mischief, they have appointed for that purpose twelve doctors, men of singular learning, and other masters, who should sit in judgment upon the books of Wickliff. These men have noted out above the number of two hundred articles, which the whole university have judged worthy to be burnt; but, for reverence of the said sacred council, the said university have sent them unto Constance, referring and remitting the whole authority of the judgment unto this council."

The oath
of Paletz.

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

The oath
of Mi-
chael de
Causis.
John
Huss
witness-
eth the
Lord.

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

John de
Clum
doth com-
fort John
Huss.

Oration of the Emperor Sigismund, addressed to the Council.

'You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Huss, which are not only proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him; of which, every one of them, by my judgment and advice, hath deserved and is worthy of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be punished with fire. And albeit he do that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithstanding, I do

counsel you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he return no more into the kingdom of Bohemia: for if he be admitted again to teach and preach, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, he will not observe and keep that which he is commanded; but, hoping upon the favour and good will of such as be his adherents and fautors there, he will return again unto his former purpose and intent; and then, besides these errors, he will also sow new errors amongst the people; so the last error shall be worse than the first.

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

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1416.That
which
God
planteth
man shall
never
root up.Jerome of
Prague
mention-
ed by the
emperor.

Then said the rest: “When the master is once punished, we hope we shall find the scholar much more tractable and gentle.”

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the cloister, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the sixth of July, the emperor Sigismund sent unto him four bishops, accompanied with lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum, that they should learn and understand of him what he did intend to do. When he was brought out of prison unto them, John de Clum began first to speak unto him, saying: “Master John Huss, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know yourself guilty of any of those errors which are objected and laid against you before the council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the council: if contrariwise, I will be no author unto you, that you should do any thing contrary, or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you have known to be the truth.” Unto whom John Huss, turning himself, with lamentable tears said: “Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do

Four
bishops
sent to
John
Huss.The piti-
ful and
loving
oration of
John de
Clum
unto John
Huss.The mar-
vellous
constancy
of John
Huss.

take the most high God for my witness, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the council can instruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my whole heart to alter and change my purpose.” Then one of the bishops who sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own mind or opinion before the judgment of the whole council. To whom John Huss answered: “Neither do I otherwise mind or intend. For if he who is the meanest or least in all this council can convict me of error, I will, with an humble heart and mind, perform and do whatsoever the council shall require of me.” “Mark,” said the bishops, “how obstinately he doth persevere in his errors.” And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carry him again to prison; and so they returned again unto the emperor with their commission.

That is
no right
modesty
that men
regardeta
to obey
man, than
manifest
verity.

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V.A. D.
1416.See
Appendix

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

The Sermon of the Bishop of Lodi, before the Sentence was given upon John Huss.

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

The
theme.His
theme
confirmed
by Ari-
stotle.

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

Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the punishment of every such obstinate heretic, that the body of sin is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered, according to the holy traditions of the fathers, that some sins are adverse and contrary to others. Others are annexed or conjoined together; others are, as it were, branches and members of others, and some are, as it were, the roots and heads of others. Amongst all which, those are to be counted the most detestable, out of which the most and worst have their original and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sins and offences are to be abhorred of us, yet those are especially to be eschewed, which are the head and root of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection ought they to be rooted out and extinguished, with apt preservatives and remedies. Forasmuch then as amongst all sins, none doth more appear to be inveterate than the mischief of this most execrable schism, therefore have I right well propounded,

that the body of sin should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this schism, great and most cruel destruction is sprung up amongst the faithful, and hath long continued; abominable divisions of heresies have grown up; threatenings are increased and multiplied; the confusion of the whole clergy is grown thereupon, and the opprobries and slanders of the christian people are abundantly sprung up and increased. And truly it is no marvel, forasmuch as that most detestable and execrable schism is, as it were, a body and heap of dissolution of the true faith of God; for what can be good or holy in that place, where such a pestiferous schism hath reigned so long a time? For, as St. Bernard saith, 'Like as in the unity and concord of the faithful, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord; so likewise in the schism and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the devil.' Is not schism and division the original of all subversion, the den of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of unity and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Covetousness is uttered in others for lucre's sake; lust and will is set at liberty, and all means opened unto slaughter. All right and equity is banished, the ecclesiastical power is injured, and the calamity of this schism bringeth in all kind of bondage; swords and violence do rule, the laity have the dominion, concord and unity are banished, and all prescript rules of religion utterly contemned and set at nought.

Consider, most gentle lords! during this most pestiferous schism, how many heresies have appeared and showed themselves? how many heretics have escaped unpunished? how many churches have been spoiled and pulled down? how many cities have been oppressed, and regions brought to ruin? what confusion hath there happened in the clergy? what and how great destruction hath been amongst the christian people? I pray you mark how the church of God, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithful, is contemned and despised; for who doth reverence the keys of the church? who feareth the censures or laws, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it that doth not offend the same, or who doth not invade it, or else what is he that dare not violently lay hands upon the patrimony or heritage of Jesus Christ? the goods of the clergy and of the poor, and the relief of pilgrims and strangers, gotten together by the blood of our Saviour and of many martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold, the abomination of desolation brought upon the church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the christian people, to the ruin of the Lord's flock or fold, and all the whole company of our most holy Saviour and Redeemer.

This loss is more great and grievous than any which could happen unto the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution much more cruel than the persecution of any tyrants; for they did but only punish the bodies, but in the schism and division the souls are tormented. There, the blood of men was only shed; but, in this case, the true faith is subverted and overthrown. That persecution was salvation unto many; but this schism is destruction unto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increase; but by this division it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madness, the primitive church increased; but through this schism it is confounded and overthrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend; but in this schism many do wittingly and willingly, even of obstinacy, offend. There came in heretics, users of simony, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the church; under those tyrants, the merits of the just were increased. But during this schism, mischief and wickedness are augmented: for in this most cursed and execrable division, truth is made an enemy to all Christians, faith is not regarded, love and charity hated, hope is lost, justice overthrown, no kind of courage or valiantness, but only unto mischief; modesty and temperance cloaked, wisdom turned into deceit, humility feigned, equity and truth falsified, patience utterly fled, conscience small, all wickedness intended, devotion counted folly, gentleness abject and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reproachful and abominable.

With how great and grievous sorrows is the church of God replenished and filled, whilst that tyrants do oppress it, heretics invade it, users of simony do spoil and rob it, and schismatics go about utterly to subvert it? O most miserable and wretched christian people! whom now, by the space of forty years,

Henry
V.A. D.
1416.They can
not abide
the laity
to rule in
any case.All the
popish
religion
lieth in
lands,
lordships,
and live-
ries.Note here
the pope's
divinity,
how the
blood of
Christ
serveth
to pur-
chase
their pa-
trimony.

Henry
V.

A. D.
1416.

This
schism
continu-
ed forty
years.

He stir-
reth up
the empe-
ror Sigis-
mund.

Loripi-
dem rec-
tus deri-
deat,
æthiopem
albus.

Note the
vile flat-
tery of
these pa-
pists,
when
they
would
have any
thing of
the em-
peror for
their pur-
pose.

with such indurate and continual schism, they have tormented, and almost brought to ruin! O the little bark and ship of Christ! which hath so long time wandered and strayed now in the midst of the whirlpools, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tempestuous storms! O miserable and wretched boat of Peter! if the most holy Father would suffer thee to sink or drown, into what dangers and perils have the wicked pirates brought thee! amongst what rocks have they placed thee! O most godly and loving Christians! what faithful devout man is there, who beholding and seeing the great ruin and decay of the church, would not be provoked unto tears? What good conscience is there that can refrain weeping, because that contention and strife are poured upon the ecclesiastical rulers, who have made us to err in the way, because they have not found, or rather would not find, the way of unity and concord? whereupon so many heresies and so great confusion are sprung up, and grown in the flock of Peter, and the fold of the Lord!

Many princes, kings and prelates, have greatly laboured and travailed for the rooting out hereof; but yet could they never bring to pass, or finish that most wholesome and necessary work. Wherefore, most christian king! this most glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried only for thee, the crown and glory thereof shall be thine for ever; and this most happy victory shall be continually celebrated to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored again the church which was so spoiled, thou hast removed and put away all inveterate and overgrown schisms and divisions, thou hast trodden down users of simony, and rooted out all heretics. Dost thou not behold and see how great, perpetual, and famous renown and glory it will be unto thee? for what can be more just, what more holy, what better, what more to be desired; or, finally, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this wicked and abominable schism, to restore the church again unto her ancient liberty, to extinguish and put away all simony, and to condemn and destroy all errors and heresies from amongst the flock of the faithful? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole world; and finally, nothing more acceptable unto God. For the performance of which most holy and godly work, thou wast elected and chosen of God; thou wast first deputed and chosen in heaven, before thou wast elected and chosen upon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestial and heavenly prince, before the electors of the empire did elect or choose thee; and especially, that by the imperial force and power, thou shouldst condemn and destroy those errors and heresies which we have presently in hand to be condemned and subverted. To the performance of this most holy work, God hath given unto thee the knowledge and understanding of his divine truth and verity, power of princely majesty, and the just judgment of equity and righteousness, as the Highest himself doth say: 'I have given thee understanding and wisdom, to speak and utter my words, and have set thee to rule over nations and kingdoms, that thou shouldst help the people, pluck down and destroy iniquity. And by exercising of justice thou shouldst, I say, destroy all errors and heresies, and specially this obstinate heretic here present, through whose wickedness and mischief, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and heretical poison, and, by his means and occasion, almost utterly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble prince! was reserved only for thee; upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and ministration of justice is given. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renown, even by the mouths of infants and sucking babes; for thy praises shall be celebrate for evermore, that thou hast destroyed and overthrown such and so great enemies of the faith. The which that thou mayest prosperously and happily perform and bring to pass, our Lord Jesus vouchsafeth to grant thee his grace and help, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen!

The pro-
ctor of the
council
calleth
for the
sentence.

When this sermon was thus ended, the proctor of the council rising up, named Henricus de Piro, required that the process of the cause against John Huss might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive sentence. Then a certain bishop, who was appointed one of the judges, declared the process of the cause,

which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome, and elsewhere, between John Huss and the prelates of Prague.

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

When the articles abovesaid were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemy, which they all imputed unto John Huss; that is, That he said there should be a fourth person in the Deity, and that a certain doctor did hear him speak of the same. When John Huss desired that the doctor might be named, the bishop that alleged the article, said, That it was not needful to name him. Then said John Huss: "O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear such blasphemy and slander!"

Afterward the twenty-first article was repeated, touching his appeal unto Christ; and that, by name, was called heretical. Whereunto John Huss answered: "O Lord Jesu Christ! whose word is openly condemned here in this council, unto thee again I do appeal, who when thou wast evil entreated of thine enemies, didst appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto a most just Judge; that by thy example, we also, being oppressed with manifest wrongs and injuries, should flee unto thee." Last of all, the article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John Huss. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was excused by his advocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent he might clear himself of obstinacy, he was for that cause come unto Constance, under the emperor's safe-conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them, who was appointed judge, read the definitive sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

Henry
V.A. D.
1416.The cardinal of
Cambray
com-
manded
Huss to
keep si-
lence.Huss
could not
be heard
in the
council.
Commit-
teth his
cause to
the Lord.Mark the
unshame-
facedness
of them,
to feign
what they
list.See
Appendix.The
council
doth call
it hereti-
cal to ap-
peal to
Christ.Contempt
of the
pope's ex-
communi-
cation
laid to
John
Huss.

The Sentence or Judgment of the Council of Constance against John Huss.

The most holy and sacred general council of Constance, being congregated and gathered together, representing the catholic church, for a perpetual memory of the thing, as the Verity and Truth did witness, 'An evil tree bringeth

Henry
V.A. D.
1416.

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

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

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the reverend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy church of Rome, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, doctors of divinity and of both laws, in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred and holy council of Constance, declareth and determineth the articles abovesaid (which after due conference had, are found in his books written with his own hand, which also the said John Huss in open audience, before this holy council, hath confessed to be in his books) not to be catholic, neither worthy to be taught ; but that many of them are erroneous, some of them wicked, others offensive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously heretical, and even now, of late, by the holy fathers and general councils reproved and condemned. And forasmuch as the said articles are expressly contained in the books of the said John Huss, therefore this said sacred² council doth condemn and reprove all those books which he wrote, in what form or phrase soever they be, or whether they be translated by others ; and doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the clergy and people of the city of Constance, and elsewhere ; adding moreover for the premises, That all his doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. And, to the intent this most pernicious and wicked doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the church, this sacred synod doth straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places, by the ecclesiastical censure, for such treatises and works ; and that such as are found, be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, who shall contemn or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred synod ordaineth and decreeth, that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against every such person as suspected of heresy.

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Huss, and full information had by the commissaries and doctors of both laws, and also by the sayings of the witnesses who were worthy of credit, and many other things

(1) They shall bring you before their councils, they shall persecute you, and cast you in prison, and bring you before kings and presidents for my name, etc. Luke xii.

(2) The said concilium malignantium.

openly read before the said John Huss, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred council (by which allegations of the witnesses, it appeareth, that the said John Huss hath taught many evil and offensive, seditious and perilous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time), this most sacred and holy synod, lawfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost,¹ the name of Christ being invocated and called upon, by this its sentence which is here set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth that John Huss was and is a true and manifest heretic, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies lately condemned by the church of God, and many seditious, temerarious and offensive things; to no small offence of the Divine Majesty, and of the universal church, and detriment of the catholic faith and church; neglecting and despising the keys of the church, and ecclesiastical censures. In the which his error, he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened by the space of many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, when he made his appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Most High Judge, omitting and leaving all ecclesiastical means. In the which his appeal he allegeth many false, injurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the apostolic see, and of the ecclesiastical censures and keys.

*Henry
V*
A. D.
1416.

The appeal to Christ, is derogatory to the pope's holiness!

Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said synod pronounceth John Huss to be a heretic, and judgeth him, by these presents, to be condemned and judged as a heretic; and reproveth the said appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and judgeth the said Huss not only to have seduced the christian people by his writings and preachings, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, neither to have been a true preacher of the gospel of Christ unto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors, but also to have been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiffnecked person, yea and such a one as doth not desire to return again to the lap of our holy mother the church, neither to abjure the errors and heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred council decreeth and declareth, that the said John Huss shall be famously² deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignity, &c.

Verily condemned for heresy.

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

John Huss clearth himself of obstinacy.

They condemn the books written in the Bohemian-tongue, which they never read.

When the sentence and judgment were ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he said: "Lord Jesus Christ! forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsely accused, and that they have used false witness and slanders against me; forgive them, I say, for thy great mercy's sake." This his prayer and oration, the greater part, and especially the chief of the priests, did deride and mock.

Huss prayeth for his enemies.

See Appendix.

At last the seven bishops who were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining unto priesthood; which thing when he had done until he came to the putting on of the albe, he called to his remembrance the white vesture³

Commanded to put on the priest's garments.

(1) Many shall come in my name, and shall deceive many. Mark xiii.

(2) "Famously," publicly.—ED.

(3) "Scarlet robe." Matt. xxviii. 28.—ED.

*Henry**V.*

A. D.

1416.

which Herod put on Jesus Christ to mock him withal. So, likewise, in all other things he did comfort himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and provide for his honour and salvation. Then he (according as the manner of the ceremony is), going up to the top of the scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this sort.

His oration
unto the
people.

‘ These lords and bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might peradventure easily persuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominy and grudge of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me; but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heavens? With what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if, through me, it should come to pass that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I, by this my example, astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, indued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and gospel of our Lord Jesu Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile carcase appointed unto death, than their health and salvation.’

At this most godly word he was forced again to hear, by the consent of the bishops, that he did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven bishops before rehearsed, first took away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying; “ O cursed Judas! why hast thou forsaken the council and ways of peace, and hast counselled with the Jews? We take away from thee this chalice of thy salvation.” But John Huss received this curse in this manner: “ But I trust unto God, the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but have a steadfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in his kingdom.” Then followed the other bishops in order, who every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their curse. Whereunto John Huss answered: That he did willingly embrace and hear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. At last they came to the rasing of his shaven crown; but before the bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what instrument it should be done; with a razor, or with a pair of shears.

The degrading
of John
Huss.

His words
unto the
emperor.

The crown of
Huss cut
with
shears.

In the mean season, John Huss, turning himself toward the emperor, said: “ I marvel that forasmuch as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty.” Notwithstanding, at last they agreed to cut off the skin of the crown of his head with a pair of shears. And when they had done that, they added these words: “ Now hath the church taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him. Now there resteth nothing else,

but that he be delivered over unto the secular power." But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach; for they caused to be made a certain crown of paper, almost a cubit deep, on which were painted three devils of wonderfully ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, 'Heresiarcha.' Which when he saw, he said: "My Lord Jesus Christ, for my sake, did wear a crown of thorns; why should not I then, for his sake, again wear this light crown, be it ever so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly." When it was set upon his head, the bishop said: "Now we commit thy soul unto the devil." "But I," said John Huss, lifting his eyes up towards the heavens, "do commend into thy hands, O Lord Jesu Christ! my spirit which thou hast redeemed." These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the bishops, turning themselves towards the emperor, said: "This most sacred synod of Constance leaveth now John Huss, who hath no more any office or to do in the church of God, unto the civil judgment and power." Then the emperor commanded Louis, duke of Bavaria, who stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the cross in his hand, that he should receive John Huss of the bishops, and deliver him unto them who should do the execution; by whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doors he saw his books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that passed by he exhorted, not to think that he should die for any error or heresy, but only for the hatred and ill-will of his adversaries, who had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. All the whole city in a manner, being in armour, followed him.

Henry F.

A. D. 1416.

The marvellous constancy and courage of the blessed martyrs. The paper with the inscription set upon the head of Huss.

The protestation of John Huss, as he was led to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution was before the Gottlieben gate, between the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. When John Huss was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he prayed, and said certain Psalms, and especially the thirty-first and fifty-first Psalms. And they who stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse: "Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit," &c.; which thing when the lay-people beheld who stood next unto him, they said: "What he hath done before, we know not; but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly." Others wished that he had a confessor. There was a certain priest by, sitting on horseback, in a green gown, drawn about with red silk, who said: "He ought not to be heard, because he is a heretic:" yet, notwithstanding, while he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certain doctor, a monk, as Huss himself doth witness in a certain epistle which he wrote unto his friends out of prison.¹ Thus Christ reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midst of his enemies. In the mean time while John Huss prayed, as he bowed his neck backwards to look upward unto heaven, the crown of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the soldiers, taking it up again, said: "Let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his masters the devils, whom he hath served."

The prayers of John Huss well liked of the people.

At the prayer of John Huss the paper with the devils fell down.

When, by the commandment of the tormentors, he was risen up

(1) Ex Epist. Joan. Huss. 31.

*Henry V.*A. D.
1416.John Huss
Listened to the
rattle.
John Huss
turned towards
the west.Pardon
offered again to
John Huss.The last
confession of
John Huss.The
martyrdom of
blessed John
Huss.Precious
in the
sight of
the Lord
is the
death of
his
saints.
The heart
of Huss
beaten
with
staves,
and con-
sumed
with fire.
His ashes
cast into
the
Rhine.

from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said: "Lord Jesu Christ! assist and help me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, wherunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holy gospel and word." Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death unto the people. In the mean season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast unto the stake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas, by chance, he was turned towards the east, certain cried out that he should not look towards the east, for he was a heretic: so he was turned towards the west. Then was his neck tied with a chain unto the stake, which chain when he beheld, smiling he said, that he would willingly receive the same chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worse chain. Under his feet they set two faggots, admixing straw withal, and so likewise, from the feet up to the chin, he was enclosed in round about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Louis, duke of Bavaria, and another gentleman with him, who was the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Huss, that he would yet be mindful of his salvation, and renounce his errors. To whom he said: "What error should I renounce, when I know myself guilty of none? For as for those things which are falsely alleged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less preach them. For this was the principal end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penance and remission of sins, according to the verity of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the exposition of the holy doctors: wherefore, with a cheerful mind and courage, I am here ready to suffer death." When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together, departed.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Huss began to sing with a loud voice: "Jesu Christ! the Son of the living God! have mercy upon me." And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind drove the flame so upon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he moved awhile after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lord's Prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chain, which they threw down stake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner be consumed unto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staves and clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp stick, and roasted at a fire apart until it was consumed. Then, with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river Rhine, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not be left upon the earth, whose memory, notwithstanding, cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

I know very well that these things are very slenderly written by me! as touching the labours of this most holy martyr John Huss, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters; but this our

(1) Probably Johannes Przi Bram, a Bohemian, as Foxe afterwards suggests.—Ed.

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

*Henry V.*A. D.
1416.

The author and witness of this story.

What was the name of the author who wrote this story, it is not here expressed. Cochleus, in his second book 'contra Hussitas,' supposeth his name to be Johannes Przbiram, a Bohemian, who, afterwards succeeding in the place of John Huss at Prague, at last is thought to have relented to the papists.

M. John Przbiram thought to be his name. See Appendix.

This godly servant and martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruel council, and burned at Constance, A. D. 1415, the sixth day of the month of July.

How grievously this death of John Huss was taken among the nobles of Bohemia and Moravia, hereafter, Christ willing, shall appear by their letters which they sent unto the council; and by the letters of Sigismund, king of Romans, written unto them, wherein he laboureth all that he can, to purge and excuse himself of the death of John Huss.¹ Albeit he is not altogether free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood, yet, notwithstanding, he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest upon the bloody prelates of that council; as the words of the king do purport in form as followeth.²

The Letter of the Emperor Sigismund, to the Nobles of Bohemia.

In the mean time as we were about the coasts of the Rhine, John Huss went to Constance, and there was arrested, as is not to you unknown; who, if he had first resorted unto us, and had gone up with us to the council, perhaps it had been otherwise with him. And God knoweth what grief and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed; whereof all the Bohemians, who were there present, can bear us witness, seeing and beholding how careful and solicitous we were in labouring for him, inso-much that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the council; and not only out of the council, but also went out of the city of Constance, taking his part, unto such time as the rulers of the council, sending unto us, said, that if we would not permit them to prosecute that which right required in the council, what should they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with ourselves, that here was nothing else for us more to do, nor yet to speak in this case, forasmuch as the whole council otherwise had been dissolved. Where is to be noted, moreover, that in Constance, the same time, there was not one clerk, nor two, but there were ambassadors from all the kings and princes in Christendom: especially, since the time that (Petrus de Luna giving over) all those kings and princes who took his part, came to us; so that whatsoever good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present council, &c.³

The emperor excuseth himself of the death of John Huss.

(1) Ex Cochleio de Hist. Huss. lib. 4.

(2) Interea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni existentibus, pervenit ad Constantiam, &c.

(3) Ex regist. Imp. Sigismund. ad Nobiles, &c.

*Henry
F.*

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

From a Letter of John Huss to his Friends in Bohemia.

The em-
peror un-
courteous
to John
Huss.

I desire you yet again, for the love of God, that the lords of Bohemia, joining together, will desire the king for a final audience to be given to me. Forasmuch as he alone said to me in the council, that they should give me audience shortly, and that I should answer for myself briefly in writing, it will be to his great confusion, if he shall not perform that which he hath spoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and sure, as the other was concerning my safe conduct granted by him. Certain there were in Bohemia, who willed me to beware of his safe conduct. And others said: 'he will surely give you to your enemies.' And the lord Mikest Dweky told me before Master Jessemitz, saying, 'Master! know it for certain you shall be condemned.' And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the king. I hoped well that he had been well affected towards the law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceive that he is not greatly skilful, nor so prudently circumspect in himself. He condemned me before mine enemies did; who, if it had pleased him, might have kept the moderation of Pilate the gentile, who said, 'I find no cause in this man;' or, at least, if he had said but thus, 'Behold, I have given him his safe conduct safely to return; and if he will not abide the decision of the council, I will send him home to the king of Bohemia with your sentence and attestations, that he with his clergy may judge him.' But now I hear, by the relation of Henry Leffy, and of others, that he will ordain for me sufficient audience; and if I will not submit myself to the judgment of the council, he will send me safe, the contrary way, &c.

Pilate
more mo-
derate to
Christ,
than this
emperor
to John
Huss.

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

A Letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the Safe Conduct of John Huss.

To all and singular that shall see and hear these presents, I John de Clum do it to understand, how Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, under the safe conduct and protection of the renowned prince and lord Sigismund of Romans,

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

Given at Constance, the day of the Nativity of the Lord, 1414.

Henry
V.

A. D.
1416.

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

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

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

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

An Epistle of John Huss, unto the People of Prague.

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

Dearly beloved, I beseech you who walk after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the salvation of your souls, when you, hearing the word of God, are premonished wisely to understand that you be not deceived by false apostles, who do not reprehend the sins of men, but rather do extenuate and diminish them; who flatter the priests, and do not show to the people their offences; who magnify themselves, boast their own works, and marvellously extol their own worthiness, but follow not Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the cross, and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our merciful Saviour did premonish us before, saying: 'False Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.' And when he had forewarned his well-beloved disciples, he said unto them: 'Beware and take heed of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits.' And truth it is, that the faithful of Christ have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themselves; for, as our Saviour himself doth say: 'The elect also, if it were possible, shall be brought into error.' Wherefore, my well-beloved, be circumspect and watchful, that ye be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the devil. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that Antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last judgment is near at hand: death shall swallow up many, but to the elect children of God the kingdom

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of God draweth near, because for them he gave his own body. Fear not death; love together one another; persevere in understanding the good will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of judgment be always before your eyes, that you sin not; and also the joy of eternal life, whereunto you must endeavour.

Furthermore, let the passion of our Saviour be never out of your minds; that you may bear with him and for him gladly, whatsoever shall be laid upon you. For if you shall consider well in your minds his cross and afflictions, nothing shall be grievous unto you, and patiently you shall give place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and imprisonment, and shall not doubt to give your lives, moreover, for his holy truth, if need require. Know ye, well-beloved, that Antichrist being stirred up against you, deviseth divers persecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can testify; although he hath been vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore I desire you all, with your prayers, to make intercession for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence, sufferance, patience, and constancy, that I never swerve from his divine verity. He hath brought me now to Constance. In all my journey, openly and manifestly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the servant of God. In no place I kept myself secret, or used any dissimulation: but never did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest enemies than at Constance; which enemies neither should I have had there, had it not been for certain of our own Bohemians, hypocrites and deceivers, who for benefits received, and stirred up with covetousness, with boasting and bragging have persuaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way. But I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist strongly in the immutable verity of God unto the last breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his office, I only as an outcast am neglected, &c.

I commend you to the merciful Lord Jesu Christ, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate Virgin Mary, who hath redeemed us by his most bitter death, without all merits, from eternal pains, from the thralldom of the devil, and from sin.

From Constance, the year of our Lord 1415.

Another Letter of John Huss to his Benefactors.

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

A Letter of John Huss to the Lord John de Clum.

Henry
V.

A. D.

1416.

Most gracious benefactor in Christ Jesu! dearly beloved! yet I rejoice not a little, that by the grace of God I may write unto your honour. By your letter which I received yesterday, I understand, first, how the iniquity of the great strumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalypse), is detected, and shall be more detected; with which strumpet the kings of the earth do commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ; and, as is there said, sliding back from the truth, and consenting to the lies of Antichrist, through his seduction and through fear, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceived by your letter how the enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceived the fervent constancy of your charity, wherewith you profess the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and painful service of this present world, and to serve the Lord Jesus Christ quietly at home; whom to serve, is to reign; as Gregory saith, 'He that served him faithfully, hath Jesus Christ himself in the kingdom of heaven to minister unto him, as he himself saith, Blessed is that servant, whom when the Lord shall come, he shall find waking, and so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he rising shall gird himself, and shall minister to him.' This do not the kings of the world to their servants, whom they do love only so long as they are profitable and necessary for their commodities, &c.

An Epistle of John Huss to his Friends, wherein he declareth why God suffereth not his to perish; bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himself and others.

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

The torments of the martyrs under the Old and New Testament.

Given at Constance, on Thursday, the twenty-eighth day of June,
Anno 1415.

H. nry
V.
Another Letter of John Huss to his Friends, wherein he rehearseth what Injuries he received of the Council, and of the Deputies.

A. D.
1416.

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

Item, If the king do ask, who ought to be my judge, since that the council neither did call me, nor did cite me, neither was I ever accused before the council, and yet the council hath imprisoned me, and hath appointed their proctor against me.¹

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

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

Item, Know you, that they have, as I suppose, no other quarrel against me, but only this, that I stood against the pope's bull, which pope John sent down to Bohemia,² to sanctify war with the sign of the cross and full remission of sins to all those who would take the holy cross, to fight for the patrimony of the Romish church against Ladislaus, king of Naples; and they have mine own writing which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly, they have also against me, that I have continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take upon me to minister in the church, and say mass. Thirdly, they have against me, because I did appeal from the pope to Christ. For they read my appeal before me, which with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, because I left a certain letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethlehem, which letter my adversaries have very evil-favourably translated, and sinisterly expounded, in which I did write that I went out with a safe-conduct. Whereunto you yourselves can say and bear me record, that I, in my going out, had no safe-conduct of the pope, neither yet did I know whether you should go out with me, when I wrote that letter.

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

Another Letter of John Huss to his Friends, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickedness of that Council.

John Huss, in hope, the servant of God, to all the faithful in Bohemia who love the Lord, greeting through the grace of God. It cometh in my mind, wherein I must needs admonish you, who be the faithful and beloved of the Lord, how that the council of Constance, being full of pride, avarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my books, written in the Bohemian tongue, for heretical, which books they never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had heard them, yet they could not understand the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britons, some Spaniards, Germans, with other people of other nations besides; unless, peradventure, John, bishop of Litomyšl, understood them, who was present in that council, and certain other Bohemians, and priests, who are against me, and labour all they may, how to deprave both the

The council condemn books which they understand not.

(1) He meaneth, belike, that he should move the king in these matters contained in this epistle
(2) See page 310.—Ed.

verity of God, and the honesty of our country of Bohemia; which I judge, in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well given to the true knowledge of the faith; for that it doth so greatly desire the word of God, and honest manners. And if you were here at Constance, ye should see the grievous abomination of this council, which they call so holy, and such as cannot err; of which council I have heard it by the Switzers reported, that the city of Constance is not able in thirty years to be purged of those abominations in that council committed. And almost all be offended with that council, being sore grieved to behold such execrable things perpetrated in the same.

When I stood first to answer before mine adversaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outrageously crying out, I said plainly unto them, that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better order and discipline, in that council. Then the chief cardinal¹ answered: 'Sayest thou so? but in the tower thou spakest more modestly.' To whom said I: 'In the tower no man cried out against me, whereas now all do rage against me.' My faithful and beloved in Christ, be not afraid with their sentence in condemning my books. They shall be scattered hither and thither abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as spider-webs. They went about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ; but they could not overcome the virtue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scripture against me, as divers honourable lords can witness with me, who being ready to suffer contumely for the truth of God, took my part stoutly; namely, lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and lord John de Clum: for they were let in by king Sigismund unto the council. And when I said, that I was desirous to be instructed if I did in any thing err, then they heard the chief cardinal answer again: 'Because thou wouldest be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first revoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of fifty bachelors of divinity appointed.' O high instruction!

After like manner St. Katharine, also, should have denied and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because the fifty masters likewise did withstand her; which, notwithstanding, that good virgin would never do, standing in her faith unto death: but she did win those her masters unto Christ, when I cannot win these my masters by any means. These things I thought good to write unto you, that you might know how they have overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any reason; but only did assay with terrors and deceits to persuade me to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God, whose law I have magnified, was and is with me; and, I trust, so will continue, and will keep me in his grace unto death.

Written at Constance after the feast of John Baptist, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death; although for the secret judgments of God, I dare not say whether this be my last epistle: for now also Almighty God is able to deliver me.

Another Letter of John Huss, wherein he comforteth his Friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his Books: and also declareth the wickedness of the Clergy.

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

Beloved! I thought it needful to warn that you should not fear or be discouraged, because the adversaries have decreed that my books shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelities burned the preachings of the prophet Jeremy, and yet they could not avoid the things that were prophesied of in them; for after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same prophecy again, and that larger; which was also done, for Jeremy, sitting in prison, spake, and Baruch, who was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the thirty-fifth or forty-fifth chapter of the Vision of Jeremy. It is also written in the books of the Maccabees, That the wicked did burn the law of God, and killed them that had the same. Again, under the New Testament, they burned the saints, with the books of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of Saint Gregory's books, and had burnt them all, if they had not

Henry
F.A.D.
1416.Praise of
Bohemia.
The abo-
mination
of the
council of
Con-
stance de-
scribed.John
Huss
seemeth
here to
prophecy
of the
council,
as it came
to pass.
The coun-
cil afraid
to be tried
by the
Scriptures.St. Katharine,
disputing
with fifty
doctors,
converted
them; but
Huss
could not
convert
his fifty
doctors.Good
books of
good men
have been
burned of
old time.Good
men with
their
books to
be burned
no news.
See
Appendix

(1) This cardinal was the cardinal of Cambrey.

Henry
V.A. D.
1416.John
Huss
seemeth
to prophesy
of the
council of
Con-
stance.The blas-
phemous
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lawyers
and pa-
pists
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the sove-
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the pope.One sim-
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bishops of
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made a
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in the
pope.A proph-
esy of John
Huss.

been preserved of God by the means of Peter, Gregory's minister. Having these things before your eyes, take heed lest, through fear, you omit to read my books, and deliver them to the adversaries to be burnt. Remember the sayings of our merciful Saviour, by which he forewarneth us, Matt. xxiv.: 'There shall be,' saith he, 'before the day of judgment, great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning until this day, neither shall be afterwards: so that even the elect of God should be deceived, if it were possible. But for their sakes those days shall be shortened.' When you remember these things, beloved! be not afraid; for I trust in God that that school of Antichrist shall be afraid of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, neither shall the council of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I think, that many of them who are of the council shall die, before they shall get from you my books. And they shall depart from the council and be scattered abroad throughout the parts of the world like storks, and then they shall know when winter cometh, what they did in summer. Consider that they have judged their head, the pope, worthy of death, for many horrible facts that he hath done. Go to now; answer to this, you preachers! who preach that the pope is the god of the earth; that he may, as the lawyers say, make sale of the holy things; that he is the head of the whole holy church, in verity well governing the same; that he is the heart of the church in quickening the same spiritually; that he is the well-spring from which flow all virtue and goodness; that he is the sun of the holy church; that he is the safe refuge to which every christian man ought to fly for succour. Behold now that head is cut off with the sword; now the god of the earth is bound; now his sins are declared openly; now that well-spring is dried up; that sun darkened; that heart is plucked out and thrown away, lest that any man should seek succour thereat. The council hath condemned that head, and that for this offence; because he took money for indulgences, bishoprics, and other such like. But they condemned him, by order of judgment, who were themselves the buyers and sellers of the same merchandise. There was present John, bishop of Litomysl, who went twice about to buy the bishopric of Prague, but others prevented him. O wicked men! why did they not first cast the beam out of their own eyes? These men have accursed and condemned the seller, but they themselves, who were the buyers and consenters to the bargain, are without danger. What shall I say, that they do use this manner of buying and selling at home in their own countries; for at Constance there is one bishop that bought, and another who sold; and the pope, for allowing of both their facts, took bribes on both sides. It came so to pass in Bohemia also, as you know. I would that in that council God had said: 'He that amongst you is without sin, let him give the sentence against pope John;' then surely they had gone all out of the council-house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him always before this his fall; kiss his feet, and call him 'The most holy father,' seeing they saw apparently before, that he was a heretic, that he was a man-killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all which things now they have found in him? Why did the cardinals choose him to be pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedom? for to this end they are his counsellors, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselves as guilty of these faults as he, seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselves? Why durst no man lay aught to his charge, before he had fled from Constance? but, as soon as the secular power, by the sufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never afore, they conspired all together that he should not live any longer. Surely, even at this day is the malice, the abomination and filthiness of Antichrist, revealed in the pope and others of this council.

Now the faithful servants of God may understand what our Saviour Christ meant by this saying: 'When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel,' &c., 'whoso can understand it,' &c. Surely, these be great abominations: pride, covetousness, simony, sitting in a solitary place; that is to say, in a dignity void of goodness, humility, and other virtues; as we do now clearly see in those that are constituted in any office and dignity. O how acceptable a thing should it be, if time would suffer me to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparent; that the faithful servants of God might know them! I trust in God that he will send after me those that shall be more valiant; and there are alive at this day, that shall make more manifest the

malice of Antichrist, and shall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall give, both to you and me, the joys of life everlasting.

This epistle was written upon St. John Baptist's-day in prison and in cold irons; I having this meditation with myself, that John was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God.

Henry
V.

A. D.
1416.

Another Letter of John Huss to the Faithful in Bohemia.

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

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

I desire you, moreover, if any man at any time have noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, that he do not follow the same; but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sin of lightness. I pray you that ye will love your priests and ministers, who be of honest behaviour, to prefer and honour them before others; namely, such priests as travail in the word of God. I pray you take heed to yourselves, and beware of malicious and deceitful men, and especially of those wicked priests of whom our Saviour doth speak: 'That they are under sheep's clothing, and inwardly are ravening wolves.' I pray such as be rulers and superiors, to behave themselves gently towards their poor inferiors, and to rule them justly. I beseech the citizens, that they will walk every man in his degree and vocation with an upright conscience. The artificers also I beseech, that they will exercise their occupations diligently, and use them with the fear of God. I beseech the servants, that they will serve their masters faithfully. And likewise the schoolmasters I beseech, that they, living honestly, will bring up their scholars virtuously, and teach them faithfully, first to learn to fear God; then, for the glory of God and the public utility of the commonwealth, and their own health, and not for avarice or worldly honour, to employ their minds to honest arts. I beseech the students of the university and all schools, in all honest things to obey their masters, and to follow them; and that with all diligence they will study to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glory of God, and to the soul's health, as well of themselves, as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yield most hearty thanks to the right honourable lords, the lord Wenceslaus de Duba, lord John de Clum, lord Henry Plumlovio, lord Vilem Zagecio, lord Nicholas, and other lords of Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland; that their diligence towards me may be grateful to all good men; because that they, like valiant champions of God's truth, have oftentimes set themselves against the whole council for my deliverance, contending and standing against the same to the uttermost of their power; but especially lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and lord John de Clum. Whatsoever they shall report unto you, give credit unto them; for they were in the council when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that council cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you, also, that ye will pray for the king of Romans, and for your king, and for his wife your queen, that God of his mercy would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life. Amen!

This epistle I have written to you out of prison and in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof for the sentence of the council upon my death; having a full trust that He will not leave me, neither suffer me to deny his truth, and to revoke the errors, which false witnesses maliciously have devised against me. How mercifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in marvellous temptations, ye shall know, when hereafter, by the help of

A note for
all noble
men to
mark and
to follow.

Henry
V.A. D.
1416.

Christ, we shall all meet together in the joy of the world to come. As concerning Master Jerome, my dearly beloved brother and fellow, I hear no other but that he is remaining in strait bands, looking for death as I do; and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruel enemies of Bohemia have given us into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bands. I beseech you pray to God for them.

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

Written at Constance, the year of our Lord, 1415.

Another right godly Letter of John Huss to a certain Priest, admonishing him of his Office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all Ministers.

A worthy
lesson for
all minis-
ters and
prelates.

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

St. Au-
gustine
meaneth
not here
of all, but
of the
common
sort of
light per-
sons.

A Letter of John Huss containing a confession of the infirmity of man's flesh; how weak it is, and repugnant against the Spirit: wherein he also exhorteth to persevere constantly in the truth.

Health be to you from Jesus Christ, &c. My dear friend! know that Paletz came to me to persuade me that I should not fear the shame of abjuration, but

(1) This Paletz was the chiefest enemy of John Huss, and procurer of his death.

to consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, 'The shame of condemnation and burning is greater than to abjure; and why should I fear then that shame? but I pray you tell me plainly your mind. Presuppose that such articles were laid to you, which you yourself knew not to be true: what would you do in that case? would you abjure?' Who answered: 'The case is sore;' and began to weep. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de Causis¹ was, sometimes, before the prison with the deputies. And when I was with the deputies, thus I heard him speak unto the keepers: 'We, by the grace of God, will burn this heretic shortly, for whose cause I have spent many florins.' But yet understand that I write not this to the intent to revenge me of him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

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Huss
prayeth
for his
enemies.

Yet I exhort you again, to be circumspect about our letters, for Michael hath taken such order, that none shall be suffered to come into the prison; nor yet the keepers' wives are permitted to come to me. O holy God! how largely doth Antichrist extend his power and cruelty! But I trust that his power shall be shortened, and his iniquity shall be detected, more and more amongst the faithful people.

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

A pro-
phesy of
John
Huss.

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

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

The ex-
ample of
Christ.

'O most merciful Christ! draw us weak creatures after thee; for except thou

(1) Michael de Causis, another bitter enemy of John Huss.

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The
prayer of
John
Huss to
Christ.

should draw us, we are not able to follow thee. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be ready; and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace go before us, go with us, and follow us; for without thee we can do nothing, and much less enter into the cruel death for thy sake. Give us that prompt and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm hope and perfect charity, that we may give our lives patiently and joyfully for thy name's sake. Amen.

Written in prison in bonds, in the vigil of holy St. John the Baptist, who, being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickedness, was beheaded.

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

A Letter of a Scholar of Wickliff to John Huss and the Bohemians; dated from London.

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

Ex-
amples of
the old
martyrs.

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

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

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

Another Letter of John Huss to his Friends of Bohemia.

The Lord God be with you. I love the counsel of the Lord above gold and precious stone; wherefore I trust in the mercy of Jesus Christ, that he will give me his Spirit to stand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, 'For the spirit is ready, and the flesh is weak.' The Lord Almighty be the eternal reward unto my lords, who constantly, firmly, and faithfully do stand for righteousness; to whom the Lord God shall give in the kingdom of Bohemia, to know the truth. For the following of which truth, necessary it is that they return again into Bohemia, setting apart all vain glory, and following not a mortal and miserable king, but the King of Glory who giveth eternal life.

O how comfortable was the giving of the hand of lord John de Clum unto me, who was not ashamed to reach forth his hand to me a wretch, and such an abject heretic, lying in fetters of iron, and cried out upon of all men! Now peradventure, I shall not speak much hereafter with you: therefore salute in time, as you shall see them all, the faithful of Bohemia.

Paletz came to me in prison. His salutation in my vehement infirmity was this, before the commissaries: that there hath not risen a more perilous heretic since Christ was born, than were Wickliff and I. Also he said, that all such as came to hear my talk were infected with this heresy, to think that the substance of bread remained in the sacrament of the altar. To whom I answered and said: 'O master! what a grievous salutation have you given me, and how greatly do you sin! Behold I shall die, or peradventure to-morrow shall be burnt; and what reward shall be recompensed to you in Bohemia for your labour.'

This thing, peradventure, I should not have written, lest I might seem to hate

Henry
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him. I have always had this in my heart: 'Trust not in princes,' &c. And again: 'Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arm.' For God's sake be you circumspect how you stand and how you return. Carry no letters with you. Direct your books not all by one, but diversely by divers friends.

The
visions
of John
Huss by
dreams.

Know this for certain, that I have had great conflicts by dreams, in such sort, as I had much ado to refrain from crying out. For I dreamed of the pope's escape before he went. And after the lord John had told me thereof, immediately in the night it was told me, that the pope should return to you again. And afterwards also I dreamed of the apprehending of Master Jerome, although not in full manner as it was done. All the imprisonments, whither and how I am carried, were opened to me before, although not fully after the same form and circumstance. Many serpents oftentimes appeared unto me, having heads also in their tail; but none of them could bite me, and many other things more.

A pro-
phesy of
Master
Jerome of
Prague.

These things I write, not esteeming myself as a prophet, or that I extol myself, but only to signify unto you what temptations I had in body, and also in mind, and what great fear I had, lest I should transgress the commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now I remember with myself the words of Master Jerome, who said, that if I should come to the council, he thought I should never return home again. In like manner there was a good and godly man, a tailor,¹ who, taking his leave of me at Prague, spake to me in these words: 'God be with you,' said he, 'for I think verily, my dear and good Master John, that you shall not return again to us with your life. The King, not of Hungary, but of Heaven, reward you with all goodness, for the faithful doctrine which I at your hands received,' &c.

And shortly after the writing hereof, he sendeth also unto them another prophetic vision of his, to be expounded, touching the reformation of the church, written in his forty-fourth epistle, the contents whereof be these.

Letter of John Huss, sent to the Lord John de Clum.

I pray you expound to me the dream of this night. I saw how that in my church of Bethlehem they came to rase and put out all the images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after, I arose and saw many painters, who painted and made more fair images, and many more than I had done before, which images I was very glad and joyful to behold. And the painters, with much people about them, said: 'Let the bishops and priests come now, and put us out these pictures.' Which being done, much people seemed to me in Bethlehem to rejoice, and I with them. And I awaking therewith, felt myself to laugh, &c.

Pro-
pheta.

This vision lord John de Clum, and John Huss himself, in his book of Epistles, in the forty-fifth epistle, seem to expound, and apply the images of Christ unto the preaching of Christ and of his life; which preaching and doctrine of Christ, though the pope and his cardinals should extinguish in him, yet did he foresee and declare, that the time should come, wherein the same doctrine should be revived again by others so plenteously, that the pope with all his power should not be able to prevail against it. Thus much as concerning this vision of John Huss, whereunto doth well accord the prophecy of Jerome of Prague, printed in the coin called 'Moneta Hussi;' of which coin I have myself one of the plates, having this superscription following printed about it; "Centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis et mihi," that is, after a hundred years come and

(1) This tailor's name was Andrew, a Polonian.

gone, you shall give account to God and to me. Whereof, God willing, more shall be said hereafter.

Henry
V.

Furthermore, in the forty-eighth epistle the said John Huss, seeming to speak with the like spirit of prophesy, hath these words following: "Sed spero, quod quæ dixi sub tecto, prædicabuntur super tecta:" that is: "but I trust that those things which I have spoken within the house, hereafter shall be preached upon the top of the house."

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phetia.

And because we are here in hand with the propheties of John Huss, it shall moreover serve well in place here to record his words in a certain treatise by him written: "De sacerdotum et monachorum carnalium abominatione;" wherein the said John Huss, speaking prophetically of the reformation of the church, hath these words following.¹

'Moreover, hereupon, note and mark by the way, that the church of God cannot be reduced to its former dignity, or be reformed, before all things first be made new; the truth whereof is plain by the temple of Solomon. Like as the clergy and priests, so also the people and laity; or else unless all such as now be addicted to avarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and reclaimed, as well the people as clergy and priests. Albeit as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God: of which people new clerks and priests shall come, and be taken; who all shall hate covetousness, and the glory of this life, hastening to an heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding all these things shall come to pass, and be brought by little and little in order of times, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth and will do for his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and patience; giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lien in their sins, to amend, and fly from the face of the Lord's fury, while that in like manner the carnal people, and carnal priests, successively, and in time, shall fall away and be consumed as with the moth,' &c.

Pro-
phetia.

A Letter of John Huss to his Friend Martin.

Master Martin, my dear brother in Christ, I exhort you in the Lord that you fear God, keep his commandments, and flee the company of women, and beware of hearing their confession, lest, by the hypocrisy of women, Satan deceive you; trust not their devotion. You know how I have detested the avarice and the inordinate life of the clergy; wherefore, through the grace of God, I suffer now persecution, which shortly shall be consummate in me; neither do I fear to have my heart poured out for the name of Christ Jesus; I desire you heartily, be not greedy in seeking after benefices. And yet if you shall be called to any cure in the country, let the honour of God, the salvation of souls, and the travail thereof, move you thereunto, and not the having of the living or the commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such benefice, beware you have no young woman for your cook or servant, lest you edify and increase more your house than your soul.² See that you be a builder of your spiritual house, being gentle to the poor and humble of mind, and waste not your goods in great fare. I fear also if you do not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous apparel, lest you shall be grievously chastised, as I also, wretched man, shall be punished, who have used the like, being seduced by custom of evil men and worldly glory, whereby I have been wounded against God with the spirit of pride. And because you have notably known both my preaching and outward conversation even from my youth, I have no need to write many things unto you, but to desire you, for the mercy of Jesus Christ, that you do not follow me in any such levity and lightness, which you have

He re-
penteth
his gay
gar-
ments.

(1) "Ex istis ulterius advertite incidentaliter, quod Dei ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci." &c.

(2) Note that then priests were not married, and therefore he willeth them to avoid the company of women.

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V.

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He re-
penteth
his play-
ing at
the chess.

seen in me. You knew how, before my priesthood (which grieveth me now) I have delighted to play oftentimes at chess, and have neglected my time, and have unhappily provoked both myself and others to anger many times by that play. Wherefore, besides other my innumerable faults, for this also I desire you to invoke the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and so direct my life, that having overcome the wickedness of this present life, the flesh, the world, and the devil, I may find place in the heavenly country, at least in the day of judgment. Fare ye well in Christ Jesus, with all them who keep his law. My grey coat, if you will, keep to yourself for my remembrance, but I think you are ashamed to wear that grey colour; therefore you may give it to whom you shall think good. My white coat you shall give the minister N. my scholar. To George or else to Zuzikon sixty groats, or else my grey coat, for he hath faithfully served me.

The Superscription.

I pray you that you do not open this letter, before you be sure and certain of my death.

The Consolation of Master Jerome to Master Huss.

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

John
Huss con-
demned
for no er-
roneous
doctrine
wherein
he was
culpable.

By the life, acts and letters of John Huss hitherto rehearsed, it is evident and plain, that he was condemned not for any error of doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their popish transubstantiation, neither spake against the authority of the church of Rome, if it were well governed, nor yet the seven sacraments, and also said mass himself, and almost in all their popish opinions was a papist with them; but only of evil will was accused of his malicious adversaries, because he spake against the pomp, pride and avarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, and because he could not abide the high dignities and livings of the church, and thought the doings of the pope to be Antichrist-like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false witnesses against him, who straining and picking matter out of his books and writings, having no one just article of doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him a heretic, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charity of Christ hath no place; which being so, as thy charity, good reader, may easily understand, in perusing the whole course of his story, I beseech thee then, what cause had John Coehleus to write his twelve books against John Huss and Hussites? in which books how bitterly and intemperately he misuseth his pen, by these few words in his second book thou mayest take a little taste; which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to the end that all Englishmen may judge thereby, with what spirit and truth these catholics be carried. His words be these: "I say therefore John Huss is neither to be counted holy nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; insomuch that in the day of judgment, it

Coehleus
raileth
against
John
Huss
without
cause.

(1) Ex Coehleo, lib. ii. hist. Hussitarum, pag. 28. "Dico igitur Jean. Hus. neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius," &c.

shall be more easy, not only with the infidel Pagans, Turks, Tartarians, and Jews, but also with the most sinful Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, who do most filthily pollute their daughters, sisters, or mother; yea and also with the impious Cain, killer of his own brother; with Thyestes, killer of his own mother; and the Les-trygones and other Anthropophagi, who devour man's flesh; yea more easy with those infamous murderers of infants, Pharaoh and Herod, than with him," &c. These be the words of Cochleus; whose railing books, although they deserve neither to be read, nor answered, yet, if it please God, it were to be wished that the Lord would stir up some towardly young man, that hath so much leisure, to defend the simplicity of this John Huss, who cannot now answer for himself. In the mean time, something to satisfy or stay the reader's mind against this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few words I will bring out John Huss to speak and to clear himself against this slander: whose words in his book 'De Sacerdotum et Monachorum abominatione desolationis,' pag. 84, &c., I beseech the reader to note: "Nam et ista scribens fateor, quod nihil aliud me in illis perurget, nisi dilectio Dom. nostri Jesu crucifixi," &c.; that is, "For in writing these things, I confess nothing else to have moved me hereunto, but only the love of our Lord Jesus crucified, whose prints and stripes (according to the measure of my weakness and vileness) I covet to bear in myself, beseeching him so to give me grace, that I never seek to glory in myself, or in any thing else, but only in his cross, and in the inestimable ignominy of his passion which he suffered for me. And, therefore, I write and speak these things, which I do not doubt will like all such as unfeignedly do love the Lord Christ crucified; and contrary will mislike not a little all such as be of Antichrist. Also again, I confess before the most merciful Lord Jesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durst so have written, unless he, by his inward unction, had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authority, to get me fame and name; for as St. Augustine and Jerome do say, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and writings of the apostles, evangelists, and prophets, and to the canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulness of the Spirit of Jesus. And whatsoever is there said, is full of verity and wholesome utility," &c.

And here place also would require something to say to Æneas Sylvius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, who falsely impute articles to him, which he never maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the story of Master Jerome of Prague.

The tragical and lamentable History of the famous learned Man and godly Martyr of Christ, Master Jerome of Prague, burned at Constance for like cause and quarrel as was Master John Huss.

*See
Appendix.*

* Forsomuch¹ as the variety of men's affections, by means of hatred of persons oftentimes coming between, and other causes

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to 1416.

(1) This preamble to the history of Jerome of Prague precedes the account of that illustrious martyr in the Edition of 1563, p. 242, where the narrative is divided into seven short chapters, written by an eye-witness of his arraignment and sufferings.—ED.

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growing, doth often very ill, yea, altogether falsely, accumulate and gather the order of things done, far otherwise than, in deed, they were done, and hath used and accustomed to divulgate their feigned doings unto posterity; therefore, that the acts worthy of remembrance, in these our days, should suffer none of the aforesaid incommodities and evils, and that the fervent and true confession of the truth which this worthy man, Jerome of Prague, the fervent and stout champion of the gospel, hath sealed with his blood and death, whereby also, as another Elias, he is carried, without all doubts, in a fiery chariot into the paradise of infinite joys and pleasures; and that the order of his death, by the hasty passing away of time, should not escape away from the posterity to come, and that, by no means, this example of truth and glass of steadfastness, and perfect imitation, might, by any means, be taken away: I have determined to gather together, albeit with a rude style, the acts and doings of the said Master Jerome, as he went unto the council of Constance: which I myself did see, and also heard there, and also were reported unto me by such true and credible men, as did hear and see the same at Constance, to the intent that the memory of this most worthy man may, by favour of the Author of truth and the Rewarder of them that confess him, hereafter be the more celebrated and remembered.*

*See
Appendix.*

These things hitherto being discoursed, touching the life, acts, and constant martyrdom of Master John Huss, with part also of his letters adjoined to the same, whose death was on the sixth of July, A.D. 1415, now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his christian companion and fellow in bands, Master Jerome of Prague; who, grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproach and defamation of his country of Bohemia, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done to that man of worthy memory, Master John Huss, freely, and of his own accord, came to Constance on the fourth day of April, 1415. Who, there perceiving that John Huss was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait were laid for him on every side, departed until the next day to Uberlingen, a city of the empire, which city was a mile off from Constance; and from thence he wrote his letters by me to Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his barons, and also unto the council, most earnestly requiring that the king and council would give him a safe conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the council that would lay any crime to him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

*Jerome
cometh
to Con-
stance.*

*The safe
conduct
was re-
quired,
but in
vain, of
the em-
peror.*

When the said king of Hungary was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the lord cardinal of Cambray, he denied to give Master Jerome any safe conduct; excusing himself for the evil speed he had with the safe conduct of John Huss before, and alleging also certain other causes. The deputies also of the four nations of the council, being moved thereunto by the lords of the kingdom of Bohemia, answered, "We will give him a safe conduct to come, but not to depart." Whose answers, when they were reported unto Master Jerome, he the next day after wrote certain intimations according to the tenor under-written, which he sent to Constance to be set up on the gates of the city, and upon the

gates of the churches and monasteries, and of the houses of the cardinals and other nobles and prelates; the tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner.

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F.*

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The Intimation of Jerome of Prague, set up in divers places of the Town of Constance.

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

*See
Appendix.*

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

When as yet Master Jerome, through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latin, and German tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights, especially of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gave unto him their letters patent, confirmed with their seals for a testimony and witness of the premises; with which letters the said Master Jerome returned again into Bohemia: but, by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirschau by the officers of duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought back again to the presence of the duke. In the mean time such as were the setters-forward of the council against Master John Huss and Master Jerome; that is to say, Michael de Causis and Master Paletz, and others their accomplices, required that the said Master Jerome should be cited by reason of his intimations; and, certain days after, the citation here under-written was set upon the gates and porches of the city and churches, which followeth here in this manner:

Safe conduct denied to Jerome. Jerome returneth toward Bohemia, with the testimonies of the lords of Bohemia. Jerome apprehended in the way by duke John.

The Citation of Jerome of Prague to the Council of Constance.

This most sacred and holy synod and general council of Constance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, representing the universal militant church, unto Jerome of Prague, who writeth himself to be a master of arts of so many universities, and pretendeth those things which are only pertaining unto sobriety and modesty, and that he knoweth no more than

Jerome cited by the council when he was taken.

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he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certain writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, which was set up, as it were, by thine own person upon the gates of the churches and city of Constance, upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the church of God, 'Quasi modo geniti;' wherein thou dost affirm, that thou wilt openly answer unto thy accusers and slanderers who shall object any crime, error or heresy against thee, whereof thou art marvellously infamed and accused before us; and specially touching the doctrine of Wickliff, and other doctrines contrary to the catholic faith: so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe conduct to come. But, forasmuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty foxes who go about to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenor of these presents, thy person manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; so that within the term of fifteen days to be accounted from the date of these presents, whercof five days are appointed for the first term, five for the second, and other five for the third, we do ordain and appoint, by canonical admonition and warning, that thou do appear in the public sessions of the sacred council, if there be any holden, in the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when any session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things which any person or persons shall object or lay against thee in any cause of thy faith, and to receive and have, as justice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as catholic faith shall require, we offer and assign to thee, by the tenor hercof, our safe conduct from all violence (justice always being saved); certifying thee, that whether thou dost appear or not, the said term or time appointed notwithstanding, process shall go forward against thee by the said sacred council, or by their commissary or commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept; thy contumacy or stubbornness in any thing notwithstanding.

Given in the sixth session of the general council, the seventeenth day of April, under the seal of the presidents of the four nations.

GRUMPERT FABER, Notary of the Germans.

After Sigismund king of Hungary, with the rest of the council, understood by the aforesaid duke John,¹ that Master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that Master Jerome should be brought before them unto the council; which duke John, after he had received letters of the king and the council, sent Master Jerome bound unto Constance, whom his brother duke Louis led through the city to the cloisters of the friars minor in Constance, whereas the chief priests and elders of the people (Scribes and Pharisees) were gathered together, attending and waiting for his coming. He, the said Master Jerome, carried a great handbolt of iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he passed, the chain made a great rattling and noise, and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chain after duke Louis aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him; with which chain they also kept him bound in the cloister. When he was brought into the cloister, they read before him the letter of duke John, which was sent with the said Master Jerome to the council, containing in effect, how that the said duke John had sent Master Jerome to the council (who by chance was fallen into his hands), because he heard an evil report of him, that he was suspected of the heresies of Wickliff; that the council might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did err and stray from the truth: besides many other flattering tales which were written in the said letter in praise of the council. After this they read the citation which was given out by

See
Appendix.
Jerome is
sent
bound
unto Con-
stance by
duke
John.

(1) This duke John in histories is commonly called the son of Clement.

the council against Master Jerome, whereof we have spoken before. Then certain of the bishops said unto him: "Jerome! why didst thou fly and run away, and didst not appear when thou wast cited?" He answered: "Because I could not have any safe conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by these letters patent of the barons, which you have; neither by mine open intimations could I obtain any safe conduct. Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy friends to be here present in the council, would not myself be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any understanding of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Bohemia, I would have returned again." Then all the whole rabble rising up, alleged divers and sundry accusations and testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake Master Gerson, the chancellor of Paris: "Jerome, when thou wast at Paris, thou thoughtest thyself, by means of thy eloquence, to be an angel, and didst trouble the whole university; alleging openly in the schools many erroneous conclusions with their 'corolaria,' and especially in the question 'De universalibus et de idæis,' with many other very offensive questions." Unto whom Master Jerome said: "I answer to you, Master Gerson, that those matters which I did put forth there, in the schools at Paris, in which also I answered to the arguments of the masters, I did put them forth philosophically, and as a philosopher and master of the university; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same."

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The council neither would give him liberty safely to come, nor freely to go.

Jerome accused by Mr. Gerson, with commendation of his eloquence.

While he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the master of the university of Cologne, upon the river Rhine), rising up, said: "When thou wast also at Cologne, in thy position which thou didst there determine, thou didst propound many erroneous matters." Then said Master Jerome unto him: "Show me first one error which I propounded." Wherewithal he, being in a manner astonished, said: "I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be objected against you." And by and by the third man, rising up, said: "When you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain shield or escutcheon, comparing the Trinity of Persons in the Deity to water, snow, and ice, and such like." Unto whom Master Jerome answered; "Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speak, write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly revoke and recant the same."

The master of the university of Cologne would accuse, but he lacked matter.

See Appendix.

The master of the university of Heidelberg.

Then certain cried out: "Let him be burned, let him be burned." Unto whom he answered: "If my death do delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so." Then said the archbishop of Saltzburg; "Not so, Master Jerome, 'forasmuch as it is written, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather he be converted and live.'" When these and many other tumults and cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outrageously witness against him, they delivered the said Master Jerome, being bound, unto the officers of

See Appendix.

(1) "Crucifige, crucifige eum."

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Jerome is comforted by Peter the notary.

the city of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night; and so every one of them returned to his lodgings.

In the mean time, one of the friends of Master John Huss, looking in at a window of the refectory, said unto him; "Master Jerome." Then said he, "You are welcome, my dear brother." Then said Peter unto him; "Be constant, and fear not to suffer death for the truth's sake, of which, when you were in times past at liberty, you did preach so much goodness." Unto whom Jerome answered: "Truly, brother, I do not fear death; and forasmuch as we know that we have spoken much thereof in times past, let us now see what may be known or done in effect." By and by his keepers, coming to the window, threatening him with strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the cloister.

Vitus, the companion of John de Clum.

Then came there one Vitus unto Master Jerome, and saith, "Master, how do you do?" Unto whom he answered, "Truly, brother, I do very well." Then his keepers coming about him, laid hold of the said Vitus, saying, "This is also one of the number,"¹ and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Riga sent certain of his servants who led away Master Jerome, being strongly bound with chains, both by the hands and by the neck, and kept him so for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain tower of the city, in St. Paul's churchyard, where, tying him fast unto a great block, and his feet in the stocks, his hands also being made fast upon them, they left him; where the block was so high, that he could by no means sit thereupon, but that his head must hang downward. They carried also the said Vitus unto the archbishop of Riga, who demanded of him, Why he durst be so bold to talk with such a man, being a reprobate of all men, and a heretic? and when he could find no cause of imprisonment in him, and that he said he was Master John de Clum's friend (taking an oath and promise of him, that he should not go about to endamage the council by reason of that imprisonment and captivity), he dismissed him and sent him away.

Jerome straitly bound hand and foot.

Vitus had to the archbishop of Riga.

Vitus bound by oath.

Jerome, hanging in the stocks, is fed with bread and water. Peter bringeth meat to Jerome.

Master Jerome, unknown unto us whither he was carried, lay in the said tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers, coming unto Master Peter, declared unto him how that Master Jerome lay hard by, in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Master Peter asked if he might have leave to give him meat, because he would procure plenty of the same for him. The keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, so hanging by the heels, he used so small repast, that he fell sore sick even unto death. When he, living then in that captivity and prison, desired to have a confessor, they of the council denied that he should have any, until such time as by great importunity he obtained to have one; his friends being then there present in the same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one year, lacking but seven days.

Jerome, in great sickness, calleth for a confessor. Kept in prison the space of a year.

See Appen^dr.

After they had put John Huss to death, then, about the feast of the nativity of Mary the Virgin, they brought forth Master Jerome whom they had kept so long in chains, unto the church of St. Paul;

(1) "Et tu de illis es." Luc. xxii.

and, threatening him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent unto the death of Master John Huss, that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited unto him, did make abjuration, and that in the cathedral church and open session; the draft whereof, penned for him by the papists, here ensueth.

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The forced Abjuration of Master Jerome of Prague.

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

Also I do accord and agree unto the holy church of Rome, the apostolic seat in this sacred council, and with my mouth and heart do profess in all things, and touching all things; and especially as touching the keys, sacraments, orders, and offices, and ecclesiastical censures, of pardons, relics of saints, ecclesiastical liberty; also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining to christian religion; as the church of Rome, the apostolic see, and this sacred council, do profess: and specially, that many of the said articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reproved by the holy fathers, some of them blasphemous, others erroneous; some offensive unto godly ears, and many of them temerarious and seditious. And such also were accounted the articles lately condemned by the sacred council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular catholic men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintain, any of the said articles, under pain of being accursed.

And I, the said Jerome, forsomuch as I have laboured by scholastical arts to persuade the opinion 'De universalibus realibus,' and that one substance of one common kind should signify many things subject under the same, and every one of them, as St. Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, do affirm, and likewise others; for the teaching hereof by a plain example I described as it were a certain triangular form or figure, which I called the shield of faith: therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, the which, peradventure, some men may gather thereby, I do say, affirm, and declare, that I never made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith, to that intent or purpose, that I would extol or prefer the opinion of universalities above or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the catholic faith could not be defended or maintained, when I myself would not obstinately stick thereunto. But this I said, because I had put example in the description of the triangular figure, that one Divine essence consisted in three subjects or persons in themselves distinct; that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The article of which Trinity is the chief shield of faith, and foundation of the catholic truth.

Furthermore, that it may be evident unto all men what the causes were for which I was reputed and thought to stick to, and favour sometime John Huss; I signify unto all men by these presents, that when I heard him oftentimes both in his sermons, and also in the schools, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainsay the traditions of our holy mother the church, or holy doctors; inasmuch as when I was lately in this city, and the articles which I affirmed were showed unto me, which were also condemned by the sacred council, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his; at least not in that form. But when I had further understood, by certain famous doctors and masters of divinity, that they were his articles, I required

Jerome is
made
here to
say not
his own
mind, but
what
pleaseth
them.

*Henry
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for my further information and satisfaction, to have the books of his own hand writing showed unto me, wherein it was said those articles were contained. Which books when they were showed unto me written with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine own, I found all, and every one of those articles therein written in like form as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily judge and think him and his doctrine, with his adherents, to be condemned and reproved by the sacred council, as heretical and without reason. All which the premises, with a pure mind and conscience, I do here pronounce and speak; being now fully and sufficiently informed of the aforesaid sentences and judgments given by the sacred council against the doctrines of the said John Wickliff and John Huss, and against their own persons; unto which judgment, as a devout catholic in all things, I do most humbly consent and agree.

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

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

Jerome,
after his
abjuration,
returned to
prison.

After all this they caused him to be carried again unto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before; notwithstanding kept every day with soldiers and armed men. And when, afterwards, his enemies who were appointed against him, as Michael de Causis, and wicked Paletz, with other their companions in these affairs, understood and knew by the words and talk of Master Jerome, and by other certain tokens, that he made the same abjuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to escape their hands, they, together with certain friars of Prague of the order of Carmelites, then coming in, put up new accusations against the said Master Jerome, and drew the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forasmuch as his judges, and certain cardinals, as the cardinal of Cambray, the cardinal de Ursinis, the cardinal of Aquileia, and the cardinal of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of Master Jerome, did see the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole council for his delivery.

Accused
new by
Causis
Paletz,
and the
Carme-
lites.
The car-
dinal of
Cambray,
with
certain
other car-
dinals,
labour
for his
delivery.

*See
Appendix.*

It happened on a certain day, as they were labouring in the council for the delivery of the said Master Jerome, that the Germans and Bohemians, his enemies, with all force and power resisted against it,

crying out that he should in no case be dismissed. Then started up one called doctor Naso, who said unto the cardinals: "We marvel much of you, most reverend fathers, that your reverences will make intercession for such a wicked heretic, for whose sake we in Bohemia, with the whole clergy, have suffered much trouble and mischief, and peradventure your fatherhoods shall suffer; and I greatly fear, lest you have received some rewards either of the king of Bohemia, or of these heretics."¹ When the cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves of Master Jerome's cause and matter.

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Then his enemies aforesaid obtained to have other judges appointed, as the patriarch of Constantinople, and a German doctor; forasmuch as they did know that the patriarch was a grievous enemy to Master Jerome, because he being before appointed judge by the council, had condemned John Huss to death.

The patriarch of Constantinople gives sentence of death both against Huss, and Jerome of Prague.

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

In the year of our Lord 1416, the twenty-third day of May, which was the Saturday before the ascension of our Lord, the said Master Jerome was brought unto open audience before the whole council, to the great cathedral church of Constance, where by the commissioners of the council, in behalf of his aforesaid enemies, there were laid against him anew, a hundred and seven articles, to the intent that he should not escape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him; inasmuch as the judges had before declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning until noon, he answered unto more than forty articles, most subtly objected against him; denying that he held or maintained any such articles as were either hurtful or false, and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely and slanderously, as his most cruel and mortal enemies. In the same session they had not yet proceeded unto death, because that the noon-time drew so fast on, that he could not answer unto the articles. Wherefore, for lack of time sufficient to answer unto the residue of the articles, there was another time appointed, which was the Tuesday after the aforesaid Saturday and before the ascension of our Lord; at which time again, early in the morning, he was brought unto the said cathedral church, to answer unto all the residue of the articles.

Jerome brought again before the council.

False witness against Jerome.

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In all which articles, as well those which he had answered unto on the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly; refelling his adversaries (who had no cause, but only of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselves astonished at his oration, and his refutation of their testimonies brought against him, and with shame enough were put to silence. As when one of them had demanded of him what he thought by the sacrament of the altar, he

The dexterity of Jerome in confuting his adversaries.

(1) "Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæsaris."

Henry V. answered: "Before consecration," said he, "it is bread and wine; after the consecration it is the true body and blood of Christ:" adding withal more words according to their catholic faith. Then another rising up: "Jerome," said he, "there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou shouldst hold bread to remain upon the altar." To whom he pleasantly answered, saying, "that he believed bread to be at the baker's." At which words being spoken, one of the Dominic friars furnisly took on, and said; "What! dost thou deny, that which no man doubteth of?" Whose peevish sauciness Jerome with these words did well repress: "Hold thy peace," said he, "thou monk! thou hypocrite!" And thus the monk, being nipped in the head, sat down dumb. After him started up another, who, with a loud voice, cried out: "I swear," said he "by my conscience, that to be true, that thou dost deny." To whom said Jerome again, speaking in Latin: "Heus sic jurare per conscientiam tutissima fallendi via est." That is, "Thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive." Another there was, a spiteful and a bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name than dog or ass. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter, nor in any other, they were all driven to keep silence.

See Appendix.
 False witnesses. This done, then were the witnesses called for, who coming in presence gave testimony unto the articles before produced; by reason whereof the innocent cause of Jerome was oppressed, and began in the council to be concluded. Then Jerome rising up began to speak: "Forasmuch," saith he, "as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you should also now hear me to speak for myself." Whereupon, with much difficulty, at last audience was given in the council for him to say his mind; which being granted, he, from morning to noon continuing, treated of divers and sundry matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who, first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to give him spirit, ability, and utterance, which might most tend to the profit and salvation of his own soul. And so entered he into his oration. "I know," saith he, "reverend lords! that there have been many excellent men, who have suffered much otherwise than they have deserved; being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong judgments." And so, beginning with Socrates, he declared how he was unjustly condemned by his countrymen, neither would he escape when he might; taking from us the fear of two things, which seem most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment and death. Then he inferred the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the torments of Zeno. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of Rupilius; reciting also the unworthy death of Boetius and of others, of whom Boetius himself doth write.

Audience hardly given to Jerome to speak for himself.
The oration of Jerome before the council.
Socrates.
Plato.
Anaxagoras.
Zeno.
Rupilius.
Boetius.
 From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrews, and first began with Moses, the deliverer of the people, and the lawgiver; how he was oftentimes slandered of his people as being a seducer and contemner of the people. "Joseph also," saith he, "for envy was sold by his brethren, and for false suspicion of whoredom was cast into bonds." Besides these, he reciteth Esaias, Daniel, and

Moses.

Joseph.

Esaias.
Daniel.

almost all the prophets, who, as contemners of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the judgment of Susanna, and of divers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjustly east away with wrongful sentence. At length he came to John Baptist, and so, in long process, he descended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and John Baptist were condemned. Moreover, how Stephen was slain by the college of the priests, and how all the apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and contemners of the gods, and evil doers. "It is unjust," saith he, "unjustly to be condemned one priest of another:" and yet he proved that the same hath so happened most unjustly in that council of priests. These things did he discourse at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

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1416.The prophets.
Susanna.
John Baptist.
Christ.

The apostles.

And forasmuch as all the whole sum of the cause did rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envy. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expressly he opened unto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost persuaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was given to their testimonies, save only for the cause and quarrel wherein they stood, touching the pope's doctrine. All men's minds here were moved and bending to mercy towards him; for he told them how that he of his own accord came up to the council, and, to purge himself, he did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of virtue and godliness. "This was," saith he, "the old manner of ancient and learned men and most holy elders, that in matters of faith they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to find out the verity. So did Augustine and Jerome dissent, not only being diverse; but also contrary one from the other, and yet without all suspicion of heresy."

The false witnesses of Jerome refuted.

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

At last, entering into the praise and commendation of Master John Huss, he affirmed that he was a good, just, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did suffer; whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a just and true preacher of the holy gospel; and whatsoever things Master John Huss and Wickliff had holden or written, especially against the abuse and pomp of the clergy, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and blessed men; and that in all points of the catholic faith he doth believe as the holy catholic church doth hold or believe. And finally he did conclude, that all such articles as John Wickliff and John Huss had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp, and disorder, of the prelates, he would firmly

Jerome commendeth the life, and bewails the death of John Huss.

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Jerome
repenteth
his speak-
ing
against
John
Huss.

and steadfastly, without recantation, hold and defend even unto the death. And, last of all, he added, that all the sins that ever he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that only sin, which he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when, in his recantation, he had unjustly spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine; and especially in consenting unto his wicked condemnation: concluding, that he did utterly revoke and deny that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakness of heart and fear of death; and, moreover, that whatsoever thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lied upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that ever he did it.

Huss never
maintained
any doctrine
against
the church of
Rome, but only
spoke against
their naughty
life.

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

Jerome
puts them
to silence.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by divers of them carping at his sentences as he was speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him who escaped unblancked; but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speak, and, after, began again, proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to give him leave awhile to speak, whom they hereafter should hear no more; neither yet was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults.

How long
Jerome
was in
prison.
His excel-
lent
memory.

See
Appendix.

And this was marvellous in him to behold; notwithstanding he continued in strait prison three hundred and forty days, having neither book, nor almost light to read by, yet how admirably his memory served him, declaring how all those pains of his strait handling did not so much grieve him, as he did wonder rather to see their inhumanity towards him.

Jerome
brought
again be-
fore the
council.

When he had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of John Wickliff, and John Huss, they who sat in the council whispered together, saying: "By these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself." Then was he again carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms, and feet, with great chains and fetters of iron.

The Saturday next after the Ascension-day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men unto the cathedral church before the open congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid, touching the praise and com-

mendation of Master John Wickliff, and Master John Huss, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant the same. But he, marvellous stoutly, without all fear spake against them, and, amongst other things, said unto them: "I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I do believe and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy catholic church doth hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life." Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning: and by no means could they induce or persuade him to recant.

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1416.Jerome
holdeth
all the
articles of
the catho-
lic church.His elo-
quence.

Then a certain bishop, named the bishop of Lodi, made a certain sermon exhortative against Master Jerome, persuading to his condemnation.

See
Appendix.

After the bishop had ended the said sermon, Master Jerome said again unto them; "You will condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But I, after my death, will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts: 'Et cito vos omnes, ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo et justissimo Judice post centum annos.'" That is; "And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years."

His pro-
phesy.

No pen can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and philosophically, had spoken in the said audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same; wherefore I have but only touched here the superficial matter of his talk, partly, and not wholly, noting the same. Finally, when by no means he might be persuaded to recant the premises, immediately, even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him.

The Sentence read against Jerome.

In the name of God, Amen. Christ our God and our Saviour, being the true vine, whose Father is the husbandman, taught his disciples, and all other faithful men, saying: 'If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry,' &c. The doctrine and precepts of which most excellent Doctor and Master this most sacred synod of Constance executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretics, being moved by this sacred synod, through report, public fame, and open infamation, proceeding against Jerome of Prague, master of arts, lay-man. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said Master Jerome hath holden, maintained, and taught divers articles heretical and erroneous, lately reprov'd and condemned by the holy fathers, some being very blasphemous, others offending godly ears, and many temerarious and seditious, which have been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory, John Wickliff and John Huss; which are also written in divers of their works and books. Which articles of doctrine and books of the said John Huss and John Wickliff, together with their memory, and the person of the said John Huss, were by the said sacred synod condemned of heresy. Which sentence of condemnation this Jerome afterwards, during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred synod, and approved the true catholic and apostolic faith, thereunto consenting; accursing all heresy, especially that wherof he was infamed, and con-

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fessed himself to be infamed, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wickliff maintained and taught in their works, sermons, and books; for which the said Wickliff and Huss, together with their doctrine and errors, were by the said sacred synod as heretical condemned. The condemnation of all which the premises he did openly profess and allow, and did swear that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith; and, that if he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession, written with his own hand, he delivered up unto the holy council. Many days after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and lien hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the council. Which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said, and professed, before the whole synod, being publicly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said Wickliff and Huss, and that he had most shamefully lied in approving and allowing the said sentence; neither was he ashamed to confess that he had lied: yea, he did also revoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresy in the books and treatises of the said Wickliff and Huss; albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently proved, that he did diligently study, read, and preach their books, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said Master Jerome did profess, as touching the sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ, that he doth hold and believe as the church doth hold and believe; saying also that he doth give more credit unto St. Augustine and the other doctors of the church, than unto Wickliff and Huss. It appeareth moreover by the premises, that the said Jerome is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wickliff and Huss, and of their errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred synod determineth the said Master Jerome, as a rotten and withered branch, not growing upon the vine, to be cut off and cast out. The said synod also pronounceth, declareth, and condemneth him, as a heretic and drowned in all kind of heresies, excommunicate and accursed; leaving him unto the arbitrement and judgment of the secular judge, to receive just and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offence; the sacred synod notwithstanding entreating, that the said judge would moderate his sentence of judgment without peril of death.

Jerome
left to the
secular
power.A paper
with red
devils put
upon the
head of
Jerome
by devil-
ish pa-
pists.Jerome
commit-
ted to the
secular
power.Jerome
passeth
on sing-
ing, unto
his mar-
tyrdom.He
prayeth.

Which sentence so given before his face, and ended, a great and long mitre of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red devils; which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood upon the ground amongst the prelates, he took the mitre and put it upon his head, saying: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he should suffer death for me most wretched sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake, instead of that crown, will willingly wear this mitre and cap." Afterwards he was laid hold of by the secular power.

After that, he was led out of the said church to the place of execution: when he was going out of the church, with a cheerful countenance and a loud voice, lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he began to sing; "Credo in unum Deum," as it is accustomed to be sung in the church. Afterwards, as he passed along, he did sing some canticles of the church, which being ended, in the entering out of the gate of the city, as men go unto Gottlieben, he did sing this hymn, "Felix namque." And that respond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where Master John Huss before had suffered death innocently, kneeling down before an image which was like unto the picture of Master John Huss, which was there prepared to burn Master Jerome, he made a certain devout prayer.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground, spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked; and afterwards girded him about the loins with a linen cloth, and bound him fast with cords and chains of iron, to the said image which was made fast unto the earth. And so standing upon the ground, when they began to lay the wood about him, he sung "Salve festa dies." And when the hymn was ended, he sung again, with a loud voice, "Credo in unum Deum," unto the end. That being ended, he said unto the people, in the German tongue, in effect as followeth. "Dearly beloved children! even as I have now sung, so do I believe, and none otherwise; and this creed is my whole faith, notwithstanding now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the council, and with them affirm and hold that Master John Huss was by them holily and justly condemned; for I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the gospel of Jesu Christ."

After that he was compassed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they cast all his garments upon the wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire; which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." When that was ended, and he began vehemently to burn, he said in the vulgar Bohemian tongue: "O Lord God, Father Almighty! have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences; for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth." Then his voice, by the vehemency of the fire, was choked and stopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though he had still prayed or spoken within himself.

When in a manner his whole body with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning upon his body certain great bladders as big as an egg, yet he continually very strongly and stoutly moved, and shook his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, while one might easily have gone from St. Clement's over the bridge unto our lady-church: he was of such a stout and strong nature. After he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his straw-bed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire; which ashes, after the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a cart, and cast them into the river Rhine, which ran hard by the city.

That man who was the true reporter hereof, and who testified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of Master Jerome, and sent the same unto us to Prague in writing, doth thus conclude. "All these things," said he, "I did behold, see, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him; for all those things which happened unto him when he came toward Constance, and also at his first coming unto Constance, of his own free will, and afterwards when he was brought bound unto Constance, as is aforesaid, I myself did see and perfectly behold; and, for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the same unto you, not lying or falsifying any point thereof; as He, who is the searcher of all men's hearts, can bear me

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1416.Jerome
tied to
an image
like to
John
Huss.
He sing-
eth at his
burning.
The
words of
Jerome
to the
people.
Jerome
giveth
testi-
mony of
John
Huss.The last
words of
Jerome.The
cruelty
of his
death.His ashes
cast into
the river
Rhine.The wit-
ness of
the writ-
ter.

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 A.D. 1416.
 witness; willing rather to sustain the note of ignorance and rudeness of style, to bear witness unto the truth, than I would by any means be compelled, by tickling or flattering the ears of the hearers with feigned and eloked speech, to swerve or go aside from the truth of this story."

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

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

THE LETTER OF THE FIFTY-FOUR NOBLES OF MORAVIA, WRITTEN
 UNTO THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE IN DEFENCE OF MASTER
 JOHN HUSS AND MASTER JEROME OF PRAGUE.

To the right reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ, the Lords Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ambassadors, Doctors and Masters, and to the whole Council of Constance, we the Nobles, Lords, Knights, and Esquires, of the famous Marquisdom of Moravia, wish the desire of all goodness, and the observation of the Commandments of our Lord Jesu Christ.

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

and of Hungary, the heir and successor of our kingdoms, which was also read and published in your congregations, which we will here also have enrolled), and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.

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A. D. 1416.

Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our letters patent to your reverences now present in the behalf of Master John Huss; openly professing and protesting, both with heart and mouth, that he, the said Master John Huss, was a just, good, and catholic man, and, a long season, worthily commended and allowed in our kingdom for his life and conversation. He also preached and taught us and our subjects the law of the gospel, and of the holy prophets, and the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the church, and left many monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies; continually admonishing both us and all faithful Christians to do the like; diligently exhorting all men as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travail, unto quietness and concord: so that using all the diligence that we might, we never heard or could understand, that Master John Huss had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or heresy in his sermons, or that by any manner of means he had offended us, or our subjects, either by word or deed; but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Christ,¹ exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to observe and keep the law of the gospel, and the institutions of the holy fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the church, and to the edifying of men's souls. Neither did these premises which you had so perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our kingdom and marquisdom, suffice and content you, but that also, without all mercy and piety, you have apprehended, imprisoned, and condemned, and even now, peradventure, like as you did Master John Huss, you have most cruelly murdered the worshipful man, Master Jerome of Prague; a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seven liberal arts, and a famous philosopher; not being seen, heard, examined, neither convicted, but only at the sinister and false accusations of his and our accusers and betrayers.

The cause of John Huss cleared by the testimony of the nobles of Bohemia.

Defence of Jerome of Prague.

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

These cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us and to our said kingdom and marquisdom, albeit most falsely and slanderously, how may we suffer? forasmuch as through the grace of God

(1) "All that will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution." 2 Tim. iii.

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(when in a manner all other kingdoms of the world have oftentimes wavered, making schisms and antipopes),¹ our most gracious kingdom of Bohemia, and most noble marquisdom of Moravia, since the time they did receive the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a most perfect quadrant,² have always, without reproof, stuck upon the church of Rome, and have sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges, and great travail, with what worship and due reverence, they have revered the holy mother the church and her pastors, by their princes and faithful subjects, it is more manifest than the day-light unto the whole world; and yourselves, if you will confess the truth, can witness the same also.

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

These noble-
men
offered
their
obedienc
to the
pope, no
further
than was
lawful,
honest,
and
agree-
able to
reason
and the
law of
God.
Mark
this,
and learn,
you
noble-
men.

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

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

(1) He meaneth the long schism spoken of before, where three popes were striving one against another.

(2) A quadrant, being four square, proverbially signifieth a man that is constant and immutable.

Round about the said letters there were fifty-four seals hanging, and their names subscribed, whose seals they were. The names of which noblemen I thought it good here to annex withal, partly for the more credit of that which hath been said, partly also for example's sake, to the intent that our noblemen and gentlemen in this our realm of England, now living in this clear light of the gospel, may, by their example, understand, that if they join themselves with the gospel of Jesus, zealously, and as they should do, yet are they neither the first nor the most that so have done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remain in the story to their shame, or else to their instruction, seeing so many noble and worthy gentlemen, within the small kingdom of Bohemia, to be so forward in those so dark days, and among so many enemies, two hundred years ago, to take part with Christ; and yet our gentlemen here in such long continuance of time, being so diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeal to them to be compared, but will still take part, contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these nobles, whose names they may see and read here following:

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- | | | |
|--|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Alsokabat de Wisco-
witz. | 20. N. Studenica. | 38. Joannes de Pater-
swald. |
| 2. Ulricus de Lhota. | 21. N. Brischell. | 39. Parsifal de Namy-
escz. |
| 3. Joan. de Ksimicz. | 22. N. de Cromassona. | 40. Zodoni de Zwietzick. |
| 4. Josso de Sczitowcz. | 23. Arannisc Donant de
Polonia. | 41. Raczeck Zawskalp. |
| 5. Pærdus Zwirawowicz. | 24. Joan. Donant de Po-
lonia. | 42. Jon de Tossawicz. |
| 6. Joan. de Ziwla. | 25. Joan. de Cziczow. | 43. Diwa de Spissnia. |
| 7. Joan. de Reychenberg. | 26. Wenceslaus de N. | 44. Steffko de Draczdw. |
| 8. Wildo Skitzyny. | 27. N. de N. deest sigillum. | 45. Issko de Draczdw. |
| 9. Diliko de Biela. | 28. N. N. | 46. Odich de Hlud. |
| 10. Kos de Doloylatz. | 29. Josseck de N. | 47. Wosfart de Paulo-
wicz. |
| 11. Joan. de Simusin. | 30. Henricus de N. | 48. Pirebbor de Tyreze-
nicz. |
| 12. Dobessimus de Tissa. | 31. Waczlaz de kuck. | 49. Rynard de Tyrcze-
wicz. |
| 13. Drazko de Hradeck. | 32. Henr. de Zreno-
wicz. | 50. Bohunko de Wratiss-
dow. |
| 14. Steph. de Hmodor-
kat. | 33. Baczko de Con-
vald. | 51. Ulricus de Raedraw. |
| 15. Joan. Dern de Ga-
boncex. | 34. Petr. dictus Nienick
de Zaltoroldeck. | 52. Deslaw de Nali. |
| 16. Barso dictus Hloder
de Zeinicz. | 35. Czenko de Moss-
now. | 53. Bonesb de Frabre-
nicz. |
| 17. Joan. Hmrsdorfar. | 36. N. | 54. Eybl de Roissowan. |
| 18. Psateska de Wilklek. | 37. Zibilutz de Clezam. | |
| 19. Petrus Mog. de Sczi-
towicy. | | |

After these things thus declared and discoursed, concerning the history of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the order of place and country next would require, consequently to infer and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations which happened after, and upon the death of these men, in the country of Bohemia; but the order of time calleth me back, first to other matters here of our own country, which passed in the mean time with us in England. Which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterwards return to the tractation hereof, to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beside, pertaining to

(1) This nobleman did accompany John Huss, and, with certain horsemen, conduct him to Constance.

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the latter end of the council of Constance, and to the choosing of Pope Martin, as the order of years and time shall require.

* But first¹ I will declare a certain vision, which the said John Huss had in his country of Bohemia, before his martyrdom. He, being the minister in the church of Bethlechem, had a vision by night, that he had painted, in the said church of Bethlechem, certain pictures of Christ and his apostles; which pictures the bishop of Rome, with certain cardinals, came and defaced: which being done, within a while after, it seemed unto him that other painters came in place, renewing and repairing the said pictures, which he had painted before, of Christ and his apostles, and much more fair than he had done before. The number of which painters was so great that they gloried against the pope and all the cardinals, bidding them now to come and put them out if they could: which thing, with all their power, they were not able to do.

This vision John Huss himself, in his book of epistles, expoundeth; and applieth these pictures of Christ and his apostles, unto the preaching of Christ and his apostles. Which preaching and doctrine, though the pope and his cardinals should extinguish in *him*, yet did he foresee and declare that the time should come that the same doctrine should be renewed again by other preachers, so plentifully, that the pope, with all his power, should not be able to prevail against it.

Thus much as concerning the vision of John Huss, whereunto doth well accord the prophecy of the same Huss² a little before his death, and printed on the coin, there, in Bohemia, called 'Moneta Hussiana,' having this subscription, CENTUM REVOLUTIS ANNIS DEO RESPONDEBITIS ET MIHI; ANNO 1415. That is, "One hundred years come and gone, you shall give account to God and me. Anno 1415;" for the exposition of this prophecy, if we count from this year of John Huss, which is 1415, unto the year of our Lord, 1516, in which year Martin Luther first began to write against the pope, we shall find the number of a hundred years fully complete.*

Vide supra.
Henry Chichesley archbishop of Canterbury.

See Appendix.

Ye heard before, how, after the death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Henry Chichesley, A. D. 1414, and sat twenty-nine years; in whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were burned, divers were driven to exile. Whereof, partly now to treat as we find them in registers and histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claydon, currier, of London, and Richard Turning; whom Robert Fabian doth falsely affirm to be burned in the year wherein sir Roger Acton and Master Brown suffered; who indeed suffered not before the second year of Henry Chichesley being archbishop of Canterbury, which was A. D. 1415.³ The history of which John Claydon, in the registers, is thus declared.

(1) See edition 1563, p. 250; and the Latin edition of 1559, p. 67, where the story is less fully related.—ED.

(2) See page 508, where the prophecy is attributed to Jerome.—ED.

(3) See page 404.—ED.

The History of John Claydon, Currier, and of Richard Turming, Baker.¹

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John Claydon examined

The seventeenth of August one thousand four hundred and fifteen, did personally appear John Claydon, currier of London (arrested by the mayor of the said city for the suspicion of heresy), before Henry archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's Church; which John (it being objected to him by the archbishop, that in the city of London, and other places of the province of Canterbury, he was suspected by divers godly and learned men for heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church) did openly confess, and denied not, but that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected both about the city of London, and also in the province of Canterbury, and especially of the common sort, for Lollardy and heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid: insomuch, that in the time of Master Robert Braybrook, bishop of London deceased, he was, for the space of two years, commanded to the prison of Conway for the aforesaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fleet for three years; out of which prison he (in the reign of king Henry IV.) was brought before the lord John Searle, then chancellor to the king, and there did abjure all heresy and error. And the said John Claydon, being asked of the said archbishop whether he did abjure the heresy of which he was suspected before any other, did confess, that in a convocation at London in Paul's Church before Thomas Arundel, late archbishop deceased, he did abjure all such doctrine, which they called heresy and error, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church; and that he had not only left such articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour unto them.

Claydon first imprisoned by Robert Braybrook, bishop of London.

Claydon had before abjured.

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

English books.

The judgment of the mayor of London.

Claydon had bestowed much money upon English books.

(1) Ex Regist. Cant. [See the Appendix.]

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to
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could not
read.Richard
Turning,
baker.William
Linde-
wood,
doctor of
both laws.
s r
apud h. r.

And further, being required what the said John Grime was, he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same book, he did confess, that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read by one John Fullar. And being asked, whether he thought the contents of that book to be catholic, profitable, good, and true, he answered, that many things which he had heard in the same book, were both profitable, good, and healthful to his soul; and as he said, he had great affliction to the said book, for a sermon preached at Horsleydown, that was written in the said book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abjuration, he did commune with one Richard, a baker, of the city aforesaid, he did answer, yea; for the said Richard the baker did come often unto his house to have communication with him. And being asked whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected, and defamed of heresy, he did answer again, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be a heretic.¹

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

Articles contained in an English Book, entitled, 'The Lanthorn of Light.'

I. First, Upon the text of the gospel, how the enemy did sow the tares, there is said thus: That wicked Antichrist, the pope, hath sowed among the laws of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, strength, or value.

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

III. That the bishops' license, for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast, i. e. Antichrist; and therefore simple and faithful priests may preach when they will, against the prohibition of that Antichrist, and without license.

IV. That the court of Rome is the chief head of Antichrist, and the bishops be the body; and the new sects (that is, the monks, canons and friars), brought

The head
and tail
of Anti-
christ.

(1) This Turning, belike, was then in prison.

in not by Christ, but damnably by the pope, be the venomous and pestiferous tail of Antichrist.

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V. That no reprobate is a member of the church, but only such as be elected and predestinated to salvation; ¹ seeing the church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful souls, who do, and will, keep their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

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

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

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

Two causes of persecution.

IX. That alms be given neither virtuously nor lawfully, except it be given with these four conditions: first, unless it be given to the honour of God: secondly, unless it be given of goods justly gotten: thirdly, unless it be given to such a person as the giver thereof knoweth to be in charity; and fourthly, unless it be given to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

Four conditions in giving alms.

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

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

That bread remaineth in the sacrament.

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

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

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

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

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

The books of Claydon burned.

In the name of God, amen. We, Henry, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of heretical pravity, and of relapse into the same; whereupon John Claydon, layman, of the province of Canterbury, was detected, accused and denounced, and in the said our province of Canterbury publicly defamed (as by public fame and common report notoriously to us hath been known), first, sitting in judgment-seat, and observing all things lawfully required in this behalf, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth. The name of Christ being invocated and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited, and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences, we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be, publicly and notoriously relapsed again into his former heresy, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and

The sentence and condemnation of Claydon.

(1) This is true, speaking of the invisible church.

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deserts of the said cause, being of us diligently searched, weighed, and pondered before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect others with his scab: by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Stephen, bishop of St. David's, and of other doctors, as well of divinity as of both laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce, and declare the said John Claydon to be relapsed again into his heresy which he before did abjure; finally and definitively appointing him to be left un'o the secular judgment, and so do leave him, by these presents.

Claydon committed to the secular power. The law 'de comburendo' insufficient. The death and martyrdom of Claydon.

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

Claydon, Turming, both martyrs according to Fabian.

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

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

Proclamation of Archbishop Chichesley, against the Lollards.¹

Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the chief seat; to our reverend brother in the Lord, Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of London, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately, in our last convocation in St. Paul's Church, in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our province, we do remember to have made this order under written, by your consents: 'Whereas, among many other our cares, this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those heretics, who, like foxes, lurk and hide themselves in the Lord's

(1) Ex Regist. Chichesley, fol. 217.

vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet,¹ and from the feet of our fellow-brethren; in this the said convocation of the prelates and clergy, we have ordained, that our fellow-brethren, our suffragans and archdeacons of our province of Canterbury, by themselves, their officials or commissaries in their jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their country, twice every year at the least, do diligently inquire of such persons as are suspected of heresy; and that in every such their archdeaconries, in every parish wherein it is reported that any heretics do inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest men, and best reported of, to take their oath upon the holy Evangelists, that if they shall know or understand any frequenting, either in privy conventicles, or else differing in life or manners,² from the common conversation of other catholic men, or else that hold any either heresies or errors, or else that have any suspected books in the English tongue, or that do receive any such persons suspected of heresies and errors into their houses, or that be favourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conversant with them, or else have any recourse unto them; they make certificates of those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspected, unto the said our suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, so soon and with as much speed as possibly they can; and that the said archdeacon, and every of their commissaries aforesaid, do declare the names of all such persons denounced, together with all the circumstances of them, the dioceses and places, and secretly under their seals do send over unto us the same: and that the same diocesans effectually direct forth lawful process against them, as the quality of the cause requireth; and that with all diligence they discern, define, and execute the same.

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

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

Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, Anno 1416.

THE TROUBLE OF JOHN BARTON AND ROBERT CHAPEL, FOR RELIGION.

During the time of this convocation in the year above-said, two priests were presented and brought before the bishops, noted and

Henry
V.

A.D.
1416.

Twice
every
year to
inquire
for Lol-
lards.
Against
privy con-
venticles.

Against
English
books.

(1) You should be better occupied to shake off the dust from your dusty pulpits
(2) To differ from the common sort in life and manuers, against the pope's law.

Henry
F.A. D.
1416.See
Appendix.

defamed for heretics; one named John Barton, unto whom it was objected by Philip, bishop of Lincoln, that he had been excommunicated about six or seven years before, upon articles concerning religion; and yet neither would appear, being cited, nor would seek to be reconciled again to the church. Which things being so proved against him, he was committed to the custody of the aforesaid Philip,¹ bishop of Lincoln, and so to be holden in prison, till he should hear further what should be done.

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

Chapel
injureth.

The twelfth day of the month of July next following, the said Chapel appeared again before the archbishop and the prelates. To whom when it was objected as before, how he had preached without the bishop's license in divers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne; at length, he, confessing and submitting himself, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted unto him, yet at the last the bishop of Rochester, putting in his hands the decree of the canon law,² and causing him to read the same, made him to abjure all his former articles and opinions as heretical and schismatical, never to hold the same again, according to the contents of the aforesaid canon. Whereupon the said Robert, being absolved by the authority of the archbishop (save only that he should not intermeddle with saying mass, before he had been dispensed from the pope himself, for irregularity), was enjoined by the archbishop himself for his penance, standing at Paul's, to publish these articles following unto the people, instead of his confession given him to be read.

Articles obtuded upon Chapel to confess.

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

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

III. Item, I confess, that peregrinations to the relics of saints, and to holy places, are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any catholic; but are avail-

(1) This Philip seemeth to be Philip Repington before mentioned, in the story of Wickliff.

(2) 1 q. 7 cap. 'Quoties,' &c.

able to remission of sins,¹ and approved by holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

IV. Item, I confess, that to worship the images of Christ or of any other saints, being set up in the church, or in any other place, is not forbidden; neither is it any cause inductive of idolatry, being so used as the holy fathers do will them to be worshipped;² but rather such images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they do put us in remembrance of the merits of those saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth move and stir up the people to prayers and devotion.

V. Item, I confess, that auricular confession used in the church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done by such a priest as is ordained by the church to hear the confession of the sinner, and to enjoyn him penance for the same;³ without which confession (if it may be had), there is no remission of sins to him that is in sin mortal.

VI. Item, I confess and firmly do hold, that although the priest be in mortal sin, yet may he make the body of Christ, and minister other sacraments and sacramentals; which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithful, whosoever receive them in faith and devotion of the church.⁴

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

VIII. Item, I confess, that private religions, as well of monks, canons and others, as also of the begging friars, being allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the universal church, and in no means contrary to God's law, but rather are founded and authorized thereon.

IX. Item, I promise and swear upon these holy Evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, or, by any means, teach any thing contrary unto the premises either openly or privately.

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

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

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

In like manner John Jourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the registers for his learning, accused by the priests of Lincoln for a certain book which he, contrary to the former decree of the bishops, did conceal, and did not exhibit unto them, was therefore enforced to abjure; after whom was brought likewise before the bishops, one Katharine Dertford, a spinster, who being accused and examined upon these three articles concerning the sacrament of the pope's altar, adoration of images, and pilgrimage, answered, that she was not able,

Henry
P.A. D.
1416.Private
religious
profit-
able, if ye
could tell
where-
fore.Great in-
quisition
in Eng-
land.Christ
had the
hearts of
men, they
had their
bodies.
Notice
of some
who ab-
jured.John
Dwarf.John
Jourdelay
abjureth.
See
Appendix.

(1) Mark well this catholic doctrine of the pope's church, concerning remission of sins!

(2) Mark how this doctrine joineth with God's commandment and with his word!

(3) Ergo, by this doctrine the just man liveth not by his faith, but by his confession auricular.

(4) How can these priests be servants of Christ, who be makers of Christ?

Henry V.
A.D.
1416.

being unlearned, to answer to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but only her Creed and Ten Commandments: and so was she committed to the vicar-general of the bishop of Winchester (for that she was of the same diocese), to be kept, and further to be examined of the same.¹

Robert, the parson of Heggely, examined.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said archbishop and his fellow bishops, by the lieutenant of the Tower, the parson of Heggely in Lincolnshire, named Master Robert, who, being long kept in the Tower, at length, by the king's writ, was brought and examined the same time upon the like articles: to wit, touching the sacrament of their altar, peregrination, adoration of images, and whether it was lawful for spiritual men to enjoy temporal lordships, &c. To which articles he answered (saith the register) doubly and mockingly, save only in the sacrament he seemed something more conformable; albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore, being committed to the custody and examination of Richard, bishop of Lincoln, in the end he was also induced to submit himself.

See Appendix.

William Hervey of Tenterden examined.

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

Book of the new law. Several persons troubled for their doctrine.

Besides these, divers others there were also, who, in the same convocation were convented, and revoked their opinions, as John Galle, a priest of London, for having a book in English, entituled, 'A Book of the new Law.' Item, Richard Monk, vicar of Chesham in Lincolnshire, who submitted himself likewise. In this race and number followed moreover, Bartholomew Cornmonger, Nicholas Hooper, servant to the lord Cobham, Thomas Granter, with others more, mentioned in the aforesaid register.

See Appendix.

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

A subsidy gathered by the pope to fight against the faithful of Bohemia.

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

Romish sleights to get English money.

Thus Ralph Mungin, the aforesaid examinee, appearing before the bishops in the convocation, it was articulated against him, first that he

(1) *Ex Regi-t. II. Chichesley*

should affirm and hold, that it was not lawful for any Christian to fight and make war against the heretics of Bohemia.

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

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

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

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

Recantation of Thomas Granter.

In the name of God. Before you my lord of Canterbury, and all you my lords here being present, and before you all here gathered at this time, I Thomas Granter, priest unworthy, dwelling in this city of London, feeling and understanding that afore this time I affirmed open errors and heresies, saying, believing, and affirming, within this city, that he that christian men call pope, is not very pope, nor God's vicary on earth, but I said he was Antichrist.¹ Also I said, believed, and affirmed, that after the sacramental words said by a priest in the mass, there remain material bread and wine, and are not turned into Christ's body and his blood. Also I said and affirmed, that it was not to do, in anywise, to go on pilgrimage, but it was better, I said, to abide at home, and beat the stools with their heels; for it was, I said, but tree and stone that they sought. Also I said and affirmed, that I held no Scripture, catholic, or holy, but only what is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints, I held them nought, and the miracles written of them I held untrue. Because of which errors and heresies I was before Mr. Davie Price, vicar-general of my lord of London, and since, before you my lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your council provincial, and by you fully informed, who so said, that mine affirming, believing, and teaching, had been of open errors and heresies, and contrary to the determination of the church of Rome. Wherefore I, willing to follow and sow the doctrine of holy church, and depart from all manner of

(1) Note the doctrine and opinions in those days, where the gospel took place.

Henry
V.

A. D.
1416.

Articles
objected
against
Ralph
Mungin.

See
Appendix.

Triolo-
gus. The
gospels
trans-
lated by
Wickliff.

Ralph
Mungin
condem-
ned to
perpetual
prison.

Thomas
Granter
Richard
Monk.

*Henry V.*A. D.
1416.Men tied
to the
church of
Rome.

errors and heresies, and turn with good will and heart to the one head of the church,¹ considering that holy church shutteth not nor closeth her bosom to him that will turn again, and that God willet not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be turned and live: with a pure heart I confess, detest, and despise my said errors and heresies; and the said opinions I confess, as heresies and errors to the faith of the church of Rome, and to all universally holy church repugnant. And therefore these said opinions in special, and all other errors and heresies, doctrines and opinions, against the faith of the church, and the determinations of the church of Rome, I abjure and forswear here before you all, and swear by these holy gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, nor preach error or errors, heresy, or heresies, or false doctrine against the faith of holy church, and determination of the church of Rome, nor any such thing I shall obstinately defend, nor any man holding or teaching such manner of things by me or another person, openly or privily I shall defend. I shall never after this time be receiver, fautor, counsellor, or defender of heretics, or of any person suspect of heresy, nor shall I trow to him, nor wittingly fellowship with him, nor give him counsel, favour, gifts, or comfort. And if I know any heretics, or of heresy, or of such false opinions any person suspected, or any man or woman making or holding privy conventicles, or assemblies, or any divers or singular opinions from the common doctrine of the church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellors or defenders, or any that have suspect books or quiers of such errors and heresies; I shall let you, my lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your absence, or the diocesans and ordinaries of such men, have soon and ready knowing: so help me God and hedydeme, and these holy Evangelists by me bodily touched.

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

*See
Appendix.*

After this followed in like manner the recantation of Richard Monk: also of Edmund Frith, who was, before, butler to sir John Oldecastle.

The affliction
and trouble in
Kent,
under
Chichesley.

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

Persons
persecut-
ed in
Kent.

W. White, priest,	William Everden,	William Somer,
Tho. Grenested, priest,	Stephen Robin,	Marion, his wife,
Bartho. Cornmonger,	W. Chiveling,	John Abraham,
John Wadnon,	John Tame,	Robert Munden,
Joan, his wife,	John Fowlin,	Laurence Coke.
Tho. Everden,		

These being cited up together by the bishop, would not appear. whereupon great inquisition being made for them by his officers, they were constrained to fly their houses and towns, and shift for themselves as covertly as they might. When Burbath and other officers had sent to the archbishop, that they could not be found,

(1) One **E:20**, that i. the unity of **S:6** church.

then he directed down an order that citations should be set up for them on every church door, through all towns where they did inhabit, appointing them a day and term when to appear. But notwithstanding, when they yet could not be taken, neither would appear, the archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, proceeded to the sentence of excommunication against them. What afterwards happened to them, in the register doth not appear; but, like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

*Henry
V.*

*A. D.
1417.*

THE SECOND APPREHENSION OF THE LORD COBHAM.

Concerning sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and of his first apprehension, with his whole story and life, sufficiently hath been expressed before, how he, being committed to the Tower, and condemned falsely of heresy, escaped afterwards out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the space of four years. In the mean time, a great sum of money was proclaimed by the king, to him that could take the said sir John Oldcastle, either quick or dead: *who¹ confederated with the lord Powis (who was at that time a great governor in Wales), feeding him with lordly gifts and promises, to accomplish their desire.*

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

The lord
Powis
playeth
Judas.

*² Thus, after long process, they condemned him again of heresy

(1) For these, and other words following in asterisks, see Edition 1563, p. 276.—ED.

(2) This interesting narration of the execution of the lord Cobham is from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, page 276. The particulars here recorded are briefly repeated at page 281 of that edition, with the following variation: "In this manner, he, having finished the course of his life, commending his soul unto God, and praying for the salvation of his enemies, after he had exhorted the people to the study of the pure and sincere faith and religion, he slept in the Lord, An. 1418." In the year 1544, John Bale, afterwards bishop of Ossory, published a full account of the life and martyrdom of lord Cobham, under the following title: "A breife Chronycle concerninge the Examinacyon and Death of the blessed Martyr of Christ, Sir Johan Oldcastele the Lorde Cobham." See also Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii.—The Registers of Archbishop Arundel at Lambeth.—Harleian MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 420, art. 69; and 421, art. 132, &c.—ED.

*Henry V.*A. D.
1418.

and treason, by force of the aforementioned act; ¹ he rendering thanks unto God, that he had so appointed him to suffer for his name's sake.

And, upon the day appointed, he was brought out of the tower with his arms bound behind him, having a very cheerful countenance. Then was he laid upon a hurdle, as though he had been a most heinous traitor to the crown, and so drawn forth into St. Giles's field, where they had set up a new pair of gallows. As he was comen to the place of execution, and was taken from the hurdle, he fell down devoutly upon his knees, desiring Almighty God to forgive his enemies. Then stood he up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them in most godly manner to follow the laws of God written in the Scriptures, and in any wise to beware of such teachers as they see contrary to Christ in their conversation and living; with many other special counsels. Then was he hanged up there by the middle in chains of iron, and so consumed alive in the fire, praising the name of God so long as his life lasted. In the end he commended his soul into the hands of God, and so departed hence most christianly, his body resolved into ashes. And this was done A. D. 1418, which was the fifth year of the reign of king Henry V.; the people, there present, showing great dolour. How the priests that time fared, blasphemed, and accursed, requiring the people not to pray for him, but to judge him damned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their pope, it were too long to write.

Not the
pope's
servant,
but
Christ's.

This terrible kind of death, with gallows, chains, and fire, appeareth not very precious in the eyes of men that be carnal, no more than did the death of Christ, when he was hanged up among thieves. "The righteous seemeth to die" (saith the wise man) "in the sight of them which are unwise, and their end is taken for very destruction. Ungodly foles thinketh their lives very madness, and their passage hence without all honour; but, though they suffer pain before men," saith he, "yet is their expectation full of immortality. They are accounted for the children of God, and have their portion among the saints. As gold in the furnace doth God try his elect, and as a most pleasant brent-offering receiveth he them to rest." The more hard the passage be, the more glorious shall they appear in the latter resurrection. Not that the afflictions of this life are worthy of such a glory, but that it is God's heavenly pleasure so to reward them. Never are the judgments and ways of men like unto the judgments and ways of God, but contrary, evermore, unless they be taught of him. "In the latter time," saith the Lord unto Daniel, "shall many be chosen, proved, and purified by fire; yet shall the ungodly live wickedly still, and have no understanding that is of faith." By an angel from heaven was John earnestly commanded to write that "blessed are the dead which hence departeth in the Lord." "Right dear," saith David, "in the sight of God, is the death of his true servants."

Thus resteth this valiant christian knight, sir John Oldecastle, under the altar of God, which is Jesus Christ, among that godly company, who, in the kingdom of patience, suffered great tribulation with the death of their bodies, for his faithful word and testimony, abiding there with them the fulfilling of their whole number and the full restoration

(1) "Aforenamed act." See page 353 of this Volume. "A new and cruel law, which, at that time, was made by king Henry V., against the *Nickbites*." Edition 1563, p. 281.—Ed.

of his elect. The which He grant in effect, at his time appointed, who is one God eternal! Amen.

Henry
V.A. D.
1418.Treason
falsely
surmised.

Thus have you heard the whole matter concerning the martyrdom of the good lord Cobham, as we have gathered it partly out of the collections of John Bale and others.* As touching the pretended treason of this lord Cobham, falsely ascribed unto him in his indictment, rising upon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggravated by rigour of words, rather than upon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath been discoursed before in my defence of the said lord Cobham, against Alanus Copus; where again it is to be noted, as I said before, how by this it appeareth, that the lord Cobham was never executed by force of the indictment or outlawry, because if he had, he should then have been brought to the bar in the King's Bench, and there the judges should have demanded of him, what he could have said, why he should not have died; and then not showing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the judges should have awarded and given the judgment of treason: which being not so, it is clear he was not executed upon the indictment. Besides, to prove that he was not executed upon the indictment and the outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it, because it was neither the execution of a traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the judge, as by due order of law was requisite.

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

* This¹ is not to be forgotten, which is reported by many, that he should say: that he should die here in earth after the sort and manner of Elias; which, whether it sprang of the common people without cause, or was foreshowed by himself, I think it, not without good consideration. That it sprang not without some gift of prophecy, the end of the matter doth sufficiently prove; for, like as when Elias should leave this mortal life, he was carried by a fiery chariot into immortality; even so the order of this man's death, not being much unlike, followed the figure of his departure. For he, first of all, being lifted up upon the gallows, as into a chariot, and encompassed round about with flaming fire; what other thing, I pray you, did this most holy martyr of Christ represent, than only a figure of a certain Elias, flying up into heaven, who went up into heaven by a fiery chariot.²

Such, gentle reader, are the fruits of Wickliff's doctrine. Now let

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 281.—Ed.

(2) Among the many rumours, which either the superstition of the age, or the subtlety of the lord Cobham's enemies were accustomed to circulate respecting him, was the following: "That at the time of his execution he requested sir Thomas Erpington to procure protection to the followers of Wickliff, and the maintainers of the antipapal doctrines, in case he (the lord Cobham) should rise from the dead the third day." See Walsingham's History, page 400. The reader will perceive, in this absurd charge, a distorted version of the above narration.—Ed.

*Henry V.*A. D.
1418.

the papists mark and consider what profits or fruits their papistical holiness hath brought forth unto the world. If we would measure every man's doctrine by his fruits, let us behold this man, whom, together with an infinite number of others, this most optable doctrine of Wickliff hath brought forth. For thus, as is before said, Walden, who otherwise was his most grievous enemy, reported of the said sir John Oldeastle: That he did never understand how great the poison and spot of sin was, but only by reading of Wickliff's books.¹ This I thought good to recite in this place, because of Polydore Virgil, who, in the twenty-second book of his Story of England, calleth him valiant, but a wicked man. But if Polydore had showed himself so faithful in the writing of the history, as the lord Cobham was distant from impiety and wickedness, he would never have spoken those words, and would have defiled so noble a history with fewer lies.*

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

Judas
seeketh
for his
reward.

* In D. Johan. Cobhami equitis aurati et Martyris cineres, Carmen I. F. in felicem memoriam. Anno 1418.

Stemmata, pace, toga præstans, et clarus in armis;
Miles, eques, martyr; gemma, monile, decus;
Militiæque domique potens Cobhamius Heros,
Lux patriæ, et gentis gloria digna suæ;
Pertulit infestas acies, tulit aspera multa,
Bella profana gerens, prælia sacra gerens.
Hæc mente, illa manu, parili cum laude subibat,
Parte etenim victor semper utraque stetit.
Hinc equitis debetur hono-, hinc martyris illi
Gloria, qua victor tempus in omne manet.
Victus erat. Quid tum? mens quando invieta manebat,
Pars potior, nullis cedere docta malis.
O tibi se dignas rex si, Cobhame, tulisset
Suppetias, nec te destituisset ope,
Turmis sat fueras istis turbisque Cyclopum,
Quas tua fregisset dextra labore levi.
Hoc sibi sed Christus quid si diadema reponit?
Tu meliore, quidem, tempore dignus eras.*²

Furthermore, in the said parliament,³ it was enacted, That the church and all estates should enjoy all their liberties, which were not repealed or repealable by the common law: meaning, belike, the excluding of the jurisdiction of the pope's foreign power, which hath always by the common law been excluded out of this realm.

(1) Walden, in his preface to his 7th book of Doctrine.

(2) These verses are introduced from the Latin Edition of 1559, page 97.—*Fl.*

(3) Anno 5. Hen. V., act. 17.

In the same parliament also,¹ a grievous complaint was made (by the bishops, no doubt) against insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the Lollards, heretics, and traitors, with a request that commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto answer was made, That the statutes therefore made should be executed, &c. Thus the clergy, 'Tanquam leones rugientes,' ceased not to roar after christian blood; and whosoever was else in fault, still the clergy cried, "Crucify Christ, and deliver us Barabbas:" for then all horrible facts and mischiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poor Lollards.

Henry
V.
A. D.
1117.

All the
blame
laid to the
Lollards.

Continuation of the Memorable History of the Bohemians ;

WHEREIN IS PLAINLY AND TRULY SET FORTH, WHAT VEXATIONS AND CONFLICTS THEY HAD FOR THE RELIGION OF JOHN HUSS AND JEROME OF PRAGUE, AND OF THEIR VICTORIES OBTAINED AND GOTTEN, BOTH AGAINST THE PAPISTS, AND ALSO AGAINST THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND; AND, FINALLY, THE DEATH OF THEIR VALIANT CAPTAIN, ZISCA.

And now from our English matters, to return again to the story of the Bohemians, from whence we have a little digressed, as touching such things as happened after the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

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

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

Articles decreed in the Council of Constance, against the Bohemians.

See
Appendix

I. That the king of Bohemia should be sworn to defend the liberties of the church of Rome and of the churches under his dominion against the Hussites.

II. That all masters and priests should abjure the doctrine of Wickliff and Huss, in that council condemned, and revoke if they have held or preached it.

III. That all they who, being cited, would not appear, should also abjure; and they who would not appear after process had against them for one or more years, contemning the power of the keys, should suffer condign punishment.

IV. That all such laymen as had defended the cause of John Wickliff and John Huss, should swear to defend them no more, but should approve and ratify the doings of that council in condemning both them and their articles.

V. That all such secular men as had spoiled the clergy, should be compelled to restitution, and swear to trespass no more.

(1) Anno 5. Hen. V., act 17.

Henry
V.

VI. That the priests expelled from their benefices, should be restored again, and those who had been intruded expelled and punished.

A.D.
1417.

VII. That all profane persons should be punished after the canonical sanctions, that the authority of the keys be not despised.

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

IX. That the relics and treasure taken out of the church of Prague and the other churches in Bohemia and Moravia, should be restored fully again.

X. That the university of Prague should be restored again and reformed, and that the Wiclevists, who had been the disturbers thereof, should be really punished.

The fa-
vourers of
Huss in
Bohemia.
see
Appendix.

XI. That the principal heresiarchs and doctors of that sect should be sent up to the see apostolic; namely, Johannes Jessenetz, Jacobellus de Misnia, Simon de Tysna, Simon de Rochinzano, Christianus de Prachatitz, Johannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de Loben, the provost of Allhallows, Zdislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

XII. That all secular men, who communicated under both kinds, should abjure that heresy, and swear to stop the same to their power hereafter.

XIII. That they who were ordained priests by the suffragan¹ of the archbishop of Prague, taken by the lord Zdenko de Wartenberg, should not be dispensed with, but sent up to the see apostolic.

Wickliff's
books
trans-
lated.

XIV. That the treatises of John Wickliff, translated into the Bohemian tongue by John Huss and Jacobellus, and their own, should be brought to the legate or ordinary.

XV. That the treatises of John Huss, condemned in the council, should also be brought to the legate or ordinary.

XVI. That all the treatises of Jacobellus, 'De Utraque Specie,' 'De Antichristo' (wherein he calleth the pope Antichrist), and 'De Remanentia Panis post Consecrationem,' should likewise be brought and burned.

XVII. That all songs and ballads made to the prejudice of the council and of the catholic persons of both states, or in praise of John Huss or Jerome, should be forbid to be sung in cities, towns, and villages, under the severest punishment.

XVIII. That none should preach the word without the license of the ordinary and of the parson of the place.

XIX. That ordinaries and prelates, having jurisdiction, should not be stopped in their jurisdiction by the secular power, under pain of excommunication.

XX. That all and singular persons should be commanded to obedience, under pain of excommunication; and that whosoever had favoured any Wicklevists or Hussites, or their doctrine, or that had kept company with such, and knoweth the suspected books, he should present the same to the diocesan or his officials.

XXI. That the confederacy of the seculars made between themselves or any of the spirituality to the prejudice of the foresaid council and of the apostolic see and church of Rome, in favour of John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and of the preachers of that sect, in the said council condemned, should be dissolved.

Concili-
um malign-
nantium.

XXII. That all rites and ceremonies of the christian religion, touching God's service, images, and worshipping of relics, should be observed, and transgressors of the same be punished.

XXIII. That all and singular, either spiritual or secular, that should preach, teach, hold, or maintain, the errors and heresies of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in this council condemned, and declare John Huss and Jerome to be catholic and holy persons, being convicted of the same, should be holden for heretics; and, falling in relapse, should be burned.

XXIV. That all secular persons being monished and charged by the ordinaries, should be bound to give their aid and furtherance unto them touching the premises, on pain of being treated as fautors of heresy.

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

In this mean time it happened, that during this council of Con-

(1) This suffragan ['Dominus Hermannus,' Cochl.] was a good man, and held with Huss.

stance, after the deposing of pope John, and spoiling of his goods, which came to seventy-five thousand pounds of gold and silver, as is reported in the Story of St. Alban's, pope Martin, on the day of St. Martin, was elected;¹ concerning whose election great preparation was made before of the council, so that besides the cardinals, six other bishops of every nation should enter into the conclave, who there together should be kept with thin diet, till they had founded a pope. At last, when they were together agreed upon this man, they, not tarrying for opening of the door, like madmen, for haste brast open a hole in the wall, crying out "Habemus papam Martinum," "We have a Martin pope." The emperor hearing thereof, with the like haste came apace, and, falling down, kissed the new pope's feet. Then went they all to the church together, and sang *Te Deum*.

The next day following, this Martin was made priest, who before was but a cardinal-deacon, and the next day after was consecrate bishop, and sang his first mass; whereat were present one hundred and forty mitred bishops. After this, the next morrow, the new holy pope ordained a general procession, where a certain clerk was appointed to stand with flax and hemp; who setting the flax on fire thus said, "Ecce, Pater sancte! sic transit gloria mundi." i. e. "Behold, holy Father! thus vadeth the transitory glory of this world!" Which done, that day week the holy father was brought up unto a scaffold twenty feet high, saith the story (I will not say to a high mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the world, &c.), there to be crowned for a triple king. This done, the same day after dinner the new-crowned pope was brought with great triumph through the midst of the city of Constance, where all the bishops and abbots followed with their mitres. The pope's horse² was all trapped with red scarlet down to the ground. The cardinals' horses were all in white silk; the emperor on the right side, and a prince-elect on the left (playing both the pope's footmen), went on foot, leading the pope's horse by the bridle.

As this pageant thus with the great giant proceeded, and came to the market-place, there the Jews, according to the manner, offered to him their law and ceremonies; which the pope receiving, cast behind him, saying, "Recedant vetera, nova sunt omnia." i. e. "Let old things pass, all things be made new," &c.³ This was A. D. 1417.

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

Albeit, these new threats of the new pontiff did nothing move the constant hearts of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeal of Christ's word had before inflamed. And although it had been to be wished, such bloodshed and wars not to have followed; yet to say the truth,

Henry
V.A. D.
1418Deposing
of pope
John
XXIII.
Election
of pope
Martin.
The em-
peror
kisseth
his feet.

Nov. 12th

The coro-
nation of
pope
Martin.

Nov. 21st

The pope
on horse-
back, the
emperor
on foot.See
Appendix.

(1) Ex hist. S. Alb. ex paralip. Ursperg.

(2) 'Meretrix equitans super bestiam.' Vid. Apocalyp.

(3) Why then doth the pope keep still the old Jews' ceremonies, if all things be made new?

Henry V.

A. D. 1119.

how could these Rabbins greatly blame them herein, whom their bloody tyranny had before provoked so unjustly, if now, with their glozing letters, they could not so easily appease them again?

A yearly memorial of Huss and Jerome kept among the Bohemians.

See A. J. c. dix.

Wherefore¹ these aforesaid Bohemians, partly for the love of John Huss and Jerome their countrymen, partly for the hatred of their malignant papistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemn memorial of the death of John Huss and Jerome, decreeing the same to be holden and celebrated yearly; and afterwards, by means of their friends they obtained certain churches of the king, wherein they might freely preach and minister the sacraments unto the congregation. This done, they suppressed divers monasteries, Pharisaiical temples, and idolatrous fanes; beginning, first, with the great monastery of the Black Friars, outside the town of Glattau; driving away the wicked and vicious priests and monks out of them, or compelling them unto a better order. And thus their number more and more increasing, under the conduct of the noble man Nicholas de Hussinetz, they went again unto the king, requiring to have more and ampler churches granted unto them. The king seemed at first willingly and gently to give ear to the said Nicholas entreating for the people, and commanded them to come again the next day.

Wenceslaus threateneth Nicholas.

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

Death of King Wenceslaus.

These protestants being assembled in the town of Prague, holding their conventions, the king sent forth his chamberlain with three hundred horsemen to run upon them; but he, having respect unto his life, fled. When news thereof was brought unto the king, all that were about him, being amazed, utterly detested the fact; but the king's eupbearer standing by, said, "I knew before, that these things would thus come to pass." Whom the king in a rage taking hold of, threw him down before his feet, and with a dagger would have slain him; but, being letted by such as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the king, being taken with a palsy, fell sick, and within eighteen days after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to be put to death,² incessantly calling for aid of his brother and other his friends, he departed this life before the princes, whom he had sent unto, were come with aid, when he had reigned five and fifty years, and was about the age of fifty-seven years, August 16th, A. D. 1419.

The Story of Zisca.

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, stepped forth a certain noble man named Zisca, born at Trocksnow, who, from his youth

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) See the marvellous work of God's judgment, in defending his people

(3) Out of Æneas Silvius.

upward, was brought up in the king's court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battle, where he had valiantly borne himself. This man being sore grieved for the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, minding to revenge the injuries which the council had done, greatly to the dishonour of the kingdom of Bohemia, upon their complices and adherents, gathered together a number of men of war, and subverted the monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the images and idols, driving away the priests and monks, who, he said, were kept up in their cloisters, like swine in their sties, to be fatted. After this his army being increased, having gathered together about forty thousand men, he attempted to take the castle of Wischerad, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Zisca, under the conduct of one Coranda, went speedily unto Pilsen, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the town into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those who tarried behind took the castle of Wischerad.

Henry V.
A. D.
1419.

Zisca
getteth
Pilsen.

Then the queen Sophia, being very anxious, sent letters and messengers unto the emperor Sigismund, and other nobles neighbours unto her, requiring aid and help; but the emperor was busy making preparation against the Turks, who had already taken the field. Whereupon, the queen seeing all aid so far off, together with Zenko de Wartenberg, gathered a host with the king's treasure, and fortified the castle of Prague, and the lesser city which joineth unto the castle, making gates and towers of wood upon the bridge, over the river Moldau, to stop that the protestants should have no passage that way. Then it happened that at the isle of St. Benedict one Peter Sternberg fought with them; but neither party had the advantage.

The
queen
sendeth
for Sigis-
mund.

See
Append. x.

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

During the time of this troublous estate, the ambassadors of the emperor Sigismund arrived; who, taking upon them the rule and governance of the realm, made a truce or league with the city of Prague under this condition, that the castle of Wischerad being surrendered, it should be lawful for them to send ambassadors to the emperor Sigismund to entreat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should render up Pilsen and Piesta with the other places which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign protestants departed out of the city, and the senate¹ of the city began to govern again according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the papists, who were gone out of the town, durst not return again, but still looked for the emperor, by whose presence they thought they should shortly be safe. But this their hope was frustrate by reason of certain letters which were sent from the emperor, wherein it was written, That he would shortly

The em-
peror's
ambas-
sadors
agree
with the
citizens of
Prague.

(1) The original says "consules."—Ed.

*Henry
V.*

A. D.
1420.

come and rule the kingdom, even after the same order and manner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereby the protestants understood that their sect and religion was to be utterly banished; which had not begun during the reign of the said Charles.

About Christmas the emperor Sigismund came to Brunn, a city of Moravia, and there he pardoned the citizens of Prague, under condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the city, and receive magistrates of his choosing; whereunto the whole city assented, and the nobles of the realm, lifting up their hands unto heaven, hailed the prospect of the new king's coming. But the emperor turned another way, and went unto Breslau, the capital city of Silesia, where, a little before, the commonalty of the city had slain in an insurrection the magistrates, whom his brother Wenceslaus had set in authority: the principals whereof he beheaded. The news whereof when it was reported at Prague, the citizens being feared by the example of the Breslavians, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand; and having bribed over to their part Zenko, who had the government of the castle of Prague, they sent letters into all the realm, that no man should suffer the emperor to enter, who was an enemy unto Bohemia, and sought nothing else but to destroy the kingdom; who also had mortgaged the ancient state of the Prutenians to the Teutonic order, and had alienated Brandenburg from the Bohemian crown; and had not only suffered John Huss and Jerome of Prague to be burned at the council of Constance, but also procured the same, and with all his endeavour did impugn the doctrine and faith which they followed. While these things were thus doing, Zisca, having quitted Pilsen according to the treaty, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but through his tactics came off victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown; his enemies were on horseback, and his own men on foot, neither could there be any battle fought but on foot. Whereupon, when his enemies were alighted from their horses, Zisca commanded the women who customably followed the host to cast their kerchiefs upon the ground, wherein the horsemen being entangled by their spurs, were slain before they could disentangle their feet.

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

Then, forso much as he had no walled or fenced town to inhabit, he chose out a certain place upon the same river, which was fenced by nature, about one mile from the city of Austi. This place he compassed in with walls, and commanded his men to build them houses where they had pitched their tents, and named this city Tabor, and the inhabitants, his companions, Taborites; because their city, by all like, was builded upon the top of some hill or mount. This city, albeit that it was fenced with high rocks and cliffs, yet was it compassed with a wall and vaunure,¹ and the river Lausenitz fenecth

Prague
falls from
the em-
peror.

The com-
plaint of
the city
of Prague
against
Sigis-
mund.
*See
Appendix.*

The
policy of
Zisca.

The city
of Tabor
builded.

a great part of the town; the rest is compassed in with a great brook, the which, all but running into the river Lauschnitz, is stopped by a great rock, and driven back towards the right hand all the length of the city, and at the further end it joineth with the great river. The way unto it by land is scarce thirty feet broad, for it is almost an island. In this place there was a deep ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thickness, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers and forts set in convenient and meet places. Zisca was the first that builded the castle, and those that came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device. At that time the Taborites had no horsemen amongst them, until such time as Nicholas, master of the Mint (whom the emperor had sent into Bohemia with a thousand horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Taborites), lodging all night in a village named Voticz, was surprised by Zisca coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armour, and setting fire upon the village. Then Zisca taught his soldiers to mount on horseback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to cast in a ring, so that after this he never led army without his wings of horsemen.

*Henry**V.*

A.D.

1420.

See
Appendix.

In this mean time, Sigismund the emperor, gathering together the nobles of Silesia, entered into Bohemia and went unto Kœnig-Gratz, and from thence with a great army unto Cuttenberg; and, alluring Zenko with many great and large promises to render up the castle of Prague unto him, there placed himself to annoy the town. Thus Zenko, infamed with double treason, returned home. The citizens of Prague sent for Zisca, who, speeding himself thither with the Taborites, received the city under his governance. In the Bohemians' host, there were but only two barons, Hyneck Crussina of Lichtenberg and Nicolas de Waldstein, with a few other nobles; all the residue were of the common people. They went about, first, to subdue the castle, which was by nature very strongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than by famine: whereupon all the passages were stopped, that no victuals should be carried in. But the emperor opened the passage by dint of sword, and when he had given unto those who were besieged all things necessary, having sent for aid out of the empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the city. There were in the emperor's camp his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, the dukes of Saxony, and the marquises of Misnia and Brandenburg. The city was assaulted by the space of six weeks. The emperor Sigismund was crowned in the metropolitan church in the castle, Conrad, the archbishop, solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straitly besieged. In the mean time, the barons of Rosenberg and Gratz, who had taken the tents of the Taborites, being overcome in battle by Nicholas Huss, whom Zisca had sent with part of his power for that purpose, were driven out of the tents; and Kœnig-Gratz was also taken by storm.

Sigis-
mund
getteth
the castle
of Prague.Zisca
getteth
the city of
Prague.Besieged
by Sigis-
mund.

There is above the town of Prague a high hill, which is called Viclechon. On this hill had Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possess it; with whom the marquis of Misnia skirmishing, lost a great part of his soldiers. For when the Misnians had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner which was broken and steep, and fiercely set upon, when they could no

Henry V.

A.D. 1421.

The marquis of Misnia overcame, Sigismund raiseth his siege.

longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slain, and some perished by falling headlong from the hill. Whereupon the emperor Sigismund, raising his siege, departed into Cuttenberg; and Zisca with his company departed unto Tabor, and subdued many places; among which he subverted a town pertaining to the captain of Wischerad. During this time the castle of Wischerad was strongly besieged, where, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse-flesh. At length, they promised to yield it up if the emperor did not aid them by a certain day; but under this condition, that if the emperor did come, they within the castle should be no more molested.

The emperor, fighting against Zisca, has the overthrow.

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

The abbey of Pilsen subverted.

Zisca putteth the emperor to flight.

Thither also came the emperor with his army; but when Zisca brought forth his power against him, he most cowardly fled, and not long after he departed and left Bohemia. Then Zisca went with his army unto Pilsen; but forsomuch as he saw the city so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to Commothau, a famous city, the which he took by force, burning all the priests therein. Afterward, when he lay before the town of Raby,¹ and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye; having but that one before to see withal. From thence he was carried into Prague, to physicians, where, being cured of his wound, and his life saved, yet he lost his sight; and for all that, he would not forsake his army, but still took the charge of them. A.D. 1421.

Zisca loseth his other eye, yet would not forsake his army.

Zisca taketh divers towns.

The Bohemians retire before the Saxons.

After this the garrisons of Prague went unto Beraune, where there was a great garrison of the emperor's, and took it by force, many being slain of either part. They also took the town of Teutsch-Brode, and slew the garrison; and afterward took Cuttenberg and many other cities by composition. Further, as they led their army unto a town called Pons which is inhabited by the Misnians, the Saxons meeting them by the way, because they durst not join battle they returned back. After all this, the emperor appointed the princes-electors a day, that at Bartilmew-tide they should with their army invade the west part of Bohemia, and he, with a host of Hungarians, would enter on the east part. There came unto his aid the archbishop of Mentz, the count palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and many bishops out of Almaine: others sent their aids. They encamped before the

(1) "Raby," on the river Wattawa. Ep.

town of Saatz, a strong and well-fenced place, which they could by no means subdue. The country was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued until the feast of St. Galle:¹ then it was broken up, because the emperor was not come at his day appointed. But he, having gathered together a great army of Hungarians, Austrians, and Moravians, about Christmas entered into Bohemia, and took certain towns by force; and Cuttenberg was yielded unto him. But when Zisca (although he was blind) came towards him and set upon him, he, being a-feared, and many of his nobles slain, fled: but first he burned Cuttenberg, which the Taborites, because of its silver-mines, called 'The Pouch of Antichrist.' Zisca pursuing the emperor a day's journey got great and rich spoil, and taking the town of Teutsch-Brode by force, set it on fire; the which afterward, almost by the space of fourteen years, remained disinhabited. The emperor passed by a bridge over the river Iglau; but Piso, a Florentine, who had brought fifteen thousand horsemen out of Hungary to this expedition, was marching them over the ice, when it broke under the weight, and a great number of horsemen were immersed and drowned. Zisca, having obtained this victory, would not suffer any image or idol to be in the churches, neither thought it to be borne withal, that priests should minister with copes or vestments: for the which cause he was much the more hated amongst the states of Bohemia. And the consuls of Prague, being aggrieved at the insolence of John, formerly a Premonstratensian monk, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction, into the council-house, as though they would confer with them as touching the common wealth: and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home every man to his own house, thinking the city had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their servants, being not circumspect enough, washing down the court or yard, washed out also the blood of those that were slain, through the sinks or canels; the which being once seen, the people understood what was done. By-and-by there was a great tumult; the council-house was straight-way overthrown, and eleven of the principal citizens, who were thought to be the authors thereof, were slain, and divers houses spoiled.

About the same time the castle of Purglitz, wherein the emperor had left a small garrison (whither also many papists with their wives and children were fled), was through negligence burned, and those who escaped out of the fire went unto Pilsen. After this, divers of the Bohemian captains, and the senate of Prague, sent ambassadors to Vitold, duke of Lithuania, and made him their king. This did Zisca and his adherents gainsay. This Vitold sent Sigismund Coributus with two thousand horsemen into Bohemia, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of Prague. At his coming they determined to lay siege unto a castle situated upon a hill, which was called Carlstein.

Here Sigismund had left, for a garrison, four centuries of soldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great slings threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two

*Henry V.*A. D.
1422.

The emperor with his power entereth again into Bohemia; but, afraid of Zisca, flieth.

The pouch of Antichrist.

Noble victory of Zisca.

Zisca destroyeth images and idols in churches.

The martyrdom of certain godly Bohemians, falsely circumvented, and killed with the sword.

Privy murder at length comes out.

*Henry
F.*

A.D.
1422.

Stench
very
hurtful to
the teeth.

thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcasses and other excrements, were cast in amongst those who were besieged; which thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out or were all loose. Notwithstanding, they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight until the winter, having privily received medicine out of Prague to fasten their teeth again.

Another
warlike
policy of
Zisca.

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

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

Valiant
courage
of Proco-
pius
Magnus.

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

together a great army out of Saxony, Thuringia, Misnia, and both the Lusatias, determined to rescue and aid those who were besieged. There was a great battle fought before the city, and the victory depended long uncertain; but at last it fell on the protestants' part. There were slain in that battle the burgraves of Misnia, the barons of Kirchberg and Gleichen, and many other nobles, besides nine thousand common soldiers; and the town of Aussig was taken and utterly rased.

Henry V.

A. D. 1422.

Victory of the protestants.

See Appendix.

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

Battle between the city of Prague and Zisca.

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

Noble victory of Zisca.

A Notable Oration of Zisca to his Soldiers.

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

*Henry
VI.*

*A. D.
1424.*

If it please you to suffer them of Prague to live in quietness, I will not be against it, so that there be no treason wrought. If you determine to have war, I am also ready. Look, which ever part you will incline unto, Zisca will be your aid and helper.

The hearts of the soldiers altered by the oration of Zisca.

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

Peace between Zisca and Prague.

The emperor glad to be reconciled with Zisca.

The death of Zisca.
See Appendix.

When the emperor perceived that all things came to pass according to Zisca's will and mind, and that upon him alone the whole state of Bohemia did depend, he sought privy means to reconcile and get Zisca into his favour, promising him the governance of the whole kingdom, the guiding of all his hosts and armies, and great yearly revenues, if he would proclaim him king, and cause the cities to be sworn unto him. Upon which conditions, when Zisca, for the performance of the covenants, went unto the emperor, being in his journey at the castle of Brisau, he was stricken with sickness and died, Oct. 11th, A. D. 1424.

The words of Zisca at his death.

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

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

Zisca eleven times victor in the field.

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

'ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΖΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ Βωιημὸς, τῶν αἰσχροκερδῶν ἱερέων ἐχθρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐν
θείῳ ζήλῳ.

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

Henry
V.A. D.
1418.

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

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

The Bull of Pope Martin directed forth against the Followers of John Wickliff of England, of John Huss of Bohemia, and of Jerome of Prague.

Martin, bishop, the servant of God's servants, to our reverend brethren the archbishops of Saltzburg, Gnesen, and Prague, and to the bishops of Olmutz, Lythomysl, Bamberg, Meissen, Passau, Breslau, Ratisbon, Cracow, Posen, and Neitra, and also to our beloved children the inquisitors appointed by the prelates above recited, or where else soever, unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting and apostolical benediction.

Pope
Martin's
bloody
bull to all
bishops
and arch-
bishops.

Amongst all other pastoral cares wherewith we are oppressed, this chiefly and specially doth enforce us: that heretics, with their false doctrine and errors, being utterly expelled from amongst the company of christian men, and rooted out (so far forth as God will make us able to do), the right and catholic faith may remain sound and undefiled; and that all christian people, immovable and inviolate, may stand and abide in the sincerity of the same faith, the whole veil of obscurity being removed. But lately, in divers places of the world, but especially in Bohemia, and the dukedom of Moravia, and in the straits adjoining thereunto, certain arch-heretics have risen and sprung up, not against one only, but against divers and sundry documents of the catholic faith, being land-lopers, schismatics, and seditious persons, fraught with devilish pride and wolvisk madness, deceived by the subtlety of Satan, and from one evil vanity brought to a worse; who although they rose and sprang up in divers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails, as it were, knit together; to wit, John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, of damnable memory, who drew with them no small number to miserable ruin and infidelity. For when those, and such like pestiferous persons, did, in the beginning of their poisoned doctrine,¹ obstinately sow and spread abroad perverse and false opinions, the prelates, who had the regiment and execution of the judicial power, like dumb dogs not able to bark, neither yet revenging speedily with the apostle all such disobedience, nor regarding corporally to cast out of the Lord's house (as they were enjoined by the canons) those subtle and pestilent arch-heretics, and their wolvisk fury and cruelty, with all expedition; but, suffering their false and pernicious doctrine negligently, by their over-long delays, to grow and wax strong; a great multitude of people, instead of true doctrine, received those things which they did long, falsely, perniciously, and damnably sow among them; and, giving credit unto them, fell from the right faith, and are entangled (the more the pity) in the foul errors

(1) All these be errors and heresies, for that they speak against the pride of prelates and their excessive dignities.

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of paganism:¹ insomuch, that these arch-heretics, and such as spring of them, have infected the catholic flock of Christ in divers climates of the world, and parts bordering upon the same, and have caused them to putrefy in the filthy dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the general synod of Constance was compelled, with St. Augustine, to exclaim against so great and ruinous a plague of faithful men, and of the sound and true faith itself, saying: 'What shall the sovereign medicine of the church do? with motherly love² seeking the health of her sheep, chafing as it were, amongst a company of men frantic, and having the disease of the lethargy. What! shall she desist and leave off her good purpose? No, not so. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be sharp to both these sorts, which are the grievous enemies of her womb. For the physician is sharp unto the man bestraited and raging in his frenzy; and yet he is a father to his own rude and unmannerly son, in binding the one, in beating the other, by showing therein his great love unto them both.' 'But, if they be negligent, and suffer them to perish,' saith St. Augustine, 'this mansuetude is rather to be supposed false cruelty.'

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

And, moreover, as we to our great grief do hear, not only in the kingdom of Bohemia, and the dukedom of Moravia, and in other places above recited, but also in certain parts and provinces near adjoining and bordering upon the same, there be many other of the sectaries and followers of the aforesaid arch-heretics and heretical opinions; casting behind their backs as well the fear of God, as the shame of the world, neither receiving fruit of conversion and repentance by the miserable destruction of the aforesaid John Huss and Jerome; but who, as men drowned in the dungeon of their sins,³ cease not to blaspheme the Lord God, taking his name in vain (whose minds the father of lies hath damnably blinded), and do read and study the aforesaid books or works, containing heresies and errors, being lately by the aforesaid synod condemned to be burned; who, also, to the peril of themselves and many other simple men, and against the statutes, decrees, and ordinances in the synod aforesaid, and the canonical sanctions, do presume to preach and teach the same, to the great peril of souls, and derogation of the catholic faith, and to the slander of many others besides: We, therefore, considering that error, where it is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed and liked: and having a desire to resist such evil and pernicious errors, and utterly root them out from amongst the company of faithful Christians, especially from the afore-recited places of Bohemia, Moravia, and other straits and islands joining and bordering upon the same (lest they should stretch out and enlarge their limits), we will and command your discretions, by our letters apostolical, the holy council of Constance approving and allowing the same, that you that are archbishops, bishops, and others of the clergy, and every one of you by himself, or by any other or others, being grave and fit persons to have spiritual jurisdiction, do see that all and singular persons, of what dignity, office, pre-eminence, state, or condition⁴ soever they be, and by what name soever they are known, who shall presume otherwise to teach, preach, or observe,

(1) All are pagans, with the pope, that like not his superstitious and idolatrous traditions.

(2) Great difference between a loving mother, and the frantic whore of Babylon.

(3) We fools thought their life to be madness, and their end without honour.' [Wisd. v.]

(4) 'Et os ejus sicut os leonis.'—i.e. 'And his mouth is like the mouth of a lion.' [Apoc. xiii.]

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touching the most high and excellent, the most wholesome and super-admirable sacrament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or else of the sacrament of baptism, confession of sins, penance for sins, and extreme unction; or of any other sacraments of the church, and the articles of the faith, than that which the right holy and universal church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach, and observe; or that shall presume obstinately, by any ways or means, privily or apertly, to hold, believe, and teach the articles, books, or doctrine of the aforesaid arch-heretics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being by the aforesaid synod of Constance with their authors (as is said) damned and condemned; or dare presume publicly or privily to allow or commend in any wise the death and end of the said arch-heretics, or of any other their receivers, aiders, and favourers, in the favour or supportation of the aforesaid errors, as also their believers and adherents: that then, as before, you see and cause them and every of them to be most severely punished; and that you judge and give sentence upon them as heretics, and that as arrant heretics you leave them to the secular court or power. Let the receivers, also, and favourers and defenders of such most pestiferous persons (notwithstanding they neither believe, favour, nor have devotion towards their errors, but haply shall receive or entertain such pestiferous persons because of carnal affection or friendly love,¹) besides the punishment due unto them by both laws (over and above the same punishment), by competent judges be so afflicted, and for such heinous acts of theirs, with such severe pain and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to others in like case offending, an example of terror; that at least those whom the fear of God by no means may revoke from such evil doing, yet the severity of this our discipline may force and constrain.

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

And furthermore, we will and command, that by this our authority apostolical ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the catholic faith, as emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, and other magistrates, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, shires, countries, and universities of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, their lands and other places,² and all others executing temporal jurisdiction, according to the form and exigence of the law, that they expel out of their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages and lauds, and other places, all and all manner of such heretics, according to the effect and tenor of the council of Lateran, beginning, "Sicut ait Ecclesia," &c.: that those who publicly and manifestly, by the evidence of their deeds, shall be known to be such as, like sick and scabbed sheep, infect the Lord's flock, they expel and banish, till such time as from us or you, or other ecclesiastical judges or inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy church of Rome, they shall receive other order and countermand; and that they suffer no such, within their shires and circuits, to preach or to keep either house or family, or yet to use any handicraft or occupations, or other trades of merchandise; or to solace themselves in any way, or frequent the company of christian men.

And furthermore, if such public and known heretics shall chance to die (although not so denounced by the church), yet in this so great a crime let him and them want christian burial, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance, also, from the time of his death, according to the canonical sanctions being confiscated, let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the ecclesiastical judges, having power and authority in this behalf, sentence upon that his or their crime of heresy be declared, and promulgated; and let such owners as be found suspected or noted with any such suspicion of heresy, before a competent and ecclesiastical judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspicion, and

(1) Draconis lex sanguine scripta. The pope's religion hath left all sense of humanity.

(2) 'Et vidi bestiam et reges terræ et exercitus eorum pugnantes cum illo qui sedebat in equo, et exercitu ejus.' Apoc. xiii. 'Et data est illi potestas in omnem tribum, et populum, et linguam, et gentem.' i. e. 'And power is given him over all tribes, and people, and tongues, and nations,' &c. [Apoc. xiii.]

Henry
V.A. D.
1118.

according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a judge, show and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion; as beseemeth in that behalf. And if, in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he do fail, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or refuse to take his oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation; then let him be condemned as a heretic. But such as through negligence or through slothfulness shall omit to show their said innocency, and to make such purgation, let them be excommunicated, and so long be put out from the company of christian men, till that they shall make condign satisfaction; so that if, by the space of one whole year, they shall remain in such excommunication, then let them, as heretics, be condemned.

And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the aforesaid pestiferous doctrine of the arch-heretics aforesaid, or in any article thereof, whether it be by the report of the seditious, or else well-disposed; let them yet be punished according to the canons.¹ If only, through infamy and suspicion of the aforesaid articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspected, and in his purgation canonical for this thing, being interdicted, shall fail; let him be accounted as a man convicted; and, as a convicted person, by the canons let him be punished.

And furthermore, we, invoking and putting in execution the canon of our predecessor of happy memory, pope Boniface VIII., which beginneth thus, 'Ut inquisitionis negotium,' &c., in exhorting-wise require,² and also command, all temporal potentates, lords, and judges before recited, by whatsoever dignities, offices, and names they are known, that, as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithful members and children of the church, and do rejoice in the name of Christ, so in likewise, for defence of the same faith, they will obey, intend, and give their aid and favourable help to you that are archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical men, inquisitors of all heretical pravity, and other judges and ecclesiastical persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy mother the church) for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretics, their believers, their favourers, their receivers, and their defenders, whensoever they shall be thereunto of them required.

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

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

(1) Note again the tenderness of this loving mother, the church of Rome.

(2) 'Et faciet omnes, pusillos et magnos, et divites et pauperes, et servos, accipere characterem in manu sua dextra.' i. e. 'And he shall make both little and great, rich and poor, free and bond to take his character in their hand.' See. [Apoc. XI 4.]

Satan
raisset
his
chains.

written, concerning the sect of those arch-heretics, for the better direction of the aforesaid catholic faith.

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

Henry
V.
A.D.
1418.

The old
manner
of the
popish
oath.

The Articles of John Wickliff to be inquired upon.¹

The Articles of John Huss to be inquired upon.

I. There is one only universal church, which is the university of the predestinate; and it afterward followeth, The universal church is only one; as there is one university of those that are predestinate.

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

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

IV. The two natures, that is, the divinity and the humanity, be one Christ.

V. The reprobate, although he be some time in grace, according to present justice, yet is he never a part of the holy church; and the predestinate is ever a member of the church, although some time he fall from grace 'adventitia,' but not from grace of predestination.

VI. Ever taking the church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice; after this sort, the church is an article of our belief.²

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

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

IX. The papal dignity came and grew from the emperor, and its government and institution sprang from the emperor's government.

X. No man can reasonably affirm, either of himself or others, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the bishop of Rome is the head of the church of Rome.

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

XII. None is the vicar of Christ, or of Peter, unless he follow him in manners

See
Appendix.

Speaking
of the in-
visible
church,
the article
is true.

The papal
dignity
touched.

(1) See *infra*, p. 561 note (1); also the note in the Appendix on p. 567, note (2). - *Ed.*

(2) This article seemeth to be wrested out of the words of Jerome of Prague.

Henry

V.

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1418.

and conditions; seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive of God this power procuratory. For unto the office of a vicegerent of Christ is required the conformity of manners, and the authority of the institutor.

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

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

XV. The ecclesiastical obedience is such an obedience as the priests of the church have found out, beside the express authority of the Scripture.

XVI. The immediate division of human works is, that they be either virtuous or vicious: and if a man be vicious, and doth any thing, then doth he it viciously; and if he be virtuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it virtuously. For like as vice, which is otherwise called crime or mortal sin, doth infect all the doings of a vicious man; so virtue doth quicken all the doings of a virtuous man.

XVII. A priest of God, living after his law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended. And further, If the pope, or any other prelate, doth forbid a priest, so disposed, to preach, the priest ought not to obey him.

XVIII. Every one that taketh upon him the order of priesthood, receiveth in charge the office of a preacher; and that charge ought he well to execute, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

XIX. By the censures ecclesiastical (as of excommunication, suspension, and interdict) the clergy, to their own advancement, force the lay-people to aid them; multiply avarice, screen wickedness, and prepare the way for Antichrist. And this is an evident sign that such censures proceed from Antichrist, which in their processes they call 'fulminationes' [that is, their thunderbolts], wherewith the clergy principally proceed against those that lay bare the wickedness of Antichrist; who hath mostly gotten over the clergy to be on his side.

XX. If the pope be evil, especially if he be a reprobate, then is he, with the apostle Judas, a devil, a thief, and a son of perdition; and is not the head of the holy church militant, since he is not even a member of the same.

XXI. The grace of predestination is the band wherewith the body of the church, and every member of the same, are indissolubly joined to their head, Christ.

XXII. The pope or prelate that is evil and a reprobate, is a pastor in name, but in truth a thief and a robber.

XXIII. The pope ought not to be called "most holy," even for his office-sake; for then ought a king to be called by his office "most holy;" and the hangman with other such officers also, were to be called "holy;" yea, the devil himself ought to be called "holy," forasmuch as he is God's officer.¹

XXIV. If the pope live contrary unto Christ, although he climb up by right and lawful election, according to the common custom of men; yet, notwithstanding, would he otherwise climb than by Christ; yea, though we admit that he should enter by the election principally made by God. For Judas Iscariot was rightly and lawfully elect of God, Christ Jesus, to his bishopric, and yet came he by some other way than he ought to do into the sheepfold.²

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

(1) John Huss expoundeth this article with this distinction, 'Non ratione moriti, sed ratione officii.'

(2) John Huss declareth his mind touching this article sufficiently before.

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

XXVII. There is not so much as one spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and governing the church in spiritual causes, which should always be conversant in the church militant.

XXVIII. Christ, without any such monstrous heads, by his true disciples sparsed through the whole world could better, a great deal, regulate his church.

XXIX. The apostles and faithful priests of the Lord did right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation, regulate the church before the pope's office took place; and so might they do again, if the pope's office (as is very possible) should fail, till the day of judgment.

XXX. No civil lord, prelate, or bishop, is really such, while he is in mortal sin.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Henry
V.A. D.
1418.Election
maketh
not the
successor
of Peter,
but imi-
tation.The form
and man-
ner of the
pope's in-
quisition.Heresy to
pray for
Wickliff
or Huss.Heresy
not to be-
lieve the
council of
Con-
stance.

(1) One head of the universal church, beside Christ, hath no foundation in all Scripture.

*Henry
V.*

A. D.
1418.

*See
Appendix.*

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

XI. Item, Especially let the learned be examined, whether he believe that the sentence of the holy council of Constance upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff and the thirty articles of John Huss above-written¹ be catholic, which saith that some of them are notoriously heretical, some erroneous, other some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, and some offensive to godly ears.

XII. Item, Whether he believe and affirm that in no case it is lawful for a man to swear?

XIII. Item, Whether he believe, that at the commandment of a judge, or any other, it is lawful to take an oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but purging of an infamy, or not?

XIV. Item, Whether he believe that perjury wittingly committed, upon what cause soever, whether it be for the safeguard of his own life, or of any other man's life, yea although it be in the cause and defence of the faith, be a sin or not?

XV. Item, Whether a man contemning purposely the rites of the church, and the ceremonies of exorcism, of catechism, and the consecration of the water of baptism, be in deadly sin or not?

XVI. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration of the priest in the sacrament of the altar, under the figure of bread and wine, be no material bread and wine; but in all points the same very Christ who was crucified upon the cross, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father?

XVII. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration made by the priest, under the only form of bread, and besides the form of wine, be the very flesh of Christ and his blood, his soul and his deity, and so whole Christ as he is? and in like wise, whether, under the form of wine, without the form of bread, be the very flesh of Christ and his very blood, his soul and deity, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely under every one of those kinds singularly?

Heresy to
minister
in both
kinds.

XVIII. Item, Whether he do believe, that the custom of houseling of the lay-people under the form of bread only, observed of the universal church, and allowed by the holy council of Constance, be to be used; and not, without the authority of the church, at men's pleasures, to be altered? and whether they that obstinately affirm the contrary to this, are to be punished as heretics, or not?

XIX. Item, Whether he believe that those who contemn the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, or extreme unction, or the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sin or not?

XX. Item, Whether he believe that a christian man, over and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a convenient priest, is bound to confess himself only to a priest, and not to any lay-man, be he ever so devout or good, upon the necessity of salvation?

XXI. Item, Whether he believe, that in the cases before put, a priest may absolve a sinner confessing himself and being contrite, from all sins, and enjoin him penance for the same?

XXII. Item, Whether he believe, that an evil priest, with due manner and form, and with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily dispose all other sacraments even as the church doth?

XXIII. Item, Whether he believe that St. Peter was the vicar of Christ, having power to bind and to loose upon the earth?

XXIV. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, being canonically elect (who for the time shall be), by that name expressly be the successor of Peter or not, having supreme authority in the church of God?

XXV. Item, Whether he believe that the authority or jurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop, or a bishop, in binding or loosing, be more than the authority of a simple priest or not, although he have charge of souls?

Heresy to
deny the
pope's in-
dul-
gences.

XXVI. Item, Whether he believe that the pope may, upon a just and good cause, give indulgences and remission of sins to all christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that go on pilgrimage to holy places and do good deeds?

XXVII. Item, Whether he believe, that by such grant the pilgrims that visit those churches, and give them any thing, may obtain remission of sins or not?

(1) See supra, p. 561: also see the Appendix. — Ed.

(2) See Appendix.

XXVIII. Item, Whether he believe that all bishops may grant unto their subjects, according as the holy canons do limit, such indulgences, or not?

XXIX. Item, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship images and the relics of saints, or not?

XXX. Item, Whether he believe that those religions, which the church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in by the holy fathers, or not?

XXXI. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, or any other prelate for the time being, or their vicars, may excommunicate their subject ecclesiastical or secular for disobedience or contumacy; so that such a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicated, or not?

XXXII. Item, Whether he believe, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicated, increasing, the prelates, or their vicars, in spiritual things, have power to aggravate and to re-aggravate, to put upon men the interdict, and to call for the secular arm; and that the same secular arm or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their inferiors called for?

XXXIII. Item, Whether he believe that the pope and other prelates, or else their vicars, have power in spiritual things to excommunicate priests and laymen, that are stubborn and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the church; also to suspend them?

XXXIV. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for ecclesiastical persons, without committing sin, to have any possessions and temporal goods? and whether he believe that it is not lawful for lay-men to take away the same from them by their authority; but rather that such takers away of, and encroachers upon, ecclesiastical goods, are to be punished as committers of sacrilege, yea, although such ecclesiastical persons live naughtily, that have such goods?

XXXV. Item, Whether any such taking-away from, or encroaching upon, any priest rashly or violently made, although the priest be an evil liver, be sacrilege, or not?

XXXVI. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for lay-men, of what sex soever, that is, men and women, to preach the word of God, or not?

XXXVII. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful to all priests freely to preach the word of God wheresoever, whensoever, and to whomsoever it shall please them, although they be not sent at all?

XXXVIII. Item, Whether he believe that all mortal sins, and especially such as be manifest and public, are to be corrected and to be extirpated, or not?

Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if any, by secret information, by you or any other to be received, shall be found either infamed or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous sect, heresy, and doctrine of the most pestilent men, John Wickliūf, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, the arch-heretics aforesaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the aforesaid damned men while they lived on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that believeth their errors, or any that after their death prayeth for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholic men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other ways, wherein they deserve to be suspected; that then they, by you or some of you, may be cited personally to appear before you or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oath being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speak the plain and mere verity of the articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as case and circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you or any of you shall see expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise canonically, as you shall think good.

Also that you do publish solemnly, and cause to be published these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories herein contained, in the cities and other places of your diocese, where conveniently you may, under our authority; and there to denounce, and cause to be denounced, all and singular such heretics, with their abettors and favourers of their heresies and errors; of what sex or kind soever, that do hold and defend the said errors, or do participate any manner of way with heretics, privily or apertly; of what state, dignity, or

Heresy
V.A. D.
1418.Heresy
not to
worship
images.These
popes will
be sure to
lose
nothingWealthy
wicked-
ness
maintain-
ed.

(1) The pope neither preacheth himself, nor yet will suffer other good priests to preach.

Henry
V.A. D.
1418.Papa
spirat
minas et
cædes.

condition soever he or they be, patriarch, archbishop, bishop, king, queen, duke, or of whatsoever other dignity, either ecclesiastical or secular, he be; also with their advocates and proctors whosoever, which are believers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of such heretics, or suspected to be believers, followers, fautors, defenders, or receivers of them, to be excommunicate every Sunday and festival day, in the presence of the people.

Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be inquired, by the said our authority, upon all and singular such persons, both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach such errors, or that be favourers, receivers, and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt; of what dignity, state, pre-eminence, degree, order, or condition soever. And that such as you shall find in the said your inquisition, either by their own confession, or by any other mean to be defamed, or otherwise infected with the spot of such heresy or error, you, through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and privation of their dignities, parsonages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fees which they hold of any church, monastery, and other ecclesiastical places; also of honours and secular dignities and degrees of sciences, or other faculties; as also by other pains and censures of the church, or by ways and means whatsoever else shall seem to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning their bodies, and other corporal punishments wherewith heretics are punished, or are wont and are commanded by canonical sanctions to be used; and, if they be clerks, that you by degradation, do correct and punish, and cause them to be corrected and punished, with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise up stoutly and courageously against such heretics,¹ and the goods as well of them, as of the lay-men, according to the canonical sanction made against heretics and their followers, under which we will and command them and their partakers to be subject. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premises, shall be bound to purge themselves at your arbitrement: but the others, who, either by witnesses, or by their own confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be convicted of the aforesaid heresies or articles, or of any the premises, they shall be compelled to revoke and abjure publicly and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer condign penance and punishment, yea even to perpetual imprisonment, if need be, for the same.

And, to the intent that they shall not nourish any kind of heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, or shall induce others either in word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, to believe the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety: who, if it so chance that they will not publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure their articles and errors, and take at your hands condign penance, though it be to perpetual or temporal punishment according to your discretion, neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold or nourish these errors and heresies, neither will induce others by word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour to believe the same, that then you shall proceed against them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you see it so expedient, as against heretics, and as infected with heresy, by our authority, according to the canonical sanctions summarily, and simply and plainly, 'sine strepitu et figura iudicii,' and of office (all appellation or appellations whatsoever ceasing); and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonical, yea, if need be, in leaving and committing them to the secular power; and against such as be superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesiastical excommunication, all appellation set aside: also invoking, if need shall require, aid of the secular arm. The constitution as well of our predecessor pope Boniface VIII. of blessed memory, wherein is decreed that no man shall be called to judgment out of his city or diocese except in certain cases, and even in those cases only one day's journey from the border of the diocese in which he dwelleth; and that no judges deputed from the see apostolic do presume to proceed against any person out of the city and diocese, wherein they are deputed to act; or do presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one day's journey from out his diocese where he dwelleth; as also the constitution passed at the general Council of Lateran 1215, limiting two days' journey at most; as also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, touching as well judges delegate,

Pope
Martin V.
contrary
to pope
Boniface
VIII.

(1) See here the dragon casting out whole floods to swallow up the saints.

as persons not to be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or else any other edict, indulgence, privilege, or exemption, general or special, to the contrary hereof granted from the apostolic see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compass of certain limits; or else whatsoever thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your jurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any means—notwithstanding.¹

Given at Constance, February 22nd, the first year of our popedom. [A. D. 1418.]¹

This bloody and abominable commission of pope Martin, which I have copied out of a certain old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hackluyt, student in the Temple², seemeth to be directed and given out for the public destruction of all faithful christian men, about the latter end and breaking up of the council of Constance, A. D. 1418; by which the prudent reader hath this to note and consider: what labour, what policy, what counsel, and what laws have been set, what ways have been taken, what severity hath been showed, how men's power, wit, and the authority of the whole world, have conspired together from time to time, continually, by all manner of means, to subvert and supplant the word and way of the Lord; and yet, notwithstanding, man hath not prevailed, but all his force and devised policies have been overthrown, dispatched, and, with the counsel of Ahithophel and Haman, have been brought to nought; and, contrary to the fury of the world, the gospel of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this will the pope cease to spurn and rebel still against the kingdom of Christ and his gospel, against which neither he, nor yet the gates of hell, shall ever prevail. The Lord of hosts be merciful to his poor persecuted flock! Amen.

Against this pestilent bull and inquisition of pope Martin, the great Antichrist, I thought good here to adjoin and annex another contrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Conrad, and other captains of the Bohemians; which seemeth, not long after the death of Zisca, to be written against the pestiferous see of Rome; the tenor whereof here followeth.

A Fruitful and Christian Exhortation of the Bohemians, to Kings and Princes, to stir them up to the zeal of the Gospel.

May the Almighty God the Father, by his well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, by his Holy Spirit, open the understanding both of you and of all Christians, and enlighten your hearts with the light of his doctrine of righteousness, and make you to continue therein surely established to the end! This we desire of you for your salvation, all ye honourable, wise, and honest noble men; and all the commonalty, yea rich and poor, hear and consider with diligent heed the words of this present letter, which is sent unto you from the country of the Bohemians.

It is manifest and well known to you and many other cities, kings, princes, and lords, that now a certain number of years there hath been great discord betwixt us and you; and there have been some who have moved you by letters, and provoked you to make war against us, and to destroy us. And, as well on your part as on ours, many men, as well noble as unnoble, have foolishly lost their lives. Yet never hitherto have ye in any part understood our faith by our own confession, neither whether we be able to prove the same out of the Scriptures, yea or no; and yet, in the mean time, kings, princes, lords, and cities, have sustained great damage. And hereof we greatly marvel that you do so much trust and believe the pope and his priests, who give you drink full of poison, and such comfort as no man can understand, in that they say that they will

Henry VI.

A. D. 1430.

Pope Martin undoeth the acts and edicts of all other popes.

Note how Anti-christ rageth and riseth against Christ

Man's power and counsel too weak against Christ.

The pope and prelates, by their letters, stirred them to fight.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.—Ed.

Henry
VI.A. D.
1430.The pope
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the world
with vain
promises
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which he
cannot
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pope rich
in promis-
ing, and
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ferences of
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Huss and
Jerome,
by wrong-
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lence, put
to death.A just
and godly
request of
the Bohe-
mians.

give you forgiveness of all your sins,¹ and great grace and pardon, to this end, that you should war upon us and destroy us: whereas their graces and pardons are none other than great lies, and a great seducing of the body and soul of all them that believe them, and put their trust in them. This we would prove unto them, and overcome them by the holy Scripture; and we would suffer, that whosoever is desirous to hear, the same should hear it. For the pope and all his priests herein deal with you, as the devil would have done with our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom Luke writeth [chap. iv.], That he brought him upon a high hill, and showed unto him, in the twinkling of an eye, all the kingdoms that are in the compass of the earth, and said unto him, 'I will give thee,' &c. So the devil deceiveth the pope and all the priests, with the riches of the world, and worldly power; and they think they can give grace and pardon when they will; and they themselves shall never find favour before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, because of their great deceiving of Christendom. And how can they give that to others, which they themselves have not? So did the devil, who was rich in promising, and poor in giving. And like as the devil is not ashamed to tell a lie, so all they are not ashamed to speak that which shall never be found true, nor be proved by the holy Scriptures; because for no cause they stir up kings, princes, lords, and cities, to make war against us, not to the end that the christian faith should thereby be defended, but because they fear that their secret vices and heresies shall be disclosed and made manifest. For if they had a true cause, and a godly love to the christian faith, they would then take the books of the holy Scripture, and would come unto us, and overcome us with the weapons of God's word: and that is our chief desire. For so did the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to the Pagans and Jews, and brought them from their infelicity to the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; and this they did in the spirit of meekness, as the apostle Paul writeth in Galatians vi. 'Brethren, if any man be grieved,' &c. So ought they also to do, if they perceived that they were just and unjust. And if we would not abide instruction, then they might take to them kings, princes, lords, and imperial cities, and resist us according to the commandments of the holy Scripture. But this is the subtle defence of all the bishops and priests, that they say that Master Huss and Jerome, who were burnt at Constance, were overcome by the holy father the pope, and by the whole council. For ye must understand that they were not overcome by the Holy Ghost, but unjustly, with wrongful violence, which God may yet hereafter grievously punish in all them that gave their counsel and aid thereto. And they say, it ought not to be suffered, that we should be heard in confessing our faith.² How may that be proved by the holy Scripture, since Christ heard the devil, as it is written in Matt. iv.?³ and they are not better than Christ, nor we worse than the devil. If they be just and have the truth with them (as they say they have), and we be unrighteous, why do they fear, since the truth ought not be afraid of falsehood, as Esdras writeth in his second book, chap. iii. Zerubabel declared that truth is of all things the most mighty, and overcome all things. For Christ is the truth [John xiv.], 'I am the way, the truth,' &c.; and the devil is the father of lies, [John viii.]; 'He is a liar from the beginning, and never abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him.' Therefore, if the pope and his priests have the truth, let them overcome us with the word of God. But if they have lies, then they cannot long abide in all their presumption. Wherefore, we exhort and beseech all the imperial cities, all kings, princes, noble men, rich and poor, for God's sake and for his righteousness, that one of them write hereof to another, and that there may be some means made, how we may commune with you safely and friendly, at some such place as shall be fit both for you and us; and bring with you your bishops and teachers, and let them and our teachers fight together with the word of God, and let us hear them, and let not the one overcome the other by violence or false subtlety, but only by the word of God. And if your bishops and teachers have better proofs of their faith out of the holy Scripture, than we, and our faith be found untrue, we will receive penance and satisfaction, according to the gospel; but if your bishops and teachers be overcome of ours by the holy Scripture, then do ye repent and hearken to us, and hold with us. And if your bishops and teachers

(1) Fair words do make fools vain

(2) Christ heard the devil, but the pope will not hear men confess their faith

will cease from their spiritual pride, and repent and make satisfaction, then we will help you according to our power, and will compel them, either to join with us, or else we will expel them out of Christendom. And if your bishops and teachers will say, that it is not lawful for laymen to hear such reasoning, or to be present at it; that may you understand to tend to no other end, but that they fear they should be overcome and put to shame in the sight of you. For, if they knew that they should overcome therein, out of doubt they would desire that every man should hear it; and thereby their glory should become the greater, and their fame and praises should be increased upon the earth. And if your bishops and teachers counsel you to come to no hearing with us, then do it, whether they will or no; and suffer not yourselves, at any time, to be so foolishly seduced with their foolish pardons, but tarry at home in your houses with your wives and children. And let the pope of Rome come to us with all his cardinals and bishops, and with all his priests, with his own person and power, to war with us, and let themselves deserve the absolution of sins, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they have great need of forgiveness of sins, grace and pardon), and, by the grace of God, we will give them pardon enough as they shall need. But their subtle excuse is this; they say, that it belongeth not to priests to fight with bodily weapons: and true it is, that belongeth not to them; but it belongeth as little to them to stir up, to counsel, and to fortify others thereto. For Paul saith in Romans i., and Galatians v., that all that do such things are worthy of everlasting death.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing than to fight against us, then will we take the Lord to our help, and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the excommunication or curse of the pope, or his cardinals, or of the bishops; because we know that the pope is not God, as he maketh himself, that he can curse and excommunicate when he will, or bless when he will; who hath now these many years cursed and excommunicated us, and yet, notwithstanding, God and his gracious blessing have been our help. But, peradventure, ye will say, that though we see that bishops and priests be evil and wicked, yet we cannot lack them; for who should baptize our children, who should hear confessions, and minister the holy sacraments? and then also we should be within the excommunication of the pope, and of his bishops. Well-beloved! ye need to take no care for these matters. The excommunicating of the pope hurteth you nothing. Fear ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will provide for those things well enough. If ye would banish evil bishops and priests, ye should have good priests who should baptize your children, hear confessions, and minister the holy mysteries; because when the devil is banished, then place is made for the Holy Ghost: so when ill bishops and priests shall be banished, then place shall be made for good priests and bishops. Also, your hisheps and priests say, that we are miscreants and heretics, and that we believe not on purgatory, nor upon the Virgin Mary, nor upon the saints; wherein they say ill, for we will prove, by the holy Scripture, that we know better, by God's grace, how we ought to believe upon purgatory, and upon Mary, the mother of our Lord, and upon his well-beloved saints, than they can tell us. Also they say, that we will not be obedient unto the pope. Truly, when he shall become holy and just, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to him in all things, and not before. They say, also, that we destroy God's holy service, in that we destroy monasteries, banishing thence the wicked monks and nuns. Truly we did it, thinking once that they were holy, that they did the reverend service of God; but after that we well perceived and considered their life and works, then we perceived that they were false lowly hypocrites, and wicked builders on high, and sellers of pardons and masses for the dead, and such as devoured in themselves the sins of the people. And whereas they said that they rise at midnight when other men sleep, and pray for the sins of the people—forasmuch as their selling of their prayers and masses for the dead for gifts, is no better than hypocrisy and heresy; therefore, if we do speak against them and destroy their monasteries, we do not therein destroy the service of God, but rather the service of the devil, and the schools of heretics: and if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently destroy them as we do. For Christ our Lord did not ordain any such order, and therefore it must needs come to pass that shortly it shall be destroyed; as our Lord saith in the Gospel

Henry VI.

A. D. 1430.

Wherefore the pope's clergy will abide no conference with the laity.

The pope's pretended excuse detected.

Experience of God's blessing, where the pope hath cursed.

Objection.

Answer

The pope's false accusation answered.

Henry
I I.A. D.
1430.Abuse
of popish
religion
in mak-
log
priests,
cardinals,
&c.Abuse of
popish
religion
in taking
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excom-
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cation
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church
poisoned
with buy-
ing and
selling
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and sing-
ing, and
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doing for
money.The sub-
tlety of
the devil
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church
rich.

of St. Matthew [chap. xv.], 'Every plant which my Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.' We desire you also, that ye would diligently consider the articles here written, wherein your bishops and priests are guilty.

The first article is, That when your bishops will ordain priests, they do it not except he that is to be made priest have sufficient living, either of inheritance left him by his parents, or of benefices: whereas notwithstanding, Christ would that priests should be poor, forasmuch as it is enough for the scholar to be as his Master is, and for the servant to be as his Lord is; and the bishops will that they should be rich upon earth, which is unjust before the Lord.

The second article is, 'That bishops take money of such as are to be ordained; but St. Peter did therefore sharply rebuke Simon Magus, when he would have given him money, as it is written in Acts viii.

The third article is, That they that come to be priests, enter into priesthood, not for God's service-sake, because they mean to preach and increase it among the christian people, so as the people may be edified and made better, but rather for an idle life, and that they may eat well and drink well, that they may be honoured and revered upon earth. For every one waiteth upon his priest as a thief and a robber, as John writeth, chap. x.

The fourth article is, Of excommunication, which the pope and all his priests take to themselves, and therewith fetter and bind all christian people as they will; and they think that whosoever they excommunicate or curse, he is accursed and excommunicated before God. And we will prove by the holy Scripture, that they themselves are excommunicated and accursed before God, because they keep not the commandment of the love of God, whereof the apostle writeth in 1 Cor. xvi., 'If any man loveth not our Lord Jesus Christ, he is excommunicated in the day of the coming of the Lord.' For they cannot excommunicate you, who are already bound and excommunicate before God and his saints; and, therefore, why fear ye their excommunication?

The fifth article is, That they take gifts to pray for the dead, and to say mass for their souls. This is a wickedness and heresy before the Lord, and all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedly, for that hereby priests become merchants of prayers and of masses; and herewith is all the church of Rome poisoned and denied. For if they would pray for the dead, and say mass for their souls, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, forasmuch as they ought to take no gifts, neither little nor great. And every one that taketh rewards to this end, to redeem souls out of purgatory, doth therewithal cast his own soul down into hell; and they that give any thing to that end, do altogether lose that which they give. And with such devilish subtlety the pope with all his priests have deceived, spoiled, and disherited kings, princes, lords, and knights, and good householders, and many others, of their lawful inheritances; because their ancestors and progenitors gave them to colleges, monasteries and churches, that they might make memorials of them, and sing or say prayers or masses for their souls, that they might be redeemed out of purgatory.¹ And, with such goods, bishops, canons, and monasteries have made themselves so rich, that now they fall at variance with cities and princes:² and whereas they should procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the first that begin war; and as long as they have such goods, they will never cease to be at strife with lords and cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth. For they do as a dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it, so long he holdeth his peace, and cannot bark; even so, as long as they have this bone of pleasant riches, it will never be well in the world. Wherefore, all kings, princes, and imperial cities would do a great work of godliness and mercy, if by them they were compelled to do this, as the dog is, when the bone is taken from him.

And, therefore, ye noble men, kings, princes, lords, imperial cities, and all the commonalty, both rich and poor, if ye have been asleep, yet now awake and open your eyes, and behold the subtlety of the devil, how he hath blinded the church of Rome, and take again that which is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memorial for your souls, then do as the wise man saith [Eccles. xix.], 'Lay up alms,' &c.

(1) Fear of purgatory hath robbed almost all the whole world.

(2) So long as priests be rich, they will never be true teachers.

The sixth article is, That they are full of pride and of high mind; which is manifestly known by their long, costly, and superfluous garments, wherein they walk very unlike to Christ our Lord, who had a garment without a seam, and to the well-beloved John Baptist, who had a garment of camels' hair; and they will be honoured and worshipped; and they preach and say that priesthood ought to be honoured (and so it ought indeed to be); but there are none that do so much slander and abase it, as they themselves, with their evil works and gay apparel, and with their evil words, wherein they pass all other men. St. Paul saith [1 Tim. iii.], 'Let the elders that govern well, be honoured with double honour; chiefly, they that labour in the word and doctrine of the Lord.' Consider what he saith, 'They that govern well.'

Henry
VI.

A. D.
1430.

Popish
priests,
with
their long
and
sumptuous
gowns,
more like
to the
Pharisees
than
Christ.

†
The
popes
church
poisoned
with
covetous-
ness
and
whoredom.
The
popes
church
and
monasteries
poisoned
with
devilish
envy.

The seventh article is, That they are covetous, from the highest to the lowest and for covetousness they preach many foolish deeds and manifest lies, and sell the holy sacraments, which is a great heresy; for God commanded that they should give freely. St. Paul writeth [1 Tim. i.], 'Covetousness is the root of all mischief, whereunto many have been given; and, therefore, they are separated from the faith, and have denied the truth.'

The eighth article is, That they commonly are called 'Notorious whoremongers.' This is manifestly seen in their concubines and children, who walk openly in all men's sight, and make many men's wives adulterous, or corrupt their daughters being virgins, and make them priests' harlots, and ribalds.

The ninth article is, That they are full of devilish envy; and especially in all monasteries they have great envy and hatred amongst themselves, because when any thing is given or disposed to one monastery or college, then there are others that hate it, and envy at it, and would more gladly have it themselves: like as among dogs, when any thing is given to the one and not to the other, which the other seeing, envieth his fellow, and the other likewise will rather devour all himself, than give any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sin of envy, by giving nothing unto them; and it were better that their possessions were taken from them, and that they should do that which the Lord spake to his disciples, saying, 'Go ye and preach the gospel to all men.'

The tenth article is, That they are idle, and chiefly the bishops, canons, and other prelates, who will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of Christendom, whereto they have bound themselves; and they eat the bread thereof in idleness, because when other men watch and labour to maintain themselves and their little ones, then are they with their lemans; or else they walk in some city, carrying hawks on their fists; or else they sit at their good wine with their concubines, and there they sing and play the Lucians, and eat of the best: and therefore all that willingly bring and give to them, shall be made partners of that curse which is given them of God, because they eat their bread unjustly, whereof St. Paul writeth [2 Thess. iii.], 'He that laboreth not, let him not eat.'

The
popes
church
poisoned
with
idleness
and
belly-
cheer.

The eleventh article, That they are notorious liars; because, to the end that they may please men, they tell many tales and lies, which have no foundation nor proof in the holy Scripture. Of such writeth John in the Apocal. xxi.

Infamous
for
notorious
lies.

The twelfth article is, That they do not rightly give or minister to the people the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they give it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great and devilish sin, and too great malapertness. Herein we would overcome them, with the testimonies of the evangelists; I say, we would overcome the pope, and all his priests, with the authorities of Mark, Luke, and Paul [Rom. xiii.], and we would suffer that kings, princes, lords, and all that are willing to hear, should hear it.

Erreth
in
diminishing
one
part
of
the
sacrament.

The thirteenth article is, That they sit in spiritual judgment, and then, many times, they judge according to favour, and not according to the righteousness of God; that they take bribes, giving sentence for him, who, in God's sight, hath the wrongful cause. Woe be to such sentencers, as it is written in Isaiah v., 'Woe be to you that,' &c.

The
popes
church
charg'd
with
partiality.

The fourteenth article is, That they sit hearing confessions, and when there come to them usurers, raveners, and thieves, they take bribes of them of their ill-gotten goods, to spare them; and they willingly suffer them in cities and towns. And likewise of adulterers and other notorious whoremongers and whores: and they neither let nor stay them in their great sins; to the end that

Henry
VI.

the Scripture may be fulfilled in them, which saith, 'Gifts and the love of money do draw to hell, and do blind the eyes of judges.'

A. D.
1424.

The fifteenth article is, That they receive tithes of men, and will of right have them,¹ and preach and say that men are bound to give them tithes. And therein they say falsely; for they cannot prove by the New Testament, that our Lord Jesus Christ commanded it, and his disciples warned no man to do so, neither did themselves receive them. But although in the Old Testament it were commanded to give tithes, yet it cannot thereby be proved, that christian men are bound thereto; for this precept of the Old Testament had an end in the first year of our Lord Jesus Christ, like as the precept of circumcision. Wherefore, beloved! consider and see how your bishops seduce you and shut your eyes with things that have no proof. Christ saith [Luke xi.], 'Give alms of those things that remain;' but he said not, Give the tenth of the goods which ye possess, but give alms. But when they hear the word, they may say as the lawyer said to Christ, 'Master, when thou sayest so, thou givest offence,' [Ib.]

The
popes
church
charged
with
usury.

The sixteenth article is, That they, in many places, lend money or goods to have treasure or usury, and have in cities and towns yearly payments and perpetual revenues, as great princes and lords; wherein they do against the gospel, which saith, 'Do not ye possess gold nor silver.' And whereas they lend for gain and usury, against that speaketh the Lord [Deut. xxiv.], 'Lend not on usury to thy brother,' &c. Yea, honest, discreet, and well-beloved lords! all the aforesaid articles we will prove against the pope and all his priests, with many testimonies of the holy Scripture, which, for brevity's sake, we have not here mentioned. But note ye chiefly these four articles, for which we strive, and desire to defend them to the death.

The first article is, That all public and customable mortal sins ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all priests and laymen, according to the commandment of the holy Scripture.

The second article is, That riches² ought to be taken from the pope and all his priests, from the highest to the lowest; and they ought to be made poor, as the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ were, who had nothing of their own, neither possessions in this world, neither worldly power.

Men appointed, may preach, though the pope forbid them. When the pope holdeth his council, let men look to their wives and daughters.

The third article is, That the word of God ought to be free for every man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and read in all places whither they shall come, without resistance of any man, and without any inhibition of either spiritual or earthly power, openly or manifestly.

The fourth article is, That the body of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be delivered to every Christian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy evangelists have written. We have also understood that there shall be a council in Basil; wherefore let no man be exalted, but let them diligently keep their wives, their daughters, and their virgins, from bishops, priests, and monks. And do not think that there is made any holy assembly of bishops and priests for the common commodity and profit of Christendom; but only to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies with the cloak of hypocrisy, and let and hinder the righteousness of God, which is much contrary to them. And for this cause, consider ye diligently, that they will not make a holy assembly, but the congregation of Satan. And take ye heed that it be not done as some did at Constance, who took money of bishops and prelates, and suffered them to sleep with their wives. Ye well-beloved and honest lords! if ye find any thing in these aforesaid articles or words written somewhat sharply, we did it not to offend or contain you, but to the end that ye should diligently consider and devise, how Christendom is so ill kept and led by the priests of this present age. Our Lord Jesus Christ keep you both in body and soul, Amen. In the year of our Lord 1430.³

Procopius, Smahors, Conrad, Samssmolich; captains of Bohemia.

See
Appendix.

Now to prosecute the wars of the Bohemians again. After Zisca was dead, A. D. 1424, whereof we did intreat before, there was great

(1) He meaneth of claiming tithes by mere necessity of the old law, and not by the positive law of princes. (2) He meaneth the immoderate riches, and temporal possessions.

(3) Ex vetustissimo codice manuscripto.

fear, sorrow, and lamentation in their army, the soldiers accusing fortune which gave over such an invincible captain to be overcome with death. Immediately there was division in the host, the one part choosing Procopius Magnus to be their captain, the other part saying that there was none could be found worthy to succeed Zisca: whereupon they, choosing out certain to serve the wars, named themselves 'Orphans.'

Henry VI.

A. D. 1428.

The army of Zisca divided.

Thus the Taborites, being divided into two armies, the one part retained their old and accustomed name, and the other, because of the death of their captain, named themselves 'Orphans.' And albeit that oftentimes there was dissension between them, yet whensoever any foreign power came towards them, they joined their powers together in one camp, and defended themselves. They seldom went unto any fenced towns, except it were to buy necessaries, but lived with their wives and children in their camp and tents. They had amongst them many cars, the which they used as a fortification; for whensoever they went unto battle, they made two wings of them, placing the footmen in the centre, and wings of horsemen on the outside. When they saw their time to begin the fight, those who drove the cars in the two wings making direct for the emperor's standard closed in continually towards each other, compassing thereby such part of the enemy as they chose: who, being enclosed so that they could not be rescued, were slain, partly by the swords of the footmen, partly by the darts of men and women in the cars. The horsemen fought outside the fortification; and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by-and-by the cars received them through the openings as it were into a fenced city: and by this means they got many victories, forso much as their enemies were ignorant of these tactics.

See Appendix.

The order and policy that the army of Zisca used in war after his decease.

These two armies went forth, the one into Silesia, and the other into Moravia, and returned again with great prey, before their enemies knew of their coming. After this they besieged the town of Swietla in Austria, where the Taborites and the Orphans during two nights and a day assaulted the walls without ceasing. But Albert, duke of Austria, coming with his host to aid the citizens, they fought by the space of almost four hours, the valiantest warriors being slain on both parts. At the length the battle was broken off, and the Taborites lost their cars, and Albert was fain to strike his tents and retire. Within a while after, Procopius Magnus came again and enclosed the city of Retz in Austria with a notable siege. They of Prague were in his army, and Bohuslaus de Swanberg, of whom we spake before,¹ was slain there with a dart, and the city of Retz was taken by force, sacked, and burnt. The burgrave of Magdeburg, lord of the town, was also taken and carried unto Prague, where also he died in prison.

[Dec. 10th, A. D. 1427.]

These things thus done, the emperor sent for the nobles of Bohemia, who went unto him unto a town of Hungary, called Presberg, in the borders of Austria, upon the banks of the river Danube; but they would not enter into the town, but remained without the town in their tents; whither the emperor going out unto them, communed much with them as touching his right and title and the recovering of his father's kingdom, promising if there were any cause

Sigismund, who burned Huss and Jerome before, now is fain to treat for his kingdom.

(1) See before, p. 552.—Ed.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1430.

The death of John Huss and Jerome dwelt upon.

A cardinal sent into Germany, to raise war against the Bohemians.

See Appendix.

God rescueth his people newly converted.

The pope's army fieth.

Like captain, like soldier.

The pope raiseth war the second time against the Bohemians.

which did alienate the Bohemians' minds from him, that he would take away all the occasion thereof. They made answer, that he had made war upon them without cause, and that he had suffered their countrymen, contrary to his promise, to be burnt at Constance not being heard, and the kingdom to be contumeliously interdicted, and the nobles of Bohemia to be condemned by the church of Rome as heretics; and that he should think the force and power of the Bohemians not to be so small, but that they would provide for their own honour. Whereunto the emperor answered very gently, and offered them a general council, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they would submit themselves to the judgment of the universal church: but the Bohemians, who were now become valiant victors in arms, would not now be overcome with words; and so, nothing being finally concluded, the emperor returned home.

Then pope Martin, perceiving the gospel to increase daily more and more, sent the cardinal of Winchester, an Englishman, born of a noble house, into Germany, to move them unto war against the Bohemians; whereunto the emperor also did assist him.

There were three armies provided. In the first army were the dukes of Saxony, and the Hanseatic towns.

The second army, which was gathered of the Franconians, was under the conduct of the marquis of Brandenburg.

The third army was led by Otho, archbishop of Treves, whom the Rhenates, the Bavarians, and the imperial cities of Suabia followed. These armies entering into Bohemia in three several parts, after they were passed the wood they joined together and pitched before Meiss. This town a certain learned and eloquent protestant, named Prichicho, the night before had won from the papists; wherefore the army was determined first to recover that city before they would go any further. But when news came unto the host, how the protestants had gathered an army, and were coming with all speed towards them; they fled before they saw their enemies, and went unto Tachau, leaving behind them their warlike engines, with a great prey. The cardinal was not yet come into the camp, but meeting them in their flight at Tachau, he marvelled at the cowardly flight of so many noble and valiant men, desiring them that they would turn again unto their enemies, who, he said, were far weaker than they. Which thing when he had long travailed about in vain, he was fain to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarcely entered the wood, when the Bohemians, coming upon them, set upon their rearward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearful than before, neither did they leave flying, before the Bohemians left following. These, all impediment or let being taken away, soon vanquished Tachau; then, having obtained great store of warlike engines, they ravaged Misnia. And when they would have returned home by Franconia, they had great sums of money sent unto them, that they should not waste or destroy the countries of Bamberg and Nuremberg; whereby the host of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

Sigismund the emperor, having news of these things, went straight unto Nuremberg, and gathered there new aid and help. Also pope Martin sent Julian, the cardinal of St. Angelo, into Germany with

commission to make war against the Bohemians, and that he should, in the council of Basil, which doth now shortly draw on,¹ be president in the pope's name. He, entering into Germany, went straight to Nuremberg to the emperor, where many of the nobles of Germany were assembled.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1431.

There was a new expedition decreed against the Bohemians against the eighth of the kalends of July, and Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, was appointed general of that war, who should follow the cardinal. He was to enter into Bohemia by the way that leadeth unto Tæpl, and Albert, prince of Austria, was appointed to bring an army through Moravia.

See Appendix.

In this expedition were Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, and Frederic, duke of Saxony; John and Albert, princes of Brandenburg, with their father, who was commander-in-chief; also the bishops of Wurtzburg, Bamberg, and Eichstat; also the knights of Suabia, whom they called the knights companions of St. George; and the magistrates of the imperial cities; the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne sent their aids, and with them the chief men of their provinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen was above forty thousand; but their footmen were not full so many, for the Germans, for the most part, do use to fight their battles on horseback.

The number of the pope's army against the Bohemians.

Also, Rhené, prince of Lorraine, promised to join the expedition; but being letted by his civil wars, forsomuch as he went about to vanquish the earl of Vaudemont, he could not keep his promise; and the count Palatine of the Rhine, who did aid and succour the earl of Vaudemont, could not go against the Bohemians. The cardinal, staying for them, deferred his journey until the kalends of August. In the mean time Albert, leading his army out of Austria, when he found that the cardinal was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himself unable to encounter with the Bohemian power, returned back again. After this the cardinal entered into Bohemia with a huge army, and destroyed many of the protestants' towns, killing men, women, and children, sparing neither old nor young: notwithstanding, this his tyranny was exercised in the uttermost borders of Bohemia, for his captains feared to enter far into the land. The Bohemians, as soon as they heard tell that their enemy was coming, made ready and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a town called Schiltberg, and brought it under subjection.

Cardinal Julian entereth Bohemia. His cruel slaughter.

In the mean season there fell such a marvellous sudden fear amongst the papists throughout the whole camp, that they began most shamefully to run away before any enemy appeared in sight. The cardinal Julian, marvelling at this most sudden fear, and what should move so great an army to flee, went about unto the captains, exhorting them to put on armour, to order their battel, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying, they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the possession of lands, but for their lives and the honour and religion of Christ,² and for the salvation of souls.

God striketh fear into the pope's army.

(1) The History of the Council of Basil is given subsequently in detail, in the chronological order of events (see p. 605). The council of Constance, as we have seen, commenced its sittings in 1414, and was dissolved in 1418: in 1431 a council assembled at Pavia, from whence it was removed to Sienna, and finally met at Basil on the 23d of June, 1431.—Ed.

(2) Rather for the religion of Antichrist. This cardinal belike loved to preach rather in the camp than in the church.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1432.

The cardinal's army ran away for fear.

See Appendix.

Great slaughter in Moravia by duke Albert.

A letter of the emperor to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians sent for.

“How ignominious a thing is it,” saith he, “for the Germans to fly in battle, whose courage and valiantness all the world doth extol? It were much better to die, than to give place to any enemies before they are seen; for they can by no means live in safety within the walls, who give place unto their enemy in the field; for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walls; and except they would even presently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly perish, or be in bondage more miserable than any death.” But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had overcome the sense of shame; for the ensigns were snatched up, and, as though there had been no captain in the host, every man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his comrade, but, casting away their armour, with speedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The cardinal, also, although it were against his will, was forced to do the like.

Thus the protestants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and courageous, pursued them through the woods, and had a great prey and spoil of them. Notwithstanding, Albert, when he heard tell that the cardinal was entered into Bohemia, with all speed came again out of Austria with his army, and besieged the strong town of Przibislau. But when he understood how the cardinal was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through Moravia, which was not yet subject unto him, and destroyed above five hundred towns with fire and sword, took many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murder and slaughter, and so afflicted them that they took upon them his yoke, and promised to be subject and obedient to him under this condition, that, as touching religion, he would be bound to do that which the council of Basil should determine.

The legate being thus driven out of Bohemia betook himself unto Basil, where Sigismund opened the council, who, during the time of the wars, had kept himself at Nuremburg. Soon after, on taking his journey unto Rome to be crowned emperor, he wrote letters unto the nobles of Bohemia, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian born, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his own, and that he went to Rome for none other cause but to be crowned; the which his honour should also be a renown to the Bohemians, whom to advance it had been always his special care; also, how that through his endeavour the council was begun at Basil; exhorting all such as were desirous to be heard as touching religion, that they should come thither, and that they should not maintain any quarrel contrary to holy mother church; that the council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons; that they should only endeavour themselves to agree with the council as touching religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable kingdom for him, against his return; neither should the Bohemians think to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and uncle, had reigned over them; and that he would reign over them after no other mean or sort, than other christian kings used to do.

The council of Basil also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors who should show a reason of their faith, promising safe-conduct to go and come, and free liberty to

speak what they would. The Bohemians on this point were of two opinions; for the protestants, and almost all the common people, said it was not good to go, alleging the examples of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who, going to Constance under the safe-conduct of the emperor, were there openly burned. But the nobility, following the mind of Maynard,¹ prince of Neuhaus, said, that they ought to go to the council, and that they were not to be suffered who had invented those new and strange opinions of faith, and the new religious rites, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the universal church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion prevailed, and an ambassade of three hundred gentlemen was sent to Basil, the chief whereof were William Cosca, a valiant knight, and Procopius Rasmus, surnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, John de Rhochezana, preacher of Prague, Nicholas Gallecus, minister of the Taborites, and one Peter,² an Englishman, of excellent, prompt, and pregnant wit, A.D. 1433. The people came in great number out of the town, and many members likewise of the council, who stood before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people; other some gathered together in great number into the streets where they should pass through. The matrons, maids, and children, filled the windows and houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kind of apparel and stout courageous countenances; saying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them. But all fixed their eyes on Procopius, saying, "This is he who hath overthrown the papists in so many battles, who hath subverted so many towns, and slain so many men, whom both his enemies, and also his own soldiers do fear and reverence;" also, that he was a bold, valiant, and invincible captain, who could not be overcome with no terror, labour, or travail.

Henry VI.

A.D. 1433.

Safe-conduct given them.

A doubt among them whether to go.

See Appendix.

Three hundred Bohemians, horsemen, sent ambassage to the council. The receiving of them at Basil.

Procopius famous among the Germans

These Bohemian ambassadors were gently received. The next day after, cardinal Julian, sending for them unto the council house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent oration unto them, to this effect:—

The Oration of Cardinal Julian.

He exhorted them to unity and peace, saying, that the church was the spouse of our Saviour Christ, and the mother of all the faithful; that it hath the keys of binding and loosing; and also that it is white and fair, without spot or wrinkle, and cannot err in those points that are necessary to salvation; and that he who doth contemn the same church is to be counted as profane, a heathen, and a publican, neither could this church be represented better by any means than in a general council. He exhorted them also to receive the decrees of councils as the mind of the church, and to give no less credit to councils than unto the gospel, seeing that upon their authority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the Bohemians, who called themselves the children of her children; how that now, of late, they had lived apart from their mother; 'albeit,' said he, 'that is no new or strange thing, for there have been many in times past, who have forsaken their mother, and yet, seeking after salvation, have returned to her again; that in the time of Noah's flood, as many as were without the ark perished; that the Lord's passover was to be eaten in one house; that there is no salvation to be found out of the church; and that she is the enclosed garden, and the sealed fountain of water, whereof whosoever shall drink,

See Appendix

(1) This Maynard was afterwards a great back friend to the faithful Bohemians.

(2) This Englishman was Peter Paine.

Henry
VI.A.D.
1433.

shall not thirst everlastingly; that the Bohemians had done as they ought, in that they had sought the streams of this water at the council, and had determined now at length to give ear unto their mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all armour and weapon to be laid apart, and all occasion of war utterly to be rejected. For the fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatsoever they would there say in their own cause or quarrel; requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred synod; whereunto not only the Bohemians, but also all other faithful Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they would be partakers of eternal life.'

The Bohemians' answer to the cardinal's oration.

This oration of the cardinal was heard and very well allowed of the fathers. Whereunto the Bohemians answered in few words: That they neither contemned the church nor councils; that the sentence was given at Constance against men who were unheard; that they subtracted nothing from the christian religion; that the authority of the fathers remained amongst them inviolate; and that whatsoever thing the Bohemians had taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and gospel; and that they were now come to manifest their innocency before the whole church, and begged for an open audience, where the laity also might be present. Their request was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the church of Rome, they propounded four articles.

Articles wherein the Bohemians dissented from the church of Rome.

First, They affirmed, That all such as would be saved, ought of necessity to receive the communion of the last supper under both kinds, bread and wine.

The second article, They affirmed all civil rule and dominion to be forbidden unto the clergy by the law of God.

The third article, That the preaching of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth article, As touching open crimes and offences, that they are in no wise to be suffered for the sake of avoiding greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the council in the name of the whole realm. Then the legate affirmed, that he had heard concerning the Bohemians divers other things offensive to christian ears, amongst the which this was one point, that they had preached, That the invention of the order of begging friars was diabolical.

Then Procopius rising up, said, "Neither is it untrue; for if neither Moses, neither before him the patriarchs, neither after him the prophets, neither in the new law Christ and his apostles, did institute the order of begging friars, who doth doubt but that it was an invention of the devil, and a work of darkness?"

This answer of Procopius was derided of them all; but cardinal Julian went about to prove, that not only the decrees of the patriarchs and prophets, and those things which Christ and his apostles had instituted, were only of God, but also that all such decrees as the church should ordain, being guided through the Holy Ghost, be the works of God. Albeit, as he said, the order of begging friars might seem to be taken out of some part of the gospel.

Certain appointed by the Bohemians and the council to dispute

The Bohemians chose out four divines who should shew their articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise, on the contrary part, there were four appointed by the council. This disputation continued fifty days, where many things were alleged on either part,

whereof, as place shall serve, more hereafter, by the grace of Christ, shall be said, when we come to the time of that council.

In the mean season, while the Bohemians were thus in long conflicts with Sigismund the emperor and the pope, fighting for their religion, unto whom, notwithstanding all the fulness of the pope's power was bent against them, God, of his goodness, had given such noble victories, as is above-expressed, and ever did prosper them so long as they could agree among themselves;—as these things, I say, were doing in Bohemia, king Henry V., fighting likewise in France, albeit for no like matter of religion, fell sick at Bois de Vincennes and died, after he had reigned nine years, four months, and odd days, from his coronation. This king, in his life, and in all his doings, was so devout and serviceable to the pope and his chaplains, that he was called of many the 'prince of priests:' who left behind him a son being yet an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by queen Katherine, daughter to the French king, married to him about two or three years before; the name of which prince, succeeding after his father, was Henry VI., who was left under the government and protection of his uncle, named Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1422.

Death of king Henry V., called prince of priests, for favouring the pope.

The Names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this Fifth Book Contained.

54. Simon Islepe . . . 17 years.	59. William Courtney . 15 years.
56. Simon Langham . . 2 ..	60. Thomas Arundel . 18 ..
57. William Wittlesey . 5 ..	61. Henry Chichesley . 29 ..
58. Simon Sudbury . . 6 ..	

The following Table is a continuation of that given at vol. ii. p. 723, and is derived from the same sources:—Ed.

	CONSECRATED	DIED
54 Simon Islip (bull of provision dated Oct. 7th)	Dec. 20th, A. D. 1349	April 26th, A. D. 1366
55 Simon Langham (bull of transl. dated July 21th) resigned Nov. 27th, A. D. 1368.		
56 William Wittlesey (bull of transl. dated Oct. 11th)		June 5th, A. D. 1374
57 Simon Sudbury (bull of transl. dated May 4th, A. D. 1375)		June 14th, A. D. 1381
58 William Courtney (bull of transl. dated Sept. 9th)		July 31st, A. D. 1396
59 Thomas Arundel (bull of transl. dated Sept. 25th)		Feb. 20th, A. D. 1414
60 Henry Chichesley (bull of provision dated April) 27th, A. D. 1414)		April 12th, A. D. 1443
61 John Stafford (bull of transl. dated May 13th)		May 25th, A. D. 1452
62 John Kemp (bull of transl. dated July 21st)		March 22d, A. D. 1454
63 Thomas Bourchier (translated July 21st)		March 30th, A. D. 1486
64 John Morton (bull of transl. dated Oct. 6th)		Sept. 15th, A. D. 1500
65 Henry Deane (transl. April 26th, A. D. 1501)		Feb. 16th, A. D. 1503
66 William Warham (transl. Nov. 29th)		Aug. 23d, A. D. 1532
67 Thomas Cranmer (nomin. by bull, Feb. 22d)	March 30th, A. D. 1533	March 21st, A. D. 1555
68 Reginald Pole (bull of provision, dated Dec. 11th)	March 22d, A. D. 1556	Nov. 17th, A. D. 1558
69 Matthew Parker (elected Aug. 1st, A. D. 1559)	Dec. 17th, A. D. 1559	May 17th, A. D. 1575

END OF BOOK THE FIFTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT
OF SATAN.¹

A PREFACE TO THE READER.

ACCORDING to the five sundry diversities and alterations of the church, so have I divided hitherto the order of this present church-story into five principal parts, every part containing three hundred years; so that now coming to the last three hundred years (that is, to the last times of the church, counting from the time of Wickliff), forasmuch as in the compass of the said last three hundred years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the marvellous reformation of the same through the wondrous operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one book: I have therefore disposed the said latter three hundred years into divers books, beginning now with the sixth book, at the reign of king Henry VI. In which book, beside the grievous and sundry persecutions raised up by Antichrist, to be noted, herein is also to be observed, that whereas it hath of long time been received and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally used hath sprung up and risen but of late, even by the space (as many do think) of twenty or thirty years, for the avoiding of which fond and vain opinion it may now manifestly appear, not only by the Acts and Monuments heretofore passed, but also by the histories hereafter following, how this profession of Christ's religion hath been spread abroad in England of old and ancient time, not only for the space of these two hundred late years, from the time of Wickliff, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never so perfectly burst out, as they have done within these hundred years and more; as by these histories here collected and gathered out of registers, especially of the diocese of Norwich, shall manifestly appear: wherein may be seen what men, and how many, both men and women, within the said diocese of Norwich there have been, who have defended the same cause of doctrine which now

(1) The period of three hundred years, to which the events here recorded pertain, commenced with the opening of the fifth book, at page 724, in the second volume of this edition.—ED.

is received by us in the church. Which persons, although then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarrel as of late years they have been, yet were they warriors in Christ's church, and fought to their power in the same cause. And although they gave back through tyranny, yet judge thou the best, good reader! and refer the cause thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

Henry
VI.
A.D.
1422.

HENRY THE SIXTH.¹

THIS young prince, being under the age of one year, after the death of his father succeeded in his reign and kingdom of England, A.D. 1422, and in the eighth year was crowned at Westminster; and in the second year after was crowned also at Paris (Henry bishop of Winchester, cardinal, being present on both occasions), and reigned thirty-eight years; and then was deposed by Edward IV., as hereafter, Christ willing, shall be declared in his time.²

See
Appendix.

William Tailor, Priest.

There³ hath been no region or country more fertile or fruitful for martyrs, than our only region of England. Whether it happeneth or cometh by the singular gift or privilege of God's divine grace, or else through the barbarous and foolish cruelty of such as at that time ruled and governed the church, it is uncertain. Oxford at the present was, as it had been, a continual spring of christian knowledge and learning, from whence, as out of the Trojan horse, there hath come forth so many invincible witnesses of Christ and his truth, who, with singular learning, and with their blood, have not only deserved praise of such as were in their days, but also of all such as shall come after.

In the first year of this king's reign was burned the constant witness-bearer and 'testis' of Christ's doctrine, William Tailor, a priest, *³master of arts, being a favourer of Wickliff,* under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury.

Of this William Tailor I read,⁴ that in the days of Thomas Arundel he was first apprehended, and excommunicated. Afterward, in the days of Henry Chichesley, he presented himself to the convocation on Monday, February 12th, A.D. 1420, and craved absolution, offering to abjure. To which they consented. And thus the said William Tailor, appointed to appear the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the archbishop, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during the time of Thomas Arundel, appeared accordingly; when he, laying aside his 'armilause' (that is, his cloak), and his cap, and stripped unto his doublet, kneeled at the feet of the archbishop. Who then standing up, and having a rod in his hand, began the psalm 'Miserere,' &c., his chaplains answering every second verse. After that, was said the Lord's prayer, and the collect, 'Deus cui proprium,' &c., with certain other prayers. And

William
Tailor
the first
time ap-
prehend-
ed.

The form
of canon-
ical abso-
lution
in the
church,
used
against
them that
were ex-
commu-
nicated.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 347; Ed. 1570, p. 780; Ed. 1575, p. 635; Ed. 1593, p. 658; Ed. 1596, p. 605; Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 748.—ED.

(2) Ex Scala Mundi.

(3) See Edition 1563, p. 347.—ED.

(4) Ex. Regist. Cant. [See Appendix.—ED.]

*Henry VI.**A.D. 1423.*

thus was William Tailor for that time absolved, being enjoined notwithstanding to appear at the next convocation, whensoever it should be, before the said archbishop, or his successor that should follow him. The next convocation met May 5th, A.D. 1421 (which was two years before his burning), at which the said William Tailor appeared again before the archbishop on Saturday, May 24th, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, being complained of to have taught at Bristol these articles following:—

Articles objected to him.

First, That whosoever hangeth any writing about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the devil.

Secondly, That Christ himself is not to be worshipped so far as regardeth his manhood.

Thirdly, That the saints in heaven are not to be worshipped by the people.

Upon these articles the said William Tailor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the same, especially upon the second and third articles, only in way of reasoning and for argument's sake. And to justify his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosom a paper or libel written, wherein were contained certain articles, with the testimonies of the doctors alleged, and exhibited the same unto the archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the archbishop, consulting together with the bishops and other prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto Master John Castle, and John Rikyngdale, the two chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Langdon, monk of Canterbury; who, advising with themselves and with other divines about the articles and allegations, on the Monday following presented the said articles of William Tailor to the archbishop and prelates, as erroneous and heretical. Whereupon William Tailor, being called before them, in conclusion was contented to revoke the same, and for his penance, was by them condemned to perpetual prison.

Notwithstanding, on his showing signs of penitence, through favour they were contented that he should be released from his carceral endurance, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the king's chancery, and swear that he would never hold or favour any such opinions hereafter. And so taking an oath of him, the archbishop committed him to the custody of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority were permitted to release him, upon the conditions aforesaid.

See Appendix

In the mean time there passed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith, priest at Bristol, in which William Tailor replied against the said Thomas concerning the question of worshipping of saints. Upon the occasion of which reply being brought to the hands of the bishop of Worcester, William Tailor began anew to be troubled, and was brought again before the public convocation of the clergy by the said bishop of Worcester, to answer unto his writings. This was A.D. 1423, the eleventh day of February; unto the which convocation the said William being presented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not, deny to be of his own hand-writing. The tenor and effect of whose writings only tended to prove, that every petition and prayer for any supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit,

in this his writing, he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any respect to pray to saints (and bringeth for the same Thomas Aquinas), but only in respect of that worship, which is called 'cultus latriæ':¹ and he further so prosecuted his mind herein, that he seemed little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the papists, as most plainly appeareth by his own words, saying, "Nunquam tamen negavi, aut negare intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam viantium, tam vivis quam mortuis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari vel proficere; quia hoc est elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, et ex consona ratione," &c. And, moreover, he inferred the example of Moses, who prayed unto God, alleging the merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were dead, &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimony of Jerome, he alleged that of St. Austin, who of Stephen saith, "Quod nunc multò magis exaudietur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus."² And at length he came to this conclusion, proving by St. Austin in this manner: "Ne igitur, cum impiis et idololatriis in Veteri Testamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deveniendo ad centrum, sanum est quod faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis, 'Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ ejus, ut misericordiam consequamur, et gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno,' " &c.³ That is, "And therefore, lest we run about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the Old Testament, and never come to the centre, therefore it is good that we follow the counsel of the apostle, saying, 'Let us resort with boldness unto the throne of his grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of opportune help,' " &c.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1423.

The opinion of Tailor concerning the worshiping of saints.

See Appendix.

Thus much out of the aforesaid writings of William Tailor I have excerpted, to the intent that the indifferent reader, using his judgment herein, may see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the papists. And yet notwithstanding, the same writing, being delivered by the archbishop on Saturday, February 20th, to the four orders of friars of London to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

Four articles by the four orders of friars laid against him.

I. That every prayer which is a petition of some supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

II. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.

III. Item, To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.

IV. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God, not in respect of his manhood but of his Godhead only.

So that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet, to make up a number, every order of the four sorts of friars thought to find out some matter to offer up to the archbishop against him, lest one order should seem more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more than could another; or else perchance lest any of them should seem to favour the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

When the Thursday was come, which was the twenty-fifth day of February, upon the which day the four orders were appointed to declare their censure upon the articles in the chapter-house of Paul's, first appeared friar John Tille, for the Black friars; then friar

(1) "Cultus latriæ," that is, worship which is only due to God.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) Augustin super Psal. xxi.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1121.

Thomas Winchelsey, for the friars Minor; then friar John Low, for the Augustines; and after him friar Thomas Ashwel, for the Carmelites; each friar for his order severally bringing his heresy, as is above specified.

Thus the verdict of these four orders being given up to the archbishop, and severally each order coming in with his heresy, which was the twenty-fifth day of February; hereupon cometh down a writ from the king, directed to the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London, 'De hæretico comburendo,' dated the first day of March, the first year of his reign, the copy whereof remaineth in the Records of the Tower, beginning thus: 'Rex majori et vice-comitibus.' Whereupon the said William Taylor was condemned as a relapse, first to be degraded, and afterwards to be burned; and so was committed to the secular power: who then being had to Smithfield, with christian constancy, after long imprisonment, there did consummate his martyrdom, the first day of March, 1423.

William Taylor degraded, and committed to the secular power, 1423.

The manner of the degrading of John Huss before; for the papists use but one form for all men. First, degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patin, and the casule and stole; from deaconship, by taking from them the gospel-book, and the dalmatic and stole; from sub-deaconship, by taking from them the epistle-book, and the dalmatic and maniple; from acolyteship, by taking from them the cruet and taper-holder; from an exorcist, by taking away the book of exorcisms; from the sextonship, by taking away the church keys, and the albe and amice; and likewise from bene't, by taking away the surplice and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly martyr, before his burning.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Huss before; for the papists use but one form for all men. First, degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patin, and the casule and stole; from deaconship, by taking from them the gospel-book, and the dalmatic and stole; from sub-deaconship, by taking from them the epistle-book, and the dalmatic and maniple; from acolyteship, by taking from them the cruet and taper-holder; from an exorcist, by taking away the book of exorcisms; from the sextonship, by taking away the church keys, and the albe and amice; and likewise from bene't, by taking away the surplice and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly martyr, before his burning.

John Florence, a Turner.

John Florence, a turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocese of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these heresies (as they called them) here under-written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome:

Imprinis, That the pope and cardinals have no power to make or constitute any laws.

Item, That there is no day to be kept holy, but only the Sunday, which God hath hallowed.

Item, That men ought to fast no other time, but the 'Quatuor temporum.'

Item, That images are not to be worshipped; neither that the people ought to set up any lights before them in the churches; neither to go on pilgrimage; neither to offer for the dead, nor with women that are purified.

Item, That curates should not take the tithes of their parishioners,¹ but that such tithes should be divided amongst the poor parishioners.

Item, That all such as swear by their life or power, shall be damned, except they repent.

A. D. 1424.

On Wednesday, August 2d, A. D. 1424, the said John Florence personally appeared before William Bernham, chancellor to William² bishop of Norwich, where he, proceeding against him, objected the first article touching the power of the pope and cardinals; to which article the said John Florence answered in this manner: "If the pope live uprightly, as Peter lived, he hath power to make laws; otherwise I believe he hath no power." But being afterward

(1) He meant they should not claim such tithes by any exaction. (2) See Appendix.—Eg.

threatened by the judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the church, and was abjured; taking an oath that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend, any error or heresy contrary to the determination of the church of Rome; neither maintain, help, nor aid, any that shall teach or hold any such errors or heresies, either privily or apertly. And for his offence in this behalf done, he was enjoined this penance following: Three Sundays, in a solemn procession, in the cathedral church of Norwich, he should be disciplined before all the people.¹ The like also should be done about his parish-church of Shelton, three other several Sundays, he being bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, after the manner of a public penitentiary; his body being covered with a canvass-shirt and canvass-breeches; carrying in his hand a taper of a pound weight: and that done, he was dismissed.

*Henry VI.*A. D. 1424.

Richard Belward, and others.

Richard Belward, of Ersham, in the diocese of Norwich, was accused for holding and teaching these errors and opinions here under written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome. A. D. 1424.

Imprimis, That ecclesiastical ministers and ordinaries² have no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate. And albeit that a bishop do excommunicate any man, God doth absolve him.

Item, That he held the erroneous opinions and conclusions³ which sir John Oldcastle held when he was in prison, and affirmed that sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without any reasonable cause.

Item, That such as go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and stone, are excommunicated, because they ought to offer to the quick, and not to the dead; and that the ecclesiastical ministers (that is to say, the curates,) do sell God upon Easter-day, when they receive offerings of such as should communicate, before they do minister the sacrament unto them.

Item, That he counselled divers women, that they should not offer in the church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

Item, That he blamed divers of his neighbours that refused his doctrine, saying unto them, 'Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the doctrine of my sect; for your neighbours who are of my sect, are able to confound and vanquish all others that are of your sect.'
The words of the register.

Item, That the saints who are in heaven ought in no case to be prayed unto, but only God.

Item, That the said Richard keepeth schools of Lollardy in the English tongue, in the town of Dychingham, and a certain parchment-maker bringeth him all the books containing that doctrine from London.

On the fifth of July, 1424, the said Richard Belward, was brought before John, bishop of Norwich, sitting in place of judgment, where the aforesaid articles were objected against the said Richard, which he there denied; whereupon the bishop appointed him another day to purge himself, the Monday next after the feast of St. Margaret: upon which day, being the twenty-fourth of July, in the year aforesaid, he appeared again before the bishop, and brought with him nine

(1) The manner of this disciplining was with a white rod thrice laid upon the head of the penitentiary.

(2) He meaneth the wicked bishops of that time, whose curses God did bless.

(3) This proveth sir John Oldcastle to be no traitor.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1424.

of his neighbours to purge him upon those articles, and there did solemnly purge himself. And afterwards, forasmuch as the said bishop suspected the said Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there, presently, to swear upon the evangelists, that from that day forward he would not wittingly preach, teach, or defend, any error or heresy contrary to the church of Rome, neither aid, assist, favour, nor maintain, privily or apertly, any manner of person or persons, who should hold or maintain the said errors or heresies. In the presence of Master William Bernham, John Wadden, Robert Serle, and John Berne, esquire, and other of his neighbours who came unto his purgation.

John Goddesel, of Dychingham.

In like manner John Goddesel, of Dychingham, parchment-maker, was detected and accused upon the same articles, and thereupon brought before the bishop, where he, denying them, purged himself by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being sworn also in like manner as he was; and so was dismissed and set at liberty until A. D. 1428, when he was again apprehended and accused, and abjured, as shall be more at large declared in the history, when we come to that year. Sir Hugh Pie also, chaplain of Ludney in the diocese of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the bishop of Norwich on the fifth of July, A. D. 1424, for holding these opinions following:

Sir Hugh Pie, priest.

That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That the people ought not to give alms, but only unto such as beg at their doors.

Image of the cross not to be worshipped.

Item, That the image of the cross and other images are not to be worshipped; and that the said Hugh had cast the cross of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate of Ludney.

Which articles, as is aforesaid, being objected against him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three lay-men, and three priests. That so done, he was sworn as the other before, and so dismissed.

A. D. 1428.

After this, A. D. 1428, king Henry VI. sent down most cruel letters of commission unto John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of sir William White, priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth.

See Appendix.

The Copy of the King's Letters directed to John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, Keeper of the Castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White, Priest, and other Lollards, as they called them.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved John Exeter, and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the castle of Colchester, health:

Ye shall understand that we, fully trusting to your fidelity and circumspections, have appointed you jointly and severally to take and arrest William White, priest, and Thomas, late chaplain of Setling, in the county of Norfolk, and William Northampton, priest, and all others, whatsoever they be, that are suspected of heresy or Lollardy, wheresoever they may be found within the liberties or without, and straightway, being so taken, to send them unto our next gaol or prison.

until such time as we shall have taken other order for their delivery: and therefore we straightly command you, that ye diligently attend about the premises, and fulfil the same in form aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singular justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our faithful officers, by the tenor of these presents, that they do assist, aid, and counsel you and every of you, in the execution of the premises, as it shall be comely for them. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

Witness myself at Westminster, the sixth of July, the sixth year of our reign.

By virtue of which commission we find in old monuments, that within short space after, John Exeter, who was appointed one of the commissioners, attached six persons in the town of Bungay, in the diocese of Norwich; and committed them to William Day and William Roe, constables of the town of Bungay, to be sent within ten days following, under safe custody, unto the castle of Norwich; whose names, through the antiquity of the monument, were so defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the worn book to be read, which were these: John Waddon, of Tenterden, in the county of Kent; Bartholomew, monk of Ersham, in the county of Norfolk; Corneleader, a married man; William Skuts.

These three were in the custody of the duke of Norfolk, at his castle of Framlingham.

Beside these, we also find in the said old monuments within the diocese of Norfolk and Suffolk, especially in the towns of Beccles, Ersham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to have been vexed and cast into prison; and, after their abjuration, brought to open shame in churches and markets, by the bishop of the said diocese, called William, and his chancellor, William Bernham, John Exeter being the registrar therein; so that within the space of three or four years (that is, from the year 1428, unto the year 1431), about the number of one hundred and twenty men and women were examined, and sustained great vexation for the profession of the christian faith; of whom some were only taken upon suspicion, for eating of meats prohibited upon vigil-days, who, upon their purgation made, escaped more easily away, and with less punishment; whose names here follow subscribed.

A Catalogue of good Men and Women that were taken and examined upon suspicion of Heresy.

Robert Skirving, of Harlstone.	John Middleton, of Halvergate.	Thomas White, of Bedingham.
William Skirving.	John Wayde, of Ersham.	Master Robert Beert, of Berry.
John Terry, of Ersham.	Richard Clark, of Sething.	Richard Page, of Clipsly.
John Abtre, of Ersham.		

The others were more cruelly handled, and some of them were put to death and burned; among whom we do specially find mention made of these three: Father Abraham, of Colchester; William White, priest; John Waddon, priest.

The residue (for a great number of good men and women were forced to abjure), sustaining such cruel penance as pleased the said

Henry VI.

A. D. 1428.

<i>Henry VI.</i>	bishop and his chancellor then to lay upon them. The names of whom, both men and women, here follow together in this brief catalogue to be seen.		
A. D. 1428.	John Beverley.	William Osbourne.	Katherine, wife of William Wright.
	John Wardon.	John Rene, of Beckles.	William Collin, of Southcreke.
	John Baker.	Baldwin Cooper, of Beckles.	Richard King, of Windham.
	John Middleton.	John Pert, Master Moon's servant.	Thomas Plowman.
	John Kynget.	Robert Brigs.	John Fellis.
	Margery Backster.	John Finch.	Thomas Love, of Roke-land.
	John Skilley.	John Wropham.	Richard Knobbing, of Beckles.
	John Godhold.	Thomas Moon.	Richard Grace, of Beckles.
	Thomas Albeck.	Isabel Chaplain, of Martham.	John Eldon, of Beckles.
	John Pierce.	William Masse, of Ersham.	William Hardy.
	Nicholas Canon, of Eye.	John Goodwin, of Ersham.	William Bate.
	Thomas Pie.	Henry Latcheold, of Ersham.	John Weston.
	John Mendham.	Henry Boode, of Ersham.	Katherine Hobs.
	John Middleton.	Richard Horne, of Ersham.	John Daw.
	Thomas Chatris.	John Belward, sen., of Ersham.	Robert Grigs, of Martham.
	Thomas Wade.	John Belward, jun., of Ersham.	William Calis, priest.
	William Tailor.	John Spire, of Bungay.	Thomas Pert, priest.
	John Cupper, vicar of Tunstal.	Rob. Cole, of Turning.	Katherine Davy.
	Sir Hugh Pie, priest.	The herd of Shepemedow.	Jacob Bodhome, and Margaret, his wife.
	Bartholomew Tatcher.	Isabel Davy, of Costes.	John Manning, of Marton.
	Thomas James.	Sibyl, wife of John Godesel, of Dicham.	John Culling, of Beemster.
	John Fouling.	John Pyry, of Bartham.	Richard Fletcher, of Beckles, and Matilda, his wife.
	Bertram Cornmonger.	John Baker.	John Elden, of Beckles.
	Thomas Swerden.	Margery Wright.	Robert Canel, priest.
	Alanus Andrew.	Thomas Burrel, and his wife.	Nicholas Drey.
	William Wright.	John Pert.	William Hardy, of Mundham.
	William Everden.	Edmund Archer.	John Poleyne.
	William Tailor.	The clerk of Ludney.	
	Avis, the wife of Thomas Moon, and her daughter.	Richard Clark, of Setthing.	
	Richard Fletcher, of Beckles.		
	Nicholas Belward.		
	Thomas Grenemere.		
	John Clark.		
	William Bate.		
	William Scherming.		

These before-named persons, and soldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those days, although they were constrained to relent and abjure (that is, to protest otherwise with their tongues, than their hearts did think), partly through correction, and partly through infirmity, being as yet but newly-trained soldiers in God's field, yet for the good will they bare unto the truth, although with their tongues they durst not express it, we have thought good that their names should not be suppressed, as well for other sundry causes, as especially for this: either to stop the mouths of malignant adversaries, or to answer to their ignorance, who, following rather blind affection, than the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lack of knowledge blame that they know not, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God for neweltie, and carping at the teachers thereof for new-broached brethren; who, if they did as well foresee times past, as they be unwilling to follow times now present, they

should understand as well by these stories as by others before, how this doctrine of the grace of God, lacking no antiquity, hath, from time to time, continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath prevailed, although in most places, through the tyranny and malice of men, Christ's proceedings have been suppressed and kept under from rising, so much as men's power and strength, joined with craft and subtlety, could labour to keep down the same; as here by these good men of Norfolk and Suffolk may well appear. For if the knowledge and good-towardness of those good men had had the like liberty of time, with the help of like authority, as we have now, and had not been restrained, through the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelates, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would have been, which now they contemn and reject for the newness thereof: neither needed Bonner to have asked of Thomas Hawks, and such others, where their church was forty years ago; inasmuch as for forty years ago, and more, within the county of Norfolk and Suffolk, was then found such plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which we now profess. And thus much for the number and names of these persons.

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Bonner might see the church here in this age, more than forty years before he was born.

Now as touching their articles which they did maintain and defend: First, this is to be considered, as I find it in the registers, such society and agreement of doctrine to be amongst them, that in their assertions and articles there was almost no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the others. What their articles were, partly is showed in the leaf before; and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these articles, that many of them either were falsely objected against them, or not truly reported of the notaries (according as the common manner is of these adversaries, where the matter is good, there to make heresy, and of a little occasion to stir up great matter of slander, as they did before by the articles of John Wickliff and John Huss, and others): so, in like manner, it seemeth they did in the articles of these men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptism and paying of tithes. For where they, speaking against the ceremonial and superfluous traditions then used in baptism, as salt, oil, spittle, taper, light, chrism, exorcising of the water, with such other like, accounted them as no material thing in the holy institution of baptism; the notaries, slanderously depraving this their assertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, so gave out the article, as though they should hold, that the sacrament of baptism, used in the church by water, is but a light matter, and of small effect.

These men are falsely slandered about baptista.

Again, in speaking against the christening which the midwives use in private houses, against the opinion of such as think such children to be damned who depart before they come to their baptism, they are falsely reported, as though they should say: That christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water; and that infants be sufficiently baptized, if their parents be baptized before them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest Word, that it is not to be thought that any are so ignorant of the gospel, that they ever would, or did, affirm the same.

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VI.A. D.
1428.The pa-
piests are
but quar-
rel pick-
ers.

Moreover they thought or said peradventure, That in certain cases tithes might be withholden from wicked priests sometimes, and be conferred to better uses; to the behoof of the poor. Therefore they are falsely slandered, as saying and affirming, that no tithes are to be given to the ministers and curates of the churches.

And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as though it consisted only in the mutual consent betwixt the man and the woman, needing no other solemnizing in the public church; and all because (as it is likely) they denied it to be a sacrament.

Other articles were objected against them, as these which hereafter follow:

Articles.

That auricular confession is not to be made unto a priest, but unto God only; because no priest hath any power to absolve a sinner from his sin.

Item, That no priest hath power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but that, after the sacramental words, there remaineth pure material bread as before.

Item, That every true christian man is a priest to God.

Item, That no man is bound, under pain of damnation, unto Lent, or any other days prohibited by the church of Rome.

Item, That the pope is Antichrist, and his prelates the disciples of Antichrist, and that the pope hath no power to bind and loose upon earth.

Item, That it is lawful for every Christian to do any bodily work (sin only excepted) upon holy-days.¹

Item, That it is lawful for priests to have wives.

Item, That the excommunications and ecclesiastical censures given out by the prelates, are not to be regarded.

Item, That it is not lawful to swear in private cases.

Item, That men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That there is no honour to be given to the images of the crucifix, of our lady, or any other saint.

Item, That the holy water, hallowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or of more virtue than other running or well-water, because the Lord blessed all waters in their first creation.

Death of
Becket.

Item, That the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy nor meritorious.

Item, That relics, as dead men's bones, ought neither to be worshipped nor digged out of their graves, nor set up in shrines.

Item, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

Item, That men ought not to pray to any saint, but only to God.

Item, That the bells and ringing in the church, were ordained for no other purpose, than to fill the priests' purses.

Item, That it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiastical precepts.

Item, That the catholic church is only the congregation of the elect.²

These were the articles which were generally objected against them all, wherein they did so agree in one uniform faith, that whatsoever one did hold, all the others did maintain, and hold the same. By which their consent and doctrine it appeareth, that they all received it of some one instructor, who was William White; who being a scholar and follower of John Wickliff, resorted afterwards into this country of Norfolk, and there instructed these men in the light of the gospel. And now, as we have declared the names and articles of these good men, so it remaineth somewhat to speak of their troubles (how they were handled), beginning first with William White.

(1) In case of necessity urgent, they meant.

(2) In this article is meant, that the wicked be in the church but not of the church.

William White, Priest.

This William White, being a follower of John Wickliff,¹ and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them of whom the wise man speaketh, [Ecclus. xviii.] 'He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud,' &c.; this man was well learned, upright, and a well-spoken priest. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan; notwithstanding he did not therefore cease or leave from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by reading, writing, and preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury:

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That men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the pope and his holiness, is nothing else but a devilish estate and heavy yoke of Antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy unto Christ's truth.

That men ought not to worship images, or other idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men who are dead.

That the Romish church is the fig-tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That such as wear cowls, or be anointed or shorn, are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when the Lord Christ shall come.

The
Romish
church
aptly re-
sembled to
the cursed
fig-tree.

Upon which articles he, being attached at Canterbury under the archbishop Henry Chichesley, A. D. 1424, there, for a certain space, stoutly and manfully witnessed the truth which he had preached. But like as there he lost his courage and strength, so afterwards he became again much more stout and strong in Jesus Christ, and confessed his own error and offence. For after this, going into Norfolk with his said wife Joan, and there occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Christ, at last, by means of the king's letters sent down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before William bishop of Norwich, by whom he was convicted, and condemned of thirty articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, A. D. 1428.

This William White and his wife had their chief abode with one Thomas Moon of Ludney. He was of so devout and holy a life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them; insomuch that one Margaret Wright confessed, that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come unto the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the bishop's servants struck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life to the great dolor and grief of all the good men of Norfolk; whose said wife Joan, following her husband's footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the said bishop.

*See
A. D. 1428.*

The
bishop's
man
smiteth
him on
the
mouth,
exhorting
the peo-
ple.

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About the same time also were burned Father Abraham, of Colchester, and John Waddon, priest, for the like articles.

A. D. 1428.

Father Abraham, John Waddon, priest, martyrs, and burned.

Concerning those who abjured, how and by whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and manner of the penance enjoined them, here it might be set out at large; but, for avoiding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better understanding may be given to the reader, after what manner and order all the others were treated.

First, amongst those who were arrested and caused to abjure in this year before specified (1428), were Thomas Pie and John Mendham of Aldborough; who, being convicted upon divers of the articles before-mentioned, were enjoined penance to be done in their own parish church, as by the bishop's letter, directed to the dean of Rhodenhall, and to the parish priest of Aldborough, doth more at large appear; the tenor whereof here ensueth:

See Appendix.

Copy of the Letter of the Bishop of Norwich, respecting Thomas Pie and John Mendham.

The manner of the Pope's penance.

William, by the divine permission bishop of Norwich, to our well-beloved sons in Christ, the dean of Rhodenball of our diocese, and to the parish priest of the parish church of Aldborough of the same our diocese, health, grace, and benediction. Forsomuch as we, according to our office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the souls of Thomas Pie and John Mendham of Aldborough of the diocese aforesaid, because they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church of Rome and the universal church, and to the catholic faith, have enjoined the said Thomas and John, appearing before us personally, and confessing before us judicially that they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, this penance hereunder written for their offences, to be done and fulfilled in manner, form, and time, hereunder written, according as justice doth require—that is to say, six fustigations [or displings, or whippings] about the parish church of Aldborough aforesaid before the solemn procession six several Sundays, and three whippings [or displings] about the market-place of Harlstone of our said diocese three principal market-days; bare neck, head, legs, and feet; their bodies being covered only with their shirts and breeches; either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the church, as about the market-place, in every of the foresaid appointed days; which tapers, the last Sunday after the penance finished, we will that the said John and Thomas do humbly and devoutly offer unto the high altar of the parish church of Aldborough at the time of the offertory of the high mass the same day, and that either of them, going about the market-place aforesaid, shall make four several pauses or stays, and, at every of those same pauses, humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three whippes [or displings]—Therefore we straitly charge and command you, and either of you, jointly and severally, by virtue of your obedience, that every Sunday and market-day after the receipt of our present commandment, you do effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pie and John Mendham to begin and accomplish their said penance; and so successively to finish the same in manner and form afore-appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments in this behalf, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you or one of you shall cite them preemterily, that they, or either of them, appear before us, or our commissary, in the chapel of our palace at Norwich, the twelfth day after the citation so made, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they or any of them have any cause why they should not be excommunicated for their manifest offence in this behalf committed, according to the form and order of law, and further, to receive such punishment, as justice shall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the premises, whether the said Thomas and John have

obeyed your admonitions, and performed the same penance or no, we will that you or one of you, who have received our said commandment for the execution thereof, do distinctly certify us between this and the last day of November next coming.

Henry VI.

A. D.
1428.

Dated at our palace of Norwich, under our commissary's seal, the eighth day of October, Anno 1428.

This, gentle reader! was, for the most part, the order of their whole penance, howbeit some were oftentimes more cruelly handled; and after their penance they were banished out of the diocese, and others were more straitly used by longer imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

John Beverly, alias Battild, a Labourer.

John Beverly, alias Battild, a labourer, was attached by the vicar of Southereke, the parish priest of Waterden, and a lawyer, and so delivered unto Master William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich, there to be kept in irons: where afterwards, being brought before the commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath, that every year afterwards he would confess his sins once a year to his curate, and receive the sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did. And for his offence he was enjoined, that upon the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast on bread and water, and upon the Saturday be whipped¹ from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomblands, and by St. Michael's church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a wax-candle of two-pence, to offer to the image of the Trinity after he had done his penance. And, forasmuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon Easter-day, and was not shriven in all Lent, nor received upon Easter-day, the judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, in Whitsun-week, having but one meal a day of fish and other white meats; and, after this penance so done, he should depart out of the diocese, and never come there any more.

*See
Appendix.*

John Skilley of Flixton, Miller, and others.

John Skilley of Flixton, miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich on the 14th of March, A. D. 1428, for holding and maintaining the articles above-written, was thereupon convicted and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration solemnly made (which here, to avoid tediousness, we omit), he had a most sharp sentence of penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof, being briefly collected, was this: that forasmuch as the said Skilley was convicted by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his house, as sir William White, priest, and John Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, he was enjoined for penance seven years' imprisonment in the monastery of Langley, in the diocese of Norwich. And forasmuch as in times past

*The
penance
of John
Skilley.*

(1) "Whipped," alias fustigated

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he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoined to fast on bread and water every Friday for the space of seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next immediately after the seven years expired, on every Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and on every Maunday-Thursday, he should appear before the bishop, or his successor or commissary for the time being, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Besides these there were divers others of the same company, who the same year were forced to like abjuration and penance. And so, to proceed to the next year following, which was A. D. 1429, there ensueth a great number in the same register, who were examined, and did penance in like sort, to the number of sixteen or seventeen; in the number of whom was John Baker, otherwise called Usher Tunstal, who, for having a book with the Pater-Noster, the Ave, and the Creed, in English, and for certain other articles of fasting, confession, and invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romish church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abjure and sustain such penance, as the others before him had done.

The Story of Margery Backster and others.

Another was Margery Backster, wife of William Backster, wright, in Martham, the same year accused; against whom one Joan, wife of Cliffland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in form following:

A woman brought in for witness in the pope's court. The bee will sting. Against images.

First, That the said Margery Backster did inform this deponent, that she should in no case swear; saying to her in English: 'Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting; and therefore take heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our lady, neither by any other saint; and if ye do contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.'

Item, This deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did every day at church; she answered, that she kneeled down and said five Pater-Nosters, in worship of the crucifix, and as many Ave Marias in worship of our lady. Whom Margery rebuked, saying, 'You do evil to kneel or pray to such images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall he come down out of heaven; and he will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted and set under the cover of the font, will give light by night to those who are in the church:' saying, moreover, in English: 'Lewd wrights of stocks hew and form such crosses and images, and, after that, lewd painters gleeer them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true cross of Christ, I will show it you at home in your own house.' Which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, stretching out her arms abroad, said to this deponent: 'This is the true cross of Christ, and this cross thou oughtest and mayest every day behold and worship in thine own house; and therefore it is but vain to run to the church, to worship dead crosses and images.'

Item, This deponent, being demanded by the said Margery how she believed touching the sacrament of the altar, said that she believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very body of Christ in form of bread. To whom Margery said: 'Your belief is nought. For if every such sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of gods, because that a thousand priests, and more, do every day make a thousand such gods, and afterwards eat them, and void them out again in places, where, if you will seek them, you may find many such gods. And, therefore, know for certainty, that by the grace of God it shall never be my god, because

The sacrament is not God.

it is falsely and deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry; for it is only material bread.'

Moreover, The said Margery said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called Saint Thomas, was a false traitor, and damned in hell, because he injuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised up many heresies in the church, which seduce the simple people; and, therefore, if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed; and those false priests that say that he suffered his death patiently before the altar, do lie; for as a false cowardly traitor, he was slain in the church door, as he was flying away.

Moreover, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her, that the cursed pope, cardinals, archbishop, and bishops, and especially the bishop of Norwich, and others that support and maintain heresies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them, than that cursed man, Thomas of Canterbury, had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false mammetries and laws, to extort money from the simple folk, to sustain their pride, riot, and idleness. And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, who have most cruelly slain the children of God, Father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said Caiaphas, the bishop of Norwich, and his ministers, who are members of the devil, before this time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had falsely obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church; which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that every faithful man or woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or on other days appointed for fasting by the church; and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times; and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the market to bring themselves in debt to buy fish; and that pope Silvester made the Lent.

Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsely condemned for a heretic, and that he was a good and holy man; and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a devil, (one of bishop Caiaphas's servants), struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

Item, This deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her, that she should not go on pilgrimage, neither to our lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her, that she and Joan her maid would come secretly, in the night, to her chamber, and there she should hear her husband read the law of Christ unto them, which law was written in a book that her husband was wont to read to her by night: and that her husband is well learned in the christian verity.

Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joan West, and that the said woman is in a good way of salvation.

Also that the said Margery said to this deponent, 'Joan, it appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you;' and this deponent sware that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion. Then said Margery unto this deponent: 'If thou do accuse me unto the bishop, I will do unto thee, as I did once unto a certain friar, a Carmelite of Yarmouth, who was the best learned friar in all the country.' Then this deponent desired to know what she had done to the friar. Unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said friar, rebuking him because he did beg, saying, that it was no alms to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the plough, and so he should please God more, than following the life of some of those friars. Then the friar required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said Margery (as she affirmed to this deponent) declared to this friar the gospel, in English; and then the friar departed from her. After this the said friar accused the said Margery of heresy; and she, understanding that the friar had accused her, accused the friar again, that he would have

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1429.

Thomas Becket a traitor: slain, not before the altar, but in his flight.

Father Abraham, William White, John Wadden.

Against the popes' fasting days.

White, willing to speak at the stake, is stricken on the mouth.

Henry
VI.

seduced her; and because she would not consent unto him, the friar had accused her of heresy. And, moreover, she said, that her husband would have killed the friar there-for; and so the friar, for fear, held his peace, and went his way for shame.

A. D.
1429.

Against
auricular
confes-
sion.

This Margery also said, that she had oftentimes been feignedly confessed to the dean of the fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. Then this deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sins to a priest or not. And she answered, that she had never offended any priest, and therefore she would never confess herself to any priest, neither obey him; because they have no power to absolve any man from his sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men; and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no priest.

Against
image
worship.

Item, That the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship devils who fell from heaven with Lucifer; which devils, in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which stand in the churehes, and have long lurked and dwell in them; so that the people, worshipping those images, commit idolatry.

Against
holy
water and
holy
bread.

Item, She said moreover to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force; and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicated who first ordained them.

Moreover, that she should not be burned, although she were convicted of Lollardy, for that she had a charter of salvation in her body.

Also the said deponent saith, that Agnes Berthem, her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ash-Wednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a brass pot standing over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal seething in it; as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also, besides this deponent, divers others sworn and examined upon the said Margery, as John Grimley and Agnes Berthem, servants to William Cliffland, who all together confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we have thought good to note, as concerning Margery Backster, which we have gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we find no mention made in the said registers, we are not able to declare.

The same year also were the like depositions made by one William Wright against divers good men, as here followeth.

First, This deponent saith, that William Taylor told John Piry of Ludney, in the house of John Bungay of Beghton, in the presence of John Bungay, Robert Grigges, wright, of Martham, and John Usher, that all the good men of Martham who were favourers and helpers to that good man William White, are evil troubled now-a-days; and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor; and that the best doctor after him was William Everden, who wrought with the said William Taylor of Ludney, by the space of one month; and that the first Sunday of the same month, the said William Everden did sit all day upon the table at work, saying to the said William Taylor, that he would not go to church to show himself a scribe or a pharisee; and the second Sunday he put on gentlemen's apparel, and went to Norwich, to hearken how the bishop and his ministers used the poor Christians there in prison.

Also the said William Wright deposed, that William Taylor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with sir Hugh Pic, and had conversation oftentimes with sir William White, having often conference upon the Lollards' doctrine.

Item, That Anise, wife of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and favoured

them, and receiveth them often; and also the daughter of Thomas Moon is partly of the same sect, and can read English.

Item, That Richard Fletcher, of Beckles, is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the holy Scriptures, and hath a book of the new law in English, which was first sir Hugh Pie's.

Item, That Nicholas Belward, son of John Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelem, is one of the same sect, and hath a New Testament which he bought at London for four marks and forty-pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

Item, That Thomas Gremner, turner, of Dychingham, is perfect in that sect and law.

John Clark the younger, of Burgh, had the bedding and apparel of William Everden in his custody, after the return of William White from Burgh, and is of the same sect.

Item, William Bate, tailor, of Sething, and his wife, and his son, who can read English very well, are of the same sect.

Item, William Skirving, of Sething, received Joan, the wife of William White, into his house, being brought thither by William Everden, after their departure from Martham.

Item, William Osbourn of Sething, John Reve, glover, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beckles, are of the same sect.

Item, John Pert, late servant of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought sir Hugh Pie into the company of the Lollards, who assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Moon, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

Item, sir Hugh Pie bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a new Testament, which they then called the book of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

John Perker, mercer, of a village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said, that Father Abraham of Colchester is a good man.

Item, The said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of the Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed; notwithstanding at length the Lollards shall prevail and have the victory against all their enemies. Also he said, that Tucke knoweth all of that sect in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex.

Besides these, there were many others the same year troubled, whose names being before expressed in the table of Norfolk-men, here, for brevity's sake, we omit further to treat of, passing over to the next year following, which was 1430.¹

John Burrel, servant to Thomas Moon of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresy the ninth day of December, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by Master William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, upon the articles before-mentioned, and divers others hereafter following objected against him.

Imprimis, That the catholic church is the soul of every good christian man.

Item, That no man is bound to fast the Lent, or other fasting days, appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests; and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same days, indifferently, according to his own will, and every Friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

Item, That pilgrimage ought not to be made, but only unto the poor.

Item, That it is not lawful to swear, but in case of life and death.

Item, That masses and prayers for the dead are but vain, for the souls of the dead are either in heaven or hell; and there is none other place of purgatory but this world.

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A. D. 1430.

A prophecy.

A. D. 1430.

Lent fast, fish-days.

Pilgrimage to the poor. Masses for the dead unprofitable.

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Upon which articles he, being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the others before had done.

A. D. 1430.

Thomas Moon of Ludney was apprehended and attached for suspicion of heresy, against whom were objected by the bishop the articles before written, but especially this article: that he had familiarity and communication with divers heretics, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained divers of them, as sir William White, sir Hugh Pic, Thomas Pert, and William Callis, priests, with many more; upon which articles he, being convicted before the bishop, was forced to abjure; and received the like penance, in like manner as before.

White, Pic, Pett, Callis, priests, persecuted.

Griggess of Martham.

In like manner, Robert Griggess, of Martham, was brought before the bishop the seventeenth day of February, in the year aforesaid, for holding and affirming the aforesaid articles, but especially these hereafter following.

Articles.

That the sacrament of confirmation, ministered by the bishop, doth avail nothing to salvation.

That it is no sin to withstand the ordinances of the church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water are but trifles, and that the bread and water are the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests make over them.

Upon which articles he, being convicted, was forced to abjure, and received penance in manner and form as the others had done before him. The like also (albeit somewhat more sharp) happened unto John Finch of Colchester, the twentieth day of September, who, albeit he was of the diocese of London, being suspected of heresy, was attached at Ipswich in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he, being convicted of the like articles, as all the others before him, was enjoined penance, namely, three disciplinings at solemn procession about the cathedral church of Norwich three several Sundays; and three disciplinings about the market-place of Norwich three principal market-days; his head, neck, and feet, being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt or vesture; having in his hands a taper of wax of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity; and that for the space of three years after, every Ash-Wednesday and Maunday-Thursday, he should appear in the cathedral church at Norwich, before the bishop or his vicegerent, to do open penance among the other penitentiaries for his offences.

Popish penance

There were, besides these men whom we have here rehearsed, divers and many others, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also because their articles and punishments were all one, we have thought good at this time to pass over; especially forasmuch as their names be before recited in the catalogue.

Richard Hoveden; Martyr.

About the same time, even the same year 1430, shortly after the solemn coronation of king Henry VI., a certain man named Richard Hoveden, a wool-winder, and citizen of London, received also the crown of martyrdom; which man, when he could by no per-suasions

be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of Wickliff, was, by the rulers of the church, condemned for heresy, and as Fabian writeth, burned, hard by the Tower of London.

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1431.

Nicholas Canon, of Eye.

Now to proceed in our story of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one Nicholas Canon, of Eye, was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresy, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation; which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed, in manner and form following:

Depositions against Nicholas Canon.

First, That on Easter-day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession.—This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

Item, The said Nicholas asked of Master John Colman of Eye, this question: 'Master Colman, what think you of the sacrament of the altar?' To whom the said Colman answered: 'Nicholas, I think that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the form of bread and wine.' Unto whom Nicholas in derision said: 'Truly, if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ, then may very God and very man be put in a small room; as when it is in the priest's mouth, that receiveth it at mass. And why may not we simple men as well eat flesh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the priest to eat the flesh, and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently?'—Which article the said Nicholas denied that he spake unto Master Colman, but unto a monk of Hockesney: and, furthermore, he thought he had spoken well in that behalf.

If the sacrament be very flesh, then the priests eat flesh on Friday.

Item, That on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he also acknowledging, affirmed that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

Item, When his mother would have the said Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, forasmuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand and crossed him, saying, 'In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' Which so ended, the said Nicholas, immediately deriding his mother's blessing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise; as his adversaries report of him.—This article the said Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

Item, That upon Allhallows-day, at the time of the elevation of high mass, when many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicholas, carrying a torch, went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back saying mass, at the time of the elevation, stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face towards the people, and would do no reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf.

Nicholas Canon turned his back to the sacrament.

All which articles the bishop's commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent unto Master William Worsted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity, of the order of begging-friars, that they might deliberate upon them, and show their minds between that and Thursday next following; on which Thursday, being the last of November in the year abovesaid, the said Nicholas was again examined before

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1430.]

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 A. D. 1431.
 Master Bernham and divers others, upon two other articles which he had confessed unto John Exeter, notary, and Thomas Gerusten, bachelor of divinity, and others. Whereof the first article was this: That the said Nicholas Canon, being of perfect mind and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether, in the sacrament of the altar, there were the very body of Christ or no.—This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

Another examination.
 Articles objected.

Item, That he, being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confess his sins to a priest.—This article he also confessed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded upon the articles; whose answer unto the same was this:

Judgment on his articles.

First of all, as touching the first article, they said that the article in the same terms as it was propounded, is not simply a heresy, but an error.

Item, As touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, As touching the third article, they affirm that it is a heresy.

Unto the fourth article, they answered as unto the first and second.

Item, The doctors affirm the fifth article to be a heresy.

Heresy to doubt whether the sacrament be the perfect body of Christ.

Item, As touching the sixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the said Nicholas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the sacrament of the altar were the very perfect body of Christ or no, then the article is simply a heresy.

Canon declared a heretic.

Whereupon the said commissary declared and pronounced the said Nicholas, upon the determination of the said doctors, to be a heretic; and thereupon forced the said Nicholas to abjure all the said articles. That done, he enjoined the said Nicholas penance for his offences: three displings about the cloister of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a solemn procession, bare-headed and bare-foot, carrying a taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a mere penitentiary: which his penance the judge commanded should be respited until the coming of the bishop into his diocese, and that in the mean time he should be kept in prison; to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venom and poison of errors and heresies.

Penance enjoined him.

Thus we have briefly discoursed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in Norfolk and Suffolk by the space of those four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly, for every year, certain notable examples sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, forasmuch as their opinions being nothing different, their penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise than by those particular examples may be plainly seen.

Thomas Bagley, Priest.

And now to proceed as we have begun with our former stories, generally we find in Fabian's Chronicles, that in the same year of our Lord, 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, vicar of Monenden beside Malden, being a valiant disciple and adherent of Wickliff, was condemned by the bishops of heresy at London, about the middle of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

Paul Craw, a Bohemian, Martyr.

The same year also was Paul Craw, a Bohemian, taken at St. Andrew's by the bishop Henry, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt, for holding opinions contrary unto the church of

Rome, touching the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the worshipping of saints, auricular confession, with other of Wickliff's opinions.¹

Henry VI.

A. D. 1431.

See Appendix.

The Story of Thomas of Rennes, a Frenchman and Carmelite Friar, Burnt in Italy for the Profession of Christ.²

We have declared before, how this cruel storm of persecution which first began with us in England, after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, brake out and passed into Bohemia; and after, within a short time, the fire of this persecution, increasing by little and little, invaded Scotland; and from thence now with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame hath entered Italy, and suffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murder and slaughter of most good and godly men. It happened about this time that one Thomas of Rennes, a friar of that sect which taketh its name of the Mount Carmel, by chance came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy. This man, although he was of that sort and sect, which instead of Christians are called Carmelites, yet was he of a far other religion, and understood the word of God, judging that God ought to be worshipped neither in that mount, nor at Jerusalem only, but in spirit and truth. This man, being a true Carmelite, and favouring with his whole heart that new sweet must,³ of Jesus Christ, with earnest study and desire seeking after a christian integrity of life, prepared himself first to go into Italy, trusting that he should find there, or else in no place, some, by whose good life and living he might be edified and instructed. For where ought more abundance of virtue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fort and fountain of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that where so great holiness is professed; whereupon all men's eyes are bent as upon a stage; where St. Peter's seat is, and is thought to be the ruler and governor of all the church, all things should flourish and abound worthy of so great expectation in that place? This holy man, having these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himself, forsook his own country and city, and went unto Rome, conceiving a firm and sure hope, that by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he should greatly profit in godliness and learning; but the success of the matter did utterly frustrate his hope, for all things were clean contrary. Whatsoever he saw, was nothing else but mere dissimulation and hypocrisy. Instead of gold, he found nothing but coals;⁴ and, to say the truth, he found nothing else, there, but gold and silver; for instead of heavenly gifts, there reigned amongst them the pomp and pride of the world; in place of godliness, riot; instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of apostolic simplicity; so that now there remained no more any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. Finally, all things were turned bottom upwards; all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation, wheresoever he went. But nothing so much offended this good man's mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in them, whom example

Rennes cometh into Italy.

The golden city of Rome.

All things corrupt there.

(1) Ex Hector. Boetio.

(2) Ex Antonino, 3 part. Hist. fol. 165.

(3) "flud novum

mustum;" sweet wine. Lat. Edition, page 73.—ED.

(4) See Appendix.—ED.

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The wickedness and pride that reign there.

The corruption will admit no reformation.

Piety rewarded with persecution.

Heresy amended where none is.

Papery amended with policy, and defended with tyranny.

of humility should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And albeit that he saw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the apostles, yet these things did so much pass all measure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue, in so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, in their apparel, in their palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, in their horse and armour; and, finally, in all things pertaining unto them. Which things by how much they did vary from the prescribed rule of the gospel, so much the more was this good man forced to speak: albeit he did well understand how little he should prevail by speaking; for, if admonition would profit any thing at all, the books of Wickliff and divers others were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, and their blood shed for the same, were yet present before their eyes; at whose most effectual exhortations, they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice more cruel than they were before. Yet all this could not fear this good man Thomas, but that in so necessary and wholesome an office he would spend his life, if need should be. So by this means, he who came to be a scholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he, who determined to follow other men's lives and manners, had now, contrariwise, set before them his life to be marked and followed: for he lived so amongst them, that his life might be a rule unto them all; and so taught, as he might also be their schoolmaster. For, even as Paul hath foreshowed unto such as desired to live godly in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of godliness, which they should follow: they again set upon his head the diadem of martyrdom. He showed them the way to salvation; and they, for the benefit of life, rewarded him with death: and whereas no rewards had been worthy for his great labours and travails, they, with most extreme ignominy, persecuted him even unto the fire. For when, by continual preaching, he had gotten great envy and hatred, the rulers began to consult together by what means they might circumvent this man's life. Here they had recourse to their accustomed remedies; for it was a peculiar and continual custom amongst the prelates of the church, that if any man did displease them, or if his talk was not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful, or a hinderance to their luere and gain, by and by they framed out articles of some heresy, which they charged him withal. And like as every living thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himself from harm, as nature hath armed the boar with his tusks, the hedgehog with his prickles, the lion is feared for his claws, the dog for his biting, the bull fighteth with his horns, neither doth the ass lack his hoofs to strike withal: even so this is the only armour of the bishops, to strangle a man with heresy, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition; which thing may be easily perceived and seen in this most holy man, besides a great number of others. Who, when now he began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be suffered, what did they? Straightways flee to their own policies, and, as they had done with Huss, and Jerome of Prague, even so went they about to practise against this man. They overwhelm him

with suspicion, they seek to entangle him with questions, they examine him in judgment, they compile articles against him, and lay heresy to his charge; they condemn him as a heretic, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This is their godliness; this is the peaceable order of those Carmelites, whose religion is to wear no sword nor shield, notwithstanding they bear in their hearts malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by law, that none of these clergymen should fight with sword in the streets? when in judgment and accusations (where it is not lawful for a man to oppress his brother) there is no murderer, who hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely esteem his brother's soul than they. They shed no blood themselves; they strike not, nor kill; but they deliver them over unto others, to be slain. What difference is there, I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the others are but the ministers of the cruel fact? They kill no man as murderers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another mean.

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The articles which they falsely gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:—

That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That infidels, Jews, Turks, and Moors, shall be converted unto Christ in the latter days.

That abominations are used at Rome.

That the unjust excommunication of the pope is not to be feared; and those who do not observe the same, do not sin or offend.

But' yet there lacked a minister for these articles, albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, even men's souls. For this office and ministry there was no man thought more meet than William of Rouen, cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount, vice-chancellor of the court of Rome. Eugene at that time was pope, who had a little before succeeded pope Martin above-mentioned; before the which Eugene this godly Frenchman of Rennes was brought, and from thence sent to prison; and again, after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the judges. The wolf sat in judgment; the lamb was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring. But here need not many words. This good man Thomas, not being able to resist the malice of these mighty potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convicted and condemned to be burned: but in such sort, as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he had taken to priesthood; for it is counted an unlawful thing, that a priest should be punished with profane punishment, when, notwithstanding, it is lawful enough for priests to put any layman to death, be he never so guiltless. How religiously and earnestly do they foresee that the majesty of the priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt? But how little care have they that their consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltless? Wherefore, before he should come unto punishment, this good man Thomas must be degraded. The

Rennes is
persecuted and
brought
before
pope
Eugene.

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order and manner of this popish degrading is partly touched upon in the story of William Taylor.

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He is
burned
at Rome.
Thomas
degraded.

After it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by, afterwards, they deprived him of his life also, and burned him, four years after he came to Rome,¹ A. D. 1436.

* These² degrees, because ye shall not be ignorant, are not such as may be counted among the differences whereby we are known from others; neither among the 'provers' which are always agreeable unto us, but among those common accidents, which we both may have, and may be taken away from us at the will and pleasure of the bishops. For thus we are taught by such as write of philosophy, that there is an apt and easy motion from the habit to deprivation, but, contrariwise, from privation unto the habit there is no return. Wherefore, gentle reader, it is not to be marvelled at, why that he, being now become a layman, should die, who lived, being a priest. But this thou mayest more marvel at, what folly and madness was in those men's minds, who, through such acts and doings, would set themselves forth to be a mocking-stock unto all the whole world, and, not only to be derided of men, but to be abominable and accursed before God.* And thus, through the cruelty of these most tyrannous prelates, this blessed martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loss of this body, for a greater gain of salvation before the just judgment of God. Neither is it to be doubted but that he liveth eternally in heaven, under the altar, with them whose blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too soon for some of them whom the earth hath here so long holden unpunished.

Divers
other
martyrs.

As this Thomas above mentioned suffered at Rome, so were divers others, in other places about Germany, executed near about the same time, after the burning of John Huss; as Henry Grundfelder, priest, of Ratisbon, A. D. 1420; also Henry Radtgeber, priest, in the same city, A. D. 1423; John Draendorfe, of noble birth, and a priest, was burned at Worms, A. D. 1424; Peter Thoraw, at Spires, A. D. 1426; Matthew Hager also suffered at Berlin in Germany, not long after.³

Pope Eu-
gene IV.

After the death of pope Martin, who reigned fourteen years, succeeded Eugene IV., about A. D. 1431. Of whom Antoninus thus writeth, that he was much given to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the Romans may declare; also the battles between the Venetians and the Florentines.

This pope began first to celebrate the council of Basil, which council Martin, his predecessor, had before intended, according to the institution of the council of Constance. Notwithstanding the said Eugene, perceiving afterwards this council of Basil not to favour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterwards laboured, by all subtle practice, to dissolve and interrupt the said council, and from Basil to translate it first to Ferrara, then to Florence, more near to his own see of Rome. Concerning which council of Basil, forasmuch as we have begun here to make mention, it shall

See
Appendix.

(1) In the appendix will be found, "*Carmina quædam in ejus laudem reperta,*" from the Latin Edition of 1559, p. 75.—ED.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 362.—En.

(3) Ex Bale Centur. sept. [Interesting particulars, relating to these martyrs, will be found in a Dutch Martyrology published at Dort in 1657.—ED.]

be no great digression out of the way to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as, for the principal matters thereof, shall seem sufficient or necessary to be known.

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The Order and Manner of the Council of Basil,

WITH A BRIEF RECAPITULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL MATTERS
DECREED AND CONCLUDED THEREIN,¹

With a full Discourse of the Disputation holden amongst the Bishops, upon Eight Conclusions proponed in the same Council; collected and translated out of the Two Books of Æneas Sylvius, who was there present, and at that time a meetly good man, and afterward was made Cardinal and Pope, called Pius the Second.²

In the thirty-ninth session of the council of Constance, as is before mentioned,³ it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of such general councils as should hereafter follow. The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth year after the said council of Constance; the second to be holden the seventh year again after that; and so orderly all others to follow successively from ten years to ten years. Wherefore, according to this decree, followed a general council five years after the council of Constance, celebrated and holden at Sienna, under Pope Martin, A. D. 1423; but it soon broke up. After the which council the term of seven years being expired, another council was holden at Basil A. D. 1431; the which council is noted to have been the most troublesome, and to have endured longer than any other council before-time celebrated and holden in the church. This council continued almost the space of twelve years; wherein it was concluded, as before in the council of Constance, that the general councils were above the pope, and both of these two councils did attribute the chief authority in decreeing and determining unto a general council; which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authority of both these councils.

[August 22d.]

[Opened July 23d: first session Dec. 14th.]

When pope Martin V. had appointed Julian, cardinal-deacon of St. Angelo, his legate, to celebrate and hold a general council at Basil for the reformation of the church and rooting out of heresies, within short space after pope Martin died (A. D. 1431); in whose seat Eugene IV. succeeded, who confirmed unto the said cardinal Julian the same authority which his predecessor before had given him. Unto this council of Basil, being begun, came the emperor Sigismund, who, during his lifetime, with his presence and authority did protect and defend the said synod. After the emperor's death, pope Eugene, altering his former mind and purpose, would transfer the council unto Bologna, and thereby hinder the success of the council of Basil. And first he held a contrary council at Ferrara, and afterward at Florence: for, after the death of the emperor Sigismund, there were no princes nor noblemen that had any care or regard of the council. Eugene, the pope, pretended causes as touching the Greeks who should come unto the council, and the uniting of their

Death of pope Martin. [Feb. 21st, A. D. 1431.]

[Jan. 10th, A. D. 1438.]

[Feb. 29th, A. D. 1439.]

Pope Eugene seeketh to dissolve the council.

(1) Ex Æneæ Sylvio, Ex Cochleo in Hist. Unssit., Et ex paralipom. Abbat. Ursperg.

(2) The history of the council of Basil is considerably abridged in the second and succeeding editions of the Acts and Monuments; the more complete history which will be found in the following pages is supplied from the first edition, namely, that of 1563, from which the passages in asterisks, with numerous other additions, are introduced. See the Appendix.—ED.

(3) See *suprà*. p. 420.—ED.

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1139.

Dissension between the council and the pope. [July 24th, A.D. 1437.]

church unto the West church, the which Greeks would in no wise pass the Alps: also as touching his own incommodity, that he could not come unto Basil, being so long a journey; and that all his men might have easy access unto Bologna; and that amongst the Germans (who in their own country are so intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited cardinal Julian and the fathers of the council unto Bologna, under great penalty. They again cited the pope, that either he should come himself unto the council or send ambassadors, under the like penalty. For this cause the ambassadors of Albert, king of the Romans, and of the other princes of Germany, with the orators of the council of Basil, and the cardinal Julian, assembled together, first at Nuremberg, to appease the dissension between the council and the pope; and when they could determine nothing there, they agreed to assemble again at Frankfort, on the calends of March; for it was thought that the electors of the empire might best assemble and meet in that place. In the mean time the emperor's ambassadors, and the ambassadors of the electors, went unto Basil, and having conference with the ambassadors of the other princes who were there, and sending for the cardinal of St. Peter (an excellent man, who at that time tarried at Constance, to see the end and issue of things), they did earnestly exhort the fathers of the council, that they would embrace and receive the means of concord which they would offer. The request of the princes was, that the fathers would translate the council, and go unto another place; the which only thing pope Eugene seemed always to seek and desire, that thereby he might either divide the fathers of the council, or take away their liberty.

The prelates of the council refuse the pope's request.

Notwithstanding, this sacred synod thought good neither to deny the princes' request, nor to grant that which pope Eugene required. During this doubt, the emperor's ambassadors, the bishops of Passau and Augsburg, with John Eich, a famous lawyer, repaired to the emperor, but first (being much required and stirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant baron called Conrad de Winsperg, by the royal commandment, to be protector and defender of the council and the fathers. Whereby, as the enemies perceived the emperor's mind to be alienate from the pope, so the fathers of the council understood his good-will towards them; forsomuch as he would not have sent them a protector, if he had not judged it a lawful council, neither again would he have judged it to be a council at Basil, if he had given credit to pope Eugene. But the assembly that should have been holden at Frankfort, by reason of a great pestilence which broke out there, was translated unto Mentz. The ambassadors of the princes also thought good to go thither, if they might find any means of unity, whereby they might unite and knit the pope again unto the council.

The princes assembled at Mentz, to make unity.

The assembly was very famous, for there were present the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, electors of the sacred empire, and the ambassadors of all the other electors. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Cologne was the chief favourer of the council in this assembly, who, with all his labour and diligence, went about to bring the matter unto a good end. Rabanus, the archbishop of Treves, showed himself somewhat more rough. The sacred synod also thought good to send thither their ambassadors, and appointed out the patriarch of Aquileia, the bishop of Vich, and the bishop of Argos;¹ John

de Segovia, and Thomas de Corsellis, divines; with divers lawyers. There was no man there present, who would name himself the ambassador of Eugene; albeit there were many of his favourers and friends come thither, both from the council and also from Florence, who, albeit they had sworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more Eugene than the council, whose sect William, a lawyer of Constance, afterwards called the grisled sect.¹ But the chief Hercules of all the Eugenians was Nicholas Cusanus, a man singularly well learned, and of great experience. After divers consultations had, the electors of the empire, and the ambassadors of the other princes of Germany, thought good to give out commandment throughout their whole nation and country, that the decrees of the council of Basil should be received and observed.

Whilst these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang a certain very doabftul question amongst the divines who remained at Basil, whether or not Eugene might be called a heretic, who had so rebelliously contemned the commandments of the church. Hereupon they gathered themselves together, disputing among themselves by the space of six days in the forenoons and afternoons, some affirming the proposition, and others holding the negative part. Upon this their disputation there arose three several opinions, some affirming that he was a heretic; other some not only a heretic, but also a relapse; the third sort would neither grant him to be heretic, nor a relapse. Amongst these divines, the chief and principal both in learning and authority were the bishop of Ebrun,² ambassador of the most noble king of Castile, and a certain Scottish abbot; who, as two most valiant champions, subdued all their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent unto their arguments, or give place unto them; so that their determination took place, and Eugene was pronounced both a heretic and a relapse. Eight conclusions were there determined and allowed amongst the divines, which they called 'verities,' the copy whereof they did divulgate throughout all Christendom.

When the ambassadors of the council were returned from Mentz, and certain report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of the council thought good to discuss the conclusions of the divines more at large. Whereupon, by the commandment of the deputations, all the masters and doctors of civil and canon law were called together, with the prelates, into the chapter-house of the great church, there openly to dispute and discuss Eugene's heresy: which thing sore grieved the archbishop of Milan, fearing lest this disputation should work the deprivation of Eugene, the which, as he said, he had always opposed for fear of schism. Wherefore he ceased not, by all manner of ways, to labour to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of Eugene. But, at the last, there was a great assembly in the chapter-house, some coming thither to dispute, and other some to hear. This disputation continued six days, both forenoon and afternoon. Cardinal Louis, archbishop of Arles, as being neutral on the question, was appointed moderator and arbiter of the whole disputation; who, beside many other notable virtues, was both valiant and constant. Nicholas Amici, who was a proctor of the faith, a famous man amongst the divines of Paris, was to demand of every man what his opinion was. John Diente-

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1429.The
opinion
touching
the pope.The am-
bassadors
return
from
Mentz.The
pope's
heresy
discuss-
ed.The arch-
bishop of
Milan
taketh
Eugene's
part, for
fear of a
schism.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) *Ibid.*

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first, public notary, was to write down every man's sentence and judgment. The conclusions of the divines, which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these here following :

The Conclusions of the Disputation.

I. It is a verity of the catholic faith, that a sacred general council hath power over the pope, and any other person.

II. The pope cannot by his own authority, either dissolve, translate, or prorogue a general council lawfully congregate, without the consent of the council itself: and this is of like verity.

III. He who doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted a heretic.

IV. Pope Eugene IV. resisted these verities, when at the first he attempted by the plenitude of his apostolic power to dissolve or to translate the council of Basil.

V. Eugene, being admonished by the sacred council, did revoke the errors repugnant to these verities.

VI. The dissolution or translation of the council, attempted the second time by Eugene, is against the aforesaid verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touching the faith.

VII. Eugene, in going about to dissolve and translate the council again, is fallen into his before-revoked errors.

VIII. Eugene, being warned by the synod that he should revoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted, persevering in his rebellion after that his contumacy was declared, and erecting a council at Ferrara, showeth himself thereby obstinate.

These were the conclusions which were read in the chapter-house before the fathers of the council: upon the which when they were desired to speak their minds, they almost all confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Palermo, commonly called Panormitane,¹ disputed much against them, as did the bishop of Burgos, and the king of Arragon's almoner. Yet did they not gainsay the three first conclusions, but only those wherein pope Eugene was touched. This Panormitane, as he was subtle, so did he subtly dispute against the last conclusions, endeavouring to show that Eugene was not relapsed; and had great contention with the bishop of Argos, John de Segovia, and Francis de Foix, divines.

The Argument of Panormitane for the Pope.

He divided articles of faith into three sorts; those strictly such, as those in the Creed; general, as the declarations made by the church; most general of all, as in those things which arise of the premises: affirming that Eugene did by no means violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the pope cannot dissolve any councils; and that it seemed not unto him to rise of determinations before made, but rather of the decrees of the council of Constance. And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserved for the pope to be discussed, forso much as in the chapter beginning 'Frequens' it appeareth that the place where the council should be kept ought to be chosen by the pope, the council allowing the same, and nothing at all is spoken on this matter. And if, peradventure, Eugene had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding, he ought to be holden excused, because he did it in conjunction with the council of cardinals, who represented the church of Rome; whose authority he affirmed to be such, that the judgment thereof should be preferred before all the world, a doctrine supported (he said) by a singular gloss. Neither was the sacred council found to have ever proceeded against Eugene as a heretic; and that was an evident sign that the council had not thought him to have swerved from the faith. Neither did it have any weight with him what was said concerning his adhesion, and his errors revoked; for that he himself had read the whole text of the adhesion, and that the pope did not therein revoke the dissolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence. Also that

Articles
of faith
divided
into three
sorts.

Panormi-
tane pre-
ferreth
the judg-
ment of
the cardi-
nals be-
fore all
the world.

(1) See on Panormitane *infra*, vol. vi. p. 600, Note (2).

the last dissolution had nothing of the sort in it, forso much as that likewise was made with the advice of the cardinals, and for the uniting of the Greeks, and that he might not be compelled in a criminal cause to answer by his proctor, when he, being letted by sickness, could not come personally. And so, forasmuch as by the first dissolution Eugene had fallen into no error of faith, he could not be persuaded that he was to be called a relapse, forso much as neither in the first, neither yet in the second, dissolution did he violate the faith.

This oration of Panormitane was by all praised rather than allowed. Notwithstanding this effect it wrought, that afterward the word "relapse" was taken out of the conclusions, and instead thereof the word "prolapse" put in. Neither durst Panormitane himself altogether excuse Eugene of heresy, but defended the first dissolution more than the second: yet departed he not without answer; for John de Segovia, an expert divine, rising up, answered him reverently and courteously, as was comely toward so great a prelate.

The Answer of John de Segovia.

He said, he granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the division of articles of faith into three sorts, and that it made for his purpose. For if those things are to be holden for articles of faith, said he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the church, it was manifest that the conclusions in question redounded and came of the determinations of the church, that is to say, of the council of Constance; for if therein the pope were made subject unto a general council, who is it that will say that the pope hath power over a council which is above him, and that Eugene ought to remain pope? because he could not dissolve a council which is above him, without the consent thereof: which article undoubtedly he hath violated and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this article was not violated because there was no declaration as yet made thereof, let him who so thinketh understand, that the bishop of Rome ought not only to know the plain and manifest, but also the secret and hidden, things of the faith; for he, being the vicar of Christ, and the head of all others, hath to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he get out of that dilemma, he shall still be convicted, because he persisted in the dissolution long after the declaration of the council was made, neither did consent unto the determination of the church; and therefore, if peradventure he did not err in the faith in dissolving of the council, yet did he err in persevering in the same, as manifestly appeareth by the saying of Clement, oftentimes alleged by Panormitane, wherein it is said, 'That he who liveth rebelliously, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and rather an infidel than a believer;' so that Eugene, as disobeying the church, may not unreasonably be called an infidel. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in a matter of faith; forasmuch as, both in that answer which beginneth 'Cogitanti,' and also in the answer which beginneth

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The pope pretendeth the uniting of the Greeks, but meaneth another thing. The pope, no relapse, but prolapse.

The pope, neglecting to do good, is a member, not of Christ, but of the devil.

Sperant,' made unto the pope's ambassadors, these words are manifest: 'This article concerneth faith, and we had rather die, than cowardly give place.' By the which saying it was evident that the council sufficiently admonished the pope that he went against the faith; and therefore it seemed that afterward, when Eugene by the act of adhesion revoked the dissolution, he also revoked an error of faith contained in the same. The offence also, whereof mention was made, had arisen because of an error in faith: for some said that the pope is under the council, other some denied it, and this diversity of doctrine brought offence. Also in the pope's adhesion it was expressly declared, that the pope did revoke the assertions made in his name against the authority of the council. And albeit in such revocations the style and order of judgments were not observed, notwithstanding, it sufficed what was usually done when a council proceeded against a pope, in which case the only thing requisite was, that truth be observed: neither was a council subject to any positive law, that it must observe the judicial terms or style.

Also he said that he utterly contemned that same singular gloss which did prefer the church of Rome before all the world: that it was well called singular, which decreed such foolish and fond things, and was unworthy to be followed

Councils bound to no positive law.

(1) Distinction 38, cap. 16.—E.D.

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[Hieron.
ad Eva-
gritum.]

of any man; and that he did much marvel at Panormitane, and other doctors of those days, who, whilst they went about to extol the authority of the glosses, do abase the same by adding their singularities thereto; for that gloss is singular, which is alone. But who would not more esteem a gloss which should throughout breathe the same doctrine and speak consistently with itself, than one which only in one place should assert any thing, which may seem without doubt to be an error. But as regarded the point of doctrine in this case, St. Jerome, a most sound doctor, was contrary to this gloss, who 'doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is greater than the City itself,' that is to say, Rome.

Segovius could not finish this his oration without interruption; for Panormitane oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this assertion, and now that. Whereupon the bishop of Argos rising up, a man not only eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled Panormitane in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose. In truth they proceeded so far, that they passed the bounds of disputation, and did not abstain from opprobrious taunts. The bishop of Argos indeed afterward begged pardon, though perhaps the least in error of the two; but inferiors must succumb.

The bishop of Argos having chanced to say, that the bishop of Rome was the servant of the church, Panormitane could not suffer that; insomuch that he so forgot himself that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was very great) did so fail him, that he was not ashamed to affirm, that the pope was lord of the church. Whom Segovius answered thus:

Panormi-
tane ap-
pointeth
the pope
lord of
the
church.

The
pope and
the clergy
desire do-
minion,
contrary
to the
Scrip-
tures.

Mark, said he, O Panormitane, what thou sayest; for that is the most honourable title of the bishop of Rome, whereby he calleth himself 'the servant of the servants of God.' Which title is gathered from what Christ said unto his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest: you know he answered them, 'The princes of the nations have lordship over them; but you shall not do so,' &c.; wherein he did utterly prohibit lordship. And Peter, who was the first vicar of Christ, said: 'Feed the flock of God which is committed unto you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly:' and immediately after he saith, 'not as lords over the clergy.' But if Christ the Son of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, how then can his vicar have any lordship, or be called 'lord,' as you, Panormitane, insist? forasmuch 'as the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.' And the Lord himself saith; 'Be ye not called masters, forasmuch as one is your master, that is Christ; and he who is the greatest among you, shall be your servant.'

Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the council brake up and departed.

The
French
king's
ambassa-
dor
against
Eugene.

The next day there was a general congregation, and they returned all again unto the chapter-house after dinner, where the archbishop of Lyons, his king's orator, being required to speak his mind, after he had by divers and sundry reasons proved Eugene to be a heretic, he bitterly complained, strongly censuring the negligence and weakness of those that had preferred such a man unto the papacy, and so moved all their hearts who were present, that they all, as well as himself, did bewail the calamities of the universal church.

The
bishop of
Burgos.

Then the bishop of Burgos, one of the orators for Spain, divided the conclusions into two parts, calling some general, and other some personal, and disputed very excellently as touching the three first conclusions; affirming, that he did not doubt their truth, save that

the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to him to be doubtful. But upon this point he dwelt much, namely, that the council was above the pope; which, after he had sufficiently proved both by divine and human law, he taught also by natural reason, alleging Aristotle for witness, who saith that in every well ordered kingdom it should especially be provided, that the whole realm should be of more power than the king; and that if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdom, but a tyranny. So likewise did he think of the church, that it ought to be of more power than the prince thereof, that is to say, the pope. Which his oration he uttered so eloquently and pleasantly, so learnedly and truly, that all men hung on his lips, and (what is not very usual) desired rather to have him continue his oration, than to make an end thereof.

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The council above the pope.

But when he entered into the other conclusions and tried to impugn them, he seemed to have lost himself, and to be no more the same man that he was; for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, nor weight in argument, nor cheerfulness of countenance; so that if he could have seen himself, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man before might well perceive a certain power and force of truth,¹ which ministered copy² of matter and words unto him, so long as he spake in her defence: but when he began once to speak against her, she took away even his natural power of speech from him.³ Notwithstanding, Panormitane and the bishop of Burgos showed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confess or grant the last conclusions to be verities of faith, yet they would not that any man should follow or lean unto their opinion, seeing they were but mean divines; but rather unto the opinions of the divines. But the king of Arragon's almoner, being a subtle and crafty man, did not directly dispute upon the conclusions, but picking out here and there certain arguments, sought to perplex the council. Against these the Scottish abbot, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much; also Thomas de Corsellis, a famous divine, than whom no one more stoutly defended the decrees of the sacred council, through a certain extreme bashfulness always keeping his eyes on the ground, did largely and luminously dispute in defence of the conclusions.

The Chief Arguments of the Disputation, as summed up by Æneas Sylvius.

But now, to avoid tediousness, I will only proceed to declare the arguments whereby the conclusions were finally confirmed, not referring at all to the five last conclusions, which concern the person of Eugene, but only to the three first. According, then, to probable arguments which I gathered out of the disputation of the fathers—In the first conclusion is the greatest force, and it is the first to be discussed: touching which, two things are to be inquired and examined; the one, whether a general council have authority over the pope, the other, whether the catholic faith command it to be believed. As touching that the pope is subject to a general council, it is excellently well proved by the reason before alleged by the bishop of Burgos. For the pope is in the church, as a king in his kingdom; and for a king to be of more authority than his kingdom, it were too absurd: ergo, neither ought the pope to be above the

First conclusion.

(1) "The force of truth" appeareth also in Æneas, the writer hereof; although afterwards, when he was pope, he denied the same.

(2) "Copy," i.e. "abundance," from the Latin "copia:" an obsolete use of the word. Todd's Johnson.—Ed.

(3) Note what it is for a man to labour against his knowledge.

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not of
more au-
thority
than his
kingdom.What a
king is.The in-
stitution
of kings.The pope
ought to
be subject
unto the
council.'Tu es
Petrus'
expound-
ed.Sins are
the gates
of hell.Against
the pa-
pi-st's opi-
nion, that

church. For like as oftentimes kings, who do wickedly govern the commonwealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprived of their kingdoms; even so it is not to be doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the general councils.

Neither do I herein allow those who attribute such ample and large authority unto kings, that they will not have them bound under any laws; for such as so do say, be but flatterers, who do talk otherwise than they think. For albeit that they do say, that the moderation of the law is always in the prince's power;¹ that do I thus understand, that when reason shall persuade, he ought to digress from the rigour of the law. For he is called a king, who careth and provideth for the commonwealth, taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of his subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth; which if he do not, he is not to be counted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it is, only to seek his own profit; for in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other only his own; the which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alleged wherefore kings were ordained.

At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices saith) it is certain, that there was a certain time when the people lived without kings. But afterwards, when lands and possessions began to be divided according to the custom of every nation, then were kings ordained for no other cause, but only to exercise justice. For when, at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by-and-by to some good and virtuous man, who should defend the poor from injury, and ordain laws whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when as yet, under the rule of kings, the poor were oftentimes oppressed, laws were ordained and instituted, which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich. Whereby we do understand and know, not only the people, but also the king to be subject to the laws. And if we do see a king to contemn and despise the laws, violently rob and spoil his subjects, defile virgins, dishonour matrons, and do all things licentiously and temerarily; do not the nobles of the kingdom assemble together, deposing him from his kingdom, and set up another in his place, who shall swear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the laws? Verily, as reason doth persuade, even so doth the use thereof also teach us. It seemeth also agreeable unto reason, that the same should be done in the church, that is to say, in the council, which is done in any kingdom. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we have before said, that the pope is subject unto the council.

But now, to pass unto the arguments of divinity, the foundation of the matter which we do treat upon, is the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ in divers places, but especially where he speaketh unto Peter: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et porte inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam'; that is, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Upon which words it seemeth good to begin this disputation, forso much as some were wont to allege these words, to extol the authority of the bishop of Rome. But (as it shall by-and-by appear) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning than divers of them do think; for he saith, 'And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Verily this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there have been spoken, than that the gates of hell should not prevail against the church? These gates of hell, as St. Jerome saith, do signify sins. Wherefore, if sins cannot prevail against the church, neither can any malign spirits prevail against the same, which have no power at all over mankind, but only through sin. And for that cause, whereas it is said in Job, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign spirit; thereby it followeth, that the power of the church is above all other power.

We may, also, upon the same saying, reason after another sort: forso much as the gates of hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the church, the church thereby is declared to be without sin; the which cannot be spoken of the

(1) These kind of flatterers come now, in our days.

pope, who is a mortal man, forso much as it is written, 'Seven times in the day the just man doth offend.' If the church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sin, who is it that will prefer a sinful man before an undefiled church? Neither let us give ear unto those who will not refer these words of Christ unto the church, where he saith, 'Oravi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua; that is to say, 'Peter! I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail thee.' For, as St. Augustine saith in the exposition of the Psalms: 'Certain things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertain unto the apostle Peter, notwithstanding they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the church, the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent.' Whereupon in another place, in the questions of the New and Old Testament, upon the words, 'Rogavi pro te Petre; ' I have prayed for thee, Peter!' what is doubted? Did he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for James and John, besides the rest? It is manifest, that under the name of Peter all others are contained. For in another place of St. John, he saith: 'I pray for them whom thou hast given me, and I will that wheresoever I am, they shall be also with me.' Whereupon we do oftentimes by the name of Peter understand the church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place; otherwise the truth could not consist, forso much as within a while after, the faith of Peter failed for a time, by the denial of Christ; but the faith of the church, whose person Peter did represent, did always persevere inviolate.

As touching the bishops of Rome, if time would suffer us, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either have been heretics, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant, how Marcellinus, at the emperor's commandment, did sacrifice unto idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attain unto the papacy by a devilish fraud and deceit.' Notwithstanding, the testimony of Paul to the Hebrews shall suffice us at this time, who saith that 'every bishop is compassed in with infirmity,' that is to say, with wickedness and sin. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approve that the church remaineth always without sin; for in Matthew he saith, 'I am with you even unto the end of the world.' Which words were not only spoken to the apostles (for they continued not unto the end of the world), but also unto their successors; neither would Christ then signify that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserve the holy church, consisting amongst his apostles and their successors, always immaculate and undefiled.

And again in another place, 'I,' saith he, 'will pray, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but you shall know him, because he shall remain with you.' Which words being spoken unto the disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so consequently unto the church. And if the Spirit of truth be continually in the church, no man can deny but that the church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the spouse of the church, who seeth not but that the church is undefiled? 'For the husband and the wife,' as the apostle saith, 'are two in one flesh,' and, as he doth also add, 'no man hateth his own flesh.' Thereby it cometh to pass, that Christ cannot hate the church, forso much as she is his spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself; ergo, the church doth not sin; for if it did sin, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. Which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the apostle to confess that the church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle.² Also writing unto Timothy, he affirmeth the church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon, in this song of the spouse, it is said: 'My friend, thou art altogether fair and beautiful, neither is there any spot in thee.' These words, peradventure, may abash some, that I do go about to prove the church to be without sin. For as the church doth contain all men who are called Christians, who also do agree and come together in one belief of faith, and participation of the sacraments, I do fear lest some men will think, that I do affirm all men to be without sin; which is so far

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the pope cannot err.

Oravi pro te, Petre, is meant of the church

Bishops of Rome are heretics.

The church without sin, and the pope is a sinner.

The church is one flesh with Christ.

(1) He raeareth Silvester II. [See Appendix.]

(2) The church is without spot or sin, is to be understood not by nature, but only by imputation.

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The church without sin, how to be understood. An error that only the Virgin Mary did persevere constant, at the time of Christ's passion.

from my meaning, that I do verily think the contrary to be most true. For I suppose, that there is no man in the church, being clothed in this mortal flesh, without sin. Neither do these things vary or dissent among themselves; for the church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sin. For there be always good men in the church, who, albeit they be subject unto human fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of sincere and pure virtue, that, subduing all carnal desires and affections, they keep themselves a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice unto God. Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers,¹ who affirm that the Virgin Mary only persevered in faith at the Lord's passion. Whereupon divers have not been ashamed to say, that the faith was so debilitated and weakened, that it seemed to be returned to one only old woman; whose opinion, or rather madness, St. Paul seemeth openly to reject, writing thus unto the Romans: 'Do ye not know,' saith he, 'what the Scripture writeth of Elias, how incessantly he called upon God against the children of Israel, saying, O Lord, they have slain thy prophets, and digged down thine altars, and I alone am left, and they seek after my soul: but what answer received he of God? I have left unto myself yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal.' What other thing doth this answer of God declare, than that it is a foolish opinion of those who think the church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to believe the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant unto those men, who affirm, that the Virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus said unto his Father: 'O holy Father! save them in thy name whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I have kept them that thou gavest unto me, and none of them perished, but only the son of perdition.' And, 'I do not desire that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst preserve them from evil.'

Behold, Christ prayeth that his disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, although they were still living in the world; and he, so praying, without doubt is heard; for he saith in another place: 'I know that thou hearest me.' But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, swerved at the time of his passion? As for example, by what means did Christ, hanging upon the cross, commend his dearly beloved mother unto John, if so be he were either then swerved, or should by-and-by after have swerved from the faith? Moreover, did not the centurion by-and-by cry out and say: 'Truly this is the Son of God?' The Jews also, who at that time were far distant from Jerusalem, might both be called faithful, and also be saved by their faith; seeing that (as the apostle saith) men are bound unto the gospel (even when they swerve from it), after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us judge that there hath been, and is, a great number of good men in the church; and by them, as by the more worthy part, let us name the church holy and immaculate, which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the church is compared unto a net which is cast into the sea, and gathereth together all kind of fishes [Matt. xx.].

And again, it is compared unto a king, which made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call those which were bidden unto the wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could find. Wherefore their opinion is erroneous, who affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the church; which, if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the church were. But forso much as the Scripture saith: 'No man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred,'² their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, who include all the faithful in the church; of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousness and avarice, yet some, notwithstanding, are clean from deadly sin; which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the church, to be called most holy; which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our creed, 'unam sanctam, catholicam, et apostolicam ecclesiam,' that is to say, 'one holy catholic and apostolic church;' which article

(1) See Appendix.

(2) This saying of Ecclesiastes is not so to be translated, and also serveth to another sense than is here meant.

The church comprehendeth both the evil and good.

the synod of Constantinople added unto the rest. Wherefore (to return to our former purpose) if the church be holy, it is also without sin. This word 'sanctum,' (as Macrobius, alleging Trebatius, affirmeth), sometimes signifieth 'holy,' and sometimes religious, and sometimes clean and uncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the church holy, which the apostle Peter calleth immaculate, as we read in the famous epistle of Clement.

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To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by St. Paul, that 'Christ is the Head of the church;' for if the whole church should sin, she should not agree with her Head, Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himself would signify unto us in Matthew, when he commendeth the house which was builded upon the strong rock, against which, neither the winds, neither the storms, could prevail. 'The house of God,' saith the apostle, 'which is the church, is builded upon the strong Rock,' 'which Rock,' as the apostle declareth, 'is Christ.' Who then is so unshamefaced, that he will affirm the church, which is founded upon Christ, to be subject to sin? and will not rather cry out with the prophet and say, 'Domine dilexi decorem domus tue;' that is to say, 'O Lord! I have loved the beauty of thy house.' Whereupon wrote John Chrysostome this golden sentence; 'The church never ceaseth to be assaulted, never ceaseth to be laid in wait for; but in the name of Christ it hath always the upper hand, and overcome. And albeit others do lie in wait for it, or that the floods do beat against it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the Rock is not shaken.' St. Hilary also saith: 'That it is the property of the church to vanquish when it is hurt, to understand when it is reproved, to be in safety when it is forsaken, and to obtain victory when it seemeth almost overcome.' Thus, by many reasons and testimonies it is proved that the church doth not err; which is not spoken or affirmed of the bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the pope subject unto the church; for it is convenient, that the less perfect be subject unto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now speak more at large.

Christ the
Rock,
where-
upon the
church is
builded.

If authority be sought for, St. Jerome saith (for I willingly occupy myself in his sentences, as in a most fertile field), 'the world is greater than a city.' What then, I pray you, Jerome! is the pope mighty because he is the head of the church of Rome? His authority is great; notwithstanding the universal church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one city, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the church be the mother of all the faithful, then she hath the bishop of Rome for her son; otherwise, as St. Augustine saith, 'he can never have God for his Father, who will not acknowledge the church for his mother;' which thing Anacletus understanding, called the universal church his mother, as the writers of the canons do know. And Calixtus saith, 'As a Son he came to do the will of his Father; so we do the will of our mother, which is the church.' Whereby it appeareth, that by how much the son is inferior to the mother, by so much the church is superior, or above, the bishop of Rome.

He prov-
eth by
authority,
the pope
to be
under the
council.
If the
church be
the moth-
er, the
pope
must be
her son.

Also we have said before, that the church was the spouse of Christ, and the pope we know to be a vicar; but no man doth so ordain a vicar, that he maketh his spouse subject unto him, but that the spouse is always thought to be of more authority than the vicar; forasmuch as she is one body with her husband, but the vicar is not so. Neither will I here pass over the words of St. Paul unto the Romans: 'Let every soul,' saith he, 'be subject unto the higher powers.' Neither doth he herein except the pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it seemeth necessary that he should be subject to the church. Neither let him think himself hereby exempt, because it was said unto Peter by Christ: 'Whatsoever thou bindest,' &c. In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the person of the church, for we find it spoken afterwards unto him: 'Quodcumque ligaveritis super terram, ligatum erit in caelis;' that is, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, shall be also bound in heaven.' And furthermore, if all power be given of Christ, as the apostle writeth unto the Corinthians, it is given for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction thereof; why then may not the church correct the pope, if he abuse the keys, and bring all things to ruin?

The
church
being the
spouse,
the pope
cannot be
head
thereof,
but he
must also
be head
of Christ.

Exposi-
tion of
'Quod-
cumque
ligaveri-
lis.'

Add hereunto also another argument. A man in this life is less than the angels, for we read in Matthew of John Baptist. that he which is least in the

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church,
and not
the pope,
compared
to the
sun.

kingdom of heaven is greater than he. Notwithstanding Christ saith, in another place, that amongst the children of women, there was not a greater than John Baptist. But to proceed. Men are forced, by the example of Zacharias, to give credit unto angels, lest, through their misbelief, they be stricken blind as he was. What more? the bishop of Rome is a man: ergo, he is less than the angels, and is bound to give credit to the angels. But the angels learn of the church, and do reverently accord unto her doctrine, as the apostle writeth unto the Ephesians; ergo, the pope is bound to do the same, who is less than the angels, and less than the church; whose authority is such, that worthily it is compared by St. Augustine unto the sun; that like as the sun, by his light, doth surmount all other lights, so the church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon St. Augustine writeth thus: 'I would not believe the gospel,' saith he, 'if the authority of the church did not move me thereunto:' which is not in any place found to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who, representing the church, and being minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saviour Christ do especially prove the bishop of Rome to be subject to the church; as we will hereafter declare. For he, sending Peter to preach unto the church, said, 'Go, and say unto the church.' To the confirmation of whose authority these words do also pertain; 'He that heareth you, heareth me;' which words are not only spoken unto the apostles, but also unto their successors, and unto the whole church.

The
pope, if
he do not
hearken
to the
church,
is an eth-
nic and
publican.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the pope do not hearken and give ear unto the church, he doth not give ear unto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an ethnic and publican. For, as St. Augustine affirmeth, when the church doth excommunicate, he who is so excommunicated is bound in heaven, and when the church looseth, he is loosed. Likewise, if he be a heretic who taketh away the supremacy of the church of Rome, as the decrees of the council of Constance do determine, how much more is he to be counted a heretic, who taketh away the authority from the universal church, wherein the church of Rome and all others are contained? Wherefore, it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our days (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave authors), that the pope is subject unto the universal church. But this is called into question, whether he ought also to be judged of a general council. For there are some, who (whether it be for desire of vain glory, or that, through their flattery, they look for some great reward) have begun to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the bishop of Rome from the jurisdiction of a general council. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this present schism, but also all other schisms, even unto this day, have had their original. For as in times past, the greedy desire and ambition of the papacy brought in that pestiferous beast, which through Arins then first crept out of hell into the church; even so they do especially nourish and maintain this present heresy who are not ashamed to beg.² Of which number, some cry out and say, the works of the subjects ought to be judged by the pope, but the pope to be reserved only unto the judgment of God. Others say, that no man ought to judge the high and principal seat, and that it can be judged neither by the emperor, nor by the clergy, nor by any king or people. Others affirm, that the Lord hath reserved to himself the deposition of the chief bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirm, that the bishop of Rome, although he carry souls in never so great number unto hell, yet he is not subject to any correction or rebuke.

Diversity
of judg-
ments
touching
the pope.

And because these their words are easily resolved, they run straightways unto the gospel, and interpret the words of Christ, not according to the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, but according to their own will and disposition. They do greatly esteem and regard this which was spoken unto Peter, 'Tu vocaberis Cephas;' that is, 'Thou shalt be called Cephas:' by which word they make him the head of the church. Also, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon the earth,' &c. 'I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith should not fail.' And again, 'Feed my sheep;' 'Cast thy net into the deep;' 'Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men:' Also that Christ commanded Peter, as the

(1) It is to be feared lest the church hath had many such popes.

(2) These are the canons, and the school divines, and the begging friars.

prince of the apostles, to pay toll for them both; and that Peter drew the net unto the land full of great fishes; and that only Peter drew his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the expositions of the fathers, which if (as reason were) they would consider, they should manifestly perceive by the authorities aforesaid, that the pope is not above them, when they are gathered together in council, but when they are separated and divided.¹

But these things being passed over, forso much as answer shall appear by that which hereafter shall follow, we will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men upon this question. But first we would have it known, that all men who are of any name or estimation, do agree that the pope is subject to a council; and, for the proof thereof, they repeat, in a manner, all those things which were before spoken of the church; for they suppose all that which is spoken of the church, to serve for a general council. And first of all they allege this saying of the gospel, 'Dic ecclesie,' 'Tell it unto the church,' in which place it is convenient to understand, that Christ spake unto Peter, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. He saith, 'If thy brother offend or sin against thee, rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he give ear unto thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he do not give ear unto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not give ear unto thee, 'Dic ecclesie,' 'Tell it unto the church.' What shall we understand by the church in that place? Shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful, dispersed throughout the whole world? 'My yoke is pleasant,' saith the Lord, 'and my burden is light.' But how is it light, if Christ command us to do that which is impossible to be done? for how could Peter speak unto the church which was dispersed, or seek out every Christian scattered in every town or city? But the meaning of these words is far otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted; for which cause, it is necessary that we remember the double person which Peter represented, as the person of the chief pontiff, and a private man. The sense and meaning of his words are so evident and plain of themselves, that they need no supplement or alteration. We must first mark and see what this word 'ecclesia' signifieth, which we do find to be but only twice spoken of by Christ; once in this place, and again when he said unto Peter, 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam;' that is, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.' Wherefore the church signifieth the convocation or congregation of the multitude. 'Dic ecclesie,' 'Tell it unto the church;' that is to say, 'Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful;' which, forso much as they are not accustomed to come together but in a general council, this interpretation shall seem very good: 'Dic ecclesie,' 'Tell it unto the church,' that is to say, 'Dic generali concilio,' 'Tell it unto a general council.'

In this case I would gladly hear if there be any man who doth think these words to be more properly expressed of any prelate, than of a council, when they must put one man for the multitude; which if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we shall from henceforth find no firm or stable thing therein? But if any man do marvel at our interpretation, let him search the old writers, and he shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy fathers and old doctors, who have first illuminated and given light unto the church; as pope Gregory witnesseth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holiness of his life, and his singular learning), whose words to the bishop of Constantinople (as found in his Register) are these: 'And we,' saith he, 'against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldness, do observe and keep that which the Truth doth command us, saying, Si peccaverit in te frater; that is, If thy brother do offend against thee, &c.' And afterwards he addeth moreover, 'If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I do seek help of the church.' Which words do manifestly take the term church for a general council. Neither did Gregory say, that he would seek help of the church that is dispersed abroad in every place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, a general council; for that which is dispersed abroad cannot be used, except it be gathered together.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1439.

Things spoken of the church, serve also for a general council.

Peter representeth a double person. Christ nameth the church but twice.

Interpretation of 'Dic ecclesie.'

The church taken for a general council

(1) How foolishly the church of Rome doth wrest the Scriptures, neglecting the expositions of the fathers.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1139.

The council of Constance decreeth the pope to be under the council.

Acts of the Apostles. Council of Nice. Title of the council.

The constitutions of the popes, not the laws of the church.

By the church a council is understood.

Simon's obedience necessary in the bishops of Rome.

Favourers of the pope go about to maintain the profit of one before a common commodity.

Also pope Nicholas, reproving Lotharius the king for advoutry, said, 'If thou dost not amend the same, take heed that we tell it not unto the holy church.' In which saying pope Nicholas did not say, that he would go throughout the world to certify every one, man by man; but that he would call the church together, that is to say, a general council, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, that he who had contemned the pope's commandments, should fear the reverence of the general council.

I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for the same purpose, who all tend unto one end, but this one testimony of the council of Constance shall suffice for them all; *for in that place where sentence is given against Peter de Luna, these words are mentioned: 'Eaque in generali concilio locum habere dicuntur;' that is to say, 'These things are said to have place in the general council;' by which words we understand,* that not only the pope, in the correction of his brother, is remitted unto the council, when he cannot correct him of himself; but also when any thing is done as touching the correction of the pope himself, the matter ought to be referred to the council. Whereby our interpretation appeareth to be most true, which doth expound the church to us of a general council. Hereupon, in the Acts of the Apostles, the congregations which were then holden were called the church. Also in the council of Nice, and in other councils, when any man should be excommunicated, always, in a manner, this sentence was adjoined: 'Hunc excommunicat catholica et apostolica ecclesia;' that is, 'The catholic and apostolic church doth excommunicate this man.' And hereupon that title is given unto the councils, whereby we do say, that a general council doth represent the universal church. Wherefore the laws and decrees of the council are called the laws of the church, for that the church doth not set forth any laws in any other place, but in a general council; except we will call the pope's constitutions the laws of the church, which cannot be properly said but of a council: whereas, albeit all those who are of the church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those who come, the whole power of the church doth consist. Whereupon we read in the Acts of the Apostles, 'It pleased the apostles and elders with all the church.' For albeit that all the faithful were not there present (because a great number of them remained at Antioch), yet, notwithstanding, it was called the whole church, because the whole power of the church consisted in the council. Thus, for this present, it is sufficient that we understand by the church, a general council.

And now to return unto our purpose, let us hear what our Saviour saith unto Peter; 'If thy brother do offend against thee;' unto this text following, 'Tell it unto the church;' and let us understand a council by the church. Which is greater in this place, he who is sent unto the council, or the council whereunto Peter is sent? The Verity doth remit the bishop of Rome unto a general council. And why so? verily because the bishop of Rome should not disdain to acknowledge some power in earth to be above him, which he should consult withal in matters of importance, and agree unto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by another name, 'Simon;' which, as Rabanus in his homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew tongue, 'obedient;' that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the bishop of Rome.

The authority of the council of Constance might suffice us in this point; but we think it good to stay a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adversaries; who, while they go about to maintain the insatiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they do stir up. Against which, besides many others, Zacharias bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strive; who, in the great and sacred synod of Chalcedon, when the sentence of the bishop of Rome was objected unto him, that the canon of pope Nicholas and other patriarchs was above the council, he replied against it. And Zosimus, the pope, saith thus, as touching the decrees of a general council: 'The authority of this see cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers.' Neither doth he here speak of the decrees of the fathers who are dispersed abroad in cities or wildernesses, for they do not bind the pope; but of those which are made and published by the fathers in a general council:

for the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of pope Leo, the most eloquent of all the bishops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto Anatholius, that the decrees of the council of Nice were in no part to be violate and broken : thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the chief patriarch.

The authority also of Damasus upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto Aurelius the archbishop, as Isidorus declareth in the Book of Councils ; whose worthy saying, as touching the authority of the synod, is this : ' They who are not compelled of necessity, but of their own will either frowardly do any thing, or presume to do any thing, or willingly consent unto those who would do any thing, contrary and against the sacred canons, they are worthily thought and judged to blaspheme the Holy Ghost.' Of the which blasphemy whether Gabriel, who calleth himself Eugene, be presently partaker, let them judge, who have heard him say, ' That, it is so far from his office and duty to obey general councils, that he doth then best merit and deserve, when he contemneth the decrees of the council.' Damasus addeth yet moreover, ' For this purpose,' saith he, ' the rule of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God and the reverence of the whole world, is faithfully to be known and understand of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no means, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed (which God forbid), we do transgress the decrees of the holy fathers.' Notwithstanding, we daily see in all the pope's bulls and letters these words, ' Non obstante,' that is to say, ' notwithstanding ;' which no other necessity hath brought in, than only insatiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things, who be the authors thereof.

But now, to return again unto Damasus ; mention is made in the epistles of Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, of a certain epistle, which is said to be written by Damasus unto the judges deputed by the council of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter wherein a council had been beforehand. By which saying he doth manifestly reprove all those who affirm and say, that the bishop of Rome is above the council : the which if it were true, Damasus might have taken into his hands the cause of Bonosius, the bishop, to determine, which was before begun by the council ; but forso much as the council is above the pope, Damasus knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilary also, acknowledging a synod to be above him, would have his decrees confirmed by the council. Also the famous doctor, St. Augustine, in his epistle which he did write unto Glorius, and Eleusius, and Felix the grammarian, declareth the case. Cecilianus, the bishop, was accused by Donatus, with others. Melchides, the pope, with certain other bishops, absolved Cecilian, and confirmed him in his bishopric. They, being moved with those doings, made a schism in the parts of Africa ; St. Augustine reproveth them, who having another remedy against the sentence of the pope, did raise a schism, and doth inveigh against them in this manner : ' Behold, let us think those bishops who gave judgment at Rome, not to have been good judges : there remained yet the judgment of the universal church, where the cause might have been pleaded even with the judges themselves ; so that if they were convicted not to have given just judgment, their sentence might have been broken.' Whereby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the pope alone, but also that of the pope with his bishops joined with him, might be made frustrate by a council ; for the full judgment of the universal church is not found elsewhere but in a general council. Nor let it move any man, that St. Augustine seemeth here only to speak of bishops ; for if the text of his epistle be read over, he shall find the bishop of Rome to be comprehended amongst the other bishops. It was also prohibited by the councils of Africa, that the bishops of Rome should receive or hear the appeals of any who did appeal from a council ; which altogether declareth the superiority of a council. And this appeareth more plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xi., where Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the apostles, because he went in unto Cornelius, a heathen man, as if it had not been lawful for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the congregation : and yet it was said unto him, as well as others, ' Ite et baptizate,' &c. ' Go and baptize.' But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose, which St. Paul writeth unto the Galatians, where he saith, that he ' resisted Peter even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the gospel,' Gal. ii. Which words, if they be well understand, signify none other thing by ' the verity of the gospel,' than the canon of the council decreed

Henry
VI.A. D.
1139.The pope
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councils.' Non
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in the
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judgment
of the
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be found
in a
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No appeal
to be
made
from a
council to
the pope.
Peter
con-
strained
to obey
the
general
council.

Henry
VI.

amongst the apostles: for the disciples being gathered together, had so determined it. Whereupon St. Paul doth show, that Peter ought to have obeyed the general council.

A. D.
1439.

But now, to finish this disputation, we will here adjoin the determination of the council of Constance, which council aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certain order of living, declared by a solemn decree, that all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred general councils. And although there be a certain restraint, where it is said, 'In such things as pertain unto the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church, as well in the head as in the members;' notwithstanding, this amplificative clause, which is adjoined, is to be noted, 'Et in pertinentibus ad ea;' that is to say, 'With all the appurtenants.' Which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus unto his apostles, 'Go ye forth and teach all people.' He did not say in three points only, but teach them 'to observe and keep all things, whatsoever I have commanded you.' And in another place he saith, not this or that, but 'whatsoever' ye shall bind, &c., which all together are alleged for the authority of the church and general councils. For the exaltation whereof these places also come in: 'He that heareth you, heareth me.' And again, 'It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God.' Also, 'Where two or three be gathered in my name,' &c. Again, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask,' &c. 'O holy Father! keep them whom thou hast given me,' &c. And, 'I am with you even unto the end of the world.' Also out of St. Paul these places are gathered: 'We are helpers of God,' &c. 'Which hath made us apt ministers of the New Testament,' &c. 'And he appointed some apostles, and some prophets,' &c. In all which places, both Christ and the apostle spake of the authority of many, and all of them are alleged for the authority of the universal church.

But forso much as that church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordain anything, therefore, of necessity it is to be said, that the chief and principal authority of the church doth reside in general councils, while they are assembled together. And therefore it was observed in the primitive church, that difficult and weighty matters were not intreated upon, but only in general councils and congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward, for, when the churches were divided in opinion, general councils were holden. And in the council of Nice we do find the heresy of Arius condemned; in the council of Constantinople, the heresy of Macedonius; in the council of Ephesus, the heresy of Nestorius; in the council of Chalcedon, the heresy of Eutyches was also condemned; forso much as they thought the judgment of the bishop of Rome not to suffice to so great and weighty matters; and also they thought the sentence of the council to be of greater force and efficacy than the sentence of the pope, forso much as he might err as a man. But the council, wherein so many men were gathered together, being guided by the Holy Ghost, could not err. Also it is a very excellent saying of Martianus, the emperor, which serveth for that purpose, whose words are these: 'Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, who, after the sentence of so many good and holy men, will stick to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of mere madness, at the noontime and fair daylight to seek for a feigned light; for he who having found the truth, seeketh to discuss any thing further, seeketh but after vanities and lies.'

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the bishop of Rome is under the council. Notwithstanding some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the council or not; for, albeit it be proved that he is under the council, yet, for all that, will they not grant that he may be also deposed by the council. Wherefore, it shall be no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say upon that matter; and, first of all, to speak of these railers who are yet so earnest for the defence of the bishop of Rome, who, being vanquished in one battle, still renew another, and contend rather of obstinacy than of ignorance. They would have here recited again that which we have before spoken, as touching the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome, or the patriarch. And, as there are many of them more full of words than eloquence, they stay much on

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err.Whether
the pope
may be
deposed
by the
council.

this point, where Christ said unto Peter, 'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum;' 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven;' as though by those words he should be made head over the others. And again, they do amplify it by this, 'Pascere oves meas,' 'Feed my sheep,' which they do not find to be spoken to any other of the apostles. And, because it is said that Peter was the chief and the mouth of the apostles, therefore they judge it well spoken, that no man shall judge the chief and principal see; being all of this opinion with Boniface, who said, that the pope ought to be judged for no cause, except he be perceived or known to swerve from the faith, although he do carry innumerable people with him headlong into hell, there to be perpetually tormented; as though he could not open the kingdom of heaven to others, if any other could shut it against him; neither that he could feed others, if he himself lacked pasture.

But we count these, as things of no force or difficulty. For St. Augustine, in the sermon on the nativity of Peter and Paul, saith in this wise: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, before his passion, chose his disciples, as ye know, whom he called brethren. Amongst those Peter alone, almost in every place, represented the person of the church. And therefore it was said unto him, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum; that is to say, Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. These keys did he not receive, as one man, but, as one, he received them for the church. And in another place, where he writeth of the christian agony, he saith; 'The keys of the kingdom of heaven were given unto the church, when they were given unto Peter. And when it was spoken unto him, Amas me? Pascere oves meas; that is to say, Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep; it was spoken unto them all.' And St. Ambrose, in the beginning of his Pastoral, saith: 'Which sheep and which flock the blessed apostle St. Peter took no charge of alone, but together with us, and we altogether with him.' By which words the foundation and principal arguments of those flatterers are utterly subverted and overthrown; for, if Peter represented the person of the church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words unto Peter, but unto the church. Neither do I see how that can stand which Boniface doth affirm, for it is far distant from the truth, except it be understand otherwise than it is spoken.

But it may, peradventure, seem a great thing unto some, that the bishop of Rome is said to be the head of the militant church; for, as in the body of man, physicians do never give counsel to cut off the head for any manner of sickness and disease, although it be ever so full of ulcers, or infected; so, in this mystical body of the church the head ought always to be kept: and, albeit it be ever so wicked, yet it is to be suffered and borne withal. But now convert this argument. If it were possible, in the body of man, when one head is taken away, to find another to put in its place, as we see it may be done in the church; should not heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diseases? Moreover, if we will thus reason, that the head of the church should be, in respect of his body, as the head of man in respect of the body of man; then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die, as is manifest in the body of man. So should it grow into an absurdity to confess, that the pope being dead, the church also should be dead; which how far it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore, whatsoever other men say, I am not of opinion with them who affirm the bishop of Rome to be head of the church, except, peradventure, they do make him the ministerial head: for we do read that Christ is the head of the church, and not the pope; and that he is the true head, immutable, perpetual, and everlasting; and the church is his body, whereof the pope himself is also a member, and the vicar of Christ; not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore, if he be found a damnable destroyer of the church, he may be deposed and cast out, because he doth not that he was ordained to do; and we ought, as pope Leo saith, to be mindful of the commandment given us in the gospel: that if our eye, our foot, or our right hand do offend us, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord saith in another place, 'Every tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire.' And in another place also it is said unto us, 'Take away all evil and wickedness from among you.' It is very just and true which is written in the epistle of Clement unto

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1530.

'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum;' 'Pascere oves meas;' make nothing for the pope's supremacy.

Peter represents the person of the church.

The keys given to the church, and not to one man.

Pope Boniface erreth.

The bishop of Rome improperly called the head of the church.

(1) They do not say that the pope cannot be deposed for any other cause than for heresy.

Henry
VI.

James the brother of our Lord, that he who will be saved, ought to be separate from them who will not be saved.

A. D.
1459.Fruitless
branches
to be cut
off.

But, for the more manifest declaration hereof, we must have recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the gospel of John; 'I am the true vine,' saith the Lord, 'and my Father is the husbandman, and ye are the branches; every branch therefore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off.' These words were spoken unto the apostles, among whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Also St. Jerome, upon these words of Matthew, 'Unsavoury salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and trodden of swine,' thereupon in the person of Peter and Paul saith thus: 'It is no easy matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keep the chair of them who reign with Christ. This unsavoury salt (that is to say, a foolish prelate,¹ unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending) is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, deposed, and to be trodden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty prelates, as their own flock and herd.' Behold this testimony of Jerome is plain and evident; 'Let him be cast out,' saith he. He expoundeth and speaketh this of the prelate who usurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the bishop of Rome, who, being unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be deposed (as Jerome affirmeth) from his degree and dignity.² Neither, as some do dream, is he to be deposed for heresy only. Isidore, in the Book of Councils, rehearseth a certain epistle of Clement, the successor of Peter, written unto James the apostle, where the said Clement, repeating the words of Peter unto himself, saith thus: 'If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thyself, and those who shall give ear unto thee; for thou canst not fully distribute unto every man those things which pertain unto salvation: whereby it shall come to pass, that thou, for not teaching those things which pertain unto human salvation, shalt be deposed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance.' Notwithstanding, in another place, instead of this word 'deposed,' it is found, 'thou shalt be punished;' which two words, if they be well understand, do not much differ, for deposition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment.

The
words of
Peter to
Clement.The epi-
stle of
Clement
to James,
doubted.

But peradventure some will here object, that this epistle is not to be judged Clement's, because it is said to be written unto James, who, as the *Historia Scholastica*³ affirmeth, was dead before Peter was put to death. But Clement might think that James was alive, when he wrote; who were far distant asunder, and tidings of the Christians came not easily unto Rome. Moreover, there is mention made of this epistle in divers places of the decretals as most true, and therefore it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same epistle; where he saith, 'That he who liveth rebelliously, and refuseth both to lean and to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and doth show himself rather to be an infidel than a faithful Christian.' Upon which words, the gloss which Panormitane calleth singular and doth much approve⁴ saith, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, ergo, also, he may be punished, and, according to the exigency of the fault, deposed; otherwise he should be accused in vain.

The pope
to be both
accused
and pun-
ished.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the pope may be deposed; which argument being now brought to an end, notwithstanding it is not yet evident whether he may be deposed by the council or no; which we now take in hand to discourse. And, first of all, the adversaries will grant this unto us; that the bishop of Rome may be deposed by the church, forasmuch as the pope being the vicar of the church, no man doubteth but that a lord may put out his vicar at his will and pleasure: neither is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the church than of Christ. But, if the church may depose the pope, ergo, the council also may do the same. For, as it is before declared, the universal church doth ordain or decree nothing, but when it is congregated or gathered together in general councils. Then, albeit they be not all present, it is sufficient that they be all called, whom reason requireth to have present.

Whether
he may be
deposed.He is
rather to
be called
the vicar
of the
church,
than of
Christ.

(1) If the pope be unsavoury salt, he is to be cast away.

(2) A note for all naughty prelates.

(3) See p. 603.—Ed.

(4) See Appendix.

(5) See Edition 1563, p. 295.—Ed.

But here, of one doubt riseth also another; for, whereas the church doth comprehend, as well the laity, as the clergy, a question seemeth to be demanded why only the clergy do hold the councils, or that the laity are not present and have a voice in the councils. Some one also may suppose that which is spoken, 'the church cannot err,' to be referred unto both states, and both kinds of men and women, that, albeit the clergy do err, the laity might remain firm and constant. And again, if the men happen to err, some women might remain in the faith; but it is erroneous so to think. For we ought to consider the church to be understood two manner of ways: the one, which containeth both the laity and the clergy; the other, which containeth the clergy alone. And to this second church it pertaineth to teach, purge, illuminate, direct, correct, feed, and to make perfect, the first part. Wherefore we do affirm the universal church, which comprehendeth all faithful Christians, to have all manner of authority and power granted unto it: and therefore, that the bishop of Rome is subject thereunto, and may be deposed, cast out, and excommunicated, if he do not rule and govern well.

Wherefore, whensoever the faithful Christians are gathered together in the Holy Ghost, to celebrate a council, albeit they be not all there present, yet, because they are lawfully called, the fulness of the power doth consist no more in the pope, but in the council: and immediately as the council is begun, it is straightways above the pope. Wherefore thus we conclude, that whatsoever is granted or permitted to the universal church, the same is also granted unto a general council.

Whereupon, if the universal church (as no man can deny) may depose the pope, a general council may also do the same.* Also the gloss, which Panormitane in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence, 'That a general council is judge over the pope in all cases.' Likewise the most sacred synod of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the bishops of Rome to be under the judgment of a council; and the council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let it move any man that this word 'deposition' is not mentioned; for it is said 'of every doubtful matter or question:' for, if the synod do judge of every doubt, *ergo*, it shall also judge whether the pope shall be deposed or not; for that may also come in doubt. And because we will not seek examples far off, John XXIII., whom all the world did reverence as pope, was deposed of his papacy by the council of Constance: neither yet was he condemned for any heresy; but, because he did offend the church by his manifold crimes, the sacred synod thought good to depose him; and ever since, continually, the church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, who affirm that the pope cannot be deposed, but only for heresy.

Pope John deposed, and yet for no heresy.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certain men do affirm the general councils to be of no effect, except the pope do call and appoint them, and his authority remain with them. Whereupon they say, that Dioscorus did rebuke Paschasius the bishop of Sicily, and legate of pope Leo, because that he did enterprise, without the authority of the apostolic see, to call a council at Ephesus. They also allege another testimony of the synod of Chalcedon; where, when mention was made of the council of Ephesus, all the bishops cried out, saying, 'We ought not to call it a council, because it was neither gathered by the apostolic authority, nor rightly kept.' By which authorities, they who say that the councils cannot be holden without the consent of the pope, do think themselves marvellously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prevail as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruin and decay of the church. For what remedy shall we find, if a wicked pope do disturb the whole church, destroy souls, seduce the people by his evil example; if, finally, he preach contrary unto the faith, and fill the people full of heresies, shall we provide no stay or stop for him? shall we suffer all things to run to ruin and decay with him?¹ Who would think that the bishop of Rome would congregate a council for his own correction or deposition? for as men are prone unto sin, so would they also sin without punishment. But when I do peruse ancient histories, and the Acts of the Apostles, I do not find this order, that councils should be gathered only at the will of the pope; for the first council of all, after Mat-

Whether councils may be congregated without the authority of the pope.

(1) Mark wherefore the popes will have no general councils.

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VI.

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1439.

The first
council of
the apo-
stles

The se-
cond.

The
third.

The
fourth.

Councils,
in times
past, con-
gregated
by emper-
ors, not
by popes.

When a
council
may be
holden.

How the
popes is a
schis-
matic.

He can-
not dis-
solve a
council
against
the will of
the same.

Saying of
Macro-
bius.

Whether
the pope
may dis-
solve a
council.

thias was substituted in the place of Judas, was not congregated at the commandment of Peter, but at the commandment of Christ, who commanded the apostles that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but look for the promise of the Father.

The second council, as touching the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the twelve apostles; for it is written, 'The twelve apostles, calling together the multitude,' &c.

The third council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circum-cision and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a general inspiration: for it is written, 'The apostles and elders came together,' &c.

The fourth council, where certain things contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to have been gathered by James. And so, discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitive church, whereby it should appear that the authority of congregating of councils should pertain only unto bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of Constantine the Great, and other emperors, was the consent of the bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of councils; and therefore the synod of Chalcedon speaketh thus of itself: 'The sacred and universal synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chief city of the province of Bithynia, according to the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and christian emperors, Valentinian and Martian.' The synod doth not make any mention here of the bishop of Rome, although his consent were there. Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would have no council congregated, yet, if the greater part of the prelates do judge it necessary to have a council, the council may be congregated whether the pope will or no. *For when the prelates be generally inspired, the judgment of one man must needs give place, although he be the successor of Peter.

Neither do I perceive it to have been always observed, that there should be no council holden without the authority of the pope.* For the council holden at Pisa, was not congregate by the authority and consent of any pope, when Gregory did condemn it, and Benedict cursed it. The same also may be said of the council of Constance, which was assembled by the authority of pope John, who in respect of the Spaniards was no true pope. And, if the council of Pisa were no true council, pope John was no true pope; whereupon his consent to the congregating of the council of Constance was of no effect. Moreover, it is more than folly to affirm, that when the pope hath once given his consent, if it should be called back, the council should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to revoke his consent. And of necessity he must be obedient unto the council whereof he is a member, and give place unto the greater part: and if he separate himself from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the unity of the church, he maketh himself a schismatic.

Now, to come unto the second conclusion: if it be true, as it is indeed, that the pope is under the council, how can the pope then dissolve, alter, and trans-port the council, against the will of the same? for with what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power over the superior? How can the synod correct the pope, if the pope may dissolve the synod contrary to the will thereof? Admit the pope be libidinous, covetous, a sower of war and discord, and a most mortal enemy unto the church and the name of Christ, how can the council reprove him, if he have authority to dissolve the council? For as soon as ever the bishop of Rome shall understand, that in the council they do treat or talk of his correction or punishment, straightways he will seek remedy by dissolving the council. For, as Macrobius saith, he that hath liberty to do more than is fit or necessary, will oftentimes do more than is lawful. If so be that the bishop of Rome may exempt himself from correction by dissolving or trans-porting the council, it followeth that the council is not above him. Therefore we must either deny that which is before said, that the pope is under the council, or else deny that the pope hath power to dissolve the council, contrary to the will and determination of the council.

And, as the first conclusion is most true, so are all other conclusions false, which seem to impugn the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the divines is also manifest, albeit some do admit it in certain cases, and, in others, exclude it again. For, if we do admit, that for certain causes the pope may

(1) See Edition 15-3, p. 297.—Ed.

dissolve the council contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the pope judge of the council, it were clean contrary unto the first conclusion.

Now it is proved that the council is above the pope, and cannot be dissolved by the pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an article of our faith to believe it; which matter hath respect unto the third conclusion. For there have been many, who, albeit they did confess these two conclusions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the catholic faith or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed, and we must see whether it be an article of faith that the pope be under the council; which being proved, it shall also appear to be an article of faith, that the pope cannot dissolve the council without the consent thereof: which consequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. First of all therefore we must inquire what faith itself is, that we may thereby the better understand what pertaineth thereunto.

Faith, as the divines do define it, is a firm and steadfast cleaving unto things believed on the authority of him that speaketh. If then we believe, as is aforesaid, that the pope of Rome is under the council, some authority doth move us thereunto: so is there faith in him that believeth it. But the question is not whether it be an article of faith only, but whether it be an article of the catholic faith. Wherefore we must again inquire, what the catholic faith is. This word Catholic is a Greek word, and signifieth Universal. The catholic faith, that is to say, the universal faith, is not so called because every man holdeth it, but because every man ought to believe it. For all men do not believe that God is incarnate, but every man ought so to believe. And albeit many be against this faith, yet doth it not cease to be universal. For what writeth the apostle unto the Romans? 'If some of them have not believed, doth their misbelief make the faith of God vain? God forbid. Verily God is true, but every man is a liar.' Rom. iii. Therefore to believe that the pope is under the council, is a point of the catholic faith, although some think the contrary: for we are bound to believe it, forsomuch as it is taken out of the gospel. For we are not bound only to believe those things that are noted to us in the Creed, but also all those things that are contained in the holy Scriptures, whereof we may not deny one iota. And those things which we allege for the superiority of a general council, are gathered out of the sayings of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the epistles of Saint Paul: *ergo*, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove that these things are taken out of the gospel, the council of Constance doth witness, which groundeth its authority upon these words, 'Dic ecclesie;' that is to say, 'Tell it unto the church;' and, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name,' &c.; and, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind,' &c., with other such like texts.

And¹ Saint Austin saith: 'Quod evangelio non crederet, ni autoritas ecclesie se commoveret;' that is to say, that he would not give any credit unto the gospel, except the authority of the church did move him thereunto: in this place, naming the church for the general council. For the church, which was dispersed in every place, did not ordain the receiving of the Gospels and Scriptures; but the church which was congregated and gathered together in the general council. And, thereby, it may come to pass, that, like as the council did bind us to the believing of them, so may it also set forth other things unto us, to be believed.

Whereupon pope Martin V., being yet at Constance, under the license of the council sent out his bulls, which do reckon up the articles, whereupon they ought to be examined who had fallen into any heresy; amongst which articles he putteth this article:—Whether he doth believe a sacred general council to have power immediately from God, and that the ordinances thereof are to be received of all faithful Christians; which if any man would deny, he should be counted a heretic. Wherefore, when the sacred synod of Constance doth set forth this verity, as touching the superiority of a general council, what should let, but that we also should confess the same to be a verity of the catholic faith? For the catholic church, being congregated at Constance, received that faith; that is to say, believed it by the authority of him who spake it; that is, Christ and his saints.

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Definition of faith

Definition of the catholic faith.

What is catholic.

(1) See Ed. 1563, p. 297.—Ed.

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F. L.A. D.
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words of
the
council of
Chalce-
don.

To this purpose also serve very well the words of the synod of Chalcedon, written in this manner:—"It is not lawful to name him 'bishop,' that is condemned by the whole synod. The determination pleaseth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary unto this, is a heretic. And again, it is a rule, that it is not lawful to appeal from the elect and chosen synod. He that holdeth any opinion contrary to this, is a heretic."

Mark the manifest witness of this most sacred synod, which said, that he is a heretic, who holdeth any opinion contrary unto the council. But he is no heretic, except he refuse the catholic faith: *ergo*, it was the catholic faith to believe that it was not lawful to appeal from the sacred council. But how was the same any point of the catholic faith? Verily, forso much as the sacred synod, perusing over the holy Scriptures, hath received this conclusion out of the words of Christ and other holy fathers. And, like as the synod of Chalcedon took their conclusions out of the holy Scriptures, so likewise did the council of Constance this which we now reason upon. And like as the one is an article of the catholic faith, so is the other also. And he who holdeth any opinion contrary to either or both, is a heretic.

Panor-
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very well
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his own
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Furthermore they seem unto me to dream and dote, who, confessing them to be verities, will not confess them to be verities of faith. For if they be verities, I pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of grammar, much less of logic; and from astronomy and physic they are far distant: neither is there any other man but a divine, that will grant this verity, whom Scripture doth force unto it of necessity, if he do believe Christ, or his apostles. Therefore this is a verity of the catholic faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he who obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be judged a heretic, as the third conclusion doth affirm. Neither let any man think it hard or cruel, that he should be called a heretic, who goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of a general council, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities, *when he also is counted a heretic, who taketh away the supremacy from the church of Rome, which is one of the Greeks' heresies that are condemned.* Also Panormitane allegeth St. Jerome, saying, 'He who understandeth the Scripture otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the church, may be called a heretic.'

Tell the
church,
that is to
say, a
general
council.

Whereupon it followeth, that he, who, upon the words of Christ, saying unto Peter, 'Die ecclesie,' i. e. 'Tell it unto the church,' doth not understand by 'the church' a general council, understandeth it otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as a heretic. And that the sense of the Holy Ghost is otherwise than he doth judge it, the council of Constance doth declare; the which interpreting those words 'Die ecclesie,' that is, 'Tell it unto the church,' spoken by the Holy Ghost, understandeth them to be spoken of a general council.

For these and many other weighty reasons the three aforesaid conclusions seemed true unto the divines, and through them they also allowed the residue. Now have we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised; neither do I think any man now can be in doubt about the three first conclusions.

Now, to return again unto our story; it is our purpose to declare those things which happened after the conclusion of the divines; for many of them are worthy of remembrance, and may haply be profitable unto posterity.

See
Appendix.

*When' the matter was allowed by the divines, it came to the examination of the deputations, whereof three, without much ado, consented with the divines. The fourth, which was named the Common deputation, admitting the three first conclusions, seemed to hesitate about the residue. George, bishop of Vich, was a great stop to this matter; who, being newly returned from Mentz, and not being present at the disputation holden at the chapter-house, could not be

persuaded, that Eugene could without a new convocation be declared a heretic. Amedeus, archbishop of Lyons, favoured him very much; not for his opinion (for he had openly, in the disputation of the chapter-house, declared Eugene a heretic and relapse), but because he feared that the deposition of the pope would be the next step.

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There were, in this deputation, many who not only now, but always had favoured Eugene's part. This deputation, lest, according to the old custom of the council, the matter should be concluded by three deputations, did suspend all deliberation; for by that suspension they brought a greater stop and let than they should have done by denying, and so protracted the matter a long time. For this cause messengers were sent from the other deputations, through whose exhortation the Common deputation did revoke their suspension upon the three conclusions. And now Friday was come, on which day they were accustomed to have a general congregation, and a final conclusion of their business.*

Meanwhile, the archbishop of Milan and Panormitane, with the residue of their fellow ambassadors of the king of Arragon and the duke of Milan, armed themselves with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomachs; *and¹ by their letters and messengers they called back others, who were gone away for fear of the plague. The cardinal of Tarragona, who then sojourned at Soleure, was sent for; likewise was Louis, the prothonotary of Rome, who was gone unto the baths, not so much for his health's sake, as to avoid being compelled to defend Eugene contrary to his real mind. There were many of the bishops of the Arragons sent for beside, who all came back again the day before the congregation should be holden, excepting the cardinal, who returned after the congregation.

See
Appendix.

As soon as the time was come for the congregation to begin, the ambassadors of the princes were present, and, as though they had before conspired together, all unanimously agreed to hinder the conclusion as much as in them lay.*

And first of all, the bishop of Burgos, a man distinguished for wisdom and eloquence, exhorted them to defer the conclusion, and to tarry for the other ambassadors of the princes, who would shortly return from Mentz.

The
bishop of
Burgos.

After him Panormitane, a man of singular talent and learning, and chief ambassador of his king, with a grave and rhetorical oration spake, in a manner, as followeth.

The Oration of Panormitane.²

I have, said he, had a commandment by the prophet, to cry without ceasing; which prophet said, 'Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet.' If that in any matter at any time before it were proper to cry, this matter specially, which was now in hand, lacked crying and roaring out, when the state of the universal church was treated upon, either to be preserved, or utterly overthrown; and that he had cried so much in this manner, that he doubted not but the saying of David was fulfilled in him, where he saith,—'Laboravi clamans, raucae sunt factae fauces meae;—' I have laboured, crying out, that my jaws are become hoarse.'

(1) Edition 1563, pp. 298, 299.—ED.

(2) Ed. 1583, p. 677.—ED.

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Four
things to
be con-
sidered in
every
request.

Panormi-
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have dig-
nity to be
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ed, not
voices.

He seem-
eth to
delay the
process
against
the pope.

The third
part of his
oration.

His per-
suasions.

Notwithstanding, that he would, both now and as often as need should require, without ceasing still cry out, and especially now in this most difficult and weighty matter; wherein he required the sacred council gently to hear both him, and the ambassadors of other princes; adding, moreover, four things to be considered, in all requests made of any man; which he also required the fathers now presently to mark and consider: who it is that maketh the request? what is required? why it should be required? and what effect would come by the request either granted or denied? As touching the first point he said; the most noble kings and excellent princes with their prelates, were of great power. And then he reckoned up the king of Castile, the king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the bishops of the same princes; rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said kings, and also of the duke of Milan. But when he came to make mention of the prelates, he could not refrain himself, but began to wax somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of prelates were on his part. For if the bishops and abbots were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greatest part of them would have this present matter deferred; and, forso much as the whole power of the council doth consist in the bishops, it is not to be suffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded, which pleased the greater part of the inferiors. For the keys, said he, were given to the apostles, and to their successors, who are the bishops: also that there are three kinds of synods, episcopal, provincial, and general, and none of all these without bishops. Wherefore the manner and order of the present council seemed indecent, where things were not weighed according as men excel in dignity, but by most voices: notwithstanding, according to the most famous epistle of Clement, the bishops were the pillars and keys of heaven, and the inferiors had no determining voice, but only a consultative voice with them. Wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalf, if a matter of faith should be determined without the bishops; in which matter not only the bishops, but also the secular princes ought to be admitted. And, forso much as they, in the name of their princes, desired to be admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was, that they should be contemned or despised.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed over to the second part of his oration, declaring what it was that he required; not gold, nor silver, neither precious stones, neither provinces nor kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done; but only that the delay of the sacred council was required, and that the fathers would stay in the process against the pope, and in the conclusion and determination of matters which were then in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but only until the return of the ambassadors from Mentz, who, he knew well, would return very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and needed but small entreaty, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seem injurious, not to tarry for the ambassadors of the princes who were then at Mentz, when they were not absent for their own private commodity, but about the affairs of the commonwealth, and the commodity of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence there should be nothing renewed concerning the matters of Eugene.

Then, immediately adjoining the third part of his oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private commodity of any one man, but for the common weal; not to perturb or trouble any thing, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might pass with peace and quietness; and that the matter might be so much the more firm and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so he proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they should consider, and weigh in their minds, the effect that would follow, if they should grant or deny this request. 'For,' saith he, 'if ye shall deny this small petition of the princes, they all will be aggrieved therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your decrees. In vain shall ye make laws, except the princes do execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vain: yet would I think this to be borne withal, if I did not fear greater matters to ensue. What if they should join themselves with Eugene, who desireth to spoil you, not only of your livings, but also of your lives? Alas! what slaughter and murder do the eyes of my mind behold and see! Would to God my

opinion were but vain! But if you do grant and consent unto their petitions, they will think themselves bound unto you; they will receive and embrace your decrees, and whatsoever you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your adversary; they will speak evil of him and abhor him; but you they will commend and praise; you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly submit themselves; and then shall follow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the church.' And thus he required the matter to be respited on all parts. At the last he said, That except the ambassadors of the princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

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When Panormitane had made an end of his oration, Louis, the prothonotary of Rome, rose up, a man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous men of olden time; for he had always in memory whatsoever he had heard or read, and never forgot any thing that he had seen; *and when he was arguing, he did not merely quote laws by their first words, as other lawyers do, but repeated the law itself as fluently as if he had been reading it from a book.*

The praise of Louis the prothonotary.

See Appendix.

The Oration of Louis the Prothonotary.

This man, first commending Panormitane, said, That he came but the day before from the baths, and that it seemed unto him a strange thing which was now brought in question; wherein he desired to hear other men's minds, and also to be heard of others; and that those prelates who were at Mentz should be tarried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their princes, which prelates were men of great estimation, and the orators of most mighty princes.

He allowed, also, the saying of Panormitane, touching the voices of the inferiors, and said that it seemed not to him to be against the truth, that only bishops should have a determining voice in councils. And, albeit some in this disputation did think that which is written in Acts xv. to be their fort or defence; notwithstanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor took it to be of any force or moment, albeit it was said, 'It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost and to us,' where both the apostles and the elders were gathered together; whereby it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marvelled at than to be imitated; and that it doth not appear there, that the apostles called the elders of duty, but it is only declared that they were there present; whereupon nothing could be inferred; and that it seemed unto him, that the inferiors in the council of Basil would be admitted to determine with the bishops but of grace and favour only, because the bishops may communicate their authority unto others; *notwithstanding, in these matters which are graces, if one say the contrary, nothing can be done.* He alleged for testimony the bishop of Cuença, a man of great authority, who would not suffer any incorporation or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore neither any inferior, not even himself (who as yet was not made bishop), to have any deciding voice in the council. Wherefore, forsomuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand, and that the bishops spake against it, he begged the council that, making a virtue of necessity, they would stay for the ambassadors of the princes coming from Mentz.

Bishops only to have a determining voice in councils.

His oration¹ was so much the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words: what gave special offence was, that he said the apostles were not to be imitated; for that, all men did impugn as a blasphemy. But here a man may marvel, that a man of such excellency alleged no more or better matter. But it was not the man's

(1) It is no marvel why he alleged no more or better matter; for of naughty leather no man can make a good shoe. And note here how God withdraweth his gifts, when men dissemble and cloak the truth.

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memory which was in fault : the fact is, he did not speak heartily in this matter, and desired nothing so much, as not to obtain that which he entreated for.

See
A. J. edit.

After¹ him the bishops of Catania and Bosa,² who were also the king's ambassadors, spoke in a few words in favour of the opinion of Panormitane. At that time the archbishop of Milan, a man of prompt and ready wit and learning, who was there alone ambassador for the duke of Milan (for the bishop of Albenga, and Francis Barbavaria, were not yet returned from Mentz); he, being a follower of St. Jerome, alleging many authorities out of the said doctor, exhorted earnestly to have the matter deferred, abhorring all haste, which, he said, was enemy unto the council, and by his countenance and gesture declaring himself to be greatly against the present proceedings. At the last he said, that except he were fully heard, he would make protestation in the name of himself and all his countrymen. After him followed the bishops of Tortosa and Girona, and a divine of Segorbe, abbot-elect of Mount Arragon, and some other men of that rank, who altogether approved the sentence and determination of Panormitane. The bishop of Parma agreed with the archbishop of Milan; also the king's almoner, who afterward, flying from Basil because of the plague unto Zoffingen, died in a town of the Switzers, between Lucerne and Basil. These, with Martinus de Vera, another ambassador of the king of Arragon, did confirm and stay themselves upon the saying of their fellow Panormitane. Then the other Arragons and Catalonians, wishing to speak every one for himself, said that they did all agree to the desire of their king. The matter seemed to be craftily contrived, that they should spend the time and defer the conclusion. When a great number had spoken their minds, and a long succession of Catalonians had made an end, Louis, the cardinal Arclatensis, a man of marvellous constancy and born for the governance of general councils, gathered together the words of all the orators; and turning himself first to the Castilians, he spake much of their devotion to the sacred council; in like wise he spake of the Catalonians and Lombards: afterward, he, entering upon the matter, spake in this wise:

The Oration of the Cardinal Arclatensis.

Most reverend fathers! this is now no new or strange business, nor begun to-day or yesterday. For it is now many weeks ago since the conclusions were disputed upon amongst the divines, and sent unto Mentz, and into all other parts of the world. After this they were disputed upon six successive days in the chapter-house of this church, and fully discussed, and after that, not without great delay, approved by the deputations; and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publicly and openly, neither can any man pretend ignorance; neither were the prelates or princes passed over, for we invited all that were then at Basil, and exhorted them all to be present. And forso much as mention is made of the most noble king of Castile, who is ignorant that the king's own orators were there present, the bishops of Burgos and Ebrun, men of singular learning and eloquence? And you also Panormitane yourself, who here represent the person of the most famous king of Arragon, were twice present yourself in the chapter-house, and disputed twice most subtilly, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. Why do you desire more delay? Also out of the territory of the duke of Milan there was present the archbishop of Milan, who albeit he be no ambassador, yet how famous a prelate he is, you are not ignorant.

Truth
seeketh
no
corners.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 519.—Ed.

(2) Bosa, a city and seaport in Sardinia.—Ed.

When he had spoken these words, the archbishop of Milan, being somewhat moved, said unto him, "My lord cardinal, you supply the room of a president no more than I do the place of the duke's orator;" and began to taunt him with many words. But the cardinal (as he was a most patient man, and would not be provoked to anger by any means), said as followeth:

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The Oration of the Cardinal Archbishop of Arles continued.

That is just what I wanted. For if the archbishop be an ambassador, then hath the duke no cause to complain, who had his orator present at the discussing of those matters. I pass over other princes, because they do not complain. Notwithstanding, the most christian king of France had there the archbishop of Lyons, a grave and sober man, as his ambassador at the disputation. As for other princes, I see no cause why they should be tarried for, who, knowing the council to be congregated for such matters as pertain unto faith, do not think it absurd that the doubtful matters of faith should be determined in the council; whereat, if they had wished to be present, they would have come or this.

* Besides that, it is not true what Panormitane saith, that secular princes ought to be admitted to any matter of faith, if he understand their coming to be in order to determine. And, albeit that Martianus the emperor doth say, 'Nos ad fidem confirmandam volumus interesse synodo;' that is, 'We will be present at the council for the confirmation of the faith;' which words Panormitane doth so often allege, yet that must be added, which he himself doth add, that we may have the perfect understanding of his words, for he saith; 'Nos ad fidem confirmandam, non potentiam exercendam, volumus interesse synodo;' that is, 'we will be present at the council, not to exercise our power and authority, but for the confirmation of the faith;' speaking it to this intent, that, thereby he might specially take away all fear from those, who thought that his presence would frustrate the council: which thing if our princes now-a-days would do, the matter were at an end. But our princes in these days, when by reason of their absence they cannot themselves threaten, yet will they put men in fear by their ambassadors. But God will look upon such doings.*

Why this matter should need so much discussing as some will have, I do not understand; for if I rightly remember, Panormitane and also Louis have oftentimes affirmed in this place even the very same thing which the conclusions signify. And if any of them now will go about to gainsay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto Didimus, *than whom, as Quintilian saith, 'No man at any time wrote more,'* to whom, when on a time he repugned against a certain history as vain and frivolous, his own book was delivered unto him, wherein the same was written: so likewise these two men,² although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their own writings. Besides this, there are synodal epistles and decrees of this council, which are full of such conclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficulty can be raised? what is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that again in doubt, which hath so often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? 'But,' say they, 'the princes and ambassadors are absent, who are bishops, by whose presence the decrees should be of more authority.' Well, not only are they absent who are gone to Mentz, but almost an infinite number of others, dispersed throughout the whole world, whom if we should tarry to look for, nothing at any time should be decreed. They are all called unto the council; they might have come if they would. To those that are present power is given, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they who are absent are about the affairs of the commonwealth, truly we sent them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the council, than with the consent thereof.

Didimus
repre-
hended
what was
in his own
book.

And admit that they had been sent by the council, yet were not our power so much restrained but that we might reform the church, for, otherwise, there

(1) Ed. 1563, pp. 301, 302.—Ed. . . .

(2) He meaneth Panormitane and Ludovicus the prothonotary.

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should never any thing be done in the council; forsomuch as always some are sent out by the council, and some are always to be looked and tarried for; and therefore we must either do nothing at all, or send out no prelates from the council. Whereas he said that prelates, and especially bishops, are contemned, that is most far from the truth, for they have the chief and first places. They speak first, and give their voices first of all, unto all things; and, if so be they do speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors, without any gainsaying, do soon follow their mind.

Neither, peradventure, shall it seem dissonant from the truth, to say, that there was never any synod which did more amplify the power and authority of bishops, than this. For what have the bishops been in our days, but only shadows? Might they not well have been called shepherds without the sheep? What had they more than their mitre and their staff, when they could determine nothing over their subjects? Verily, in the primitive church, the bishops had the greatest power and authority;¹ but now is it come to that point that they do only exceed the common sort of priests in their habit and revenues. But we have restored them again to their old estate; we have reduced the collation of benefices again unto them; we have restored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought again into their hands the causes of the subjects to be heard, and have made them bishops who were none before. What cause is there then, that the bishops should say they are contemned of the council, or what injurious thing have we at any time done unto them?

But Panormitane saith, that forsomuch as most bishops are on his part, and few against him, the conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors. But let Panormitane remember himself, that this is no new kind of proceeding. This order of proceeding the council ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time since. And this order, Panormitane! in times past hath pleased you well enough, when the multitude did follow your mind.² But now, because they do not follow your mind, they do displease you. But the decrees of the council are not so mutable as the wills of men. Know ye, moreover, that the very same bishops who do consent with you in word, do not consent with you in mind, neither speak the same secretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their country, that except they would follow your mind they should displease the king. They fear the power of the prince, and to be spoiled of their temporalities; neither have they free liberty to speak as is requisite in councils. Albeit, if they were true bishops, and true pastors of souls, they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their sheep, neither be afraid to shed their blood for their mother the church.

Mark
what
worldly
pomp,
dignity,
and
wealth,
had
brought
the pre-
lates to in
those
days.

But at this present (the more is the pity) it is rare to find a prelate in this world, who doth not prefer his temporalities before his spiritualities; with the love whereof they are so withdrawn, that they study rather to please princes than God; and confess God in corners, but princes they will openly confess. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his Gospel; 'Every one,' saith he, 'that confesseth me before men, I will confess him before my Father which is in heaven.'³ And, contrariwise, the Lord will not confess him before his Father who is afraid to confess the Lord before men. Neither is that true which Panormitane saith, that most bishops are on his part; for here are many bishops' proctors whom he doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignity of the fathers to be respected in the council, as he saith, but only reason; nor any thing more to be looked for than the truth; neither will I, for my part, prefer a lie of any bishop, be he never so rich, before a verity or truth of a poor priest. Neither ought a bishop to disdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poor learned and eloquent priest should be preferred before his. For wisdom dwelleth oftener under a bare and ragged cloak than in rich ornaments and apparel.

Truth
many
times
dwelleth
under the
ragged
cloaks.

Wherefore, I pray you, my lord bishops! do not so much contemn your

(1) Mark, O ye bishops, the council of Basil contendeth for you, and ye will not understand it.

(2) This was a true cardinal, out of whose mouth the verity did speak, who feared not the threatenings of princes, neither sought any worldly glory or dignity.

(3) Note here the great godliness and most christian saying of this good bishop.

inferiors; for the first who died for Christ, who also opened unto all others the way of martyrdom, was no bishop but only a Levite. As for that which Ludovicus and Panormitane do allege, touching the voices of bishops, I know not where they have it; wherefore I desire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old councils, we shall find that the inferiors were always present with the bishops. And, albeit Ludovicus do forbid us the examples of the apostles, I stay myself most upon their doings: for what is more comely for us to follow, than the doctrine and customs of the primitive church? ¹ It is said, therefore, in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, 'It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us;' which words, 'to us,' are referred unto them who are before named, the apostles and elders. Neither this word, 'it seemed good,' signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth that others beside the bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the Acts, when the apostles should treat upon a weighty matter, they durst not determine by themselves, but the twelve called together the multitude.

Here Ludovicus saith, that it doth not appear the apostles called others of necessity.—But I say unto him, how knowest thou, that they did not call them of necessity? But, forso much as both parts are uncertain, nothing doth prohibit us to follow the apostles. For, seeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the apostles would give us example, that in weighty matters we should admit our inferiors. And, therefore, in all councils which were celebrated and holden afterwards, we find that priests were also present; as in the council of Nice, which of all other was most famous, Athanasius, being then but only a priest, withstood the Arians and infringing their arguments, albeit there were also other priests. And, albeit mention be made of three hundred and twenty-two bishops, yet it is not denied but that the inferiors were there, whom I think to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable; for, as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part is taken of the most worthy.

In the synod of Chalcedon, which was counted one of the four principal synods, it is said that there were there present six hundred priests; which name is common both unto bishops and presbyters. In other councils the names both of bishops and priests are omitted, and mention is made of fathers only, which hath the same signification that this word 'elders' hath in the Acts of the Apostles. We have also a testimony of ecclesiastical history, how that there was a council gathered at Rome of sixty bishops, and as many priests and deacons, against the Novatians, who called themselves Cathari. Also, when Paul,² the bishop of Antioch, in the time of Galienus the emperor, preached that Christ was a man of common nature, the council assembled against him in Antioch; whereunto there came bishops out of Cesarea, Cappadocia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Jerusalem, and many other bishops, priests, and deacons; and it is said, that for that matter the council was often holden. And at the last, in the same place, under Aurelius the emperor, Paul was condemned by all christian churches which were under heaven; neither was there any man who did more confound the said Paul, than Malchion, a priest of Antioch, who taught rhetoric in Antioch. *But³ to what purpose do I stand so long in this matter? these are the words of the fifth council holden at Toledo:⁴ 'After all the bishops be entered in and set, let the priests be called, who are allowed by the cause to enter in. Let no deacon put in himself amongst them, but let such as are allowed enter in afterwards, whom the order of council requireth to be present. And then the bishops being set round in a ring together, let the priests sit behind them, except such as the metropolitan shall choose to sit with him, who, also, may judge and determine any thing together with him.' There is no man who will affirm this to have been but only a provincial council. For the council speaking of itself, saith: 'quoniam generale concilium agimus,' 'forso much as we do hold a general council.' And there were also present sixty bishops out of Spain, and France. But, peradventure, the words of the council of Chalcedon do move Panormitane and Ludovicus;

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sius,
being but
a priest,
vanquish-
ed an
arch-
bishop.The name
of priests
or elders
common
both to
bishops
and
priests.Paul, bi-
shop of
Antioch.Paul the
heretic
condemned.

¹ Note the sincerity of this good bishop, who stayed himself upon the examples of the primitive church, and not upon customs and popes.

² A. D. 260.—Ed.

³ Edition 1563, p. 304.—Ed.

⁴ See the Appendix.—Ed.

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where the bishops, speaking of a certain congregation, which deposed Flavianus and certain others, said: 'The soldiers did depose them rather than we; for whatsoever we did, we were compelled by fear to do it, and the clergy themselves subscribed first;' wherefore they cried out that 'it was a synod of bishops and not of clerks;' the which words, if they be well understand, do not exclude the inferiors.

For two things the bishops complained of: the one, that they had no liberty in Constantinople; and the other, that the clergy subscribed first: both which were evil examples. Wherefore, if it be said that it was not a council, only called a synod of bishops, and not of clerks, yet this did not exclude all the inferiors, but only such as had taken Benet and Collet;¹ whom we also do exclude, observing the order, which the council of Toledo commanded to be appointed; twelve men for the examination of such as should be incorporated in the council. Moreover, it is not said in that place, these are the words of the council, but of some of the bishops who spake there, as Panormitane and Ludovicus do here.* But, to make no long digression from the matter, we have most evident testimonies for the defence of inferiors; for the chief and principal Aristotle amongst all the divines, St. Augustine, upon the words of Matthew, where Christ saith to Peter, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' saith, 'That by those words the judicial power was given not only unto Peter, but also to the other apostles, and to the whole church, the bishops and priests. If, then, priests have a judicial power in the church, what should let that they have not also a determining voice in the councils? The famous doctor, St. Jerome, doth also agree with St. Augustine, whose words are these upon the Epistle of Paul unto Titus; 'Before difference was made in religion by the instigation of the devil, or that it was spoken amongst the people, 'I hold of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas,' the churches were governed by the common consent and council of the priests; for a priest is the very same that a bishop is.' Wherefore all bishops ought to understand, that they are of greater power than priests rather by custom, than by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the church together. Also the said Jerome, in his epistle unto Damasus upon the ecclesiastical degrees, saith: 'The Lord is represented in the bishops, and the apostles in the priests.' And this we do also gather out of Paul unto Titus, who maketh so much concordance between bishops and priests, that oftentimes he calleth priests bishops; whereby it doth evidently appear, that priests are not to be excluded from the conventions of bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit, as St. Jerome writeth that bishops are only by custom preferred before priests, it may be that a contrary custom may take away that custom. For if priests ought to rule the church together with the bishops, it is evident that it also pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the church.

Wherefore the testimony of St. Paul is evident; for as he, writing unto the Ephesians, saith, 'If Christ instituted his apostles, prophets, pastors, and teachers to the work of the ministry, for the edifying of his church, until such time as we should meet him, for this purpose, that there should be no doubt in the diversity of doctrine: who doubteth then, but that the governance of the church is committed unto others together with the apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seem to be no wiser than they ought to be. The memorial of the council of Constance is yet fresh in memory, where divers of us were present, and I myself also, who was neither cardinal nor bishop, but only a doctor; where I did see, without any manner of doubt or difficulty, the inferiors to be admitted with the bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great council, which also followed the examples of the council of Pisa, and the great council at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the priests did jointly judge together with the bishops.

Moreover, if abbots, as we do see it observed in all councils, have a determining voice, who, notwithstanding, were not instituted by Christ, why should not priests have the same, whose order Christ ordained by his apostles? Hereupon also, if only bishops should have a determining voice, nothing else should be done but what pleased the Italian nation, the which alone doth exceed all

St. Augustine upon this sentence, 'Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum.'

How bishops are of greater power than priests. Bishops and priests ought to rule together.

Abbots not instituted by Christ.

(1) "Qui solius primæ tonsuræ sunt clerici." .En. Sylv. See Appendix.—Ed.

other nations, or at the least is equal with them, in number of bishops. And howsoever it be, I judge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the inferiors should be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones, which he hath hidden from the wise.

Behold you do see the zeal, constancy, uprightness, and magnanimity of these inferiors. Where should the council now be, if only bishops and cardinals have should their voice? Where should the authority of the councils be? Where should the catholic faith be? Where should the decrees and reformation be? For all things have now a long time been under the will of Eugene, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpose, except these inferiors, whom ye now contemn, had withstood him. These are they who have contemned the privation made by Eugene. These, I say, are they who have not regarded his threatenings, spoil and persecution. These are they who, being taken, imprisoned, and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the council; yea, even these are they, who, albeit they were by Eugene delivered over a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred council, and feared not to suffer war, famine, and most cruel pestilence.¹ And, finally, what thing is it, that these men have not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the council? You might have heard this inferior sort, even in the midst of their tribulations, with a loud voice cry out and say, 'Albeit that all men become obedient unto that subverter of the church, Eugene, and that every man do depart from the verity of the faith and constitutions of the fathers, consenting unto the commandments of Eugene, yet we and our brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers;' the which indeed they have done. Neither could they be feared with threatenings, or altered with any spoils, neither could any fear or hope turn them from their most blessed purpose. And to speak somewhat of mine own order, whether any cardinals have done the like or no, that judge you.

As for the bishops, whom Panormitane alone would have to determine, you see how few of them are on our part; and even those who are here present, are not able by virtue to overcome iniquity: they fear the terrene power, and commit offence with their haste. *Have ye not heard this day the voices of the prelates? &c. Have ye not heard how they all said, they would consent unto the king's will and pleasure? But these inferiors are they who have had truth, righteousness, and God himself, before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for showing themselves such men unto the church of God. But why do I defend the cause of these inferiors, when some will also exclude those bishops, who are but bishops by name and title and have no possession of the church, from our company, not understanding that while they go about to put back those men, they do condemn Peter and the other apostles, who, as it is evident, were long without any great flock; neither was Rome unto Peter, nor Jerusalem unto James, at any time wholly obedient; for at that time no great number of people, but a small flock believed in Christ.

For, I pray you, what is that we should require of these bishops? They have no flock; but that is not their fault. They have no revenues; but money maketh not a bishop; and, as the Lord saith, 'Bcati pauperes spiritu,' that is, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' Neither were there any rich bishops in the primitive church; neither did the ancient council reject Dionysius, bishop of Milan, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, or Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, although they were never so poor, and banished without a flock. But, if we will grant the truth, the poor are more apt to give judgment, than the rich; because riches bring fear, and their poverty causeth liberty. For the poor men do not fear tyranny as our rich men do, who, being given over unto all kind of vanities, idleness, and sloth, will rather deny Christ, than lack their accustomed pleasures; whom not their flock, but their revenues make bishops, delighting so much in riches, that they judge all poor men unhappy. But, as Cicero saith, 'Nothing can happen better unto a wise man, than mediocrity of substance.' Whereupon it is written in the gospel, 'It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

But now, to return to a more full declaration of Panormitane's words, I deter-

(1) Note the terrible persecution of those days, and the great constancy of the godly, for the truth's sake.

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Italy surmounteth all nations in number of bishops.

O zeal of faith, worthy the crown of martyrdom.

Eccles.
vii.

The bishops fear the earthly power, but no God.

The bishops of the primitive church were poor men.

The bishops in this age of the Church, what they are.

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In mat-
ters of
faith and
religion,
there
ought to
be no
delays.

mine to pass over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his oration, that is, 'Qui petant,' and 'cur petant;' that is, 'Who make the petition, and for what cause they make their petition.' We grant that they are great men, and men of power, and, as he doth affirm, that they have deserved good of the church; neither do I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon which he spake of, it is now to be inquired. 'A delay,' saith he, 'is required; a delay for a few days; a small matter; a matter of no importance; a matter easy to be granted.' Notwithstanding, let Panormitane here mark well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are already declared: they be already discussed and determined. If now there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay; for oftentimes the delay of one moment, is the loss of a whole year: hereof we have many examples. Hannibal, when he had obtained his victory at Cannæ, if he had gone straight unto Rome, by all men's judgments he had taken the city. But forsomuch as he did defer it until the next day, the Romans having recovered their force again, he was shut out, and deserved to hear this opprobry:

'Vincere scis Hanibal, uti victoria nescis.'

'Hannibal! thou knowest victory to get,
But how to use it, thou know'st not yet.'

See
Appendix.

The
eighth
year of
the coun-
cil of
Basil.
How
subtly
they
sought
delays.

Likewise the Gauls, after they had taken Rome and besieged the Capitol, while they greedily sought to have great sums of money, and delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus, coming upon them, did most shamefully drive them out again. But what need I to rehearse old stories, when our own examples are sufficient for us? Ye know yourselves, how often these delays have been hurtful unto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath grown to a long tract of time. For now this is the eighth year that you have spent in delays; and you have seen, that always, of one delay, another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore, I do require that Panormitane should consider, that the conclusion being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to pass hereafter again or no; many impediments or lets may arise and spring. Neither doth Panormitane say, that this delay being obtained, he would afterwards consent with his fellows unto the conclusions,—for he denieth that he hath any commandment thereunto; and (which is more to be considered) he saith that the ambassadors, at their return from Mentz, may bring such news, whereby these conclusions may be omitted: as though any thing were more excellent than the truth. This thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seek delays for the better examination of the matter, but to impugn the conclusions the more strongly.

Decrees
of the
council of
Con-
stance.

Nor do I agree with Panormitane, as touching the effects which, he said, should arise either of the denial, or granting of the requests; for I see no cause why the princes should greatly require any delay. There are no letters of any prince come unto us touching such request, neither is there any man lately come from them, neither is it greatly material unto them, but that the matters of faith should be determined. But this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of those most godly princes; where he saith, if we do please them, they will take our part. If, contrariwise, they will decline unto Eugene, and wholly resist and rebel against us. This is a marvellous word, and a wonderful conclusion, altogether unworthy to be spoken of such a man. The decrees of the council of Constance are, that all manner of men, of what state or condition soever they be, are bound to the ordinances and decrees of general councils. But Panormitane's words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the princes obedient unto the council, but the council to be obedient unto the princes.

Alas! most reverend fathers, alas! what times and days, what manners and conditions are these!¹ Into what misery are we now brought! How shall we at any time bring to pass, that the pope, being Christ's vicar, and (as they say) another Christ on earth, should be subject unto the council of the Christians, if the council itself ought to obey worldly princes? But I pray you look for no

(1) If these things seem so intolerable, what shall we say, when they make the pope a God.

such things at the princes' hands. Do not believe that they will forsake their mother the church. Do not think them so far alienate from the truth, that they would have justice suppressed.

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The conclusions whereupon the controversy is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the princes do refuse them, they will not resist against us, but against the holy Scriptures, yea, and against Christ himself: the which you ought neither to believe, neither was it comely for Panormitane so to say. Panormitane! (by your license be it spoken) you have uttered most cruel words, neither do you seem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and fear into the minds of the fathers; for you have rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit ourselves unto the princes.

But you, most reverend fathers! shall not be afraid of them that kill the body but the soul cannot kill, neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same.¹ Neither ought we to be any whit more slack in the quarrel of our mother church, and the catholic faith, than those most holy martyrs, who have established the church with their blood. For why should it be any grievous matter unto us to suffer for Christ, who, for our sakes, hath suffered such cruel and grievous death? who, when he was the immortal God, void of all passions, took upon him the shape of a mortal man, and feared not, for our redemption, to suffer torments upon the cross. Set before your eyes, Peter the prince of the apostles, also Paul, Andrew, James, and Bartholomew, and (not to speak only of bishops) mark what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian, and Fabian did. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some stoned to death, others burned, and others, tormented with most cruel and grievous torments, suffered for Christ's sake.² I pray you, for God's sake, let us follow the example of these men. If we will be bishops and succeed in honour, let us not fear martyrdom. Alas! what effeminate hearts have we; alas! what a faint hearted people are we. They, in times past, by the contempt of death, converted the whole world, which was full of Gentility and idolatry; and we, through our sluggishness and desire of life, do bring the christian religion out of the whole world into one corner; and I fear greatly, lest the little also which is left we shall lose through our cowardliness, if, by following Panormitane's mind, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the church unto the princes. But now play the stout and valiant men in this time of tribulation, and fear not to suffer death for the church, which Curtius feared not to do for the city of Rome; which Menœceus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly took upon them.

A christian exhortation to constancy and martyrdom.

Not only the martyrs, but also the Gentiles might move and stir us to cast off all the fear of the death. What is to be said of Theramenes the Athenian? with how joyful heart and mind, and pleasant countenance, did he drink the poison? What say you unto Socrates, that most excellent philosopher? Did he either weep or sigh, when he supped up the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certain of: not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better. Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many examples, instructed with so great learning, yea and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so greatly to fear death.

Examples of good men dying for their country.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which have cheerfully and courageously gone unto those places from whence they knew they should not return. With like courage did the Lacedemonians give themselves to death at Thermopylæ, of whom Simonides writeth thus:

'Dic hospes, Spartanos te hic vidisse jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.'

'Report thou, stranger! the Spartans here to lie,
Whiles that their country's laws they obeyed willingly.'

Neither judge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went even of purpose unto death; unto whom their captain Leonidas said, 'O ye Lacedemonians! go forward courageously, for this day we shall sup together with the infernal gods.' But I, most reverend fathers! do not invite you unto the infernals, as

The noble Lacedemonians.

(1) They who teach this doctrine, are heretics and schismatics: but blessed are those heretics, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

(2) This came so to pass twenty-three years after, when Christendom lost Constantinople and all the East parts, unto the Turks.

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blessed
state of
the life
to come.
The
worthy
answer
of Theo-
dorus.No death
to be
feared by
Christ's
church.Example
of mari-
ners and
hunters.Example
of the
eleven
thousand
virgins.

he did his Lacedemonians, but unto the celestial and everlasting joys of paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truth's sake, and patiently abide the threatenings of these princes, if there be any threatenings at all. I call you unto that eternal glory, where there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good things do perpetually abound; where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man banisheth, no man murdereth; and, finally, no man dieth. Where all men are blessed and happy, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortal, all are of like estate; and what all men have, every man hath, and what every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well consider, we shall truly answer Panormitane, as Theodore of Cyrene is said to have answered Lysimachus the king, when he threatened to hang him, who said: 'I pray you threaten these horrible things unto your courtiers; as for Theodore, it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground, or under the ground.' So likewise let us answer unto the princes, if there be any that do threaten us, and let us not fear their torments.

What doth a longer life prevail to help us? No man hath lived too short a time, who hath obtained the perfect gift of virtue. And, if the death which a man suffereth in the quarrel of his country, seemeth not only to be glorious amongst the rhetoricians, but also happy and blessed; what shall we say for these deaths which are sustained for the country of all countries, the church? Truly, most reverend fathers! it is too much that our adversaries do persuade themselves of you, for they judge you fearful, sluggish, and faint-hearted; and, therefore, they do object princes unto you, because they think that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, exile, in the quarrel and defence of the church. But I think you will esteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining of everlasting life, to do the same which ship-men do for the obtaining of transitory riches: to put themselves in danger of the sea and wind, and suffer most cruel storms. The hunters lie abroad in the nights in the snow, in the hills and woods, and are tormented with cold; yet have they none other reward, but some wild beast of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to do, whose reward shall be paradise? I am ashamed of your ignavy, when I read that women, yea even young maidens, have violently obtained heaven through their martyrdom, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This river Rhine, which runneth alongst the city, in times past hath carried eleven thousand virgins unto martyrdom.¹ In India, as Cicero writeth, when any man is dead, his wives (for there they have many wives) come into contention who should be burned with him; and she whom he loved best, having vanquished the others (all the rest joyfully following her), is cast into the fire with the dead carcase of her husband, and burned. The other, who are overcome, depart full of heaviness and sorrow, wishing rather to have died than live.

The which courage we now taking upon us for Christ's sake, will answer Panormitane even as the Lacedemonians answered Philip, who, when by his letters he threatened them that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him whether he would also stop them from dying! Therefore, as you are excellent men, so use your virtue, which is always free, and remaineth always invincible. For you do know that power is given of the Lord, and strength from the Most High; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts; unto whom ye should be careful to render a good account, judging rightly, and keeping the law of righteousness, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

And whereas the ambassadors of Eugene do openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the bishop of Rome above the universal church: to the end that ignorant souls be not snared, ye shall not cease or leave to publish the three first conclusions; following the example of the apostle Paul, who would in no point give place unto Peter, when he walked not according to the gospel. As for the other matters which do only respect the person of Eugene (because Panormitane and the other ambassadors of the princes shall not say that we do pass our bounds), ye shall defer them for this present.

When cardinal Arelatensis had made an end of his oration, *²there was at first a dead silence, all fixing their eyes on him for admiration:

See
Apendix.(1) See note *suprà*, p. 209, and vol. i. p. 312.—Ed.

(2) Edition 1563, p. 308.—Ed.

gradually they began to praise, some his memory, some his doctrine ; other some saying, that he was without exception the best of presidents, seeing he both knew how to confute objections, and, as it became a president, kept his temper under taunts and reproaches. But the Catalonians, when they saw that all delay was denied them, sought by great noise and brawling to hinder the conclusion of the twelve men from being read, and used all their endeavour that the protest which Panormitane had drawn up, should be read before the conclusion.

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This matter was not done without violence, for the president's commandments were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order observed ; for * on every part there was noise, crying out, and brawling ; sometimes they spake unto Panormitane, sometimes unto Louis ; no man was suffered to speak, but in haste ; the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiors with their fellows ; and all was contention and debate. Which when Louis, the patriarch of Aquileia, perceived (a man of no less courage and stomach, than of nobility and birth, for he was a duke), for the zeal that he bare unto the universal church, turning himself unto Panormitane and Louis, the prothonotary, he said, " Do not think the matter shall so pass ; you know not yet the manners of the Germans ; for if you go forward on this fashion, it will not be allowed you to depart this country without broken heads." With which words Panormitane, Louis, and the archbishop of Milan, being struck, as it were, with lightning from heaven, rose up, and said, " Is our liberty taken from us ? What meaneth it that the patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads should be broken ? " And, turning themselves unto John, earl of Diernstein, who then supplied the protector's place, they demanded of him, whether he would defend the council, and maintain them all in their liberty, or no ?

Lewis, patriarch of Aquileia, duke of Deck in Swabia.

The earl of Diernstein.

The members, also, of the town senate were present, to provide that no offence should rise ; for the citizens always observed the custom of being present in all affairs which they supposed would breed dissension ; and took every precaution, that no tumults should rise, otherwise than with words : and they are a people of such wisdom and strict principle, that no man unto this day could have any cause to complain against them for having violated their promise. Wherefore, if at any time any citizens have deserved well at the hands of the church, surely this praise is to be given unto the Basilians. These men, together with John, earl of Diernstein, being present in the assembly of the fathers, intimated that their liberty should be maintained. The earl (albeit he was moved at the strangeness of the matter, for he would not have thought so great contentions could have risen amongst wise men) answered by his interpreter, That they should all be of good cheer, for the emperor's safe-conduct should be observed and kept even to the uttermost ; neither should the patriarch, nor any other, be so hardy once to violate the liberty, or take away the assurance, granted by the emperor. Notwithstanding, he desired the patriarch that he would call back his words again, and not speak any more in such sort. But that famous father, in all his affairs and business declaring the nobility of his stock, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed the explanation of his

The praise of the citizens of Basil.

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real meaning to John Bachenstein, auditor of the chamber, a man both grave and eloquent, whose assistance the council had used in divers ambassades; who affirmed that it was not the patriarch's intention to threaten any man, or disturb the liberty of the council, but to move the fathers unto constancy, that they should be mindful of the reformation which they had promised unto the whole world, and not say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow; for, if they would so do, it were to be feared, lest the laity, seeing themselves deluded, and despairing of reformation, should rise against the clergy. Therefore he did admonish the fathers to foresee and provide for the peril, that they should not depart from the council without anything being determined or done; and, finally, he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the council, Panormitane, or any other man. Whereby he proved the truth of that which is commonly said, "That Humility is the sister of Nobility:" both which did very excellently appear in this man. Yet, for all this, could not the humility of the patriarch stop or stay their noise or cries; for, as often as mention was made of reading the 'Concordatum,' great noise and rumours were still made to stop the same.

Humility
sister to
nobility.

Then Amedeus, archbishop of Lyons, and primate of all France, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with zeal for the faith, which he saw there to be stopped and suppressed, said:

The Oration of Amedeus, Archbishop of Lyons.

Most reverend fathers! I have now a great occasion to speak, for it is now seven years or more that I have been amongst you, yet have I never seen any thing like unto a miracle, as now; but now I do behold stupendous signs of miracles: for is it no small matter that the lame do walk, the dumb do speak, and that poor men preach the gospel? Whereupon, I pray you, cometh this sudden change? how happeneth it that those who lay lurking at home, are now suddenly start up? who hath given hearing to the deaf, and speech to the dumb? who hath taught the poor to preach the gospel? I do see here a new sort of prelates come in, who, unto this present, have kept silence, but now begin to speak. Is not this like a miracle? I would to God, however, they came to defend the truth, and not to impugn justice.

Bishops
that lie at
home,
have
tongues
to speak
for the
pope.

But this is more to be marvelled at than any miracle, that I do see the best learned men of all impugn our conclusions, which are certain and most true, and were in times past allowed by the very persons who now reprove them. We have not yet forgotten, how that Louis, the prothonotary, preached these verities at Louvaine and at Cologne, and brought them from thence, confirmed with the authorities of those universities.¹ But, albeit he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And, therefore, I desire and beseech you all, that ye will not give ear unto these men, who, albeit they are most excellently learned, yet have not that constancy in them, which doth adorn all other virtues.

Constancy
lacked in
divers of
this coun-
cil.

When he had ended his oration, Louis, the prothonotary, rising up, said, "It is most true that I brought those verities; but you do call them verities of faith, the which addition seemeth to me rather doubtful." When he had spoken these words, cardinal Arelatensis required that the 'Concordatum' of the twelve men should be read, and many whispered him in the ear, that he should go forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then Panormitane, as soon as the 'Concordatum' began to be read, rising up with his colleagues and the Arragons, cried out with

(1) Mark how they are turned back who sometime favoured the truth, and are now become liars and flatterers.

a loud voice, saying, "You fathers do contemn our requests, you contemn kings and princes, and despise prelates; but take heed lest, whiles that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part to conclude. We are the greater part of the prelates; we make the council; and it is our part to conclude; and I, in the name of the prelates do conclude, that the matter is to be deferred." At this word there sprang as great a noise in the council, as is accustomed to be heard in battle with the sound of trumpets and noise of horsemen, when two armies join; some execrating that which Panormitane had done, other some allowing the same; so that diversity of minds made divers contentions.

Then Nicholas Anieci, the divine of Paris, in virtue of his office, said, "Panormitane! I appeal from this your conclusion, to the judgment of the council here present; neither do I affirm any thing to be ratified which you have done; as I am ready to prove, if it shall seem good."

The adverse part seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it seen how they could conclude amongst so great cries and uproars. Notwithstanding, amongst all this troublous noise, John de Segovia, the eminent divine of the university of Salamauea, gained an audience, for the whole council was desirous to hear him; wherefore all men, as soon as he rose up, kept silence, and he, perceiving that they were desirous to hear him speak, began in this sort:

The Oration of Segovius.

Most reverend fathers! the zeal and love of the house of God forceth me now to speak: and I would to God that I had been either blind this day, not to have seen those things which have happened, or that I had been deaf, that I should not have heard those words which have been spoken. Who is there so stony or hardhearted, that he can abstain from tears, when the authority of the church is so impaired, liberty taken away both from us and the council, and that there is no place given unto truth? O sweet Jesu! why hast thou so forsaken thy spouse! Behold and look upon thy people, and help us, if our requests are just! We come hither to provide for the necessity of the church; we ask nothing for ourselves, and our desire is only that truth might appear.

We trusted now to have concluded upon the verities, which have been already allowed in the sacred deputations. The orators of the princes are present, and require the conclusions to be deferred. But we be not unmindful of those things which Ambrose wrote unto the emperor Valentinian, in this manner: 'If we peruse the declarations of the holy Scripture and the sentiments of past ages, who is it that will deny but that in a matter of faith (I say, in a matter of faith), the bishops ought to judge upon christian emperors, and not emperors upon bishops?' We cannot admit their petition, and that for the most urgent reasons. Notwithstanding, we heard them patiently and willingly, whiles that they did speak, even so long as they would. But now, if any on our part would speak, by-and-by he is interrupted, troubled, and letted. What honesty is this? what modesty or gravity? Is it lawful so to do in a council? What hath now become of the decree of the council of Toledo? Where are our decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also the least talking together? They say, it is because we contemn them; but it is they, who not only contemn the council, but also resist the same. The patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no evil intent or purpose, and by-and-by they complained that their liberty was broken: but they, when they do enforce the council, when they forbid the president to speak, and will not suffer the ordinances to be read, do not judge that they at all go contrary to the liberty of the council. They say, they are the council themselves, and yet they entreat the council. These things do not I understand; for if they be the council, why do

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Panormitane spake like himself.

Nicholas Anieci, a divine of Paris.

Ambros. ad Valentinianum.

How far bishops ought to judge emperors.

See Appendix.

He excuseth the patriarch.

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He showeth the arguments of the adversaries by their own confession.

See Appendix.

Moveth the bishops by the example of Paul.

Paul would give Peter no respect when he swerved away.

they entreat themselves? If they be not the council, why do they not suffer the council to speak? Why do they not look for an answer of him to whom they make their petitions? Truly this is too much violence, and, certes, our patience is also too much, to suffer such excess even in the face of the church. *We' are they, from whom the liberty is taken.

But they say, that the inferiors ought not to judge any thing, and that we ought not to transact any matter with a minority of bishops on our side, albeit we be the majority of the council. The which if it were true, many of your own decrees should be of no force, and specially that which ye have promulgated as touching provincial and episcopal synods; which since it did not please the prelates, the cardinal of St. Angelo, then president (with scarcely five bishops and the majority of the inferiors on his side), did conclude, albeit that many bishops were against him; which decree, notwithstanding, you do account of great force and strength: the like also hath happened almost in all decrees, which do bridle the pomp or ambition of the bishops. Moreover, ye have for example, that on the arrival of Alexander, abbot of Vezelai, who was the first that came to this place, the council commenced, when there was no bishop as yet come, as Eugene doth confess in his act of adhesion: wherefore that which these men say, is to no other purpose, but only utterly to subvert the council. But that point is sufficiently answered by the cardinal Arelatensis. Notwithstanding this one thing I would desire to obtain at the bishops' hands: that if they would have us grant that they succeed the apostles and have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that they would themselves grant that which is spoken by the apostle: That Christ, when he ascended into heaven, did institute some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the work of the ministry and the edification of his church. And, as the bishops do succeed the apostles, so we divines do succeed the doctors, and the presbyters the pastors; and all other in their degrees: and our Saviour would have his church governed jointly by them all. Wherefore, it seemeth vain, that which these men speak, as touching the excluding of the inferiors.*

But this doth most of all grieve me, and this do I most marvel at, that Panormitane, a man of singular wit and learning, did conclude without any discussing of the deputations, and without the examination of the twelve men, and any scrutiny or order; which, except mine eyes had beheld and seen, I would scarcely believe, if any other man had reported it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I can credit my own testimony, the matter seemeth so horrible; for I do not see by what authority his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the authority of his king, who, he saith, 'will have it so.' But you, most reverend fathers! take heed that ye bring in no such custom; for so it shall come to pass, that in all matters, a few froward prelates shall have one to conclude for them.² *For³ it is more dangerous than the pernicious decree which ye are wont to call 'Parvum,' which the legates of the apostolic see, and others their accomplices, did propound in the deputations, having a certain number of votes, knowing who were with them, and who would be against them. But this is done in confusion, which, if it pass unpunished, it will cause greater offence than that did; and it shall come to pass that, in all matters, a few froward prelates shall have one to conclude for them. Ye know, moreover, that it is only the president's part to conclude; and that, but in one case only, the conclusion devolveth unto another, that is, when those who are presidents will not conclude according to the will of three or four deputations, or the concordance of twelve men; which, whether it have now happened, you yourselves do see, and Panormitane himself, who hath made the conclusion, very well knoweth.*

And, albeit Panormitane hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verities ought to be deferred, yet, notwithstanding, I do require you, most reverend fathers! to follow the example of the apostle, who, as Arelatensis hath very well declared, would not give place for one hour unto Peter, when he swerved from the truth of the gospel. The faith is speedily to be relieved and helpen; neither doth any thing sustain more danger by delays, than faith doth. For all heresies, except they be rooted out at the first, when they are full grown, are hard to take away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to help:—

“Ferte citò auxilium, date vela, impellite remos.”

(1) Edition 1563, p. 310, col. 2.—Ed.

(2) He meaneth Panormitane: who did conclude without the examination of twelve men.

(3) Edition 1573, p. 311, col. 1.—Ed.

i.e. 'Speedily help and aid, hoise up your sails, and launch out your oars.' Why should we tarry looking for either the prelates or the princes? *There is none other power or authority to be sought for, where the Divine Majesty is present. They of Eugene's sect preach heresies in every place: yet is there no man who sayeth unto them, that they should stay or leave off. But against you, who do intend to publish and set forth the truth, a thousand do murmur that you should hold your peace; which is a great sign and token of your soundness.

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The Eugenians preach heresies without let.

It is reported, that in times past Benedict, a holy monk, did visit a certain monastery of holy men, and did see there an infinite number of devils contending with the holy fathers, and striving to perturb their good works. By-and-by he saw one devil alone, all sad and heavy, going unto a fair, where were a great many people buying and selling; whereat Benedict greatly marvelling, that the holy place, appointed for prayer, should be so full of devils, and the place that was occupied only with sin and perjury should be kept but with one devil, adjured him to tell him the cause thereof. The devil answered, that the holy place needed more the assaults of devils, than that place where men sinned of their own wills; for there, there was no great need of devilish deceit.

The like thereof seemeth unto me to be happened unto the Eugenians.* You are now in conflict; I only desire that you would hasten unto the victory. Regard not the threatenings of those princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons: 'For you are blessed,' saith the Lord, 'when men curse you and persecute you, speaking all evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven.' Why is it, I pray you, that the princes are made such a formidable objection? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the furnace of hot burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of those princes? I beseech you, most reverend fathers and loving brethren! have no less hope in Jesu Christ, than Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had, who feared not that old king Nebuchadnezzar; and let the princes know, That the most highest ruleth over the kingdoms of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaseth.² God beholdeth all things from above. He is, I say, in the midst amongst us.—Wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and show yourselves as a strong wall for the church of God. Suffer not the faith to perish under your hands. The Almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Fear not those who seek only to kill the body. Do justice and equity, and be assured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the backbiter and slanderer. Again I say unto you, show yourselves valiant and stout; defend your mother the church! And unto thee, O thou president! I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God than man; for if thou depart hence without a final conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait judgment of God.

An exhortation to constancy.

And thus, without any more words, he sat down in his place. In the mean time, many grave and ancient men had exhorted Panormitane that he should give over his conclusion. The bishop of Burgos was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make unity and concord amongst the fathers, and went about to make peace amongst all men. But neither were the fathers of the council disposed to depart without a conclusion; neither was Panormitane minded to alter his intent and purpose.

The bishop of Burgos seeketh concord.

*During³ this contention, the archbishop of Lyons, having gotten opportunity to be heard, said that Panormitane's conclusion was of no force, neither needed any revocation, because it was of no force; notwithstanding, he thought a delay would be profitable, if peradventure that, as the bishop of Burgos had said, a concord might be arranged amongst the fathers. His oration was not very acceptable unto Panormitane's companions, who as soon as they heard their conclusion to be nothing regarded, they contrariwise affirmed, that it was of force, and

The archbishop of Lyons's oration.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 311, cols. 1 and 2.—Ed.

(2) Mark the great constancy and christian zeal of this man.

(3) Edition 1563, p. 312.—Ed.

Henry VI. that they made the council: whereupon there was so great a noise and cry, that nothing could be heard that was read. On that day there was great terror and fear of all good men, lest that the adversaries should prevail, more than the council. The matter seemed to be in great danger, lest the adversaries, persevering in their obstinacy, should prolong their talk until night; which thing alone they seemed to go about, that thereby they might have the victory that day: but God did help his church, and would not suffer that Eugene should more prevail in the council than the council itself.* All things were disturbed, neither did the prelates sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as every man's affection led him. Some went to the cardinal Arelatensis, some unto Panormitane, and exhorted them as if they had been princes or rulers of armies. *Now¹ it drew toward night, and the bishop of Lausanne, a wise and circumspect man, and Nicholas bishop of Grossetto, a man who had the welfare of the council at heart more than his own, went unto the cardinal Arelatensis, threatening him, in case he should rise without a final conclusion. Also Francis de Foix, and Andrew Escobar, commonly called 'the Spaniard,' divines of the Franciscan order, were ever and anon whispering in the ears of the cardinal, and would suffer him to take no pause; also Laurence de Rocella was importunate upon him, saying, "Why stoppest thou, now, president? where is thy mind? where are thy wits? what fearest thou? what drestest thou?"* But he, knowing the matter to be in danger, and that there was no ready way to make a conclusion, thought to use some policy to appease the tumult. "Most reverend fathers!" said he, "we have received new letters out of France, which declare unto me marvellous things; there are incredible mischiefs sprung up there, which, if you will kindly give me audience, I will declare unto you." By this means there was a sudden silence throughout the whole council, and by this marvellous policy he made all men attentive to hear. When he saw he had free liberty to speak, he revealed the contents of the said letters, whether real or pretended, and, with all the address of an orator, came by little and little to the principal point, saying, That Eugene's messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the authority of the bishop of Rome above general councils; against whom except speedy remedy were found, it would come to pass that many would give credit unto them: and, therefore, the sacred council ought of necessity to provide remedy, and of necessity to conclude upon the verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the Eugenians might be repressed; which verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the fathers' intent to conclude upon them all, but only upon the three first: "even as I also," saith he, "here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

When he had finished his oration, with a cheerful and merry countenance rising up, he departed, greatly commended and praised of all his partakers: some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that, being a Frenchman born, he had that day vanquished the Italians, who were men of consummate tact. Howbeit

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Good men feared that the world would prevail before Christ.

See Appendix.

How men be ready to hear news.

The godly policy of the cardinal.

The Holy Ghost working against the pope.

this was all men's opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the Holy Ghost, than by the cardinal's own power. The other of the contrary faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another, so that their countenances declared unto every man that they were defeated. Something more also is reported of Panormitane, that when he came to his lodging, and was gone unto his chamber, he complained with himself upon his king, who had compelled him to strive against the truth, and put him in danger of losing both his soul and good name; and that in the midst of his tears and complaints he fell asleep, and did eat no meat until late in the evening, for very sorrow for that he had neither ignorantly, neither willingly, impugned the truth.

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The sorrow of Panormitane, for impugning the truth.

See
Appendix.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians, what were best to be done in this matter. *The same day the cardinal of Tarragona returned to Basil, a man of excellent wisdom and learning, who, at the time the bands of Armagnac came, had gone away a distance of two days' journey, and, forso much as he could not be present at the general congregation, the Catalonians and Lombards went straightway to him, devising and counselling many things with him.* Some thought good to depart and leave the council, other some thought it meet to tarry, and withal endeavour to prevent any thing further being done against Eugene: and this opinion they adopted.

The cardinal of Tarragona.

The next day, being Saturday, the twenty-fifth day of April, the archbishop of Lyons and the bishop of Burgos, calling together the prelates in the chapter-house of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The bishop of Burgos advised, that there should be deputations appointed that day, unto whom the archbishop of Lyons should give power to make an agreement. Unto whom answer was made, as they thought—very roughly, but as others judged—gently, but notwithstanding justly and truly; for the fathers of the council said, There could be no concord before the adversaries confessed their fault, and asked pardon there-for.

The bishops of Lyons and Burgos.

Just answer of the council.

On the day following, being Sunday, the said bishop of Burgos, with the Lombards and Catalonians, went unto the Germans, and from thence unto the senate of the city, urging them much, if possible, to prevent a schism. The Germans, as I did afterward understand, declared they should abide by what the deputations should determine. The senate of the city (as they were men of great wisdom, who would do nothing without diligent counsel and deliberation) answered: That the matter belonged not unto them, but unto the council, the fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the christian faith; and if there were any danger to ward against, it should be declared unto the council, and not to the senate. For they believed that the elders of the council, if they were premonished, would foresee that there should no hurt happen: as for the senate of the city, it was their duty only to defend the fathers, and to preserve the public faith of the city.—With this answer the bishop of Burgos departed.

Answer of the senate.

In the mean time the fathers of the council had drawn out a form

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Form of the decree approved.

of a decree upon the former conclusions, and had had the same approved in the sacred deputations; only the Common deputation thought the decree might be improved. By this time the princes' orators had all returned from the assembly at Mentz, and, taking counsel amongst themselves, had determined to hinder the decree. On Saturday, the ninth day of May, there was a general convocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part addressing itself to the conflict.

The princes' ambassadors were called by the bishop of Lubeck and Conrad de Winsperg, the protector, into the quire, and there kept; where they intreated of a unity, and by what means it might be had. And there they tarried longer than one would have thought; which circumstance, unexpectedly, gave a happy issue to the whole business. For, the form of the decree must needs be concluded that day: wherefore, as soon as cardinal Arelatensis perceived the congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that all were waiting in silent expectation, he thought good not to delay, for fear of tumult; but commanded by-and-by the public concordances to be read, wherein this was also contained, that the cardinal Arelatensis might appoint a session whensoever he would. Which being read, he, being desired by the promoters, concluded in the usual manner, the ambassadors of the princes being yet in the quire; who as soon as they understood how the matter was disposed of, being very much vexed, they brake off their talk, imputing all the blame to the bishop of Lubeck, as though he of purpose had kept them in the quire and had spun out the talk. Whereupon, they, entering into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

Policy of the cardinal Arelatensis.

First of all, however, the bishop of Lubeck complained both in his own name and in the name of the protector and of all, as touching the conclusion, and required that the council should revoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to intreat a peace, and to be a protector between the council and the ambassadors of the princes. But the archbishop of Tours said, That it seemed unto him, that every man should have free liberty to speak against that law which was to be promulgated, until the session; since then the canons would be consecrated and receive their force, when the bishops in their copes, after the reading of the decree in the session, had answered thereto 'Placet:' otherwise, the demand which was made by the promoters in the session was but vain. And for that the conclusions were not yet allowed in the session, therefore, he said that he might, without rebuke, speak somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in such a short time, and that he had but just then obtained any knowledge of them; whereas he, being an archbishop, ought to have a perfect knowledge of the matter, that at his return home, he might inform the king, and also instruct those who were under him; and that he and his fellows wished, before any session should be, both to hear and be heard of others. Neither did it seem proper to him, that the session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the ambassadors of the princes had done at Mentz, which would peradventure be such as might alter the minds of the fathers.

The archbishop of Tours.

The bishop of Cuença.

Then the bishop of Cuença, ambassador of the king of Castile, who

was also lately returned from Mentz, a man of great understanding, but lacking utterance, grievously complained that the prelates were contemned. "Neither had it been," said he, "any great matter if they had been tarried for; who had been to Mentz, not without great danger and expense, not for their own pleasure, but of necessity." And afterward, smiling, he said: "How mad am I, that would have the prelates to be tarried for until they returned from Mentz, when they are not tarried for, whiles they can come out of the quire of the church! Do therefore as ye list. If there rise any offence or mischief hereupon, neither are we, the ambassadors of Castile, to be blamed, neither can any man, of right, impute any thing to our most noble king."

Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed against the cardinal Arelatensis; but especially the archbishop of Milan railed most cruelly upon him, saying, That he fostered and maintained a rabble of copists and pædagogues,¹ and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them; calling him also another Catiline, with whom all desperate and naughty persons took refuge: that he was their prince, and ruled the church with them; and that he would not give ear unto the ambassadors of the most noble princes, or to the most famous prelates, in this most weighty matter. The bishop of Albenga, likewise, a man of great nobility, descended of the emperor's blood, albeit he never had his mind alienate before from the council, yet, lest he should seem to dissent from the other ambassadors of the princes, made the like complaint touching the contempt of the prelates. After this it came unto Panormitane to speak, who, as he had a greater vehemency in speaking, so also he did declare a more angry stomach and mind; for, in the beginning of his oration, he seemed not to go about, according to the precept of orators, to get the good-will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he said, "Our Saviour showed four signs in the gospel, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate; for, 'He which is of God,' saith he, 'heareth the words of God; but ye hear not the words of God, because ye are not of God;' and again, 'He that doth evil hateth the light;' and, in another place also, 'By their fruits ye shall know them;' and 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.' All which sayings he wrested against the fathers of the council, that they would not hear the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace which the ambassadors had spoken; that they fled from the light, concluding privily and in the absence of the ambassadors; and that, in their deputation, they had not kept the holy day,² but had concluded thereupon; also that they had the upper hand in the aforesaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching fruits, he said, That the fathers themselves should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselves were not good; and that he did see another council at hand, where he feared lest these conclusions should be revoked, as the fruit of an evil tree; and, therefore, that they ought not so suddenly to proceed in so weighty matters; and that he would be yet more fully heard before the session, as well in his own name, because he was an

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Mark
what the
truth
must
suffer.
See
Appendix

The fathers of the council slandered by Panormitane.

Four signs to know the good from the bad.

What is it that ambition will not do?

(1) O marvellous despite and contumely in a bishop! for if Arelatensis had kept whores or concubines, he would have praised him: but to maintain learned men was a great offence.

(2) Look if it be not spoken of them in the gospel, where mention is made of the least which is fallen into the ditch.

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archbishop, as in the name of his prince, who reigned not over one kingdom alone, but over many. Also he said, That he, heretofore, by his words, deeds, and writings, had extolled the authority of the council; and that he feared, lest, by these means, the authority thereof should be subverted. Finally, he begged pardon if he offended the fathers of the council, forso much as very sorrow and grief forced him to speak so.

Abbot of Vezelai.

Then the abbot of Vezelai would have made answer to those things which Panormitane had touched, concerning his deputation; but Arelatensis thought good that all the contrary part should speak first, amongst whom, last of all, Louis, the prothonotary, the Homer of lawyers, rose up. And albeit that he spake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not restrain his words. And whiles he went about to seem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He said, That the council ought to take heed, not to intreat any matter of faith against the will of the prelates, lest any offence should follow; for that some would say, it were a matter of no force or effect. For, albeit that Christ chose twelve apostles and seventy disciples, notwithstanding, in the setting forth of the Creed only the apostles were present; thereby, as it were, giving example that matters of faith did pertain only unto the apostles, and so consequently unto bishops: neither that they ought hastily to proceed in a matter of faith, which ought to be clearly distinct, forso much as Peter affirmeth the trial of faith to be much more precious than gold, which is tried by the fire: and, if the bishops be contemned, who are called the pillars and keys of heaven, the faith cannot seem to be well proved or examined. But at length he confessed that the inferiors might determine with the bishops, but denied that the least part of the bishops with the most part of the inferiors might determine any thing. From thence passing to the matter of faith, he said, That the verities in question would be articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And, forso much as every man was bound to believe articles of faith, therefore all would be bound to believe those verities, and therefore he wished to be better instructed and taught in that matter which he was to believe as an article of faith; neither would it be comely for the council to deny him his request, which, according to the rule of the apostle, ought to be ready to give account unto every man who shall ask a reason of the faith which it holdeth.

Oration of the cardinal Arelatensis to the imperial ambassadors.

After every man had made an end of speaking, the cardinal Arelatensis, collecting himself, made an oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And, first of all, he commended the desires of the imperial ambassadors, who offered to intreat a peace and unity; but neither necessity required, nor honesty, he said, would suffer, that what had been concluded should be revoked. He answered also, That the petition of the ambassadors of France was most just, in that they required to be instructed touching the faith; and that the council would grant their request, and send unto them certain divines, who should instruct them at home at their lodgings. But the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought into question; that the session was only holden, rather to beautify the matter, than to confirm the same. And, as touching that which

To the ambassadors of France.

the bishop of Cuença so greatly complained of, he did not much marvel; for he could not know the process of the matter, when he was absent; who, being better instructed, he supposed would speak no more any such words, forso much as a just man would require no unjust thing. Also, that there was no harm in his protestation; and that he would not have it imputed either unto him, or unto his king, if any offence should rise upon the conclusions. Notwithstanding, it was not to be feared, that any evil would spring of good works. But, unto the archbishop of Milan he would answer nothing, because he saw him so moved and troubled, for fear of multiplying more grievous and heinous words. As for Panormitane, he reserved him unto the last; but unto Louis the prothonotary, who desired to be instructed, he said, He willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken unto the archbishop of Tours.

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To the bishop of Cuença.

To Louis.

Notwithstanding, he left not that untouched which Louis had spoken concerning the Apostles' Creed: "For, albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed the apostles be only named, yet it doth not follow," saith he, "that they only were present at the setting forth thereof: for it happeneth oftentimes, that princes are commended and praised as chief authors and doers of things, when, notwithstanding, they had other helpers; as it appeareth in battles, which although they are fought with the force of all the soldiers, yet the victory thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in these our days they do ascribe all things which the army doth either fortunately or wisely, unto Nicolas of Picenum, that most excellent captain, who hath obtained so many famous victories; albeit that, oftentimes, others have been the inventors of the policy, and workers of the feat. And, therefore, Louis ought to know and understand, that not only are they articles of faith which are contained in the Creed, but also all other determinations made by general councils touching faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some articles of that Creed which we now use in the church, that were not put in by the apostles, but afterward by general councils; as that part, wherein mention is made of the procession of the Holy Ghost, which the council of Lyons did add; in which council, also, it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiors did decide together with the bishops." But, forso much as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would dwell no longer thereupon: but coming unto Panormitane, he rehearsed his words, "Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit;" "He that is of God, heareth God's words;" which was well cited out of the gospel, he said, but not well applied unto the council; for he firmly believed what the ancient fathers supposed, viz. that the Holy Ghost was present in councils; and that, therefore, the words of the councils were the words of the Holy Ghost, which if any man did reject, he denied himself to be of God. Neither did the council "hate the light," seeing it did all things publicly and openly, and that its congregations were open unto all men; neither did it, as some conventicles of the adversaries, admit some, and exclude others. Moreover, the thing which was now in hand began to be intreated of two months ago; and, first, the conclusions were largely disputed upon in the divinity schools, and afterward sent unto Mentz and other parts of the world. After all this (the cardinal proceeded) the fathers were called into

Nicolas of Picenum an Italian general.

Articles of the Creed not all put in by the apostles.

Article of the Holy Ghost, put in by the council of Lyons.

Panormitane wounded with his own darts.

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the chapter-house of the great church, to the number of a hundred-and-twenty; amongst whom Panormitane, who now complaineth, was also present, and, according to his custom, did learnedly and subtilly dispute, and had liberty to speak what he would. Likewise again in the deputations every man spake his mind freely; and in that deputation where Panormitane was, the matter was three days discussed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the general congregation did conclude it: neither had there been, at any time, any thing more ripely or diligently handled; every thing, too, had been done openly, without any fraud or deceit. And as for the deputation having sat upon a holy day, there was no harm in that; neither was it any new or strange thing, forso much as they had often holden their sessions on Sundays and other holy days, when the matter required haste, and especially forso much as a matter of faith hath no holy days. And further he said, That he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the congregation aforesaid, as Panormitane had asserted, but publicly and openly, at the request of the promoters: neither had any man any just cause to complain of him, forso much as when he was made president, he was sworn, that always, when the four or only three deputations did agree, he would conclude thereupon.¹ And, forso much as he had already concluded in divers causes touching the pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in a matter of faith; for that he was a cardinal, and did wear his red hat as a token, that he should even shed his blood in the defence of the faith.² Neither had he done any thing now against the pope, for that, omitting the five conclusions touching Eugene, he had concluded only on the three general ones; which except he had done, the fathers who had chosen him their president in confidence of his honour and integrity would have just cause of complaint against him, if they should now be forsaken by him in this most important cause of faith. And, turning himself unto the multitude, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, forso much as he would never forsake them, yea, although he should suffer death; for he had given his faith and fidelity unto the council, which he would observe and keep; neither should any man's threats or entreaties put him from his purpose: that he would be always ready to do whatsoever the council should command him, and never by any means leave the commandments of the deputations unperformed. As touching that Panormitane had extolled the authority of the council, he said, that he was greatly to be thanked. But yet, he ought to understand and know the authority of the council to be such as could not be increased by any man's praises, or be diminished by any man's opprobry or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the form of the decree to be read.

Then Panormitane, and those who took his part, would needs have a certain protestation to be first read, and for some time there was nothing but uproar on all sides. Notwithstanding, at last Arelatensis prevailed, and the form of the decree was read unto this word 'Decernimus;' that is to say, 'We decree.' Then Panormitane, rising

(1) These four deputations were four sorts of chosen men, who did discuss and determine those things which the fathers did conclude upon.

(2) Verily this is no Babylonical cardinal, but of the immaculate spouse, Jesus Christ.

up, would not suffer it to be heard any further: and the bishop of Catania cried out, saying, That it was uncomely that Arelatensis, with a few other bishops (and those mostly titulars) should conclude the matter. The like did also all those who favoured Panormitane. The cardinal of Tarragona, also (who until that time had holden his peace), did grievously rebuke his party, for that, as if they had been asleep or dreaming, they did not read the protestation; and commanded by-and-by one of his familiars to read it. But, like as the adversaries before did disturb the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the council now give place to the reading of the protestation. Which when the bishop of Albenga did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought unto him for to read, and as he began to speak, suddenly Arelatensis rose up, with a great number of the fathers, to depart; which thing pleased the cardinal of Tarragona and Panormitane very well, for they hoped that they alone, with their adherents, should remain in the church. They exhorted Arelatensis to revoke the conclusion, and to make another.

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Every man may determine of faith, having the Scripture on his part. Contenten in the council.

There was in the congregation, in his place, one George, the prothonotary of Bardaxina, sitting somewhat beneath his uncle, the cardinal of Tarragona; a man but young of age, but grave in wisdom, and noble in humanity, who, as soon as he saw the cardinal Arelatensis rise, determined also to depart, and when his uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he said, "God forbid, father, that I should tarry in your conventicle, or do any thing contrary to the oath which I have taken." By which words he declared his excellent virtue and nobility, and admonished our men who remained, what course they ought to follow. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghost, and no words can be conceived more in season. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the council had, peradventure, departed, and gone their way; and the others remaining in the church had made another conclusion, which they would have affirmed to have been of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be received. But many, being warned by the words of the prothonotary, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other councils before, called back again the multitude who were departing, and cried out upon the cardinal and the patriarch to sit down again, and that they should not leave the church free and quiet for their adversaries. Whereupon, suddenly, all the whole multitude sat down, and the gates were shut again.

How God worketh by occasion.

In the mean time Matthew, the bishop of Albenga, read the protestation to none else but to himself, for it could not be heard for noise; which being ended, the Lombards and the Catalonians confirmed the protestation. When the cardinal of Tarragona said, That he did agree to their dissension, they marvelled at that saying; and when some smiled and laughed at him, "What," said he, "ye fools! do ye mock me? do not the ambassadors of my king dissent from you? why do you marvel then, if I do say I consent unto their dissension?" And with these words he, and almost all the Arragons, Lombards, and Castilians, departed; all the others tarried still. And albeit it was somewhat late (for it was past two in the afternoon), Arelatensis, seeing the congregation quiet, commanded the affairs of private persons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded also the public affairs to be read, and willed the conclusions and the form of the decree to be read again. There remained in the congregation the ambas-

The bishop of Albenga readeth the protestation, but none could hear him.

See Appendix. The affairs of the council are read.

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sadors of the empire and of France, talking together of their affairs. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Tours heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himself to the bishop of Lubeck, said, "Lo! the matters of faith are now in hand again; let us go hence, I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not said to dissent from the other ambassadors." To whom the bishop of Lubeck answered, "Tarry, father! tarry here; are not the conclusions most true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth?" These words were not heard by many, for they spake them softly between themselves. Notwithstanding I heard them, for I, sitting at their feet, did diligently observe what they said. Arelatensis, after all things were read which he thought necessary, at the request of the promoters concluded; and so, making an end, dismissed the congregation. Thus the cardinal twice (as we have seen) concluded, with great difficulty, forsomuch as neither the matter, nor the form, could be concluded without dissension; and either conclusion was miraculous,² and past all men's hope; but was obtained by the industry of Arelatensis, or rather by the special gift of the Holy Ghost. *And³ therefore it is reported that Panormitane afterwards, going out of the church, turning himself unto his friends said both in Latin and in Italian, "And twice!" meaning, thereby, that his part had either been twice overthrown or twice deceived; for he spake it not without great anger.*

After this, it was determined between the Lombards and the Arragons to abstain from the deputations for a certain time, which they did not long observe; notwithstanding, the deputations were holden very quietly for a certain space, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance until the fifteenth day of May; during which time, all means possible were sought to set a concord between the fathers; but it would not be. When Friday was come, being the Ides of May, Nicholas Amici, proctor of the faith, was called into the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the previous days, and explained that Arelatensis could appoint a session. Wherefore he required that, forsomuch as delay in matters of faith was dangerous, a session should be appointed for the morrow after, requiring the cardinal, in regard to his title, which signifieth a Hinge of the Church, and the other bishops, in regard to the promises made at their consecration, that they would not now desert the church in these weighty affairs, and suffer the faith to be oppressed; but the inferiors he required, upon their oath which they had taken, to show themselves faithful and constant herein. Then, again, there fell a great contention upon these words; for Arelatensis, as he was required, did appoint a session, and exhorted all to be there present in their robes. The bishop of Lubeck, rising up, made a protestation in his own name, and also in the name of the protector: That he would not consent that there should be any session, if it should in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz. Georgius Miles also, his fellow ambassador, concurred in this protestation. When the protector of the council, appointed by the emperor, understood himself to be named by the bishop of Lubeck, he marvelled awhile what the matter should be. But, being

(1) Æneas Sylvius being present, collected this.

(2) Æneas, you did not so praise this council after you were bishop yourself.

(3) Ed. 1563, p. 217.—Ed.

certified by an interpreter, he answered: That he would in no case concur in the protestation of the bishop of Lubeck, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz; also that he was sent by the emperor to the sacred council, and had his charge which he did well remember, and would be obedient thereunto. After whom the bishop of Cuença, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation: after whom also followed Panormitane; whose words I will repeat, first desiring that no man would marvel that I make mention so often of Panormitane; for it is necessary to declare the matter, in order, as it was done. And it happeneth in these matters, just as in warlike affairs; for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and do most worthy feats, obtain most fame, as in the Trojan war did Achilles and Hector; so, in these spiritual wars and contentions, those who most excel in learning and eloquence, or do more than others, must needs be oftenest named. For, on the one part, Panormitane was prince and captain; and on the other, Arelatensis: but his own will made not the former captain, but only necessity, for it behoved him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding, he was not ignorant on which side the truth lay, neither did he willingly fight against it; for I have seen him oftentimes in his library complain of his prince, that he followed other men's counsel. When his turn came to speak, he said, That he did not a little marvel, why a proctor of the faith should require the prelates to have a session, which was nothing pertaining to his office; and that he ought not to usurp the president's place. And again, he complained touching the contempt of the prelates, for the present matter did touch the state of the apostolic see, and for that cause the holy see ought to be heard before any session were holden. "Neither is that to be regarded," said he, "which the council of Constance seemeth to have decreed, that it should now be acted upon, forsomuch as pope John was not heard at Constance, neither did any man else speak for the see." By which words he seemed both to bring in doubt and to condemn all the decrees of that great and sacred synod of Constance. Therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying, that the synod of Constance was holy, and the authority thereof ought to be inviolate.¹ But he, being still instant, with a stout and haut courage affirmed, that the matter could not be accomplished without the ambassadors of the princes, and that the princes ought to be heard in a matter of faith. And again, that the ambassadors themselves could not consent, forsomuch as in the diet holden at Mentz they had promised, that they would receive and allow nothing that either the pope had done against the council, or the council against the pope, during the negotiation of peace there handled; and that he doubted not but that the three first conclusions declared Eugene a heretic, insomuch as it was notorious that Eugene did obstinately contravene the two first. And therefore, forsomuch as the session was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man before the session to speak that would, he intreated most urgently, that there might be no session as yet holden.

Unto whom Arelatensis answered, That it was not to be doubted

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(1) The papists extol that which maketh for their purpose, but the contrary they condemn, whether it be Scripture or profane.

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but that a proctor of the faith, by his office, might call the prelates to determine a matter of faith, and especially forso much as the deputa- tion of the faith¹ and the whole council had so given him in com- mandment. As touching the prelates, he said, that albeit, without all doubt, bishops had chief authority, yet, notwithstanding, it was accustomed in councils not to make any conclusion in the name of the bishops, but in the name of the whole council; and the universal church had laid down certain laws for itself in this council which still remained inviolate. Neither should the bishops think the presence of the inferiors grievous unto them, when oftentimes under a bare and torn coat wisdom lay hid, and under rich vestures and ornaments folly lurked. Bishops ought also to be mindful of the saying of Domitius, who (as St. Jerome reporteth)² said, "Why should I esteem thee as a prince, if thou dost not regard me as a senator?" For the bishops ought to esteem priests as priests, if they would have reverence done unto themselves as bishops. Neither ought the princes to be waited for in order to the deciding of this matter, forso much as the church was not congregated in the name of the princes, but in the name of Christ; and had not received its power from princes, but immediately from God: in the defence whereof he perceived the inferiors to be no less zealous than the bishops, for that he did well know, that they would not only spend their temporal goods, but also their lives, for the defence thereof. As for some bishops, rather than they will lose any part of their temporalties, they would sell the liberty of the church unto the princes, and make them judges and lords over the council. As touching the acts at Mentz, he did not regard them, because (as the saying is) they had counted without their host. Moreover he said, he did not understand how this could be, that they had decreed neither to obey the pope, nor the council; the one or the other they must needs obey, for there was no third tribunal whereunto any obedience was due, in those matters which concern faith and the salvation of souls. And, finally, that the church would not suffer that their affairs and matters of faith should be determined by the judgment of princes; for the Holy Ghost was not subject unto princes, but princes unto Him: and for this conclusion he would not shrink from the penalty of the loss of his goods, or martyrdom. And whereas Panormitane did now show himself so great a defender of Eugene, he said, that he did not a little marvel at it, for that in times past no man had more published Eugene's errors, than he; by whose special labour and counsel, both a decree monitory, and also the suspension, were admitted and set out against Eugene. And now, whereupon this sudden change should come, he said that he was utterly ignorant, forso much as neither Eugene had altered his life, neither could the church stand in so great a schism. Wherefore he desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not: "For," said he, "the conclusions which now shall be decreed, are most general; neither is there any mention in them of the pope; and moreover the verity of faith is contained in them: against the which if Eugene do contend, it were more meet that the pope should be corrected than the verity

(1) This deputation of faith, was the company of chosen men which did determine matters of faith.

(2) St. Jerome unto Nepotianus, de Vita Clericali.

omitted." And thus he making an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the session. The protector, also, desired the sacred council, that none should be suffered to bring any weapon to the session; forso much as he was ready to preserve the safe-conduct of the emperor, and, together with the senate of the city, to prohibit all quarrellers from doing of injury.

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As soon as Saturday was come, being the 16th day of May, all they, to whom the session was agreeable, assembled at the hour. The ambassadors, also, of the princes came together into the quire of the church, to attempt further what they could do; and, sending the bishops of Lubeck and Cuença, and the dean of Tours (an excellent learned man), they offered themselves to be present at the session, if that the deposition of Eugene might yet be deferred four months. Who, when they had received a gentle answer of Arelatensis and the other principals, returning again unto the ambassadors, they found their purpose altered, for now they would only have the first conclusion decreed, and thereupon sent again unto the cardinal: when they received for answer, That the chief force did lie in the two other conclusions, and that the council wished specially to determine upon them. If the ambassadors would not be present, they must understand, that the concord was broken by themselves, seeing they would not observe that which they had offered. With which answer they departed, and the business of the session began. There was no prelate of the Arragons, or from any part of Spain, present; and out of Italy, only the bishop of Grossetto, and the abbot of Dona, who, for their constancy and steadfast good-will toward the universal church, could not be changed from their purpose: but of doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Arragons, and almost all the inferiors of Spain and Italy (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the bishops did), and then the sterling character of the Arragons and Catalonians appeared in the inferior sort, who would not fail and forsake the church in her necessity. Of the two other nations, there were only present twenty bishops. The residue lurked in their lodgings, holding the faith in their hearts, but not professing it with their mouths. Arelatensis,¹ guessing what was likely to happen, caused search to be made through the city for the relics of saints, which he appointed to be borne at the session in the hands of priests, and to supply the place (as it were) of the absent bishops: which spectacle greatly increased the fervour of those present, inso-much that at the customary invocation of the Holy Spirit no man could forbear weeping; but after their prayers made unto Almighty God with tears and lamentations, that he would send them his Holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This session was very full; and, albeit that there were not many bishops present, yet all the seats were filled with the bishops' proctors, archdeacons, presidents, priors, priests, and doctors of both laws, whom I judged to be in number about four hundred, or more; amongst whom there was no noise, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the faith, and there appeared a full and entire consent of them all, to defend the church. The bishop of Marseilles, a noble

The session proclaimed.

In all Italy there were scarcely two prelates found, who sought the commodity of the universal church; in Spain there was none.

Prayers made with tears.

Among four hundred doctors that were present, there was not one ill word.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

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man, read the decree, *who¹ had so great familiarity with the bishop of Albenga, that they were called 'the twins;' for both at home and also abroad they were always seen together. Which matter was so much the more to be marvelled at, in that they appeared so discordant in the matters of the church, forso much as the bishop of Albenga read the protestation against the decree, and the bishop of Marsilles read the decree itself; both these readers coming together out of one house: but, as some suppose, there was sincerity in the one, and dissimulation in the other. The reading of the decree was brief, for the decree itself was but brief; but it* was attentively listened unto, and not one word lost. When it was ended, 'Te Deum laudamus' was sung on the one part, and on the other side 'Te Dominum confitemur;' and so, by course, the hymn was ended with great joy and gladness; and so the session was dissolved, being in number the thirty-third session, and the most quiet and peaceable of all.

The thirty-third session. The ambassadors consent to the former session.

The Friday next following, being the 22d day of May, the princes' ambassadors, beyond all men's expectation, came unto the general congregation, by that their doing at the least giving their assent unto the session before passed; in the proceedings whereof if the fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the princes' ambassadors to have holden the council with those fathers. But it was thought, that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and already detested and abhorred that which they had done; as was quite plain with regard to the ambassadors of the empire and France. For the bishop of Lubeeck said, That the cause of his absence was, that he had been charged by the emperor to intreat a peace: wherefore it would not have been comely for him to be a party to any business, whereby he would be vexed or troubled with whom the peace was to be intreated. Notwithstanding, he did much commend the session before holden, and believed the decree therein promulgated to be most good and holy, and the verities therein contained to be undoubted; and said, That he would stick thereunto both now and ever, even to the death. But the archbishop of Tours, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for himself and his fellows, said, That he heard how that they were evil spoken of amongst some, for that in that most sacred session they had not honoured their king, whom it became specially to exalt and to defend the faith; who also, for that cause, above all other kings was named 'Most Christian.' Notwithstanding, he said, that he had a lawful excuse, in that it was convenient that those who were sent to entreat peace, should do nothing whereby they might frustrate their object. Also there are two kinds of unrighteousness, said he, whereby either things that should be done are not done, or things that should not be done are done. The first do not always bind, because it is proper to have respect of time, place, and person. But the last do always bind; wherein, he said, they were not culpable. But, as touching the first class, they might seem unto some to have erred, because they were not present at the session; but yet, in this point they had sufficient to answer, forso much as, if they had been present at that session, they should have been unmeet to have entreated a peace with Eugene. And, there-

Two kinds of injustice. See Appendix.

fore, albeit they were wanting at so holy a business, in that point they followed the example of Paul, who, albeit he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, yet, for the further profit and advancement of the church, was for deferring it for the present. So likewise, he said, had they now done; for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions (which they judged to be most true and holy, and whereunto they would stick, even unto the death), but because they would not be unmeet for the treaty of peace for which they had come: and yet that which they had not done in their own persons, they had fulfilled, said he, by their servants and household, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that session.

I would that I had been then in the place of some great prelate; surely they should not have gone unpunished,¹ who so thought to play bo-peep. For how could a declaration of the truth hinder the intreaty of peace? or, if it did, why is not he accounted as great an offender, who consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he who doth declare it? What further need have we of witnesses? for now the ambassadors of the princes have declared Eugene to be an enemy unto the truth. But, to pass over these things, it is sufficient that Eugene wrote afterward unto the king of France, that he did understand the archbishop of Tours to have become his enemy.

After the archbishop of Tours had made an end, cardinal Arelatensis gave thanks unto God, who had so defended his church, and after great storms and clouds had sent fair and clear weather; and, commending the good-will of the emperor and the king of France toward the church, he also praised the bishop of Lubeck and the archbishop of Tours, for that oftentimes in the council, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the council. But specially he commended these their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestered themselves from the faith of the church.

Afterward, entering into a narrative of the matter, he said, that he was at Pisa and at Constance, and never saw a more quiet or devout session than this; affirming that this decree was most necessary to repress the ambition of the bishops of Rome, who, exalting themselves above the universal church, thought it lawful for them to do all things after their own pleasure; and that no one man, from thenceforth, would translate a council from one place to another, as Eugene attempted to do, now to Bologna, now to Florence, then again to Bologna, afterward to Ferrara, and after that again to Florence; and that, hereafter, the pontiffs would withdraw their minds from carefulness of temporal things, whereas now (as he himself did see) they had no thought at all on spiritual matters. And, therefore, by how much this session was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the ambassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the fathers.—These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the congregation was dissolved. * Now,² how the deposition of Eugene did pass, the Book following shall declare at large.

Thus endeth the First Book of the Commentaries of Æneas Sylvius, touching the acts of the council of Basil against Eugene and his adherents.

(1) O Æneas, you should have used such severity when you were pope.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 320.—Ed.

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Behold,
the
princes'
ambas-
sadors
declare
Eugene
an enemy
to the
truth.

Arelaten-
sis com-
mendeth
the am-
bassadors

Why this
council
was ga-
thered.

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1439.THE SECOND BOOK OF THE COMMENTARIES OF ÆNEAS SYLVIUS,
UPON THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF BASIL.¹

The Lord took up his armour and shield, and rose up to help the church; and she, receiving help, being glad, rejoiced in her God, who clothed her with the garments of salvation, and arrayed her in the vestures of righteousness as a spouse adorned with a crown and goodly jewels.

It is shown in the first part of these commentaries, to what state the church was brought in these days, which Eugene, the late pope, did vex and trouble like a reed shaken with the wind. Notwithstanding, it is always true, which John Chrysostome hath declared, that the church doth never cease to be impugned, and to be lien in wait for; but in the name of Christ, it hath always the victory and upper hand. And, albeit new foes lie in wait for it, and the floods again and again strike against it, notwithstanding, the foundation which is laid upon a rock is never shaken. Wherefore iniquity deceived Gabriel, and the Lord destroyed him in his wickedness; for he, being thrown down headlong out of the apostolic see by the sentence of the council, the Lord became the refuge of the church, and gave a pastor unto his flock, who should visit the desolate places, seek those things which are scattered abroad, and should not eat the flesh of such as are fat, but should wisely and discreetly nourish that which doth stand and remain: which thing that all Christians may the more plainly understand, I will declare, in this Book which followeth, the order of the election, how that Amedeus, the most wise and discreet duke of Savoy, was chosen bishop of Rome.*

The council doth deliberate upon the pope's election.

See Appendix.

Sixty days must be delayed after the see is void.

Gabriel Condulmarius being deposed from the bishopric of Rome, as we have already declared, the principal fathers of the council, being called together in the chapter-house of the great church, consulted together whether it were expedient that a new bishop should be created out-of-hand, or that it be deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election should be done with speed, showed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head; also, what a pestiferous sickness was in all the city, which not only consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers unto the poor of the city, and so had infected the rich, and now was come unto the fathers of the council: amplifying, moreover, and increasing the terror thereof, and making the thing worse than it was, as the manner is. *All things did breed fear.* “Neither doth the decree,” said they, “any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided, that there should be delay of sixty days after the see is void: for that is to be understand to apply, when the see is void at such time as there is no council holden: neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, lest the princes, being persuaded by Gabriel, should resist; unto whom the deposition of Gabriel, and the election of some other, must be certified all under one message.”²

(1) Faithfully translated into English by F. W.

(2) Note the christian zeal of these men, who would refuse no danger for God's cause.

The other, who thought good that there should be a delay, said, that the council did lack no head, forso much as Christ was the head thereof; neither did lack a ruler, forso much as it was governed by the presidents and other officers: and that no mention should be made of any pestilence in such case, seeing that by stout and valiant men death is not to be feared, neither should any thing fear those who contend for the christian faith. As for that pestilence, which did now increase and grow in the city, forso much as judgment was now given, it was to be hoped that it would assuage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of justice. Also, that in so arduous a matter they ought rather to use the princes against their will, than to neglect them; and that it was not to be feared, but that, in this case, 'fortune would help those that were stout and valiant.' The matter being thus discussed amongst them, albeit that there were as many minds as there were men, yet all seemed to agree, that it was most profitable to choose the pontiff at once, but more decent to defer it.

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Hereupon John de Segovia, a man of excellent learning, said: "Most reverend fathers! I am diversely drawn, by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But, as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion; that it seemeth good to come to a speedy election, to speak after man's judgment; but it seemeth much better to delay it for two months, as more consonant to God's will; for I do not see how that which is so settled by the laws can be rescinded. I do judge, that not only the words, but also the meaning of our decree, ought to be observed. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather honesty with its dangers, than utility with its present safety; albeit, in reality, utility cannot be separated from honesty." This counsel of delay prevailed among the fathers, and they decreed to stay for the space of two months. In the mean time, messengers were sent unto the princes, to declare the deposition of Eugene by the synod, and publish it abroad.

Segovius

Dangerous honesty preferred before secure utility.

During this time, the corrupt air was nothing at all purged, but the plague daily increasing, many died and more were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the fathers; neither were they sufficiently made up what they should do: for they thought it not to be without danger either to depart or to tarry. Notwithstanding, they thought it good to tarry, and also they caused others to tarry; that since they had overcome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they might not seem to shrink, for the persecution of any plague or sickness. But, forso much as they could not all be kept there, it was politely provided, that the council should not seem to be dissolved for any man's departure. And, for the greater security of the matter, there were certain of the fathers chosen, whom they called 'Patres de stabilimento,' whose authority continued long time after. When the dog-days were now come, and all herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, so that it is incredible how many died. It was to horrible to see the corpses hourly carried through the streets, when on every side there was weeping, wailing, and sighing. There was no house void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place; but matrons bewailing their husbands, and husbands their wives. Men and women went through the streets, and durst not speak one to another. Some tarried at home, and

See A. pestil.

A great pestilence in Basil.

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other some that went abroad had perfumes to smell unto, to preserve them against the plague.

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The common people died without number; and, like as in the cold autumn the leaves of the trees do fall, even so did the youth of the city consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should have met a man hale and hearty in the street now, and within ten hours have heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead corpses was such also, that they lacked place to bury them in; insomuch that all the burial grounds having been dug up and filled with dead corpses, great holes were made in the church-yards, where a great number of corpses being thrust in together, they covered them over with earth. For this cause the fathers were so afraid, that there appeared no blood in their faces; and specially the sudden death of Louis, the prothonotary, did make all men afraid; who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both laws, yet the envious and raging sickness took him away in a few hours. A little while after, died Louis, the patriarch of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought up always in troubles and adversity, neither could he see the day of the pope's election, which he had long wished for. Notwithstanding, he took partly a consolation, in that he had seen Gabriel deposed before his death. This man's death was grievous unto all the fathers; for now they said, that two pillars of the council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the prothonotary and the patriarch, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the council.

*See
Aijenax.*

Louis the
prothono-
tary died
of the
plague.

About the same time, also, died the king of Arragon's almoner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning; and soon after, the bishop of Evreux at Strasburg. The abbot of Vezelai died at Spire, and John, the bishop of Lubeck, between Vienna and Buda.

The ex-
hortation
of those
who died.

These two last rehearsed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When they perceived the hour of their death to approach, calling unto them certain grave and wise men, they said, "All you that be here present, pray to God that he will convert such as acknowledge Gabriel for chief pontiff, for in that state they cannot be saved;" and professing themselves that they would die in the faith of the council of Basil, they departed to the Lord. In Bohemia, also, departed the bishop of Constance, who was ambassador of the council. There was great fear and trembling both in and out of the council. There had been also in the council, by a long time, the abbot of Dona, of the diocese of Cuma, a man poor in this world, but rich toward God, whom neither flatterings nor threatenings could turn away from his good purpose and intent; choosing rather to beg, siding with the truth of the fathers, than to abound in riches, with the false flattering adversaries. Whereupon, after the lords were departed who had given him his living, he remaining still, was stricken with the plague and died, bequeathing to his monastery all his property, a solitary cow. Likewise Henry, chaplain of the cardinal of Arles, died within three days. Likewise a great number of the registrars and doctors died; and of such as fell into that disease, very few escaped. One amongst all the rest, Æneas Sylvius, being stricken with this disease, by God's help escaped. This man, the next night after that his friend Julian Romaine, whom he tenderly loved, was buried, felt the sore, and

The
bishop of
Con-
stance
died.

The ab-
bot Dona,
a true
abbot.

Æneas
the au-
thor here-
of escaped
death
hardly.

lay three days even at the point of death, all men being in despair of him: notwithstanding it pleased God to grant him longer life. *But,¹ alas! how unstable is the order of human things! or, how deceitful is the world! for Æneas who could not die in his own body, died in another man. For within a little while after, he, returning from Trent, found John Pynanus, a man born at Rouen, to be dead of a malignant fever and negligence of the physicians; with which news he was so troubled and ravished in his mind, that he seemed to have half lost his wits, neither was there in him, afterward, the like courage, either unto his study, or the matters of the council, insomach that a man would scarcely have said that there had been any spirit in him to breathe withal. Notwithstanding, every man must be contented to suffer such fortune; for no man went untouched, but either he had occasion to bewail his own chance, or some friend of his.*

At that time when the pestilence was at its height, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great entreaty made unto cardinal Arelatensis, that he would go to some other town or village near at hand; and these were the words of all his friends and household: "What do you, most reverend father? At the least void this wane of the moon and save yourself; who being safe, all we shall be also safe: if you die, we all perish. If the plague overcome you, unto whom shall we fly? Who shall rule us? or who shall be the guide of this most faithful flock? The infection hath already invaded your chamber; your secretary and chamberlain are already dead. Consider the great danger, and save both yourself and us." But neither the entreaty of his household, nor the corpses of those who were dead, could move him, willing rather to preserve the council with peril of his life, than to save his life with peril of the council; for he did know, that if he should depart, few would tarry behind, and that deceit would be wrought in his absence.

Invincible constancy and fortitude of the cardinal Arelatensis.

Wherefore, like as in wars the soldiers fear no danger when they see their captain in the midst of their enemies, so the fathers of the council were ashamed to fly from this pestilence, seeing their president to remain with them in the midst of all dangers. Which their doings did utterly subvert the opinion of those who babbled abroad, that the fathers tarried in Basil to seek their own profit and commodity, and not the verity of the faith; for there is no commodity upon earth, which men would change for their lives; for all such as do serve the world, do prefer life before all other things. But these our fathers, showing themselves an invincible strong wall for the house of God, vanquishing all the crafty deceits which Gabriel used, and overcoming all difficulties, which this most cruel and letiferous year brought upon them, at length, all desire of life also being set apart, overcame all dangers, and hesitated not, with most constant minds to defend the verity of the council even unto this present.

*The² time named in the decree after the deposition of Gabriel being passed, it seemed good unto the fathers to proceed to the election

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 322.

(2) The history being more fully given in the first edition, the following pages, distinguished with asterisks, are substituted for three short paragraphs in later editions. See Edition 1563, pp. 323—327.—Ed.

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of another pontiff, whereupon they, counselling amongst themselves, touching the order of proceeding, it was afterward concluded in the deputations and in the whole congregation, that thirty-two fathers should be chosen out of the body of the council, who, taking an oath ordained by the council, should enter the conclave together with the cardinal Arclatensis, to elect and choose the pope. Notwithstanding, the Common deputation thought good, that there should be but only twenty-four chosen for that election besides the cardinal, and those also should be priests. But the determination of the three other deputations prevailed: wherefore the decree was made, and the conclave prepared with all speed. Which being done, they proceeded to the nominating of the thirty-two, who, together with the cardinal, should elect and choose the pope. This was about the first of October.

The matter at the first was very difficult and hard, some of them preferring one mode of nominating electors, some another. At the last, William, archdeacon of Metz, a clever and learned man, opened unto them a certain way and mean: "There are," said he, "in the council, three fathers, whose fidelity the whole council, I think, will follow." These three men he named to be Thomas, abbot of Dun-drain in Galloway, of the diocese of Whitern, commonly called the Scottish abbot; John de Segovia, archdeacon of Villaviciosa, in the diocese of Oviedo; and Thomas de Corcellis, canon of Amiens; all divines: whose sobriety and virtue being commended, he determined that they three should be the principal electors, and that unto them should be committed the election of the other twenty-nine, whom they should privily name among themselves, and not publish till the day before they should enter the conclave. Which thing being allowed in the deputation of faith, Francis de Foix, a divine, and Æneas of Sienna, were sent unto the other deputations to persuade them also. But they, suspecting some fraud, would not give ear to any persuasion. But forsomuch as there was no better or readier way found by the other, the deputation of faith prevailed. Certain days after, they appointed the said Francis and Æneas to go again unto the deputations, with this addition, that if it pleased the other deputations, the three fathers would take unto them another. That was done for this purpose, lest the German nation should complain, that there was none of their nation with the three fathers: for divers murmured and said, that the Scottish abbot seemed to be more of a Frenchman than a German. After much discussing of the matter, they agreed upon this point: the Three Men aforesaid were appointed and chosen for three of the electors of the bishop of Rome, and full authority was given unto them, to choose and take unto them one, two, or three others, as they should think good; who, being so elect and chosen, should have like power and authority with them (through the power, authority, and commandment of the sacred council), to nominate and choose the residue of the electors of the bishop of Rome, and other officers necessary for the conclave; provided that none so named and elected by them should be received, except he were named and elected by the majority of the electors. It was also enjoined them, that they should nominate and choose the residue of the electors out of the whole body of the council, having respect, as

much as might be, to the nations and deputations which were in the council. Whereupon, the Three Men were bound on their oath to nominate and choose apt men, having the fear of God, and not to reveal or disclose those which they had chosen until they should be published in a general congregation, or that they were commanded by the council so to do, but to keep their election under their seals, in some safe and sure place, until the day of their publication. All this was done the thirteenth day of October, in a general congregation. It seemed strange unto all men, that a matter of so great importance should be committed to only three men. Notwithstanding, virtue overcame all, and the tried probity of the men excluded every suspicion of fraud and deceit.

The matter being thus arranged, Arelatensis, contrary to all men's expectation, seemed to defer the election. Whereupon some (as the multitude is prone to backbite and slander) did backbite and slander him. Other some, contrary to his mind, sought to hasten the election. Which thing when he understood, contrary to his old accustomed manner, which never used to regard any evil words, he made a complaint of these matters unto the deputations, whereby he brought to pass that, purging himself, they were brought into contempt and hatred, who had spoken evil of him, and thereby did so much the more approve and confirm his fidelity towards the council. While these things were thus doing, there went a bruit throughout all the world, that the pestilence was ceased at Basil, and that the pope's election went forward speedily: whereupon many came out of divers countries to behold and see the matter, amongst whom there were many notable prelates. When the council was now fuller than it was accustomed to be, and that all men almost were returned, who were fled for fear of the pestilence, the Three Men, minding to perform the commission given them by the council, associated unto them Christian de König-Gratz, prior of the canons of St. Peter's at Brunn, in the diocese of Olmutz, born in the heart of Germany, master in divinity, and a man of constant mind and sound judgment.

The twenty-eighth day of October, assembling together in the house of the friars Minors, they made the nomination committed to them, and, according unto the commandment of the council, kept it sealed. But before that was done, they talked with divers expert and wise men of every nation, by whose report they learned what were the manners of every man; and, by a subtle examination, ascertained how every man was esteemed in his own country. Many also came unto them of their own accord, who were desirous either to praise their friend, or to run down their enemy; whom they, being desirous of the truth, and anxious that they might not be deceived in so weighty a matter, willingly heard: so that there was no wickedness committed in the council, but they heard and understood it, beside much that was done abroad. These men, the twenty-ninth day of October, being called upon by the council to report what they had done, came unto the congregation, where the whole body corporate were assembled; neither was any man absent that could possibly be there. And forso-much as the Three Men had not declared the matter unto any, by how much the matter was kept secret, by so much the more it was desired of all men.

Then they talked together amongst themselves, and spake much of

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*See
Appendix.*

The elec-
tors are
named by
the Three
Men.

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the Three Men, offering many guesses as to the nomination of the electors; some saying that this man, and other some that that man, would be an elector; speaking as affection and likelihood did move them. but, forso much as no man knew anything with certainty, every man was the more eager to hear the conclusion. Some had put on their best apparel, other some had hired new servants, some had committed their houses unto their friends, because they thought to be of the number of the electors; for it happeneth, I know not how, that every man over-estimath his own virtue; whose ambition is afterward more derided, than fulfilled.

Mark the
earnest
affection
of Arela-
tensis.

Cardinal Arelatensis, being very careful in this weighty business, and being occupied with other affairs, came somewhat later unto the congregation than time required; whose long tarrying was not a little marvelled at of all men. When he was set down in his seat, having first excused his long tarrying, he said: "This day a weighty matter is intreated, in the nomination of the electors which is about to be straightway opened, whereupon the state of the church doth depend. If the Three Men unto whom you have committed these affairs have done well, I grant I have tarried too long; but if they have not done well, I am come too soon:" which words he pronounced with a fearful voice, and a pale countenance, even of the abundance of his heart. When he had thus spoken, through his sad countenance and gesture he made all men afraid, and showed such a sadness of mind that many wept, who knew the state that he was in by his countenance. For this same good father feared lest the Three Men, contemning the high prelates, had chosen the most part out of the inferiors; which thing was the more to be suspected, for that he could never know any thing of their mind. When the Three Men perceived the cardinal so sad, they prepared for whatever might happen, as men after a flash of lightning prepare for a storm. Notwithstanding, all men were greatly afraid, lest the church should be that day divided again, and lest a greater tumult should follow, than that which arose before by occasion of choosing the place where the council should meet: for every man, according as his affection led him, prepared himself either to the commendation or dispraise of the Three Men. Who, perceiving all this, thought good, before they opened the lists, somewhat to pacify the minds of the audience, and to explain the principles on which they had made their nomination; knowing that after a wound was once given, no man would willingly hearken. The Scottish abbot spake first, and after him John de Segovia, making this preface aforehand:

The Preface of John de Segovia and his Associates.

The pre-
face of
the Three
Men.

No man (they said) should think himself contemned, if he were omitted; for that they had taken the greatest pains in judging, what men they should receive unto the conclave, and whom they should leave out: for that it seemed to them as needful to appoint sober and discreet men without the conclave, as within, who might defend the conclave, and prohibit factions or uproars in the council. This they had learned of the precepts of the most famous philosopher Plato, who commandeth the governors of cities so to rule the whole body of the common-wealth, that whilst they do defend the one part, they do not forsake the other. Which thing, also, did admonish them to nominate the electors by their provinces, that they might not seem to reverence some and neglect other some. And in their election, they had been circumspect to take no bishop who had not a people in charge, and no abbot who had not a monastery; but

in all whom they had nominated they had either found some singular goodness, or nobility joined with goodness, or else some singular learning joined with both. The number of bishops, including a cardinal-bishop, was equal to the number of the apostles. They had also nominated seven abbots, five from amongst the most famous divines, and nine doctors: all these being in the order of priesthood. As for the officers whom they had nominated, they were famous for nobility and virtue: that is to say, one vice-chamberlain, eight keepers of the conclave, two clerks of the ceremonies, two promoters, one proctor-fiscal, and one soldan. In the nomination of these they had also had an eye to the deputations, as was enjoined them.

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1439.

The number of the electors of every order.

With these words they did somewhat pacify the multitude, and then, amid a marvellous silence, opened the lists of the elected; the which John de Segovia did read, the order of the nations being omitted therein; for the Triumvirs felt it to be an awkward thing for them to prefer one nation before another: and therefore, as every man did excel in prelacy or dignity, so was he first named.

'For my part' (saith Æneas Sylvius, the historian of these things), 'I shall not hesitate to observe the order of the nations which was observed at Constance; neither do I fear any ill will, because I shall not be shewing any favour unto those who are put first, nor doing any injury unto those who are placed after: for neither did nobility nor authority bring in this order, but time itself; for, as every nation did first receive the word of God, so is it first preferred. For the early or late conversion of my ancestors is no ground of praise or blame to me, so long as I am myself a Christian: for he had no more reward in the gospel, who came early in the morning to the vineyard, than he who came late. Notwithstanding, the Roman empire, and the see of Peter, give the Italian nation the priority. Wherefore, for the better understanding of those who shall read the same, we will observe the order of nations.'

'But this must first be considered, that the cardinal Arelatensis came unto the election, not by favour of the Triumvirs' nomination, but in his own right: wherefore I will set him first, out of the order of the nations. The like place also would any other cardinals have had, if, being reconciled unto the church, and, not in the least spotted with Eugene's heresy, they had come in time. The first and principal of all the electors was the cardinal, a man of invincible constancy and incomparable wisdom, unto whose virtue I may justly ascribe whatsoever was done in the council: for without him the prelates had not persevered in their purpose, neither could the shadow of any prince so have defended them.'

The electors.

But now to proceed to the nomination.¹ Out of the Italian nation there were chosen, William, bishop of Vercelli; George, bishop of Aosta, John, bishop of Ivrea, in Piedmont; and Louis, bishop of Turin; all men of nobility and great wisdom: also Aleran, abbot of the house of St. Benignus at Fructuaria, in the diocese of Ivrea; and James de Segusio, abbot of St. Benedict, in the diocese of Turin. Of doctors, friar John de Monte Canuto, master of the house of St. Anthony de Roversio, in the diocese of Turin; friar Bartholomew de Provanis, master of the house of St. Anthony de Clavacro, in the diocese of Ivrea. These men represented the Italian nation in the election of a new pontiff.

¹Of the French nation were elected John, archbishop of Tarantaise,

(1) The following long list of persons and titles has been compared with that printed in Labbæ Conclia, tom. xi. col. 635, and revised from thence: the titles, especially, are given more fully than by Æneas Sylvius.—ED.

*Henry VI.*A.D.
1439.*See Appendix.*

who was called to that place and dignity against his will; Francis, bishop of Geneva; and Bernard bishop of Acqs, a subtle lawyer, who, for the manifest infirmities of his body and grievous gout excused himself; in whose place was chosen Louis, bishop of Marseilles: also Raymond, abbot of Conquet, in the diocese of Rodez. Of divines, Nicholas Thibout, penitentiary of the church of Coutances, in the province of Rouen, in Normandy; John de Vellée, rector of the parish of Plouneour, in the diocese of Leon, in Bretagne; and Thomas de Corcellis, who was one of the Triumvirs: of lawyers, William Hughes, archdeacon of Metz. All these were chosen, with the cardinal Arelatensis, to represent France in the election of the pope.

Out of the German nation, which is the greatest of all the rest, were chosen Frederic, bishop of Basil; Conrad, abbot of Lucella, in the diocese of Basil; and Thomas de Scotia, who was one of the Triumvirs. Of doctors, Detzelau, archdeacon of Cracow; John Wylor, dean of Basil; Henriens de Judeis, of Cologne; James de Saltzburg, a canon of Ratisbon; and Christian de Kœnig-Gratz, who, as is before said, was added to the Triumvirs.

Out of the Spanish nation were chosen for the election of the pope, three bishops; as Otto, bishop of Tortosa; George, bishop of Vich; Louis, bishop of Viseo, who was ambassador for the king of Portugal. Also of abbots, Peter, abbot of St. Cuenphas in the diocese of Barcelona; and Antonio, abbot of Arulæ in the diocese of Elne, in Catalonia. Of doctors; Bernard de Busco, a canon of Lerida; Raymond Albioli, a canon of Tarazona; and John de Segovia, who was one of the Triumvirs. These were they who were elected to the nominating of the pope, out of the four nations. As for the Englishmen, they were not included, because they were not present, and none could be chosen, but such as were present. The officers to attend on the conclave were as follow: for vice-chamberlain, Louis, bishop of Lausanne: for keepers of the conclave, were elected Percevallus, bishop of Belley; Nicholas, bishop of Grossetto; John, abbot of St. Michael de Clusa, in the diocese of Turin; Francis, abbot of Notre Dame d'Abondance, in the diocese of Geneva; Francis de Foix, a divine; William of Constance, a canon of Spire; John de Toricella, dean of Segorbe; and Theodorie Nagel, a canon of Riga: for clerks of the ceremonies were appointed, Aeneas Piccolomini, of Sienna, a canon of Trent, and Michael Brunout, a canon of Beauvais: for promoters, they were elected who had before, in the council, a long time promoted causes, viz. Hugh Gerardi and John Slitzenrode: for proctor-fiscal was appointed Robert Magnani; and Peter de Atrio for the soldan, who had filled the same office with approbation ever since the council opened.

These men being thus nominated, and the list read by John de Segovia, as is before said, the cardinal, who until that present was amazed and afraid, because he could not be persuaded that such an election could be accomplished, was relieved and took courage. For when he saw that bishops and abbots in great number were elected and chosen, and that the nations were equally honoured in the council, he began to take courage, and his face to recover its accustomed colour; and making an oration with a cheerful countenance, he did

exhilarate the whole congregation, which, he being sad, could not otherwise choose but to be also heavy and sad. After he had spoken some things as touching the election, and greatly commended the industry and diligence of the Triumvirs, which they had at all times showed in that council, but now especially, he dismissed the congregation. At night, all the electors were sent for unto the cardinal's chamber; where they conferred amongst themselves touching the distribution of the chambers; and, forso much as there was great difference in the chambers, the prelates thought that they should be distributed according to their respective dignities; that as every man was of most age and dignity, so he should enjoy the best and principal place. For they said, it was not to be suffered, that a cardinal or an archbishop should come to a lot with the doctors and inferiors, for that it would be ridiculous, if the cardinal should happen to be placed beneath, and the doctors above. And, forso much as the prelates were the greater number and all agreed in this view, it seemed but vain to speak of lots. The doctors, however, thought good to speak for themselves, and said, that the ancient customs ought not to be broken. For it had been always used, in every conclave, that the chambers should be distributed by lot, and that, not only between cardinal and cardinal, but also between cardinals and others: for at Constance, albeit there were many cardinals, yet did they not refuse to cast lots with the bishops and doctors. They said they could not but think the prelates selfish, in that they, being the greater number, sought to have the victory rather by votes, than by reason: and that unless the chambers were distributed by lot, some collusion was to be feared, and schism among the electors, while they who stood beneath, and shivered for cold, fell to envying those who were placed above.

By these reasons the cardinal being persuaded, consented to the mind of the doctors, and after him the good bishop of Tortosa prophesied: "If there be any man," said he, "unto whom the lot would be hurtful, it is I, whom the lot will place in the lowest room. Notwithstanding, rather than we should subvert the ancient customs, or incur the ill-will of the doctors, I think it good that the matter be settled by lot." And to this opinion they finally agreed.

Immediately there were certain of every sort of the electors sent to the conclave with the cardinal Arelatensis, with the help of the vice-chamberlain to cast lots for the chambers. The electors' names were written, every one on a separate billet, and put into a close basket; and when they came unto the first chamber-door, the cardinal, putting his hand into the basket, took out the billet that came next to hand, and reading the same, delivered it unto the vice-chamberlain, and the vice-chamberlain set it upon the chamber door; and so throughout the chambers in order; so that when the electors should enter into the conclave the next day, they should know that cell and chamber to be appointed for them, where they should find their names set up. The dean of Basil had the first place, and the bishop of Tortosa the last, according as he himself had prophesied. The distribution of the lot in this case was very strange, or rather a divine dispensation setting at nought the counsels of man, in that a doctor was placed first, and a bishop last, when the prelates had previously resolved to assign the best chambers to themselves.

*Henry**VI.*

A. D.

1439.

Henry
VI.

A.D.
1439.

The
time of
the mass
was not
yet abro-
gated.

The vices
of Ga-
briel.

The next day following, being Friday, the thirtieth of October, there was a general congregation holden, and the deliberations of the last deputations were concluded upon. Immediately after followed a session: at which the cardinal Arelatensis performed divine service; and after the gospel was sung, Mark, a famous divine, made an oration unto the electors, and reckoning up the manifold crimes of Gabriel who was deposed, he endeavoured himself to persuade the electors to choose such a man as should in all points be contrary unto Gabriel, and eschew all his vices: that as he through his manifold reproaches was hateful unto all men, so he who should be chosen should show himself acceptable unto all men through his righteousness; and as Gabriel was covetous and full of rapine, so this man should show himself moderate.

The church was full of people in every part. The noble matrons of the city stood between the uppermost pillars, beholding the congregation, and surveying the process of things not without great devotion. There was present John earl of Tierstein, who supplied the place of the emperor's protector. The consuls of the city were also present, and many other noblemen, to behold and see the same strange matter. Silence was kept on all parts, and the citizens were without the church in armour, to prevent there being any uproar made.

The elec-
tors com-
municate
together.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the church, nor in the streets, was there room for them, and there was a great press within the church. When the cardinal Arelatensis had communicated, the other electors, according to their order, were called unto the altar to communicate. First, the archbishop of Tarantaise and the ten other bishops did communicate; after them, the seven abbots; then, the five divines; and last of all, the nine lawyers; who, coming unto the altar and kneeling down, received the sacrament. It was a worthy sight to behold so many reverend bishops, so many famous fathers, showing their hoary heads before the sacrament, some of them praying, and other some pouring out abundant tears. After all this was done, and the general congregation finished, all the prelates put on their robes and vestments, fit for the session.

See
Appendix.

Then Louis, the bishop of Lausanne, going up into the pulpit, read three things there by order. First of all the answer of the synod, to the calumnious libel of Gabriel, which beginneth, 'Moses:' Secondly, a certain limitation touching a decree lately set forth by the council about elections: and, thirdly, the nomination of the Triumvirs, which the sacred council allowed. Which being read, the fathers were demanded whether it pleased them or no: whereunto they answered 'Placet.'

The oath
of the
electors.

Then the bishop of Lausanne required that the form of the oath should be read, which the electors should take, and that the electors should take their oath, according to the order of the council. Then the cardinal Arelatensis, opening the book of Decrees, read the form of the oath in the audience of all men, and by-and-by being required so to swear, said,*

The godly
oath of
Arelaten-
sis.

"Most reverend fathers! I promise, swear, and vow, before my Lord Jesus Christ (whose most blessed body I, unworthy sinner,

have received, unto whom in the last judgment I shall give an account of all my deeds), that in this business of election, whereunto now, by the will of the council, we are sent, I will seek nothing else, but only the salvation of the christian people and the profit of the universal church. And it shall be my whole care and study that the authority of general councils be not contemned, that the catholic faith be not impugned, and that the fathers who remain in the council be not oppressed. This will I seek for; this shall be my care; unto this with all my whole force and power will I bend myself; neither will I do any thing in this matter, either for mine own cause, or for any friend, but will regard only God and the profit of the church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart, I take the oath enjoined by the council."

His words were lively and fearful, *moving¹ the minds of all those that stood by. After him the other electors took their oaths. Who is it, then, that would not think him meet for the popedom, who was allowed by the judgment of so many bishops and priests? especially when they had taken their oath, just after receiving the sacrament, that they would choose none, but only such as they should think fit for the dignity. In the same session also the vice-chamberlain, the keepers of the conclave, the clerks of the ceremonies, and the promoters, engaged by oath to execute their office without guile. Which done, about three of the clock at afternoon, the people being yet fasting, 'Te Deum' was sung by all parties. That ended, they went, with all solemnity, to the conclave. When they came thither the electors were received in, and all the rest dismissed and sent away. Their servants also that were appointed unto them were let in, yet was not the door of the conclave immediately shut, but stood open until nine of the clock at night, that their friends might bring them such things as were necessary, and one friend to talk with another till that time. When it was dark, the protector with certain citizens went in to see how every man was placed; taking great pleasure to behold the order and manner thereof. After him went in the bishop of Lausanne, the vice-chamberlain, and the keepers of the conclave, searching every chamber, if they had any person or any thing with them, contrary to the orders; but, finding nothing, they went their ways. About nine of the clock, as is before said, the gates were shut, both within and without, and strongly barred and chained.

But now to declare the order of the election. In the place where the cardinal and the bishop of Vich were, seats were prepared for the cardinal and the others; the archbishop of Tarantaise was set on the right hand of the cardinal, and the bishop of Tortosa on the left hand, and so all the other electors were placed according to their degree and order.* Before the cardinal's seat was set a stool, whereupon there stood a bason of silver, into which bason all the electors did cast their billets, which the cardinal, receiving, read one by one; and four others of the electors wrote as he read them.

The tenor of the billets was as followeth: "I, George, bishop of Vich, do choose such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome;" and peradventure named one or two. Every one of the electors

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electors
take their
oaths.See
Appendix.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 327.—Ed.

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1439.Amedeus
duke of
Savoy.

subscribed his name unto his billet, that he might thereby know his own, and say 'nay,' if it were written contrary to that which he ordered; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The first scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacy; yet none had sufficient voices, for, that day, there were seventeen of divers nations nominated. Notwithstanding, Amedeus, duke of Savoy, a man of singular virtue, surmounted them all; for in the first scrutiny he had the voice of sixteen electors, who judged him worthy to govern the church.

*See
Appendix.*Prayer
for unity
and con-
cord.

After this, at three of the clock in the afternoon, there was diligent inquisition had in the council touching those who were named of the electors, and as every man's opinion served him, he did either praise or discommend those who were nominated. Notwithstanding, there was such report made of Amedeus, that in the next scrutiny, which was holden on the second day of November, the said Amedeus had nineteen voices, and afterward in the third and fourth scrutinies twenty-one voices. But, forso much as there was none found in all the scrutinies to have two-thirds, all the billets were burnt. And forso much as there lacked but only one voice to the election of the chief pontiff, they fell unto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds unanimously to elect one who would worthily take the pastoral charge over the flock of God. Forso much as Amedeus seemed to be nearer unto the papacy than all others, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and manners. Some said, that hands ought not so suddenly to be laid on a layman; and that it would seem to all a monstrous thing, for a secular prince to be called unto the bishopric of Rome; a step which would derogate from the ecclesiastical state, as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Other some said, that a man who was married and had children was unmeet for such a charge. Other some again affirmed, that the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

When these words were spoken, other some rising up, spake far otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forso much as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and study, and had sought, not titles but knowledge.

An Oration in favour of the Claims of Amedeus to the Popedom.

Let lying
Eugene
be
ashamed
of his
false in-
vectives
against
Amedeus.

Then said another these words: 'If ye be desirous to be instructed further of this prince's life, I pray you give ear unto me, who do know him thoroughly. Truly this man, from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, hath lived more religiously than secularly, being always obedient to his parents and masters, and being always indued with the fear of God, never given to any vanity or wantonness; neither hath there at any time been any child of the house of Savoy, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardness; whereby all those who did behold and know this man, judged and foresaw some great matter in him, neither were they deceived. For, if ye desire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath been, first, know ye this, that this man hath reigned, since his father's decease, about forty years; during whose time, justice, the lady and queen of all other virtues, hath always flourished.

For he, hearing his subjects himself, would never suffer the poor to be oppressed, or the weak to be deceived. He was the defender of the fatherless, the advocate of the widows, and the protector of the poor. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poor and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burthenous unto his subjects, or importune against strangers, throughout all his country: there were no grievous exactions of money throughout all his dominion. He thought himself rich enough, if the inhabitants of his dominion did abound and were rich; knowing that it is the point of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, and not to devour them. In this also was his chief study and care, that his subjects might live in peace; and such as bordered upon him might have no occasion of grudge. By which policies he did not only quietly govern his father's dominion, but also augmented the same by others, who willingly submitted themselves unto him. He never made war upon any, and even in resisting such as made war upon him, he studied rather to make peace, than to seek any revenge; desiring rather to overcome his enemies with beneficence, than with the sword.

He married only one wife, who was a noble virgin, and of singular beauty and chastity. He would have all his family to keep their hands and eyes chaste and continent, and throughout all his house honesty and integrity of manners were observed; insomuch that even in a secular palace, the religion used in cloisters was observed and kept. When the partner of his bed had exchanged this life for another, and that he perceived his duchy to be established, and that it should come without any controversy unto his posterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious and dedicate unto God, and showed what will and affection he had long borne in his heart; for he, contemning the pomp and state of this world, calling unto him his dear friends, departed and went into a wilderness; where, building a goodly abbey, he addicted himself wholly to the service of God, and, taking his cross upon him, followed Christ. In which place he being conversant by the space of many years, showed forth great example of holiness, wearing no other garments but such as could withstand the cold, neither using any kind of dainty fare, but only to resist hunger; watching and praying the most part of the night. Wherefore this prince is not newly come unto the church, as some do suppose, but, being a Christian, born of progenitors who were Christians during a thousand years and more, doth now serve God in a monastery.

But, as touching that, also, which is spoken concerning a wife, I do not regard it; when not he only who hath had a wife, but he also who hath a wife, may be elected and chosen pope. For why do the doctors dispute, whether a married man, being chosen pope, ought to perform his duty towards his wife, but only because a married man might be received and chosen? For, as you know well enough, there have been popes that had wives; and Peter, also, was not without a wife. But why do we stand about this? for peradventure, it had been better that more priests had been married; for many should be saved through marriage, who are now damned through their single life.¹ But hereof we will, saith he, speak in another place. But this seemeth unto me rather to be laughed at, than worthy any answer, which is objected touching his children; for in what can children (especially being of ripe age) be impediment or let unto the pope, being their father? Doth not the Scripture say, Wo be unto him that is alone; for if he fall, he hath none to help him up again? This cannot be imputed unto the prince, for he hath two sons, both comely and wise, whereof the one is prince of Piedmont, the other earl of Geneva. These men will rule the country of Savoy in the absence of their father, and will help him, if he have need; for they have already learned to rule over that people. I pray you, what hurt is it for a bishop of Rome to have valiant children, who may help their father against tyrants?

O most reverend fathers! the more I do behold the storm of this most perverse and froward time, the more I do consider the vexations and troubles which the church is now tormented withal, I do so much the more think it profitable, yea and necessary, that this man should be chosen prince and head; and I shall think that God hath showed his mercy upon us, if I may see him have the governance over this ship. I pray you consider into what straits we are now driven, with what perils we are now vexed and tossed. What prince is it that is obedient unto this council? for some will not confess that the council is here, neither receive our decrees; other some confess it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at Florence. For, albeit that by their words and

Henry VI.

A D. 1439.

Com-mendation of Amedeus, pope-elect.

Having wife, is no let for a good man to be pope. Popes have been married.

Eccles. iv.

(1) Read the fifth epistle of Ignatius, and you shall see that the apostles had wives; and Baptista Mantuanus maketh mention, how that Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, had a wife. [See Appendix. Ed.]

Henry
VI.A.D.
1439.Schism
in the
Church.

letters they do not deny that the church is here, yet do they procure promotions at the hands of Gabriel, who is deposed.

' This is the state of the church; with these storms and tempests the ship is shaken and bruised. Wicked children have risen up against their mother, who, being unmindful of their mother's labours and kindness towards them, despise her, contemn her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we choose a bare man, who shall rather be derided of our princes, than had in reverence? The days are not now, that men have respect only unto virtue, for, as the satirical poet writeth, "Probitas laudatur et alget," Goodness is praised, but neglected. A poor man speaketh, and they ask, What is he? Truly virtue is good, but for our purpose it must be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a rich man, or a poor man: you must choose a governor, who may rule the ship not only by counsel, but by power also. The wind is great; wherefore, except the counsel be good, and the power strong, the ship shall be wrecked, and all put in danger. The memorial, however, is yet fresh before our eyes, that the princes do neglect authority which is devoid of power. Is there not great valiantness showed in this point, in that you, fearing no peril nor danger, neither of life nor goods, have so long contended for the truth of Christ? The princes ought therefore to kiss the ground on which you had trodden. Yet because the powerful prelates and the famous Cardinals have left you, you see what the princes likewise have done. But the most mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will resist this their pride.

Good it
were,
that tem-
poral
domi-
nions
were di-
vided
from the
church.

' I have often consented unto their opinion who said, it was expedient that temporal dominion should be divided from the ecclesiastical state; for I did think that the priests should thereby be made more apt to the divine ministry, and secular princes more obedient to the clergy. But now I have learnt that virtue without power is laughed at, and that the Roman pontiff without the church's patrimony would only be the slave of kings and princes; which Constantine foreseeing, did piously endow the church. But, forso much as, at this present, the lands of the church are possessed, partly by Eugene, and partly by other tyrants, we must provide that we choose such a one, who may recover again the patrimony of the church, and in whom the office of Christ's vicar may not be contemned; through the shield of whose power their contumacy may be suppressed, who contemn both verity and reason. Whereunto no man seemeth unto me more apt or meet than Amedeus, duke of Savoy, who holdeth the one part of his possessions in Italy, and the other in France; unto whom all christian princes are allied either by consanguinity, or joined by amity and friendship, and whose virtue, how famous it is, I have already declared.

' Why do we then stay or doubt to choose him, than whom Gabriel feareth no man more? Let him, therefore, perish with the sword, wherewithal he hath stricken. There is no man who can more pacify the church than he. Do ye require devotion in a bishop? there is no man more devout than he. Do you require prudence? now ye understand by his former life, what manner of man he is. If ye seek for justice, his people are a witness thereof; so that whether you seek for virtue or power, all are here present before you. Whereupon do ye stay? Go to, I pray you, choose this man. He will augment the faith, he will reform manners, and preserve the authority of the church. Have ye not heard these troubles of the church to have been before spoken of, and that the fortieth year, being the year now present, should be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard that about this time there should a pope be chosen, who should comfort Sion, and set all things in peace? and who, I pray you, should he be that could fulfil these things, except we choose this man? Believe me, the Scriptures must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds, however unwilling. Notwithstanding, do ye rather willingly whatsoever is right and holy.'

See
Appendix.Ame-
deus,
duke of
Savoy,
chosen
pope.

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the electors seemed to consent unto him, and his words took such effect, that in the next scrutiny the matter was finished. *For on the nones of November, about ten of the clock in the forenoon, *the scrutiny being opened and the numbers compared, it was found that Amedeus, the most devout duke of Savoy, according to the decree of the council was chosen pope, *twenty-six voices consenting and agreeing upon him.* Wherefore suddenly, there was great joy and gladness.

amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. *Wherefore,¹ the notaries and witnesses being called in, a great indenture was made concerning the election. Which thing finished, and the witnesses being sent away, about one of the clock in the afternoon there was a rush made to the windows which were toward the street, and the casements thereof broken with axes. And when the people gathered together in great number, marvelling at the strange noise, there was a cross of silver showed unto them.

The whole city was now in the street, and looking up to the window desired to know the name of him that was chosen.* Then the cardinal Arelatensis published unto them the name of the bishop elect. After this, about three of the clock, all the prelates in their copes and mitres, and all the clergy of the city, coming unto the conclave, brought back the electors, being likewise adorned, unto the great church; where, after great thanks given unto God, and the election again declared unto the people, a hymn being sung for joy, the congregation was dissolved.

This Amedeus aforesaid was a man of reverent age, of comely stature, of grave and discreet behaviour; also before married. Who thus being elected for pope the seventeenth day of November, was called Felix V., and was crowned in the city of Basil, in the twenty-fourth day of July following. There were present at his coronation Louis, duke of Savoy; Philip, earl of Geneva; Louis, marquis of Saluzzo; the marquis of Rotelen; Conrad of Winsperg, chamberlain of the empire; the earl of Tierstein; the ambassadors of the cities of Strasburgh, Berne, Friburg, Soleure, with a great multitude of other beside, to the view of fifty thousand persons. At this coronation, the pope's two sons did serve and minister to their father. The cardinal Arelatensis (being appointed thereto by the council instead of the bishop of Ostia, to whom it properly pertained) did set on his head the pontifical diadem, which was esteemed at thirty thousand crowns. It were long here to recite the whole order and solemnity of the procession, or the pope's riding about the city. First proceeded the pope, under his canopy of cloth of gold, having on his head a triple crown, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the marquis of Rotelen, and Conrad of Winsperg, leading his horse by the bridle. The following day, the whole city went to an entertainment, which lasted four full hours, being excessively sumptuous; where the pope's two sons were butlers to his cup, the marquis of Saluzzo was the steward, &c.

Of this Felix thus writeth Volateran in the third book of his Geography, That he, being desired of certain of the ambassadors, if he had any dogs or hounds, to show them, willed them the next day to repair unto him, and he would show unto them such as he had. When the ambassadors, according to the appointment, were come, he showeth unto them a great number of poor people and beggars, sitting at his tables at meat, declaring that those were his hounds, which he every day used to feed, hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of heaven to come.²

And thus you have heard the state of this council hitherto, which council endured a long season, the space of twelve years.

Henry
VI.A.D.
1439.Pope
Felix V.The number of
people at the
coronation of
pope
Felix.See
Appendix

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 330.—Ed.

(2) A note for our gentlemen and lords, to learn how to hunt, and what dogs to keep.

Henry
VI.

A.D.
1439.

Death of
Sigis-
mund.

Albert II.
emperor.
A.D. 1438.

Death of
Albert.

About the sixth year of the council, Sigismund the emperor died, leaving but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdoms, whom he had married to Albert the Second, duke of Austria, who first succeeded in the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, being a sore adversary to the Bohemians, and afterward was made emperor, A.D. 1438, and reigned emperor but two years, leaving his wife, who was Sigismund's daughter, great with child. After which Albert succeeded his brother Frederic the Third, duke of Austria, in the empire, &c., whereof more, Christ willing, hereafter.

The
plague at
Basil in
the time
of the
council.
Æneas
Sylvius
sick of
the
plague in
Basil.

The con-
stant zeal
of Arelatensis
to the truth.

In the mean time, Eugene, hearing of the death of Sigismund above recited, began to work the dissolution of the council of Basil, and to transfer it to Ferrara, pretending the coming of the Grecians. Notwithstanding, the council of Basil, through the disposition of God and the worthiness of cardinal Arelatensis, constantly endured. Albeit, in the said council were many stops and practices to impeach the same, beside the sore plague of pestilence which fell in the city during the said council; in the time of which plague, besides the death of many worthy men, Æneas Sylvius also himself, the writer and compiler of the whole history of that council, sitting at the feet of the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Lubeck, lay sick three days of the same sore, as is above touched, and never thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring men to pray to God, that he would convert the hearts of them that stuck to Eugene as pope, against that council, as partly is before noted, and now repeated again, for the better marking. Arelatensis, being most instantly exhorted by his friends to fly that danger, could by no means be entreated to avoid, fearing more the danger of the church, than of his own life.

The
wealthy
prelates,
afraid of
truth,
slide
away
from the
council.
* Fide
quam
plebe,
carere
malunt.*
Promo-
tions
choke
the
energy.

Beside these so great difficulties and obstacles to stay and hinder this council, strange it was to behold the mutation of men's minds, of whom such as first seemed to favour the council, afterwards did impugn it; and such as before were against it, in the end showed themselves most friends unto the same. The chief cardinals and prelates, the more they had to lose, the sooner they slipped away, or else lurked in houses or towns near, and absented themselves for fear; so that the stay of the council most rested upon their proctors, doctors, archdeacons, deans, provosts, priors, and such other of the inferior sort. Whereof Æneas Sylvius, in his one hundred and eighty-third epistle, maketh this relation, where one Gaspar Schlick, the emperor's chancellor, writeth to the cardinal Julian in these words: "Those cardinals," saith he, "who so long a time magnified so highly the authority of the church, and of general councils, seeming as though they were ready to spend their lives for the same, now, at the sight of one letter from their king (wherein yet no death was threatened, but only loss of their promotions), slipt away from Basil." And in the same epistle, he deridingly commendeth them as wise men, that had rather lose their faith than their flock. "Albeit," saith he, "they departed not far away, but remained about Soleure, waiting for other commandments from their prince, whereby it may appear how they did not shrink away willingly: but the burse," quoth he, "bindeth faster than true honour; "Quid enim salvis infamia nummis?" that is to say, "What matter maketh the name of man, so his money be safe?"

Moreover, in one of the sessions of the said council, the worthy cardinal Arelatensis¹ is said thus to have reported, That Christ was sold for thirty pieces of silver: "But I," said he, "was sold much more dear; for Gabriel, otherwise called pope Eugene, offered threescore thousand crowns of gold, whoso would take me, and present me unto him." And they that took the said cardinal, afterwards excused their fact by another colour, pretending as the cause, that the cardinal's brother, what time the Armagnacs wasted Alsace, had brought great damage to the inhabitants there; and therefore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay hands upon a Frenchman, wheresoever they might take him. At length, by the bishop of Strasburg, Rupert, and the said city, the matter was taken up, and he rescued; wherein, no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the pope, his adversary.²

Henry
VI.
A. D.
1431.

Sixty thousand crowns offered by pope Eugene, for the betraying of Arelatensis, who is taken and rescued. God's defence toward his servants.

And thus far having proceeded in the matters of this aforesaid council until the election of Amedeus, called pope Felix V., before we prosecute the rest that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withal the residue pertaining to the matters concluded between this council and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumstances of the ambassade, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had first in the said council, then in their own country with the council's ambassadors; also with their petitions and answers unto the same.

Touching the story of the Bohemians, how they, being sent for, came up to the council of Basil, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath been expressed. Now, as leisure serveth, from other matters to return again unto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so far as both brevity may be observed, and yet the reader not defrauded of such things principally worthy in the same to be noted and known.

The story of the Bohemians prosecuted.

A FURTHER CONTINUATION OF

The Memorable History of the Bohemians,

BEING A BRIEF EPITOME, SHOWING HOW THEY WERE CALLED
AND BROUGHT UNTO THE COUNCIL OF BASIL;

Briefly collected and gathered out of the Commentaries of Æneas
Sylvius.

* Forsomuch³ as the Bohemians, as is before said, being incensed for the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, persevered still in the maintaining of their opinions, Julian, cardinal of St. Angelo, was sent ambassador into Germany to make preparation against them; for the bishop of Rome thought that nation would have easily been vanquished by the Germans. But the matter came far otherwise to pass; for the Germans, being often put to flight, as is aforesaid, they put such a terror into the hearts of all the borderers, that Germany desired nothing more than peace.*

The Bohemians then, as is before declared, having always the upper hand, albeit they were accused by the new pope Eugene, yet

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ex Paralip. Abbat. Ursperg.

(3) See Edition 1563, p. 335.—ED.

*Henry VI.*A. D.
1131.

it was thought good that they should be called unto Basil, where the council was appointed. Whereupon cardinal Julian sent thither before John Polemar, doctor of the law, and John de Ragusa, a divine; who coming unto Basil in the month of August, A. D. 1131, called by their letters unto the council John, abbot of Mulbrun, and John Gethusius, monk of the same cloister; which men, for dexterity of their wit, and experience, and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessary for ambassades.

The Bohemians invited to come to the council.

Within a few days after, Julian also came thither, as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gethusius, and Haman Offenbourgh, a senator of Basil, first, unto the emperor Sigismund, being at Feldkirch, and afterward unto Frederic, duke of Austria, for the appeasing of the wars between him and Philip, duke of Burgundy. This was done, to the intent that peace being had, not only the ecclesiastical prelates, but also the merchants, might have safe access unto Basil, and so bring in all things necessary for sustentation.

See Appendix.

They, going on this ambassade, received letters from the synod to be delivered unto the emperor Sigismund, whereby the Bohemians and Moravians were called unto the council. These letters he by-and-by caused to be carried unto Bohemia. But, forso much as he himself went into Italy, to receive the imperial crown of the pontiff, he left William, duke of Bavaria, as his deputy, to be protector unto the council. Furthermore, when the synod understood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians after their most shameful flight, they sent John Nider, a divine, and John Gethusius, to comfort the people who joined upon Bohemia, and earnestly to move the Moravians and Bohemians, who were before called, to come unto the council.

They, departing from Basil the thirtieth of October, took their journey toward Munich, a town of Bavaria; where, after they had saluted William, duke of Bavaria, and his brother Ernest, and Albert, the son of Ernest, and had declared the commission of their ambassade, and had showed unto duke William, how that, as soon as he should come unto Basil, the protection of the council should be committed unto him by the emperor; they exhorted Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, the senate of Nuremberg, and other princes and lords, partly by the letters of the council, and partly by word of mouth, that they should by no means take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtful unto the church; and said, they should have aid out of hand. They desired them also, in the name of the council, That if the Bohemians would send their ambassadors unto Basil, they would guide them, every man through his country, in safety; which they promised to do. It is incredible how all men rejoiced that the Bohemians were sent for.

After this, when they counselled with the senate of Nuremberg, touching the sending of the council's letters into Bohemia, it seemed best first of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemians had made any answer to the former letters of the council which they had sent. The rulers of Egra, being advertised by these letters, sent him who carried the council's letters into Bohemia unto Nurem-

berg. He reported how reverently the council of the greater city of Prague received the letters, and how he was rewarded; whereupon they conceived great hope of the good success of the ambassade. Therefore the ambassadors, using the counsel of the senate of Nuremberg and divers others, sent the messenger back again unto Egra, with their own private letters, and with letters of the council: for there was no better mean to send the letters to Bohemia. Much travail was taken by them of Egra, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, in this matter; for that they were very desirous that peace might be had amongst Christians. The copy of those letters, whereby the synod did call the Bohemians unto the council, and other letters exhortatory of the ambassadors, and the Bohemians' answer unto the same, for brevity's cause we have here pretermitted. The Bohemians, not in all points trusting unto the ambassadors, required by their letters that the council's ambassadors, with the other princes, would come unto Egra, where their ambassadors should be also present, to intreat upon the safe-conduct and other matters.

Henry VI.
A. D.
1432.

The Bohemians are laboured to come to the council.

The day appointed for the meeting was the Sunday after Easter, which was the 27th day of April. Then came the ambassadors of the council unto Egra, with the noble princes, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, with other nobles, and almost to the number of two hundred and fifty horse.¹ But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsen, and the lord of Swanberg, had not sent their safe-conduct. When they understood this by their letters, they brought it to pass, that the ambassadors of the Bohemians, Nicholas Humpolz, secretary of the greater city of Prague, and Matthias Clompezan, president of Piesta, should be brought forth by them of Egra and of Elnbogen; and so they came unto Egra with nineteen horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Token received the Bohemian ambassadors before the marquis with an eloquent oration, taking this part of the gospel for his theme, "Pax vobis," that is, "Peace be with you." Then they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now, at the length, there was some hope that they should be heard.

The ambassadors at Egra.

See Appendix.

After this they conferred as touching the safe-conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that, not of the common sort, but princes and nobles. Which thing forso much as it did not content the ambassadors, and so the matter should be put off, the common people of Egra began to cry out, That it was long of the ecclesiastics and princes that a concord was not made with the Bohemians. Then Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, bound themselves of their own good-will; the like also did William, duke of Bavaria, at the request of the council; likewise also did the council and the emperor Sigismund. Furthermore, promise was made, That all the princes and cities should do the like, through whose dominion they should come, and the city of Basil also; the copy of which safe-conduct was afterward sent unto Prague. This also

The Bohemians require pledges

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the emperor to be present.

(1) Fifty-two horse, Edition 1563, p. 336.—Ed.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1433.

The Bohemians send two ambassadors.

See Appendix.

Good justice upon a slanderous railer. Gentleness of the Bohemian ambassadors.

The ambassadors of the Bohemians return home.

The Bohemians send up other solemn ambassadors.

Oration of the cardinal Julian

Three articles of the Bohemians.

was required by the Bohemians, That if it were possible the emperor should be present at the council.

This convention at Egra continued twenty-one days. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the council's ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they chose out two ambassadors, Nicholas Humpolz, and John of Saatz, who should go to Basil and diligently inquire out all things. These men Conrad, bishop of Ratisbon, and Conrad Seglauer, dean of Eichstadt, brought unto Cadolzburg, where the marquis of Brandenburg dwelt, being sent out by the synod a little before, to inquire whether the Bohemian ambassadors would come or not. When they were come to Biberack, one being over curious, inquired of one of the Bohemian ambassadors, of what country he was. He answered that he was of Saatz. "There," said he, "are most execrable heretics and naughty men," &c.; who, for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to prison, and there should have suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian ambassadors, and the abbot of Eberbach, had not entreated for him. When they came to Basil, they were honourably received with wine and fish: they tarried there five days and a half. The tenth day of October they came unto the synod, which was assembled at the friars Augustine.

These ambassadors, when they were returned home with the charter of the synod, and declared those things which they had seen, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or deceit; there were ambassadors chosen to be sent unto the council, both for the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisdom of Moravia; who coming unto Tauss, were brought from thence with thirty-two horse, and divers noble men, unto Cham. From thence they came to Schwandorf, and so unto Nuremberg, where, beside their entertainment of wine and fish, twenty-two horsemen accompanied them unto Ulm; from thence they of Ulm brought them unto Biberack and Saulgau, where James Truchises de Walpurg, a knight, receiving them, brought them to Stockach, and from thence the bands of William, duke of Bavaria, brought them unto Schaffhausen. There they taking ship, on the 4th day of January came to Basil. What were the names of these ambassadors of the Bohemians, who were brought up with three hundred horse, and how they were received at Basil, mention is made before.¹ When they came before the synod the 9th day of the same month, cardinal Julian made an oration, That whatsoever was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authority of the council, forso much as all men were bound to submit themselves to the judgment of the holy church, which the general council did represent.—Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

Then Rochezanus made an oration, requiring to have a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the 16th day of the same month; upon which day John Rochezanus, having made his preface, began to propound the first article, touching the communion to be ministered under both kinds, and disputed upon the same by the space of three days, always before noon. Then one Nicolas, a Taborite, disputed upon the second article, touching the correction and punishing of sin, by the space of two days.

(1) See above, p. 577.—Ed.

After whom Ulderie, priest of the Orphans, propounded and disputed upon the third article by the space of two days, touching the free preaching of the word of God.

Last of all Peter Paine, an Englishman, disputed three days upon the fourth article, touching the civil dominion of the clergy: and afterward they gave copies of their disputations in writing unto the council, with hearty thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inveigh against the council, commending John Huss and John Wickliff for evangelical doctors. Whereupon John de Ragusa, the divine, rising up, desired that he might have leave to answer in his own name, to the first article of the Bohemians. The council consented thereunto; so that by the space of eight days in the forenoon he disputed thereupon. But, before he began to answer, John, the abbot of Citeaux, made an oration unto the Bohemians, that they should submit themselves to the determination of holy church, which this council (said he) doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Ragusinus, the divine, after scholars' fashion, in his answer spake often of heresies and heretics. Procopius could not suffer it, but, rising up with an angry stomach, complained openly to the council of this injury. "This our countryman," saith he, "doth us great injury, calling us oftentimes heretics." Whereunto Ragusinus answered, "forasmuch as I am your countryman both by tongue and nation, I do the more desire to reduce you again unto the church." He was a Dalmatian born, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians, going into Bohemia, took their name from the country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence the Bohemians would depart from Basil, and could scarcely be appeased. Certain of the Bohemians would not hear Ragusinus finish his disputation.

After him a famous divine, one Giles Charlier, dean of the church of Cambrai, answered unto the second article, by the space of four days. To the third article answered one Henry, surnamed Kalteisen, three days together. Last of all John Polemar, before-mentioned, master of the requests of the palace, answered unto the fourth article likewise, by the space of three days, so that the long time which they used in disputations seemed tedious unto the Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answer, the Bohemians still defended their articles, and especially the first, insomuch that John Rochezanus did strongly impugn Ragusinus' answer by the space of six days. But, forasmuch as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceived how that by this means any concord could be made, the prince William, duke of Bavaria, protector of the council, attempted another remedy, that all disputations being set apart, the matter should be friendly debated.

There were certain appointed on either part to treat upon the concord; who coming together the 11th day of March, those who were appointed for the council, were demanded to say their minds. "It seemeth good," said they, "if these men would be united unto us, and be made one body with us, that this body might then accord, declare, and determine, all manner of diversities of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them."

The Bohemians, when they had awhile paused, said, "This way

Henry VI.

A. D. 1433.

The fourth article.

See Appendix.

Oration of the abbot of Citeaux.

John Ragusinus replieth against the first article.

Giles Charlier to the second. Henry Kalteisen to the third. J. Polemar to the fourth.

Certain chosen on both sides to determine the matter.

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1433.

seemed not apt enough, except, first of all, the four articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with us; for, otherwise, it would be but a frivolous matter, if they being now united, again disagree in the deciding of the articles." Here answer was made to the Bohemians, That if they were rightly united, and the aid of the Holy Ghost called for, they should not err in the deciding of the matter, forso much as every Christian ought to believe that determination; which if they would do, it would breed a most firm and strong concord and amity on either part.— But this answer satisfied them not, insomuch that the other three rose up, and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time cardinal Julian, president of the council, made this oration unto the Bohemian ambassadors.

Oration
of cardinal
Julian.

"This sacred synod," saith he, "hath now, by the space of ten days, patiently heard the propositions of your four articles;" and afterwards he annexed, "You have propounded," saith he, "four articles; but we understand that, beside these four, you have many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from us. Wherefore it is necessary, if a perfect unity and fraternity shall follow between us, that all these things be declared in the council, to the end that by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who is the author of peace and truth, due provision may be made therein. For we have not gathered these things of light conjectures, but have heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present who have seen them with their own eyes in Bohemia, and partly we do gather it by your own report: for Master Nicholas, who was the second that did propound, amongst other things alleged, that John Wickliff was an evangelical doctor. If ye believe him to be a true doctor, it followeth that you must repute his works as authentic; if ye do not so think, it is reason that it should be opened unto us. Wherefore we desire you, that you will certify us upon these and certain other points, what you do believe, or what credit you do give unto them. But we do not require, that you should now declare your reasons; but it shall satisfy us, if you will answer unto every article by this word, 'credimus' or, 'non credimus;' that is, 'we believe,' or, 'we believe not.' Which if you will do (as we trust you will), then we shall manifestly perceive that you desire, that we should conceive a good estimation of you. If there be any thing whereof you would be certified by us, ask it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand; for we are ready, according to the doctrine of St. Peter, to render account unto every man who shall require it, touching the faith which we hold."

Master
Nicholas
charged
by the
cardinal,
for com-
mending
of John
Wickliff.

erudent
answer to
cardinal
Julian.

See
Appendix.

The am-
bassadors
return
without
agree-
ment.

Hercunto the Bohemian ambassadors answered in few words, that they came only to propound those four articles, not in their own name, but in the name of the whole kingdom of Bohemia; —and spake no more. Whereupon William, the noble protector of the council, calling unto him four men on either part, treated touching the pacifying the matter; by whose advice the council decreed to send a famous ambassade with the Bohemian ambassadors unto Prague, where the people should assemble upon Trinity Sunday. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, but made haste to depart. Whereupon, on the 14th day of April, there

were ten chosen out of the council, to go with the Bohemian ambassadors unto Prague.

*Henry
VI.*

It were too long here to declare what honour was done unto these ambassadors all the way in their journey, and especially when they came into Bohemia, by the citizens of Prague, when a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prague at the day appointed, both of the clergy, nobility, and common people.

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After the coming of those ambassadors, much contention began to rise between the parties. First began John Rochezanus, who speaking in the public person of the commonalty, laboured to commend and prefer the four verities of the Bohemians before propounded; charging also the prelates and priests, for their slanderous obtreactions and undeserved contumelies, wherewith they did infame the noble kingdom of Bohemia; complaining also that they would not receive those christian verities, left and allowed by their king Wenceslaus now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalf of the whole nation, that they would leave off hereafter to oppress them in such sort, that they would restore to them again their Joseph's vesture; that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enemies, had spoiled them, &c.

The
coming of
the
legates to
Prague.

To this Polemar maketh answer again, with a long and curious oration, exhorting them to peace and unity of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) should be soon removed: promising also, that this their vesture of honour and fame should be amply restored again; and that afterwards, if there were any doubtful matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, unless they might first have a declaration of their four articles, which if they might obtain, they promised then to embrace peace and concord; which peace (said they) began first to be broken by themselves, in that the council of Constance, by their unjust condemnation, burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and also, by their cruel bulls and censures, raised up first excommunication, then war, against the whole kingdom of Bohemia.

Hereunto Polemar, reclaiming again, began to advance and magnify the honour and dignity of general councils. To conclude, as much as the said Polemar did extol the authority of the councils, so much did the answer of the Bohemians extenuate the same; saying, That the later councils, which are not expressed in the law of God, have erred, and might err, not only in faith, but also in manners. For that which hath chanced to the green wood, may also chauce unto the dry. But of others, the most strong pillars of the militant church, the apostles I mean, seem all to have erred, and the catholic faith to have remained three days sound and uncorrupt only in the Virgin Mary. No christian man, therefore, ought to be compelled to stand to the determination of the pope or the council, except it be in that which is plainly expressed in the law of God. For it is evident, that all the general councils which have been of long time, have reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace and manners of the church, but have always, both in their life and decrees, notoriously swerved, and have not established themselves upon the

General
councils
may err,
and have
erred.

*Henry
VI.*

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1433.

foundation, which is Christ. Wherefore the said Bohemians protested, that they would not simply and plainly (God being their good Lord) yield themselves to their doctrine, nor to such rash and hasty decrees; lest, through that their hasty and uncircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life contrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Jesus. In short, in no case would they enter into any agreement of peace, except their four articles, which they counted for evangelical verities, were first accepted and approved. Which being obtained (said they), if they would condescend with them in the verity of the gospel, so would they join together, and be made one with them in the Lord, &c.¹

The ambassadors and Bohemians cannot agree.

When the ambassadors saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to pass, they required to have those articles delivered unto them in a certain form, which they sent unto the council by three Bohemian ambassadors.

Afterwards the council sent a declaration into Bohemia, to be published unto the people in the common assemblies of the kingdom by the ambassadors, who were commanded to report unto the Bohemians, in the name of the council, that if they would receive the declaration of those three articles, and the unity of the church, there should be a mean found whereby the matter touching the first article, of the communion under both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietness.

They propounded in Prague, in an open assembly of the nobles and commons, the declaration of the three articles in form following:

A Declaration of the Council of Basil touching the three last Articles of the Bohemians, already alleged.

Forsomuch as touching the doctrine of the verity, we ought to proceed soberly and warily, that the truth may be declared with words so orderly conceived and uttered, that there be no offence given to any man, whereby he should fall to take occasion of error, and (to use the words of Isidore) that nothing by obscurity be left doubtful: whereas you have propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sins in these words, 'All mortal sins, and especially open offences, ought to be rooted out, punished, and inhibited, by them whose duty it is so to do, reasonably and according to the law of God;' here it is to be marked and understand, that these words, 'whose duty it is,' are too general, and may be an offence; and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling stock before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed up, that our neighbour's ox do not fall therein: all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore we say, that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, it is thus universally to be holden, that all mortal sins, especially public offences, are to be rooted out, corrected, and inhibited, as reasonably as may be, according to the law of God, and the institutions of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders doth not pertain unto any private person, but only unto those who have jurisdiction of the law over them, the distinction of law and justice being orderly observed.²

The second article of the Bohemians, with the declaration of the council.

Punishing of public offences, how and by whom.

The third article of the Bohemians, with the declaration of the council on liberty of preaching.

As touching the preaching of the word of God, which article you have alleged in this form, 'That the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt ministers of the Lord:' lest by this word 'freely' occasion might be taken of disordered liberty (which, as you have often said, you do not mean), the circumstance thereof is to be understand; and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus universally to be believed: That the word of God ought freely, but not every where, but faithfully and orderly, to be preached by the priests and Levites of the

(1) Ex Cochleo, hist. lib. vii.

(2) Note here the pope's addition.

Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors unto whom that office appertaineth; the authority of the bishop always reserved, who is the provider of all things, according to the institution of the holy Fathers.

As concerning the last article, expressed under these words, 'It is not lawful for the christian clergy, in the time of the law of grace, to have dominion over temporal goods;' we remember that in the solemn disputation holden in the sacred council, he who was appointed by the council to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort:

First, that such of the clergy as were not religious, and had not bound themselves thereunto by a vow, might lawfully have and possess any temporal goods; as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left unto him; or any other goods justly gotten by means of any gift, or other lawful contract, or else some lawful art.

The second conclusion, 'The church may lawfully have and possess temporal goods, moveable and unmoveable, houses, lands, towns and villages, castles and cities; and in them have a private and civil dominion.' Your ambassador who disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying, That they did not impugn the sense of this article being well understand, forsomuch as he understandeth this article of civil dominion, formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understand, that those words, 'to have secular dominion,' expressed in the aforesaid article, seem to be referred to some special manner or kind of dominion. But forsomuch as the doctrine of the church is not to be intreated upon by any ambiguous or doubtful words, but fully and plainly; therefore we have thought good more plainly to express that, which according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, is universally to be believed; that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, that the clergy ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the Church, whose administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy Fathers; and that the usurpation of the administration of the church goods, done by any other than by them, unto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacrilege.

'Thus the sacred council,' said they, 'hath diligently gone about, according to the verity of the gospel, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three aforesaid articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remain any doubt, according to the information which we have received in the sacred council, we are ready, by God's help, who is the principal Verity, to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the said three articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, simple, and perfect unity; touching the liberty of the communion under both kinds, which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully have without the license of holy church, we have authority from the general council by certain means to intreat and conclude with you, trusting that you will show yourselves as you will continue.'

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said, That they would give no answer unto the premises, before they understood what should be offered them as touching the communion. Wherefore it shall be necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following:

A Declaration of the Council of Basil touching the first Article of the Communion.

In the name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, upon the sacrament of whose most blessed Last Supper we are about to intreat, that He who hath instituted this most blessed sacrament of unity and peace, may work this effect in us, and make us that we may be one in the said Lord Jesu our Head, and that he may subvert all the subtleties of the devil; who, through his envious craftiness, hath made the sacrament of peace and unity an occasion of war and discord, that, whilst Christians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they may be deprived of the fruit of the communion. Wherefore

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The fourth article of the Bohemians. Temporal possessions in the clergymen's hands.

The papists stand hard for their temporal lordships.

The Bohemians take a deliberation upon the first article.

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See Appendix.

This is to set up the church above the Scripture.

The holy communion requireth amendment of life.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reverend receiving of the sacraments.

Receiving under one kind, for avoiding two perils. Error grounded upon error. Causes why to minister under one kind.

St. Augustine in his Sermon upon Infants, cited in the Decrees 'De consecrat. Distinct. 2. 'Quia passus,' saith thus: 'So the Lord Jesus Christ sanctified us, and willed that we should appertain unto him, and consecrated the mystery of our peace and unity upon the table. He that receiveth the mystery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a mystery for himself, but a testimony against himself.' This we thought good above all things to be promised, that the general custom of the church, which your fathers and you also in times past have observed, hath a long time had and still useth, that they who do not consecrate, communicate only under the kind of bread. Which custom being lawfully brought in by the church and holy fathers, and now a long time observed, it is not lawful to reject, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the church. Therefore, to change the custom of the church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy church, is altogether unlawful; but holy church, upon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty to communicate unto the people under both kinds. And every communion, which, being attempted without the authority and license of the church, should be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy church, shall be lawful, if other things let it not: we say 'if other things let it not,' because, as the apostle saith, 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.'

Whereupon St. Isidore, as cited in Distinct. 2. 'De consecratione,' cap. 'Qui scelerate,' writeth thus: 'They who live wickedly, and cease not daily to communicate in the church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sins.' And St. Augustine, in the same distinction, cap. 'Et sancta,' saith, 'Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are salvation, but unto the evil damnation.' There are beside this many other authorities. The apostle Judas was amongst those who did first communicate, but forsomuch as he received unworthily, having the sin of treason in his heart, it did profit him nothing; but the devil by-and-by exercised the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reason. Which of you is it, that, if you should receive your lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care study to make clean and adorn his house, that he may receive his lord honestly? Much more he that shall receive his Lord and Saviour into the house of his soul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his soul; to cleanse it by the sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely, and truly confessing his sins, and making due satisfaction and penance; to adorn and deck the same with the purple or rich array of devotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with fervent desire, he may come to that most holy sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world unto him.

Wherefore the most sacred synod admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should use all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that most blessed sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, lest that which is received for the salvation of the soul, redound to its condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof.

Moreover, doctors do say, that the custom of communicating unto the people only under the kind of bread was reasonably introduced by the church and holy fathers for reasonable causes, especially for the avoiding of two perils—error and irreverence. Of error, as to think that the one part of Christ's body were in the bread, and the other part in the cup; which were a great error. Of irreverence, forsomuch as many things may happen, as well on the part of the minister, as on the part of the receiver: as it is said, that it happened when a certain priest carried the sacrament of the cup unto a sick man, when he should have ministered, he found nothing in the cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such like chances. We have heard, moreover, that it hath often happened, that the sacrament consecrated in the cup hath not been sufficient for the number of communicants, whereby a new consecration must be made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers; and, also, that oftentimes they do minister wine unconsecrated for consecrate wine, which is a great peril. By this means then, it shall be brought to pass, that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the church, in all other things besides the use of the communion under both kinds, conforming yourselves to the faith

and order of the universal church, you that have that use and custom, shall communicate still, by the authority of the church, under both kinds; and this article shall be discussed fully in the sacred council, where you shall see what, as touching this article, is to be holden as a universal verity, and is to be done for the profit and salvation of the christian people: and all things being thus thoroughly handled, then, if you persevere in your desire, and your ambassadors do require it, the sacred council will grant license in the Lord unto your ministers, to communicate unto the people under both kinds; that is to say, to such as be of lawful years and discretion, and shall reverently and devoutly require the same: this always observed, that the ministers shall say unto those who shall communicate, that they ought firmly to believe, not the flesh only to be contained under the form of bread, and the blood only under the wine, but under each kind to be whole and perfect Christ.

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Receiving in both kinds, permitted to the Bohemians.

See Appendix.

Thus, hitherto, we have declared the decree of the council. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterwards moved by the masters and priests of Bohemia, the ambassadors of the council answered thus:

Doubts or questions of the Bohemians.

First they said, That it was not the meaning of the sacred council, to suffer the communion under both kinds by toleration, or as the libel of divorce was permitted to the Jews; forsomuch as the council, intending even to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity unto the Bohemians and Moravians, doth not mean to suffer it with such kind of sufferance, which should not exclude sin, but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his true spouse the church, it may be lawful, profitable, and healthful, unto those who worthily receive the same.

Answer. Permission of both kinds granted to the Bohemians, not of sufferance, but by full authority.

Also, as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians, of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes stirreth up the hearts of private persons to the correcting and punishing of sins, and so it should seem lawful unto the inferiors to correct and punish their superiors: they answered, alleging the text of St. Augustine in the thirty-third decree, "He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the minister of God: but he who, without any public administration or office, murdereth or maimeth any wicked thief, sacrilegious, adulterous, or perjured person, or any other offender, shall be judged as a homicide; and so much the more sharply, in that he feared not to abuse and usurp the power not granted him of God." And truly this city would take it much more grievously, if any private man should attempt to punish an offender, and set up a gallows in the street and there hang him, than if one man should kill another in brawl or quarrel. They alleged, also, other texts of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, agreeable to the same. They said that no man doubteth that the law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simply written, "Thou shalt not steal;" and, notwithstanding, by the commandment of God, the children of Israel carried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of them. Also, in the same law it is plainly written, "Thou shalt do no murder." Whereupon St. Augustine, in his first book 'De Civitate Dei,' proveth that it is not lawful for any man to kill himself; and when he maketh example of Samson, he answereth with these words: "When God commandeth, and doth affirm himself to command, without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sin? or who will accuse the obedience to God?" Here,

Punishing of offences considered.

How and by whom offenders ought to be punished. To do that God commandeth, is obedience, and no sin, though it be extraordinary.

The Israelites did steal from the Egyptians without sin. Samson killed himself without sin.

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Of extraordinary commandment no general laws to be made.

Objection.

Answer. How the laity hath power over the clergy, and wherein. The pope will be judged by his own law.

Objection.

Answer.

See Appendix.

Objection.

Answer. Abuse of prelates inhibiting true preachers.

Remedy of appeal.

Objection.

Answer. Acts of secular dominion to be exercised of

in this proposition, you have the words of St. Augustine for answer. But let every man well foresee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumstances, and let him prove the spirits, whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there should easily arise occasion to make sedition, and for the inferiors to rise against the superiors. For, when any man had stolen any thing, or killed any man, he would say that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifest proof thereof, he should be punished.

Again, they said that there were certain cases wherein the laity had power over the clergy. It was answered, That there were certain cases in the law, wherein the laity had power over the clergy, and oftentimes over cardinals. For if, the pope being dead, the cardinals would not enter the conclave to elect a new pope, the king, prince, or other lord or secular power, may compel them: but, in these cases, he is now no private person, but useth his jurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be understand of all other cases expressed in the law.

They said further, That no common law hath any right or justice, except God's law do allow the same. It was answered, That no common law hath right or justice, if it be against the law of God: because the law of God is the rule of all other laws. But great cunning is requisite in applying the rule to that which is to be ruled; for oftentimes it seemeth that there is crookedness in the thing ruled, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, because the rule is not duly applied to the thing ruled.

As touching the article of preaching the word of God, it was moved that oftentimes some prelates, through their own envy and malice, without any reasonable cause, did inhibit a good and meet preacher that preacheth catholically and well. Answer was made, how that they understood well enough that the abuse of certain prelates, who did inordinately behave themselves, gave a great occasion of those troubles. But, that they never heard of any such complaints as to their country, but that the prelates did favour good preachers, and stir them up to preach by entreaty, favour, and promotion. In all such cases there were remedies already provided by the law; for, when any man was so prohibited to use his right, he had remedy to appeal: and if he did trust his appeal to be just, he might use his right, all violence both of the spiritual and secular power set apart; for the end of the matter would declare, if he had just cause to appeal. Then would it be declared that the superior had done evil in prohibiting and the appellants justly in doing, and the superior for his unjust prohibition should be punished. But if he had been justly prohibited, and that through his temerity he did contemn the just commandment of his superior, he was worthy to be punished with condign punishment.

Where it was moved concerning the fourth article, Whether it were lawful for the ecclesiastical prelates to exercise in their proper person the acts of secular dominion: hereunto it was answered, That if by these words, "acts of secular dominion," are understand acts which a secular lord may do or exercise, then is it to be said, that a prelate

may lawfully exercise some such acts in his proper person, as to sell, to pawn or pledge, to enfeoff by manner and form ordained by law : but there are some acts which it is not lawful for them to exercise in their proper person, but they ought to have, afterward, a vice-gerent or proctor to do the same : whereupon there is prohibition made in the law in the rubric, "Ne Clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotiis se immisceat, et in aliis rebus."

It was also moved, whether that coactive power, which ought to be exercised by a steward &c., be in the hands of an ecclesiastical prelate. Whereupon John Polemar answered, That this question pre-supposed another, whereof there were divers opinions amongst the doctors, In whose power the dominion of the church is : and furthermore, whether the actions be in the person of the tutor or proctor ; or, albeit they be not in their person, they be notwithstanding in them by virtue of their appointment of agent or proctor, whose exercising of those actions they themselves authorize ; with other intricacies, whereof it is not needful to speak at this present. But forsomuch as he was urged to say his opinion, he said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would be contented to give the choice, to take which part he would : but his opinion was rather that the dominion of church matters is in the power of Christ ; and that the prelates, with the other clergy, are but canonical administrators in manner of tutors : but they have more power and administration than tutors : and by appointing a steward or vice-gerent, the appointment being duly made, the steward or vice-gerent hath the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Also, as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it was agreed that these words, "juste acquisita," i. e. "justly gotten," alleged therein, included all things contained under that definition.

Also, as touching the second conclusion, whereas the sacred canons and holy doctors speak thus : "The goods of the church, the substance of the church, and the possessions of the church ;" and seeing there were divers opinions amongst the doctors, in whose power the dominion thereof should be, as it is noted in the Gloss on cap. "Expedit," 12 Quæst. 1 ; they did not intend to constrain any man to any of those opinions ; neither to exclude any of them ; but that every man should have liberty probably to maintain which of them he might think best.

Moreover the Bohemians said, That they did believe that the clergy are but administrators of the temporalities of the church, and not lords thereof, according to the manner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy doctors, and canons. Also the Bohemians said, That on all occasions which should hereafter arise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the judge agreed upon by all parties at Egra. In this manner did the ambassadors make answer unto the Bohemians.

At the last, after much communication had to-and-fro, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting-to of their hands. The Bohemians promised to receive the peace and unity of the church, and the declaration of the three articles. This was done A. D. 1434, about the feast of St. Martin. It was afterward agreed,

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the clergy, after a double respect, 'vel per se vel per alium.'
Objection.
Answer. Coactive power, whether it be longeth to the clergy, and how.

The goods of the church, in whose possession they be properly.

The clergy be administrators, not lords of the temporalities of the church.

See
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both by the ambassadors of the council and those of Bohemia, that whatsoever remained should be determined and agreed upon, first at Ratisbon, afterward at Brunn, in the diocese of Olmutz; then at Stuhl-Weissenburg in Hungary, before the emperor Sigismund. But the matter could not be ended in no place.

At the last, the concord was confirmed by writing with their seals at Iglau, a city of Moravia, the fifth day of July, in the presence of the emperor.

Certain Petitions which the Bohemians put up, last of all, in the sacred Council of Basil, A. D. 1438, in the Month of November.

Unto the most reverend fathers in Christ, and our most gracious lords: We, the ambassadors of the kingdom of Bohemia, do most humbly and heartily require you, that for the perpetual preservation of peace and concord, and for the firm preservation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your clemency to give and grant unto us, all and singular our requests hereunder written, with effectual execution of the same.

First, And above all things, we desire and require you, for the extirpation of divers dissensions and controversies which will undoubtedly follow amongst our people under the diversity of the communion, and for the abolishing of infinite evils which we are not able to express as we have conceived them, that you will gently vouchsafe, of your goodness and liberality, to give, grant, and command, unto our kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, one uniform order of the communion unto all men, under both kinds; that is to say, unto the archbishop of Prague, the bishops of Lythomysl and Olmutz, and other prelates of the kingdom and marquisdom, having cure of souls, and to their vicars, and also to their flocks and subjects: and that according to those things which are contained in the bull of the ambassadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole council, written in the chapter, 'Pro firmitate,' where it is thus said, 'And all other things shall be done, which shall be meet and necessary for the preservation of the peace and unity.' For this done, by your benefit the whole kingdom shall be comforted above measure, and established in brotherly love; whereby a uniform subjection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed unto the holy church.

Item, We require and desire, as before, for the avoiding of all false suspicion and doubtfulness of many, who suppose that the sacred council hath granted the said communion under both kinds unto us, but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libel of divorcement; that you will vouchsafe (according to this chapter alleged in the compositions; 'First they said, that it was not the intent of the sacred council,' &c.) wholesomely and speedily to provide for our safety, and, with your grant in this behalf, and with the bulls of your letters, to confirm that chapter, together with the other pertaining to the office of your ambassadors.

Item, We beseech you, as before, that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the clergy, and for the final defence and observation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in spiritualities, ye will vouchsafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawful pastor, archbishops, and bishops, who shall seem unto us most meet and acceptable for our kingdom, to execute those offices and duties.

Item, We require you, as aforesaid, that your fatherly reverences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kingdom and marquisdom, to declare and show our innocency, in that they have communicated, do and hereafter shall communicate, under both kinds; to give out, ordain, and direct the letters of the sacred council, in manner and form most apt and meet for such declaration, unto all princes, as well secular as spiritual, cities and commonalties, according to the compositions, and as the lords the ambassadors are bound unto us to do.

Item, We desire you that in the discussing of the matter for the communion under both kinds, and of the commandment thereof given unto all the faithful, ye will not proceed otherwise than according to the Concordatum agreed upon at Egra: that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ and

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To have
a good
and law-
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and
bishop.

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to all
princes.

his apostles, the general councils, and the minds of the holy doctors, truly grounded upon the law of God.

Item, We desire that your fatherly reverences, considering the great affection of our people, will give us the desired liberty to communicate unto the younger sort the sacrament of the supper. For if this use of communicating should be taken away, which our kingdom, being godly moved by the writings of most great and holy doctors, and brought in by example, hath received as catholic, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise up an intolerable offence amongst the people, and their minds would be grievously vexed and troubled.

Item, We require you, as before, that, for like causes, your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to permit at least the gospels, epistles, and creed, to be sung and read in the church in our vulgar tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our Sclavonic language it hath been used of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdom.

Item, We require you, in the name of the said kingdom, and of the famous university of Prague, that your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to show such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that university, that according to the manner and form of other universities reformed by the church, prebends, and collations of certain benefices of cathedral and parish churches, may be annexed and incorporated unto the said university, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

Item, We desire you, as before, as heartily as we may, and also (saving always your fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former compositions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole minds and endeavours, and with all care and study, your reverences will watch and seek for that long desired and most necessary reformation of the church and christian religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all public evils, as well in the head as in the members, as you have often promised to do in our kingdom, in the compositions; and as our fourth article, touching the avoiding of all public evils, doth exact and require.

There were certain answers provided by the council to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not delivered unto them, but kept back, for what purpose and intent we know not. Wherefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to avoid prolixity, we have judged it meet at this present to omit them. Thus have ye heard compendiously the chief and principal matters treated of and done in this famous council of Basil. And here, to conclude withal, we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people (who judge many things to be of longer time and continuance than indeed they be; and, thereupon, have established a great part of their opinions), how that, towards the latter end of this council, that is to say, in the thirty-sixth session of the same, holden the 17th of September, A. D. 1439, the feast of the Conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly on the 8th of December.¹ In like case, also, in the forty-fourth session of the same council, holden the 1st day of July, A. D. 1441, it was ordained that the feast of the Visitation of our Lady should be celebrate and holden yearly on the second of July. We have also thought it good, before we do end the story of the council of Basil, to annex hereunto a certain brief decree, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the thirty-first session of the said council, against the inordinate giving of the ecclesiastical benefices and livings by the pope, with certain other constitutions also, fruitful for the behalf and edification of the church.

During the time that the general council at Basil was so diligent and careful about the reformation of the church, this one thing seemed good unto them to be prosecute and followed with an earnest care

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A. D. 1431 to 1439.

The gospels and epistles to be read in the vulgar tongue.

Incorporations to be granted to universities, an unlawful request.

A request for necessary reformation and discipline.

A. D. 1439.

The 'Conception of our Lady' brought into the church. The 'Visitation of our Lady' brought in.

Vowsome of benefices &c. fore.

(1) See the Appendix.—ED.

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they were void, declared by the council; which vows are here called 'Expectative' graces. Inconveniences that arise by vows of benefices.

and diligence: that throughout every church, apt and meet ministers might be appointed, who might shine in virtue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ, and the healthful edifying of the christian people; whereunto the multitude of expectative graces have been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers disorders, and many dangers upon the ecclesiastical state. For hereby, oftentimes, scarcely apt or meet ministers have been appointed for the churches, who are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of void benefices, as the old laws do witness, doth give occasion to desire another man's death, which is greatly prejudicial unto salvation: besides that innumerable quarrels and contentions are moved amongst the servants of God; rancour and malice nourished; the ambition and greedy desire of pluralities of benefices maintained; and the riches and substance of kingdoms and provinces marvellously consumed. Poor men suffer innumerable vexations by running into the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues, and having spent their patrimony and substance, left them by their parents, they are constrained to live in extreme poverty. Many do challenge benefices, who, without any just title (yea such, indeed, as ought not to have them), obtain and get the same; such, I say, as have most craft and subtlety to deceive their neighbour, or have greatest substance to contend in the law. It happeneth oftentimes, that under the intrication of prerogatives, antelations, and other concomitants of these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also, oftentimes, young men are let from their studies and ministry, while by reason of these graces they are set running to-and-fro, and by the excitement of these struggles they are vexed and troubled. The ordinary givers, moreover, are deprived of their functions; the ecclesiastical order is confounded, while every man's authority and jurisdiction is not preserved; and the bishops of Rome, also, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiors, are withdrawn from more weighty and fruitful matters; neither do they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the public utility doth require. All which things do bring a great confusion unto the clergy and ecclesiastical state, to the great prejudice and hinderance of God's true worship, and public salvation.

Respecting controversies to be brought to Rome.

Appendix.

In the same council, also, divers other constitutions were made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certain abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the bishop of Rome: as touching causes not to be brought up and translated to the court of Rome: wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controversies should be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond four days' journey distant from the said court of Rome, a few principal matters only excepted. Also, that no frivolous appeals should be made to the pope hereafter. It was, moreover, in the same council decreed, for the number, age, and condition, of the cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of four and twenty, including them that were already; and that they should be freely taken out of all countries; and that they should not be of kin to the bishop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for 'annates' or first fruits, or half fruits, it was there

provided that no such annates, nor confirmation of elections, nor collation of benefices, should be paid or reserved any more to the pope, for the first year's voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterwards confirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles VII., with the full consent of all his prelates, in his high court of parliament in Bourges, and there called 'Pragmatica sanctio,' A. D. 1438; whereupon great utility ensued afterwards to the kingdom of France. Albeit in process of time divers friars there were, who wrote against the same.¹

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to
1439.Against
the pope's
first-
fruits.See
Appendix.

Amongst many decrees of the said council of Basil, in the nineteenth session there was also a decree made touching the converting of Jews, and young novices in religion, unto the christian faith.

Also, that all ordinaries should yearly, at appointed times, provide certain men well learned in the holy Scriptures, in such places where Jews and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the catholic faith, that they, acknowledging their error, might forsake the same; unto which preaching the said ministers should compel them to resort, and to hear, under pain of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the said diocesans and preachers should behave themselves towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Christ, not only by the declaring of the verity, but also by exhibiting other offices of humanity.

Act for
the con-
version of
the Jews.

And, to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitful, and that the preachers might be the better instructed in the tongues, it was also, in the same council, provided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the council of Vienne, for learning the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek tongues, should, by all means, be observed and kept, and ordinary stipends provided for them that should teach the same tongues.

For stu-
dying the
Hebrew,
Latin,
and
Chaldee.

Another decree, moreover, in the twentieth session was enacted, that whosoever was known or publicly noted to be a keeper of concubines, should be sequestered from all fruits of his benefices for the space of three months, which fruits should be converted by the ordinary to the reparations, or some other utility of the church; and, if he did not so amend, it was by the synod decreed, that he should be clearly deposed from all his benefices.

Furthermore the said synod did greatly inveigh against those, who, having the jurisdiction of the church, did not shame to suffer such offenders, for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthiness, &c.

By these decrees of the council above specified, it is to be seen, what corruption had been then frequented in the church of God, through the bishop, and court of Rome. For the more express declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Æneas Sylvius, touching and noting the said corruptions; the tenor of whose epistle here ensueth.

(1) Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.

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An Epistle of Martin Meyre to Æneas Sylvius, translated into English, the Latin whereof is extant in the former Edition of this Book.¹

Unto the reverend father, the lord Æneas, cardinal of Sienna, Martin Meyre, chancellor to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

I have understand, by certain of my friends' letters, that you are created cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you have received so worthy rewards for your virtues. I rejoyce, also, for mine own part, that my friend hath attained unto such a dignity, wherein he may, in time to come, both help me and my friends: but this is a grief unto me, that you have happened upon those days, which seem to be troublesome unto the apostolic see. For there are many complaints made unto my lord the archbishop upon the pope, that he will neither keep the decrees of the council of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himself bound to the covenants of his predecessors, and seemeth utterly to contemn our nation, and to seek the utter ruin thereof. For it is evident that the election of prelates is every where rejected; benefices and dignities, of what sort soever they be, are reserved for the cardinals, and chief notaries; and you yourself have obtained the reservation of three provinces of Germany, under such a form as hath not been accustomed or heard of. Advowsons or gifts of benefices are granted without number; yearly stipends and half the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted than is due. The regiment of churches is not committed unto such as best deserve them, but unto such as offer most money for them; and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape and gather together money. Titles are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our prelates, for the Turkish war; and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the apostolic see of Rome. A thousand ways are invented and devised, how the see of Rome may, by subtlety and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from us, even as it were of the Turks or barbarians; whereby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood conquered the Roman empire, and was once the lady and queen of all the world, now, being brought unto poverty, is made a hand-maid, and become tributary; and being now in extreme misery, hath of long time bewailed her cruel fortune and poverty. But now our nobles, being, as it were, awakened out of their sleep, have begun to consider and devise with themselves, by what means they might withstand this calamity, and utterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themselves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no small loss unto the court of Rome, if the princes of Germany bring to pass that which they have devised. Wherefore, as much as I do rejoyce of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moved and grieved that these things happen in your days. But peradventure God's determination is otherwise, and his will shall surely take place. You, in the mean time, be of good cheer, and devise according to your wisdom, by what means² the vehemency of these floods may be stayed. Thus, fare ye well.

From Haschaffenberg, the last day of August.

The authority of the council of Basil.

Concerning the authority of this general council of Basil, what is to be esteemed of it, by the acts and fruits thereof may be understood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the pope agreed and consented unto it. But, after the pope began to draw back, many others followed, especially of the richer sort of prelates, who had any thing to lose; whereof sufficiently hath been said by Arelatenis, the cardinal, before. In the number of these inconstant prelates, besides many others, was first, cardinal Julian, the first collector of this council, and

(1) Ex Orth. Grat.

(2) "By what means," &c. "by what means the flames of fire may be resisted." See Edition 1733, p. 215. "Quibus rebus illiusmodi imperis evadere possit." Ib. p. 215. The date 1437 is attached to this Latin and English copy of the letter in the above edition.—Ed.

vicegerent of the pope, as by his fervent and vehement letter, written to pope Eugene in defence of this council, may well appear; wherein he most earnestly doth expostulate with the foresaid pope Eugene, for seeking to dissolve the council, and declareth in the same many causes, why he should rather rejoice, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement between the council and the Bohemians; and so exhorteth him, with manifold persuasions, to resort to the council himself, and not to seek the dissolution of the same. The copy and tenor of Julian's epistle to the pope, if any be disposed to peruse the same, we thought here good to set down to be seen.

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The Copy of an Epistle which Julian, Cardinal of St. Angelo, and the Pope's Ambassador into Germany, wrote marvellous boldly and freely unto Eugene, Bishop of Rome, for that he went about to dissolve the Council of Basil.

See
Appendix.

Most blessed father! after the devout kisses of your blessed feet.

Now shall the whole world understand and know, whether your holiness have in you the bowels of fatherly love and charity, and the zeal of the house of God; whether you be sent to make peace or discord, to congregate or disperse; or whether you be that good shepherd that giveth his life for his sheep. Behold the door beginneth now to be opened, whereby the lost sheep may return again unto their own fold; now is there good hope even at hand of the reconciliation of the Bohemians. If your holiness, as it is your duty, do help and further the same, you shall obtain great glory both in heaven and earth. But if, peradventure, you go about to let the same (which is not to be expected at your hands), all men will reprove you of impiety; heaven and earth will conspire against you; all men will forsake you. For how is he to be followed, who, with one word, may restore peace and quietness to the church, and refuseth to do it? But I conceive a better hope of you, how that your holiness, without any excuse, will, with your whole heart and mind, favour this most sacred council, and give thanks unto Almighty God for his great goodness, that this congregation hath not departed. Behold the ambassadors of this sacred council are returned with great joy and gladness from Egra, reporting how that, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, they have firmly concluded with the ambassadors of the Bohemians (that is to say, of the Pragueans, Orphans, and Taborites, amongst whom were also present the captains of their armies, and specially Procopius), that a solemn ambassade of all the estates of the realm should come unto the council of Basil, after a safe conduct has been sent unto them by the said council in form conditioned, which shall be done with speed. This sacred congregation is marvellously exhilarate and joyful, for those our ambassadors affirm, that all things were handled with such charity at Egra, and that they did see such things amongst the Bohemians, that, not without cause, they do conceive great hope of their reconciliation.

The am-
bassadors
of the
council
are re-
turned
from
Egra.

And at last, gently embracing one another, even with tears of gladness, they departed from Egra; the Bohemians requiring our ambassadors, that the matter might be ended with all expedition. They report also, that many things happened in that treaty, which, if any man heard, and did not weep for joy, he might well think himself to be but smally affectioned unto Christ. As for three of the four articles, they seem not to make any great difficulty upon them. As touching the fourth, that is, of the communion under both kinds, there is good hope that they will follow the judgment of the council. Who is it, then, that dare counsel your holiness to persevere any longer in the purpose of dissolution? for, if the council had not been appointed before, for so great hope and necessity as this it ought to be now appointed in this place. How worthy of praise and commendation should your holiness act, if you would leave Italy and all other affairs, and come hither in your own person; although you should need to be carried in a waggon or litter. The keeping and defence of the temporal patrimony of the church may be managed very well by legates and vicars.

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What the
church is.

This is the true patrimony of the church, to win souls; for the church is not a heap of stones and walls. Christ hath not made you a keeper of castles and forts, but a pastor of souls. Therefore you should do that in your own person, which is most necessary and acceptable unto Christ, and all other things by your substitutes. For so did the apostles, who, to the intent they might the more freely intend to the preaching of the word of God, did institute seven to serve the tables, and for the ministration of other inferior things. I hear that, by the grace of God, your holiness doth daily recover and amend; and, if so be, as it is said, you do visit some churches on foot, ye may also come hither on horseback; for you cannot enterprise any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, than to go unto a place where it is expected innumerable benefits may spring. Let your holiness understand and consider wherein Christ, whose vicar you are, and St. Peter, whose successor you are, and the apostles and holy bishops, did exercise and occupy themselves; and, as you do succeed them in office, so succeed them in manners. But if, peradventure, your holiness cannot come hither, I do counsel you, that, for so great a benefit, you would send the chief part of the reverend lord-cardinals of the court of Rome, and command all other prelates to come hither. Do not let or hinder those that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

Your holiness may believe me, that only charity moveth me to counsel you in this sort; do not separate from your members; nourish your children as the hen doth her chickens under her wings. And if so be that you will do nothing else, yet speak this only word 'Placet,' that is to say, that it pleaseth you that the council of Basil should go forward. For a few days past news have come hither, for the which your holiness ought altogether to cease from your dissolution. The reverend father, the archbishop of Lyons, hath written unto the council, and unto me also, how that the prelates of France have assembled together in the city of Bourges, and there, after long and exact examination, have concluded, that the council is lawfully congregated in this place; and that it is necessary that it should be celebrate both here and at this present; and that the prelates of France ought to come to it. He also sent hither the causes which moved them so to conclude, the copy whereof I suppose is sent unto your holiness by some other. Whereupon, then, doth your holiness stay? You have gone about as much as in you lay, by your messengers, letters, and divers means, to draw back the prelates, and have laboured with all your endeavour to dissolve the council; yet, notwithstanding, as you do see, it is increased day by day; and the more it is forbidden, the more are all men's minds inflamed to the contrary. Is not this, then, to resist the will of God? Why do ye provoke the church to anger? Why do ye stir up the christian people? Vouchsafe I pray you so to do, that ye may get the love and favour of the people, and not the hatred; for all nations are greatly offended, when they hear these your doings. Let not your holiness be seduced by any man, who, peradventure, doth inculcate fear unto you (whereas there is nothing at all to be feared), or that doth persuade you that this is no lawful council. I know I should offend your holiness if I should go about to prove the contrary, but it is better that I do offend you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds; for a physician applies a burning cautery unto a sick man, and healeth the sore; and a medicine cannot profit, except it be sharp and bitter in taste. Under this hope and confidence, I will not fear to declare the truth; that, it being known, your holiness may the better provide both for yourself and the church. It dependeth upon the council of Constance, whether this council be lawful or not. If that were a true council, so is this also. No man seemeth to doubt whether that council was lawful, and likewise whatsoever was there decreed, to be lawful; for, if any man will say, that the decrees of that council are not of force, he must needs grant that the deprivation of pope John, which was done by the force of those decrees, was of no effect. If that deprivation were not of effect, neither was the election of pope Martin of any force, which was made in John's life-time. If Martin were no true pope, neither is your holiness, who was chosen by the cardinals that he made: wherefore, it concerneth no man more, to defend the decrees of that council, than your holiness; for, if any decree of that council be called into doubt, by like means may all the rest of the decrees be revoked. And by like means shall the decrees of any other council be of no force and effect; for, by like reason, as the faith of one

Eugene
provoketh
the church.

A strong
argument
against
Eugene.

council is weakened, all the rest shall also be weakened, according to St. Augustine's saying, in the 9th Distinct. capitulo, 'Si ad scripturas:' "Then," saith he, "both the faith and all the sacraments shall be put in doubt, if there be once any doubt made of the force and power of any council lawfully congregate." There was a decree made in the council of Constance, intituled 'Frequens,' whereby it was ordained that the first council after that should be holden in five years, and another in seven years after that again. The council of Constance being ended, and the five years passed, the council of Pavia or Sienna was holden, after which, seven years being also run over, this council is begun to be celebrate. To what end then is it expressed in the bull of the dissolution, amongst other causes, that the seventh year is already past, when as of necessity it ought to be passed before the council can be celebrate? For these words, in seven years or five years, signify, according to the laws, that all parts of the time should be passed, and the last day thereof waited for. Wherefore it behoved that the seven years should be fully complete, before this council of Basil should begin; like as five years were fully expired, before that the council of Pavia did begin.

But, peradventure, some man will say, that it ought to have begun the first day after the seventh year was expired; for, otherwise, the term of the council is passed. But hereunto we may answer, that it is not contained in the chapter 'Frequens,' that except it were holden the first day, it should not be holden at all; neither can it be gathered either by the words or meaning. For it is only required that it should be holden after seven years are expired; but whether it be the second or third day, or the third or fourth month, after the seventh year, it doth satisfy the chapter 'Frequens.' For, when the first day is come, then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the council, but not afore; but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after. Neither doth this word, 'immediatè sequens,' that is to say, 'next following,' which is added to 'quinquennium' in the chapter 'Frequens,' and seemeth to be repeated also for the seven years, stand in our way; for it does not mean that the council must be held precisely on the first day after the seven years, but only to distinguish it from any subsequent seven years. Not that such an addition was necessary, but only for greater clearness. Besides, even had there followed after 'immediatè sequens,' any of the words 'statim,' 'mox,' 'incontinenter,' or 'confestim,' or such like words, yet ought they to be understand with a certain modification of time, that is, as soon as might be convenient, as these words are expounded by the lawyers and doctors; for they are enlarged and restrained according to the subject and divers circumstances of the matters and affairs. For it is not by any means likely, considering the long journeys to be taken, and the difficulty of preparing such affairs, and also the manifold impediments which may arise, that it was the intention of those who framed the decree to limit a precise time, even the first day, so that if the council were not then opened, it should not be holden at all; for by such nice interpretation, it should also be holden even in the first moment and very instant after the seven years have expired. But, forso much as words are to be understand reasonably, this sense or understanding is quite absurd. Again, if any man will say, "Then there was a prorogation, a thing which is forbidden in the chapter 'Frequens,'" he that doth so argue, doth not understand himself nor the value of words. It is not a prorogation, if it be begun the second or third month; but it is rather a continuation or execution of that which was in their power. For, if it were a prorogation, then, forso much as a prorogation doth savour of the nature of the first appointment, it could not be begun *before the time named in the prorogation: but this happeneth not in our case; for, albeit it were not begun* in the first month, but in the second or third, it is not thereby concluded that it could not be begun in the first: but, if there had been any prorogation made till the second month, then it could not have been begun in the first. As for example, I promise to give Titus a hundred pounds after Easter; afore Easter it cannot be required; but, by-and-by after Easter it may be required: and, albeit that I be not urged for it, notwithstanding I do not cease to be bound; and, if so be I be demanded it in the second or third month after, it is not thereby understand that there is any prorogation made; neither doth it follow, but that it might have been demanded in the beginning, which could not have been, if that there had been any prorogation made. Also, it is the nature of prorogation, to be made before the

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first term be passed; but afterward is no prorogation, but a new appointment. It may be said, that then it may be too long delayed: it is answered, that in this point we must stand unto the judgment of the church, which, considering the divers circumstances, is to settle the time meet; for the liberty of celebrating councils, was instituted for the profit and favour of the church. What if it should happen that when the time cometh, in the place where a council should be kept, there be a great plague or some siege, which should continue for the space of three or four months, and the pope, in the mean time, doth not change the place, according to the form of the chapter 'Frequens,' and that, through such impediments, the prelates did not come the first day unto the place, or, if any were coming, that they were taken by the way, who, if they had not been taken, had been present at the first day in the place appointed: is it therefore to be said that the power of the council is past? or that the impediment ceasing, and the prelates coming thither, the council cannot be holden? That truly were absurd and exceedingly prejudicial to the church of God. But, in this our case, the cause is probable why the prelates did defer to come at the beginning of the time appointed; forso much as when the time drew near, pope Martin died the 20th day of February: for which cause the prelates might well doubt upon some impediment of the council. Also they tarried looking that some should come thither in the name of the pope, because they would not tarry in that place in vain without a president. As for the legate who was appointed for the council, whose presence all men tarried for, until he would prepare himself for that journey, he came not at the time appointed unto the council, but went unto Nuremberg to persecute the Bohemians, according to the commandment of Pope Martin, who had enjoined him to go first thither, before he went unto Basil.

Cause of the long delay of the prelates.

And the same legate, being oftentimes required by the emperor at Nuremberg, that he should go to Basil to hold the council, answered, that he would not go before he had the consent of the new pontiff. This was the cause of the prelates' delay; neither is it greatly to be imputed unto the prelates, who suspected that pope Martin would not have the council holden, and feared to bring themselves into trouble: and good cause had they so to fear, from what had happened in the council of Sienna. There were many things, also, said at the time, which caused great suspicion. It was reported unto me, that many had said, that I came into Germany to disturb the council.

Council of Sienna.

Also this was pope Martin's mind and intent, that, albeit the council was not begun at the beginning of March, notwithstanding, the authority of holding the council should not be void. For he, when the time of the council approached, willed me that I should first go unto Bohemia, before I went unto the council; whereof, also, mention is made in the bull of the consistorial dissolution.

But what need we any other proof, than the letters of your holiness? In which your letters, dated the 2d of the calends of June, and therefore long after the term, and not delivered unto me for three months more, you do command me, that, my business being done in Bohemia, I should take my way unto Basil to hold the council, and there foresee unto all things, as it was enjoined me and ordained in the council of Constance. The same also you repeat in the bull of the dissolution brought unto me by the lord bishop of Trent; the words whereof are these: 'Since your going into Germany no prelates have assembled in Basil for the celebrating of the council: wherefore, we give it in commandment to your circumspection that, in the mean time, you be diligent about the expedition against the Bohemian heretics, which is committed to your charge, and afterward come unto Basil, the place appointed for the council, and there preside in our name and that of the church.' What can be more clear than this? If there were any doubt, by the tenor of these letters it were evidently taken away. If any man would say, that neither pope Martin, nor Eugene, could confirm the council by writing of such letters, because there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the chapter 'Frequens:' it is answered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which was in their power, or a declaration that it is not necessary to hold the council precisely even at the beginning. Also it is no prorogation, for a prorogation is made before the term is expired, and not after; for after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment. And if any man will say that there can be no new indiction made, then

may this be objected: how could the council of Bologna be newly appointed? If they will answer, that the appointment of the council of Bologna was of force, because the council of Basil was dissolved by your holiness, then I have my intent; for, if it were dissolved, *ergo*, it was a council before, because the objection presupposeth it to have been held. If it were a council before, then, as hereafter shall be proved, it could not be dissolved without the consent of the council. What more can be answered hereunto? For the greater declaration and evidence of the matter, the abbot of Vezelai, even upon the very day of the time appointed, or afore, gathering together the clergy of the great church and certain other prelates and notable men, made a solemn protestation, how the time was come to hold the council, and that he was come unto Basil for the very purpose; requiring them that they would confer and intreat together upon matters touching the council: and there is extant a public instrument to that effect.

Within a month after, the ambassadors of the university of Paris came thither, and began to intreat of matters touching the council, writing also unto the emperor and to the other princes of Germany, that they should send unto the council; which letters I myself did see. Neither doth the small number of men let; for, where authority is, a great number is not required, according to the saying of Christ, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them:' upon the which authority the councils are grounded. Now, therefore, your holiness doth manifestly see the said objection to be but frivolous. And to what end should any dissolution be made, if it had not been a council? Wherefore, it is not to be doubted but that it was a lawful council, and canonically congregate. And, perhaps, it is nowhere to be found that any council hath been confirmed by so many authorities as this; that is to say, by the two councils which preceded, of Constance and of Sienna, and that by two bishops of Rome.

Besides this, I have heard that some do report at Rome, that I could not call the prelates unto the council, because that clause was not added in the bull of pope Martin. I greatly marvel why this should be objected, specially seeing that not I alone have called them, but I, together with the rest who had here assembled in the council. It is a marvellous matter: pope Martin gave me authority, by the advice of the council, to root out heresies, to pacify kingdoms, to reform the manners of every state of Christendom, and yet they will say that I cannot cite them. Power is given me to judge and to condemn, and have I not also power to cite? The law doth say; unto whom any power or jurisdiction is committed, all things seem to be committed unto him, without the which he cannot exercise his jurisdiction. But how could all the premises be done, if the prelates or others should not come hither? Also, why is it said in the chapter "Ego," tit. 24, 'De jurejurando,' "I will come unto the synod if I be called," if he cannot be called? By whom, then, is it presupposed that he should be called, but only by the council, or by him who ruleth the council? Also the whole eighteenth distinction treateth of no other matter, but that the bishops being called unto the council, if they come not, may be excommunicate and suspended. Let these men read the Book of Councils of St. Isidore, and they shall find how that in many councils the prelates have been called by the synod.

Now it remaineth, that we should declare, whether the dissolution be of force or no. Wherein I do again fear to move your holiness unto anger, but charity forceth me thereunto; for, peradventure, your holiness doth think the dissolution to be valid, and therefore doth persevere in it; whereby forso much as many offences may arise, my conscience doth move me not to hold my peace. First of all, the chapter 'Frequens' declareth that it is of no force; for if prorogation be forbidden and prohibited, which is a small matter, much more is dissolution, which is a greater, for it is a greater matter to take away than to defer; for by proroguing a thing is but deferred, and by dissolving it is utterly taken away. Also these men say, that the said constitution in the chapter 'Frequens' may be made void, for that as soon as the council is begun, it may be dissolved without any thing done, as is said to have been done at Sienna; and now they say also, that your holiness hath been perversely informed touching the dissolution. They say also, that the said dissolution doth manifestly tend to the subversion of faith, the ruin of the church, and the trouble of the christian people: therefore it cannot be done, neither obeyed.

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1432.

They say, moreover, that the said dissolution could not be made by reason of a certain decree of the council of Constance in that behalf provided; that in such matters as pertain unto faith, the extirpation of schism, and reformation of the church in the head and in the members, all men, of what estate or condition soever they be, yea the pope himself, should be bound to obey the statutes, precepts, and ordinances, of every general council; and, except they did obey, the council had power to punish them. Mark how these things—to have power to determine upon any man, to command him, and punish him, if he be not obedient—are signs of superiority, in a party who doth so decree, command, or punish; and, to be bound to obedience, to be subject and obey the same, are signs of inferiority in the said cases. Ergo, in the aforesaid cases, seeing that the pope, as they say, is under the council (which also hath been proved by the fact; in that for one of the said three cases the council did deprive John, and for another Benedict), the pope could never dissolve the council, because he that is inferior cannot bind or compel the superior, as is shewn in the chapter ‘Cum inferior:’ otherwise it should contain in it a contradiction, that he is bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, because he may dissolve; for how should he be obedient unto the ordinance and decree of the council, if he may annihilate and take away the same ordinance and decree? This council is congregated for the rooting out of heresies, for the making of peace, and for the reformation of manners; and in the first session it did ordain, that their whole intent and respect should be thereunto, and that he who should procure to let the council, to prorogue or alter it, should be punished, and have process against him, as against a common disturber of the peace, &c. If it may be dissolved, it is evident that they do not obey the said ordinance; whereby this, also, must of necessity be granted, that if it may be dissolved, the decree of the council of Constance is of no force.

This is also proved by another reason. No man doubteth but if any controversy of heresy should be moved against any bishop of Rome, that he could not dissolve the council: for, if he might dissolve the council, he could not be judged, which were contrary to the chapter ‘Si Papa,’ 40 dist. Ergo, like as it is in heresy, so is it in the two other cases; for these three were pacified by the council of Constance: for thus speaketh the council, as it is in the chapter, ‘Si Papa in illo uno.’ And, as I have before said, the council of Constance allowed this decree, through which they deprived Peter de Luna, for making a schism, and pope John, for the deformity of his life.

And albeit there be certain laws that say, The principal seat cannot be judged of any man; and again, no man judgeth the chief seat; and, no man saith unto him, why doest thou so? it is to be understand in these three cases, first, that there was proviso made for the faith in the chapter ‘Si Papa;’ and for the other two points by the decree of Constance. Otherwise it should be understand, without any exception, that the first seat, &c., and then the chapter ‘Si Papa,’ 40 dist., and the said decree of Constance should be false. If the chapter ‘Si Papa’ had added causes of heresies, no man would have doubted upon these two cases, touching the said sentence; so, likewise, no man ought to doubt of the decree of the council, that it was made by the authority of the pope, and representeth the universal church. And, if any man would say, that in all councils the authority of the pope is excepted: I answer, that is true, when the person of the pope is not specially included. But, if he be specially included, he cannot be excepted, because it should savour of contradiction. Most blessed father! God is my witness, that I have spoken these things with great anguish and sorrow of mind; but I am forced so to speak, that your holiness may cease from the said dissolution, lest there might happen infinite evils in the church of God. If your holiness did see my pure mind, my upright conscience, and entire affection towards you, whereby I am moved to write these things, even for very love you would embrace and kiss me, and, without doubt, love me as your own son. I have often said, and now do say, and protest before God and man, that you will be the cause of schism and infinite mischiefs, if you do not alter and change your mind and purpose. Almighty God preserve your holiness in the prosperity of a virtuous man! unto whose feet I do most humbly recommend me.

From Basil, the fifth day of June. [A.D. 1432.]

Thus endeth the epistle of cardinal Julian, written unto pope Eugene; wherein, forsomuch as mention is made how the Bohemians had promised to send their ambassadors unto the council, and, as before is partly touched in the Bohemian story, of their coming into Basil and propounding of certain articles, wherein they dissented from the pope; we thought it not any thing differing from our purpose, to have annexed a brief epitome, declaring the whole circumstance of their ambassade, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had at the said council of Basil, with their petitions and answers unto the same: faithfully translated out of Latin by F. W.

Henry VI.

A. D.
1431
to
1439.

In like manner Æneas Sylvius also, with his own hand-writing, not only gave testimony to the authority of this council, but also bestowed his labour and travail in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding the same Sylvius afterwards, being made pope, with his new honour, did alter and change his old sentence. The epistle of which Æneas, touching the commendation of the said council, because it is but short, and will occupy but little room, I thought hereunder, for the more satisfying of the reader's mind, to insert.

An Epistle of Æneas Sylvius to the Rector of the University of Cologne, in defence of the Council of Basil.

To a christian man who will be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than that the sincerity and pureness of faith, given to us of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and, if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the gospel, the people ought with one consent to provide lawful remedy, and every man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire; neither must we fear how we be hated or envied, so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walk not directly to the truth of the gospel: which thing I am glad, and so are we all, to hear what your university hath done in this council of Basil. For a certain treatise of yours is brought hither unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness of such, as do deny the bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgment, to be subject unto the general council; and that the supreme tribunal seat of judgment standeth in the church, and in no one bishop. Such men as deny this, you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery eels, neither to cavil or bring any objection against you.

The tribunal seat standeth not in one bishop.

These be the words of Sylvius.—*But,¹ as our common proverb sayeth "Honours change manners," so it happened with this Sylvius, who, after he came once to be pope, was much altered from that he was before. For whereas before, he preferred general councils before the pope, now, being pope, he did decree that no man should appeal from the high bishop of Rome to any general council.

And likewise for priests' marriages; whereas before he thought it best to have their wives restored, likewise he altered his mind otherwise: insomuch that in his book treating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of Augsburg, by occasion he inveigheth against a certain epistle of Huldericke,² a bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests. Whereby it appeareth how the mind of this Sylvius, then pope Pius, was altered from what it was before.*

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 384.—Ed.

(2) For this epistle of Huldericke, see vol. ii. p. 8.—Ed.

*Henry VI.**A. D. 1451.*

The authority of the council of Basil maintained. The practice of pope Eugene to undo the council. Stirreth up war.

See Appendix.

The dauphin driven away by a few Germans.

Dissolution of the council of Basil.

Frederic of Austria, great grandfather to this Ferdinand.

The legates of the Greeks descend first to the pope's law.

The Greek churches refuse the pope's doctrine.

aforesaid council this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigismund, the emperor, no man resisted this council. Also, during the time of Charles VII., the French king, the said council of Basil was fully and wholly received through all France. But, after the death of Sigismund, when Eugene was deposed, and Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope, great discords arose, and much practice was wrought, but especially on Eugene's part; who, being now excommunicate by the council of Basil, to make his party more strong made eighteen new cardinals. Then he sent his orators unto the Germans, labouring by all persuasions to dissolve the council of Basil. The Germans, at that time, were so divided, that some of them did hold with Felix and the council of Basil; other some with Eugene and the council of Ferrara; and some were neuters. After this, about A. D. 1444, the pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of Rome, to excite, as is supposed, the dauphin of France, who was afterwards king Louis XI., by force of arms to dissipate that council collected against him. Who, leading an army of fifteen thousand men into Alsace, did cruelly waste and spoil the country, and after that laid siege unto Basil, to expel and drive out the prelates of the council. But the Switzers, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight; like as the Lacedemonians, with only three hundred, did suppress and scatter all the mighty army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ.

Although Basil by the valiantness of the Switzers was thus defended, yet notwithstanding, the council through these tumults could not continue by reason of the princes' ambassadors, who shrunk away and would not tarry; so that at length Eugene brought to pass, partly through the help of Frederic (being not yet emperor, but labouring for the empire), partly by his orators (in the number of whom was Æneas Sylvius, above mentioned) amongst the Germans, that they were content to give over both the council of Basil, and their neutrality.

This Frederic of Austria being not yet emperor, but looking towards the empire, brought also to pass, that Felix, who was chosen of the council of Basil to be pope, was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas V., successor to Eugene, of the which Nicholas the said Frederic was confirmed at Rome to be emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451.

As these things were doing at Basil, in the mean season pope Eugene brought to pass, in his convocation at Florence, that the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, with the rest of the Greeks there present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost; also to receive the communion in unleavened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish bishop. Whereunto, notwithstanding, the other churches of Greece would in no wise assent, at their coming home; insomuch that with a public execration they did condemn, afterward, all those legates who had consented to these articles, that none of them should be buried in christian burial: which was, A. D. 1439.¹

And thus endeth the story, both of the council of Basil, and of the council of Florence; also, of the emperor Sigismund, and of the schism between pope Eugene and pope Felix, and also of the Bohemians; which Bohemians, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults above-said, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length, through discord, partly between the two preachers of the old and new city of Prague, partly also through the discord of the messengers and captains taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselves. Albeit afterwards, in process of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the bishop of Rome could never yet to this day remove the Taborites and city of Prague from the communion of both kinds, nor could ever cause them to keep the conditions, which, in the beginning of the council, were enjoined their priests to observe; as testifieth Cochleus:¹ with him also accordeth Antoninus, who saith, that the doctrine of the Bohemians (which he termeth by the name of Zizania), did take such deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterwards, neither by fire nor sword, it could be extinguished.²

Concerning which Bohemians, briefly and in a general sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted: that they, in their own defence, and in the quarrel of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, provoked by their catholic adversaries to war, fighting under Zisca their captain, had eleven battles with the pope's side, and ever went away victors.³ Moreover, in the History of Pencer it is testified that pope Martin V., sending for the bishop of Winchester, then cardinal, had levied three main armies, intending to overrun all the Bohemians; one army of the Saxons under the prince elector; the second of the Francones, under the marquis of Brandenburg; the third of Rhenates, Bavarians, and Switzers, under Otho, archbishop of Treves.⁴ With these, Sigismund also, the emperor, and cardinal Julian, the pope's legate (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field), joined all their force; who, joining together five times (saith the story), with five sundry battles, assailed and invaded the Bohemians; at every such battle, five times the said adversaries, stricken and daunted with a sudden fear, ran away out of the field, leaving their tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was given;⁵ whereby it may appear that the holy angels of God do fight for them who embrace the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel.

Thus the Bohemians, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of Zisca, and also of Procopius, till, at length, through discord growing between them and their captains Procopius and Mainardus, they were subdued unto their enemies.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel fact of Mainardus, who, after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realm of Bohemia of those chief and principal soldiers, who had been long expert and trained up in wars, found means for a

Heavy
VI.
A. D.
1410.

The in-
conveni-
ency of
discord.

Marvel-
lous fear
fallen
upon the
pope's
army.

Cruelty
of Main-
ardus
against
the Bo-
hemians

(1) Ex Cochleæ Hist. Hussit. lib. vi. l.

(2) Anton. iii. part. hist. tit. 22. cap. 10.

(3) Ex Par. l. Abb. Urs. in Epitaphio Joan. Ziscæ.

(4) Ex hist. Cas. et Pencer. lib. v.

(5) God's holy angels pitch the tents about them that fear him, Psa. xxxiv.

*Henry**Vl.*

A. D.

1440.

Thou-
sands of
the Boh-
emian
soldiers
burnt.

proclamation to be made, as though he would war against other countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to train all those who were disposed to take wages, into certain barns or hovels prepared for the same purpose; and so, shutting the doors upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers thousands, and so brought the rest, by that means, under subjection to the emperor during his lifetime, which, after that continued not long;¹ which soldiers if they had fought as much for the catholic liberties of the pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is marvel if the pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruel deceit of Mainardus is worthy of all men to be detested.²

England
noted for
cruelty.

During this business among the bishops beyond the sea, in the mean time our bishops here also in England were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the country that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the clergy do draw with them a more insensible untowardness in God's religion, hard it is to say: this is manifest to all them who will read and mark our stories from time to time, that in England is more burning and slaying for religion and for all other matters; more bloodshed among us, than in any other land or nation in Christendom besides.

Burning
and slay-
ing in
England.

Richard Wiche, Priest, Martyr.

After the burning of Richard Hoveden, and Nicholas Canon³, and Thomas Bagley, priest, above recorded, whom the bishops condemned to death, A. D. 1431, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1439, which was the eighteenth of the reign of king Henry VI., they had another poor man by the back, named Richard Wiche, priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English chronicle borrowed of one Permingier. What his opinions were, they do not express. This they record, that this Richard Wiche was first degraded, then burnt at Tower-hill for heresy. Some do affirm, that he, before his death, revolted; but that seemeth, by his burning, not to be true.⁴

Wiche,
after his
death
sainted.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as prophesying) that the postern of the Tower should sink; which, also, afterwards came, as he saith, to pass: wherefore of many of the people he was counted for a holy man; insomuch that, as it is affirmed, they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and upreared a great heap of stones, and set up a cross there by night; so that, by this means, a great clamour ran upon the churchmen, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumour, the king gave commandment to punish such as went thither on pilgrimage: the copy whereof is here to be seen as followeth.

(1) Ex *Aenea Sylv.* (Hist. Boh. cap. 62.)

(3) See Appendix.

(2) *Ib.* lib. de hist. Bohem. cap. 51.

(4) Ex 1439a. pag. 7. Ex antiquo alio Chronico.

The King's Writ, prohibiting Pilgrimage to the Tomb of Richard Wiche.

*Henry VI.*A. D.
1440.

Rex Vicecomitibus London et Midd. salutem. Albeit Richard Wiche, late clerk, who heretofore long since heretically did hold, teach, and publicly preach, certain heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realm of England, and for the same many years now past being judicially convicted, did, before a judge, in that behalf sufficient, abjure all heresy generally, and afterwards, as a dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, and publicly preach, his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adjudged a relapse: and again, being impeached for the same before the reverend father in God, Robert, bishop of London, his lawful ordinary, was called forth to judgment; and being before him, did judicially confess his errors and heresies. For which cause the reverend father, upon mature deliberation by him, the said reverend father, first had, with the advice of the learned in the law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did, by his sentence definitive, pronounce and adjudge him to be a relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all priestly ornaments, and deprived him of all priestly function and privilege (according to justice), and, last of all, turned him over to the secular power as the manner is; and afterwards you, by our princely commandment and warrant, did, according to the law of our realm, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a relapse, convict, and degraded, as a notorious traitor, not only against God, but also against us and our crown and dignity; all which notwithstanding, certain our subjects (as we have been sundry times informed) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising, of all likelihood, not only sedition, but also idolatry, within our realm, are not afraid publicly to affirm, that the said Richard was altogether innocent of heretical pravity. Nay rather they do most shamefully, with their vain devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died, a good, a just, and a holy man, and that he doth many miracles: whereas indeed no such miracles be done by him. Which disordinate persons we may well, and upon probable causes, repute and deem culpable, not only of heretical pravity, but also of high treason, and as rebels to our person, majesty, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our realm, as withal, breakers and trespassers against the sacred canons of the church, who dare so presumptuously adventure to worship the said Richard as a saint, whereas it is not lawful to worship any manner of person, be he ever so holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the bishop of Rome: We, therefore, being very careful for the good preservation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out of all the coasts of the same all manner of idolatry, do charge and command you, that, in certain places within your liberties, where you shall think most convenient, you cause, forthwith, proclamations to be made on our behalf, straitly charging that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said Richard was executed, under colour of a pilgrim, or for any other cause of devotion whatsoever; nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, or adjudge, esteem, repute, name, or talk of him as otherwise justified or innocent, than such as the said reverend father, by his definitive sentence, hath pronounced him to be: upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for a heretic or a favourer of heretics, and to receive condign punishment provided for heretics. And that you arrest all and every person whom you shall find to do any thing contrary to this our proclamation, and the same, so arrested, commit to our prison; there to remain until we shall think good to send countermand for their deliverance.

Witness the king at his manor of Easthampstead, the fifteenth day of July, in the eighteenth year of his reign.

Per ipsum Regem.

Like writs, and to the same effect, were directed to all the sheriffs through all the realm, bearing all one and the same date; by virtue of which letters, the mayor and sheriffs did use such diligence, that shortly after, that concourse and seeking of the people was left off.

Henry
VI.A. D.
1440.The
bishops
consult to
abolish
the law of
Præmu-
niri fa-
cias.The
king's an-
swer to
the bill.

After the burning of this man, which was about the month of June, in the same year, about November, a convocation was called by Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, wherein was propounded among the clergy, to consult with themselves what way were best to be taken for the removing away the law of 'Præmuniri facias;' ¹ for so were the hearts then of the temporality set against the ecclesiastical sort, that where any vantage might be given them by the law, they did nothing spare; by reason whereof the church-men at that time were greatly molested by the said law of 'Præmuniri,' and by the king's writs, and other indictments, to their no small annoyance. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken: that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented to the king, for the abolishing of the aforesaid law of 'Præmuniri facias;' and, also, for the restraining of other briefs, writs, and indictments, which seemed then to lie heavy upon the clergy. This bill or supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the archbishops of Canterbury and of York, unto the king, standing in need at the same time of a subsidy to be collected of the clergy, this answer was given to their supplication, on the king's behalf: that, forasmuch as the time of Christmas then drew near, whereby he had, as yet, no sufficient leisure to advise upon the matter, he would take therein a farther pause. In the mean time, as one tendering their quiet, he would send to all his officers and ministers within his realm, that no such brief of 'Præmuniri' should pass against them or any of them, from the said time of Christmas, till the next parliament, A. D. 1439.²

A BRIEF ANSWER TO THE CAVILLATIONS OF ALAN COPE'S CONCERNING LADY ELEANOR COBHAM.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments,³ so hastily rushed up at that present, in such shortness of time, as in the said book thou mayest see, gentle reader! declared and signified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, and of sir Roger Onley, knight (*priest*), it should have been printed), which two persons, about A. D. 1440, or the next year following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetual prison. Of this little short matter Master Cope, the pope's scout, lying in privy wait to spy faults in all men's works, wheresoever any may appear, taketh pepper in the nose, and falleth again unto his old barking against me, for placing these aforesaid per-

A brief
answer to
Cope con-
cerning
lady Elea-
nor Cob-
ham.

(1) Ex Regist. Henr. Chichelesley.

(2) Ex Regist. Cant.

(3) The quotation from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments to which Foxe alludes, is subjoined:—"Within short time after, sir Roger Onley followed the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, being a knight of like nobility and order; and so likewise partaker of the like cause and quarrel: a man endowed with like valiantness and godliness, whom we do read in certain annals to be hanged for the truth's sake in the year of our Lord, 1441. And lest that this rage of persecution should not wrap in all and every sect and kind, or should not sufficiently fulfil all points of cruelty, as though it had been but a small matter hitherto to have murdered so many men, they began now to execute their cruelty upon women. Of the which sort although there have been many who have followed their spouse Christ, by torments, banishments, and death, yet the first in this number which cometh unto our hands, is Eleanor Cobham, a woman nothing at all degenerating from her stock, kindred, and name received of her ancestors, albeit that we can find or understand none other thing of her, but that for suspicion of heresy; that is to say, for the love and desire of the truth, she was by the papists banished into the Isle of Man; as Harding and Fabian do write. Whom a few years after, there followed a woman, who, for her obstinacy and virtue, was greatly to be commended and praised, being called the mother of a certain lady, surnamed Young, she persevering even unto the fire, with a stout and manly courage, for the confession of the gospel was burned in the year of our Lord, 1490." See Edition 1563, p. 371.—Ed.

sons in my 'Book of Martyrs;' but, especially, he thinketh to have great vantage against me, for that in the same story I do join withal, one Margaret Jourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned also with them at the same time, and burned for practising the king's death by an image of wax, &c.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1440.

To answer hereunto, First, I say, as I before said, that I profess no such title to write of Martyrs, but, in general, to write of Aets and Monuments passed in the church and realm of England; wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walk of a story writer, more than others that have gone before me?

To the third objection.

Secondly, Touching my commendation of sir Roger Only, and the lady Eleanor; if Master Alan be therewith offended, I answer, that I commended them for savouring and favouring of the truth of Christ's doctrine: for their fault, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine own head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For, why may not I as well believe John Bale, as Master Alan believe Mr. Fabian? especially seeing I do know, and was privy, that the said John, in recognising his Centuries, followed altogether the history of Leland 'De Catalogo virorum illustrium;' which book, being borrowed of Master Cheke, I myself did see in the hands of the aforesaid John Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble lady the duchess of Richmond. Wherefore, if he think me so lewd to speak without mine authors, he is deceived. And if he think mine authors not to be believed, then let this Nomothetes, or jolly Dictator, come forth and prescribe us a law, what authors he would have us to take, and what to refuse. For else, why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian and Edward Hall? especially, seeing they had seen his books and works left behind him, whereupon they might better judge; and so did never these.

See Appender.

Thirdly, For the name of Roger Only; if Cope deny that there was any such name in stories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke, &c., hereby it may appear, that either his prompter out of England deceived him, or else that he, going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter, to make a perfect sycophant. And, admit the said name of 'Only' could not be found in those writers, yet it were not impossible for a man to have two names, especially if he were a religious man; to bear the name of the town where he was born, besides his own proper surname. But now, what if I, Master Cope! can avouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Only out of sufficient record, which you seem not to have yet read? Have ye then done well and properly, think you, so bitterly to flee in my face, and to bark so eagerly all this while at moonshine in the water, having no more cause almost against me, than against the man in the moon? And now (lest you should think me so much unprovided of just authority for my defence, as I see you unprovided of modesty and patience), write you to your prompter or suborner, wheresoever he lurketh here in England, to send you over unto Louvain the book of John Harding, a chronicler, more ancient than either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of

Henry VI.

A. D.
1440.

Richard Grafton, A. D. 1543; where turn to the fol. 223, fac. b., line 19, and there you shall find and read these words.

“Again, the church and the king cursedly,
By help of one Master Roger Only,” &c.

By which words you must necessarily confess Roger Only to be the name of the man, or else must ye needs deny the author. For otherwise, that Master Roger Bolingbroke was the only helper to the duchess in that fact, by no wise it can stand with the story of these authors, who say, that four others, besides him, were condemned for the same crime, &c.¹ And, moreover, though the said sir Roger Only was no knight (as I have said in my former edition), yet this ye cannot deny, by the testimony of them that have seen his works, but that he was a priest, which you will grant to be a knight's fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Master Roger Only.

Fourthly, As concerning Margaret Jourdeman, whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say that I make her a martyr, who was a witch; when I here profess, confess, and ascertain,² both you, and all Englishmen, both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that of this Margaret Jourdeman I never spake, never thought, never dreamed, nor did ever hear, before you named her in your book yourself. So far is it off that I, either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her.

Furthermore, I profess and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any just nor congrue³ occasion in my book so to judge, much less to rail on me. For where, in express words, I do speak of the mother of the lady Young, what occasion have you thereby to slander me and my book with Margaret Jourdeman? which Margaret whether she was a witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I mean of her now. But, ‘because I couple her in the same story,’ you say. To this I say, because she was the mother of a lady, I thought to join her with another lady in the same story, as in one pew together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet, notwithstanding, I do so couple the said mother with the duchess, in such distinct difference of years, that you, Master Cope! might easily have understood, or, beside you, no man else would have thought the contrary, but that Margaret Jourdeman was neither here in my book, nor yet in my Memento. For the words of my story are plain, where the condemnation of the lady Eleanor, and of the mother of lady Young, being referred to the year of our Lord, 1441, I do also, in the same story⁴ (through the occasion of that lady), infer mention of the mother of the lady Young, declaring in express words, that she followed certain years after, and, in the end of that chapter, do name also the year of her burning to be 1490, which was fifty years after the death of Only and Margaret Jourdeman; by the computation of which years it is plain, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the lady Young's mother.

But Master Cope, continuing still in his wrangling mood, objecteth again, for that in my calendar, the said lady Young's mother hath

(1) Vid. Centur. 8. Bal. cap. 4.
(3) “Congrué,” convenient.—Ed.

(2) “Ascertain,” assure.—En.
(4) The former edition p. 71.

Cope
raileth
without
a cause.

See
Appendix.

the day, in the catalogue, next after the death of Roger Only; which day pertaineth properly to Margaret Jourdeman, who was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the lady's mother, &c.

Henry VI.

A. D.

1440.

What order was taken in placing the names and days, what is that to me? If he who had the disposing of the catalogue, did place them so in months, as he saw them joined in chapters, not perusing peradventure, nor advising the chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth clear itself in distinguishing them rightly in names, and also in years, as is before declared.

Fifthly and lastly: Having thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times, Master Cope! I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the lady duchess, and to the rest; with this protestation before premised unto the reader: that, if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the reader then so to take me, as though I did not deal here-withal, nor speak of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and dispuncted the same. But, forasmuch as the deed and offence laid and given forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of evil-will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore, I do but only move a question by way of history, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the question, whether it is to be judged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged; and so, having briefly propounded certain conjectural suspicions or supposals concerning that matter, I will pass it over, neither meddling on the one side nor on the other.

The story pre-termitted: Whether Eleanor the duchess was culpable of treason against the king

The first conjecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason, laid to the charge of the duchess and Roger Only, against the king, may be untrue, is this: that the said Only (otherwise named Bolingbroke) took it upon his death, that they never intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

Certain conjectures that the charge was not true.

The second conjecture: for that the lady Eleanor and Only seemed then to favour and savour of that religion set forth by Wickliff; and therefore it is like enough that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practices of papists can do, it is not unknown.

The third conjecture: for that the said Master Roger Only, falsely noted and accused of necromancy, wrote a book in purgation of himself, entitled, 'De Innocentia sua'; also another book entitled, 'Contra vulgi superstitiones,' recorded in Centur. 8. Bale, cap. 4: whereupon it is not credible, that he who wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was overtaken with that filth of necromancy himself.

The fourth conjecture: because this accusation against the duchess of Gloucester, duke Humphrey's wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled between the cardinal of Winchester, and duke Humphrey, her husband.

Another conjecture may be hereof, for that if the duchess had intended any such heinous treason against the king's life, as by burning of a wax-candle to consume him, it is not likely, neither was there any such need, that she would have made so many privy to

*Henry**VI.*

A. D.

1440.

such a pernicious counsel, as the witch of Eye, Master Roger Bolingbroke, Master Thomas Southwell, and John Hume.

Sixthly, It is not to be supposed, if any such high treason had been wrought or pretended against the king's person by these, that either the duchess should so escape with bearing a taper and banishment, or that John Hume should be pardoned his life; the fact being so heinous, that neither any durst ask his pardon, nor, if it had been asked, had it been likely to be granted.

To these we may also add another supposal, rising upon the words and form of their accusation, as it standeth in Harding, Polychronicon, and others besides, wherein they were accused for working sorcery and enchantments against the church and the king. Now, what sorcery can be wrought against the church, that is, the whole multitude of Christians, let the reader judge; and, by the truth of this, consider also the truth of the other, which was against the king. Furthermore, if, by this church, is meant the cardinal of Winchester, as like it is, then it may be conjectured, that all this matter rose of that cardinal, who was then a mortal enemy to the house of Gloucester, &c.

Eighthly, And, that all this was done and wrought by the said cardinal of Winchester, the witch of Eye maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that the town of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was near beside Winchester, and in the see of that bishop.

Moreover, forsomuch as Polydore Virgil, among other story authors, being a man (as may be supposed) rather favouring the cardinal's part than the duke's, made no mention at all touching this treason, his silence, therefore, may minister matter not only to muse, but also to conjecture that he had found something which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is unlikely that he would have so sowed up the matter, and passed it over without some mention.

Finally, and briefly, the frequent practices and examples of other times may make this also more doubtful, considering how many subtle pretences, after the like sort, have been sought, and wrongful accusations brought, against many innocent persons. For, not to repeat the like forgeries against the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, &c., why may not this accusation of the duchess and Only be as false, as that in the time of king Edward V., which was laid to the charge of the queen and Shore's wife, by the protector, for enchanting and bewitching his withered arm? which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarrel made, only to oppress the life of the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley. And thus mayest thou see, gentle reader! according to the wise man's saying, 'Nihil novum esse sub sole; nihilque dictum, quod non sit dictum prius,' &c.

Although these, with many more conjectures, may be alleged as some part of the defence of this duchess, and of her chaplains and priests, yet, because it may still not be impossible for the matter laid against them to be true, I leave it therefore at large, as I find it; saying, as I said before, that if that be true which the stories say in this matter, think, I beseech thee, gentle reader! that I have said nothing hercof. Only, because the matter may be disputable, and not impossible to be false, I have but moved thereof a question, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgment

hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And, if Master Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Acts and Monuments I durst name the lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Only; let him take this for a short answer, because my leisure serveth not to make long brawls with him: that if I had thought no imperfections to have passed in my former edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to sponge away such notes, as I thought would seem great stumbling blocks in such men's walks, who walk with no charity to edify, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amiss in others, neither tarrying while other men reform themselves; and, finally, finding quarrels where no great cause is justly given. And here an end with Master Cope for this time.

Henry VI.
A. D. 1440.
A brief answer to Master Cope's cavillations, concerning duke Humphrey's wife.

THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE RICH CARDINAL OF WINCHESTER,¹ AND HUMPHREY, THE GOOD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Forasmuch as in the process before, mention was touched concerning the grudge between the cardinal, called the rich cardinal of Winchester, and the good duke Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle and protector of the realm, order of story now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large; wherein this, first, is to be understood, that, long before, great flames of grudge and discord did burst out between these two: for, as the noble heart of the duke could not abide the proud doings of the cardinal, so much again the cardinal, in like manner, sorely envied and disdained at the rule of the duke of Gloucester. Notwithstanding that by means of the duke of Bedford, the brasting out between them was before appeased and cured; yet not so, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred (as sparkles under the embers) did still remain: so that the cardinal, joining with the archbishop of York, attempted many things of their own presumption, contrary to the consent, not only of the king, being then under age, but also of the protector and governor of the realm. Wherewith the duke, like a true hearted prince, being not without just cause offended, declared in writing to the king certain complaints contained in twenty-one articles, wherein the cardinal and archbishop had transgressed, both against the king, and his laws; the tenor whereof, more at large, is in other stories expressed. The brief abstract thereof followeth in a short summary here to be seen.²

Certain Points or Articles objected by Duke Humphrey against the Cardinal of Winchester.

First, To his sovereign prince, his right redoubted lord, complaineth duke Humphrey, his uncle and protector of the realm, That the bishop of Winchester, in the days of his father, king Henry V., took upon him the state of a cardinal, being denied by the king, saying, that he had as lief set his own crown beside him, as see him wear a cardinal's hat; and that in parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a bishop among the spiritual persons, presumed above his order: which the said duke desired to be redressed.

Winchester presumeth to be cardinal against the mind of the king.

II. Item, Whereas he, being made a cardinal, was voided of his bishopric of

(1) Henry Beaufort.—ED.

(2) Ex Polychron.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1410.

Intrudeth himself to be the king's governor.

Defraudeth the king of his jewels. Delivereth the king of Scots.

Playeth the merchant.

A defrauder of the king.

Taket upon him like a king.

A traitor to the crown.

A pursuer of the king's lands.

Winchester, he procured from Rome the pope's bull, unknown to the king; whereby he took again his bishopric, contrary to the common law of this realm, incurring thereby the case of Provision, and forfeiting all his goods to the king, by the law of 'Præmuniri facias.'

III. Item, He complained that the said cardinal, with the archbishop of York, intruded themselves to have the governance of the king, and the doing, under the king, of temporal matters: excluding the king's uncle, and other temporal lords of the king's kin, from having knowledge of any great matter.

IV. Item, Whereas the king had borrowed of the cardinal four thousand pounds, upon certain jewels, and afterwards had his money ready at the day to quit his jewels; the cardinal caused the treasurer to convert that money to the payment of another army, to keep the jewels still to his own use and gain.

V. Item, He being then bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, delivered the king of Scots upon his own authority, contrary to the act of parliament, wedding his niece afterwards to the said king. Also, where the said king of Scots should have paid to the king forty thousand pounds, the cardinal procured ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

VI. Item, The said cardinal, for lending notable sums to the king, had the profit of the port of Hampton, where he, setting his servants to be the customers, wool, and other merchandise, were, under that cloak, exported, not so much to his singular advantage, being the chief merchant, as to the great prejudice of the king, and detriment to his subjects.

VII. Item, The cardinal, in lending out great sums to the king, yet so deferred and delayed the loan thereof, that, coming out of season, the same did the king little pleasure, but rather hinderance.

VIII. Item, Where jewels and plate were prized at eleven thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinal forfeited to the king; the cardinal, for loan of a little piece, got him a restorment thereof, to the king's great damage, who better might have spared the commons, if the sum had remained to him clear.

IX. Item, Where the king's father had given Elizabeth Beauchamp three hundred marks of livelode, with this condition, If she wedded within a year; the cardinal, notwithstanding she was married two or three years after, yet gave her the same, to the king's great hurt, and diminishing of his inheritance.

X. Item, The cardinal, having no authority nor interest in the crown, presumed, notwithstanding, to call before him like a king: to the king's high derogation.

XI. Item, That the cardinal sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all disms, due to the king by the church of Winchester: giving thereby example to the clergy, to withdraw their disms likewise, and lay all the charge only upon the temporaty and poor commons.

XII. XIII. Item, By the procuring of the said cardinal and archbishop of York, great goods of the king's were lost and dispended upon needless ambassades, first to Arras, then to Calais.

XIV. Item, It was laid to the charge of the said cardinal and archbishop, that, by their means, going to Calais, the two enemies of the king, the duke of Orleans and duke of Burgundy, were reduced together in accord and alliance; who, being at war before between themselves, and now confederated together again, joined both together against the king's towns and countries over the sea: to the great danger of Normandy, and destruction of the king's people.

XV. Item, By the archbishop of York and the cardinal, persuasions were moved openly in the king's presence, with allurements and inducements, that the king should leave his right, his title, and the honour of his crown, in nominating him king of France, during certain years; and that he should utterly abstain, and be content, in writing, with 'Rex Angliæ' only: to the great note and infamy of the king, and all his progenitors.

XVI. XVII. Item, Through the sleight and subtlety of the said cardinal and his mate, a new convention was intended between the king and certain adversaries of France; also the deliverance of the duke of Orleans was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dis-worship and inconvenience were likely to fall, rather on the king's side, than on the other.

XVIII. Item, That the cardinal had purchased great lands and livelodes of the king, the duke being on the other side of the sea occupied in wars, which

redounded little to the worship and profit of the king; and, moreover, he had the king bound to make him, by Easter next, as sure estate of all those lands, as could be devised by any learned counsel, or else that the said cardinal should have, and enjoy, to him and his heirs for ever, the lands of the duchy of Lancaster in Norfolk, to the value of seven or eight hundred marks by the year.

Henry
VI.A. D.
1443.

XIX. Item, Whereas the duke, the king's uncle, had often offered his service for the defence of the realm of France, and the duchy of Normandy; the cardinal ever laboured to the contrary, in preferring others, after his singular affection: whereby a great part of Normandy hath been lost.

Perverse
counsel of
the cardinal.

XX. Item, Seeing the cardinal was risen to such riches and treasure, which could grow to him, neither by his church, nor by inheritance (which he then had), it was of necessity to be thought, that it came by his great deceits, in deceiving both the king and his subjects, in selling offices, preferments, livelodes, captainships, both here, and in the realm of France, and in Normandy: so that what hath been there lost, he hath been the greatest causer thereof.

The cardinal
a
deceiver
of the
king, and
a
briber.

XXI. Furthermore, when the said cardinal had forfeited all his goods by the statute of Provision, he, having the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realm, purchased from the pope a charter of pardon, not only to the defeating of the laws of the realm, but also to the defrauding of the king, who, otherwise, might and should have had wherewith to sustain his wars, without any tallage of his poor people, &c.

He pur-
chaseth a
pardon
against
his pre-
munire.

When the king heard these accusations, he committed the hearing thereof to his council, whereof the most part were spiritual persons. So, what for fear, and what for favour, the matter was winked at, and dallied out, and nothing said thereunto; and a fair countenance was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had been taken, nor malice borne in these spiritual stomachs. But, shortly after, the smoke hereof, not able to keep in any longer within the spiritual breasts of these charitable churchmen, burst out in flames of mischief. For, upon the neck of this matter, as witnesseth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall, who followeth Polychronicon, first ensued the condemnation of lady Eleanor, the duchess, and her chaplains, as ye have heard before: whereby the said duchess may appear, more of malice than of any just cause thus to have been troubled. Also, within six years after, followed the lamentable destruction of the duke himself, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Prelates
hold one
with an-
other.Malice
burst out.

About this time, or not long after, A. D. 1443, the steeple of Paul's was set on fire by lightning, and at last, by diligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched.

Paul's
steeple
set on fire
by light-
ning.

And after the condemnation of lady Eleanor, the duchess aforesaid, within few years, A. D. 1445, followed the death of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom she was condemned in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, for penance, to bear a taper through Cheapside three sundry times, and afterwards outlawed to the Isle of Man, under the custody of sir John Standly, knight. This Henry Chichesley builded in his time two colleges in the university of Oxford, the one called All-Souls' College, the other named Barnard College.

A. D. 1445.
The death
of Henry
Chiches-
ley, arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury.

THE STORY AND DEATH OF HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Proceeding now to the year wherein suffered Humphrey, that good duke of Gloucester, which was A. D. 1447, first we will begin in few words to treat of his life and conversation; and then of the manner

A. D. 1447.

Henry
VI.A.D.
1447.Duke
Humphrey
com-
mended
for his
learning.

and cause of his death. As touching the offspring and descent of this duke, first, he was the son of Henry IV., brother to king Henry V., and uncle to king Henry VI., assigned to be the governor and protector of his person. Of manners he seemed meek and gentle, loving the commonwealth, a supporter of the poor commons, of wit and wisdom, discreet and studious, well affected to religion, and a friend to verity; and no less enemy to pride and ambition, especially in haughty prelates, which was his undoing in this present evil world. And, which is seldom and rare in such princes of that calling, he was both learned himself, and no less given to study, and also a singular favourer and patron to those who were studious and learned. And, that my commendation of him may have the more credit, I will produce the testimony of learned writers, who, living in his time, not only do commend his famous knowledge, and ripeness of learning in him, but also committed and submitted their works to his judgment, to be examined. Of which writers, one is Petrus de Monte, writing, "*De virtutum et vitiorum differentia;*" who, in his epistle dedicatory, beginneth with the singular commendation of this duke; and afterwards, speaking "*De optimarum artium liberaliumque scientiarum peritia,*" saith thus: "*Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque studio incumbis; adeo ut nihil tibi sine librorum lectione jucundum, gratum aut certe delectabile videatur,*" &c. And in further process of his work, thus he further declareth, saying, "*Delectaris autem non una tantum arte aut scientia, quantum et id quidem esset satis, verum fere omnibus; earumque codices magna quadam aviditate legisti,*" &c. Besides this Petrus de Monte, let us hear also the judgment of another writer of the same age, named Lapis-castellius, who, likewise, dedicating to the said duke Humphrey his book, entitled "*Comparatio studiorum et rei militaris,*" amongst divers other words commendatory, hath these which follow: "*Ad te potissimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, et sapientissimum judicem fore existimo, qui, ut ex integerrimo patre domino Zenone Bajocensi Episcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidissimo, accepi, ita in his humanitatis studiis invigilares, ut nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus sit,*" &c. Many other arguments and places may be brought to declare, what is to be esteemed of the learning and studious wit of this noble prince.

Furthermore, as the learning of this prince was rare and memorable, so was the discreet wisdom and singular prudence in him no less to be considered; as, for the more manifest proof thereof, I thought here good, amongst many other his godly doings, to recite one example, reported as well by the pen of sir Thomas More, as also by Master William Tindal, the true apostle of these our later days, to the intent to see and note, not only the crafty working of false miracles in the clergy, but also that the prudent discretion of this high and mighty prince, the aforesaid duke Humphrey, may give us the better to understand what man he was. The story lieth thus:

In the young days of this king Henry VI., being yet under the governance of this duke Humphrey, his protector, there came to St. Alban's a certain beggar with his wife, and was walking there

about the town begging five or six days before the king's coming thither; saying, that he was born blind, and never saw in his life, and was warned in his dream, that he should come out of Berwick, where he said he had ever dwelled, to seek St. Alban; and that he had been at his shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place; for he had heard some say, since he came, that St. Alban's body should be at Cologne: and indeed such a contention hath there been; but of a truth, as I am surely informed, he lieth here, at St. Alban's, saving some relics of him, which they there show shrined. But, to tell you forth, when the king was comen and the town full, suddenly this blind man at St. Alban's shrine had his sight again, and a miracle solemnly rongen, and 'Te Deum' songen; so that nothing was talked of in all the town, but this miracle. So happened it then, that duke Humphrey of Gloucester, a man no less wise than also well learned, having great joy to see such a miracle, called the poor man unto him; and first, showing himself joyous of God's glory so showed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meekness, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himself, nor to be proud of the people's praise, who would call him a good and godly man thereby; at last, he looked well upon his eyen, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when his wife, as well as himself, affirmed fastly "no," then he looked advisedly upon his eyen again, and said, "I believe you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot see well yet." "Yea, sir," quod he, "I thank God and his holy martyr, I can see now as well as any man." "Yea can?" quod the duke, "What colour is my gown?" Then anon the beggar told him. "What colour," quod he, "is *this* man's gown?" He told him also, and so forth: without any sticking he told him the names of all the colours that could be showed him. And when the duke saw that, he bade him "Walk, faitour," and made him to be set openly in the stocks: for though he could have seen suddenly, by miracle, the difference between divers colours; yet could he not, by the sight, so suddenly tell the names of all these colours, except he had known them before, no more than the names of all the men, that he should suddenly see.

By this may it be seen, how duke Humphrey had not only a head, to discern and discever truth from forged and feigned hypocrisy; but study also, and diligence, likewise, was in him, to reform that which was amiss.

And thus much, hitherto, for the noble prowess and virtues, joined with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, shining in this princely duke: for which as he was both loved of the poor commons, and well spoken of, of all men, and no less deserving the same, being called the 'good' duke of Gloucester; so neither yet wanted he his enemies and privy enviers, whether it was through the fatal and unfortunate luck of the name of that house, which is but a vain and frivolous observation of Polydore, and Hall,¹ who followeth him, bringing in the examples of Hugh Spenser; of Thomas of Woodstock, son of king Edward III.; of this duke Humphrey; and, after, of king Richard III., duke likewise of Gloucester. Or whether it

Henry VI.

A. D. 1447.

A false miracle espied.

See Appendix.

Dissimulation well punished.

Commen-
dation of
duke
Humphrey.

(1) Polyd. Hist. lib. xxiii. Hall in 25 Hen. VI.

*Henry VI.*A. D.
1447.

was, that the nature of true virtue is commonly such, that, as the flame ever beareth his smoke, and the body his shadow, so the brightness of virtue never blazeth, but hath some disdain or envy waiting upon it: or else, whether it was rather for some divorcement from his wife, or for some other vice or trespass done (as seemeth most like truth), which God, as well in dukes' houses correcteth, as in other inferior persons; especially where he loveth.

His enemies.

The malicious working of the cardinal against him.

But, howsoever the cause is to us unknown, this good duke of Gloucester, albeit being both the king's sole uncle, and having so many well-willers through the whole realm, yet lacked not he his Satan, lacked not he his secret maligners. Of whom, specially, was Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England; who, of long time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this duke, first had disposed and appointed himself to remove the king's person from Eltham unto Windsor, out of the duke's hands, and there to put in such governors as him listed. After that, intending the duke's death, he set men of arms and archers at the end of London-bridge, and fore-barring the highway with a draw-chain, set men in chambers, cellars, and windows, with bows and arrows, and other weapons, to the purposed destruction both of the duke and his retinue, if God had not so disposed to turn his journey another way. Beside other manifold injuries and molestations, the ambitious cardinal, seeking by all means to be pope, procured such trouble against him, that great division was thereby in the whole realm; insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut, for fear of the favourers of these two great personages: for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the duke of Coimbra, called the prince of Portugal, rode seven times in one day, between those two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, and all by the excitation of this unquiet cardinal.

William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, the cause of the duke of Gloucester's death. Unprofitable marriage between king Henry and queen Margaret.

Over and beside this cardinal afore-mentioned, another capital enemy to the said duke was William de la Pole, first earl, then marquis, at last duke of Suffolk; a man very ill reported of in stories, to be not only the organ and instrument of this good man's death, but also to be the annoyance of the commonwealth, and ruin of the realm. For, by him, and his only device, was first concluded the unprofitable and unhonourable marriage between the king and lady Margaret, daughter of the duke of Anjou; whereas the king had concluded and contracted a marriage, before, with the daughter of the earl of Armagnac, upon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a prince to marry a wife with riches and friends, than to take a maid with nothing, and disinherit himself and his realm of old rights and ancient inheritance: which so came to pass. And all this the good duke did well foresee, and declared no less: but his counsel would not be taken. Whereupon followed first, the giving away the duchy of Anjou, and the city of Maine, with the whole country of Maine, to René, duke of Anjou, and father of the damsel, called then king of Sicily and of Jerusalem, having thereof no penny profit, but only a vain name to play withal.

Another sore enemy and mortal plague to this duke was the queen herself, lately before married to the king; who, being of haughty

stomach, and all set upon glory, of wit and wiilness lacking nothing, and perceiving her husband to be simple of wit, and easy to be ruled, took upon her to rule and govern both the king and kingdom. And because the advice and counsel of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was somewhat a stay that her authority and regiment could not so fully proceed; and, partly, because the said duke before did disagree from that marriage, this manly woman and courageous queen ceased not, by all imaginations and practices possible, to set forward his destruction, having also for her helper herein the duke of Buckingham, &c.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1447.

The queen an enemy to the duke.

The malice of a woman.

These being his principal enemies and mortal foes, fearing lest some commotion might arise, if such a prince, so near the king's blood, and so dear to the people, and of all men so beloved, should be openly executed and put to death, they devised how to entrap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided: for the more speedy furtherance whereof a parliament was summoned to be kept at Bury, A. D. 1447, far from the citizens of London, as William Tindal in his Book of Practice writeth; where resorted all the peers of the realm, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester, thinking no harm to any man, and less to himself. Who, on the second day of the session was, by the lord Beaumont, high constable then of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham and others, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and, upon the same, all his servants discharged and put from him; of whom thirty-two of the principal, being also under arrest, were dispersed into divers prisons, to the great murmuring and grievances of the people. After this arrest thus done, and the duke put into ward, the night after (saith Hall; six nights after, saith Fabian and Polychron.), he was found dead in his bed, the 24th of February, and his body showed to the lords and commons, as though he had been taken naturally with some sudden disease. And although no wound in his body could be seen, yet to all indifferent persons it might well be judged, that he died of no natural pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled, some that a whole spit was privily forced into his body; some affirm that he was stifled between two feather beds. After the death of this duke, and his body being interred at St. Alban's, after he had politicly, by the space of twenty-five years, governed this realm, five of his household, to wit, one knight, three esquires, and a yeoman, were arraigned, and convicted to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Who, being hanged and cut down half alive, the marquis of Suffolk, there present, showed the charter of the king's pardon, and so they were delivered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying, That the saving of the servants was no amends for the murdering of the master.

A snare to catch the innocent. Parliament at Bury.

Cruel death or martyrdom of the good duke of Gloucester.

In this cruel fact of these persons, who did so conspire and consent to the death of this noble man, and who thought thereby to work their own safety, the marvellous works of God's judgment appear herein to be noted; who, as in all other like cruel policies of man, so in this also, turned all their policies clean contrary; so that where the queen thought most to preserve her husband in honour, and herself in state, thereby both she lost her husband, her husband lost his realm, the realm lost Anjou, Normandy, the duchy of Aquitaine, with all

Judgment of God upon those who persecuted the duke.

Henry VI

her parts beyond the sea, Calais only excepted ; as, in the sequel of the matter, whose will read the stories, shall right well understand.

A. D. 1448.

The death of the cardinal. Beaufort.

The next year following, it followed also that the cardinal, who was the principal artificer and ringleader of all this mischief, was suffered of God no longer to live. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in Edward Hall, I omit here to speak. What he himself spake on his death-bed, for example to others, I thought not best to pretermit ; who, hearing that he should die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and grudged, wherefore he should die having so much riches, saying, That if the whole realm would save his life, he was able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it ; adding and saying moreover, " Fie," quoth he, " will not death be hired ? will money do nothing ? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought myself half up the wheel, but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester deceased, then I thought myself able to be equal with kings, and so thought to increase my treasure, in hope to have worn the triple crown," &c.¹ And thus is the rich bishop of Winchester with all his pomp and riches gone ; with which riches he was able, not only to build schools, colleges, and universities, but also was able to sustain the king's armies in war (as is specified in stories) without any taxing of the commons.

His words at his death.

William Wanfleet bishop of Winchester. Magdalen college builded.

In whose seat next succeeded William Wanfleet, preferred to the bishopric of Winchester ; who, though he had less substance, yet having a mind more godly disposed, did found and erect the college of Mary Magdalen, in Oxford ; for which foundation as there have been, and be yet, many students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, so I must needs confess myself to be one, except I will be unkind.

God's punishment upon the marquis of Suffolk.

Among the other mischievous adversaries who sought and wrought the death of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, next to the cardinal of Winchester (who, as is said, died the next year following), was William de la Pole, marquis of Suffolk, who also lived not long after, nor long escaped unpunished. For, although he was highly exalted, by the means of the queen (whose marriage he only procured), unto the favour of the king, and was made duke of Suffolk, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole sway in the realm, whose acts and facts his vain glorious head caused also, by the assent of the commons, to be recorded, and substantially to be registered in the rolls of the parliament, for a perpetual renown to him and all his posterity for ever ; yet, notwithstanding, the hand of God's judgment still hanging over him, he enjoyed not long this his triumphant victory : for, within three years after the death and ruin of the cardinal, the voices of the whole commons of England were utterly turned against him, accusing him, in the parliament at the Black-Friars, for delivery of the duchy of Anjou, and the earldom of Maine ; also for the death of the noble prince Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. They imputed, moreover, to him the loss of all Normandy, laying unto him, that he was a swallower-up and consumer of the king's treasure, the expeller of all good and virtuous counsellors from the king, and advancer of vicious persons, apparent adversaries to the public wealth ; so that he was called in every man's mouth, a traitor, a murderer, and a robber of the king's treasure.

The vain glory of man's heart for getting himself honour. The duke accused by the commons.

(1) *Ex* Edward. Hallo.

The queen, albeit she tenderly loved the duke, yet, to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower; where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired, he was delivered and restored again unto his old place, and former favour with the king; whereat the people more grudged than before. It happened by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Bluebeard, that the parliament was for that time adjourned to Leicester, the queen thinking by force and rigour of law to repress there, the malice and evil-will conceived against the duke. But at that place few of the nobility would appear: wherefore it was again rejourned unto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the king and queen, and with them the duke of Suffolk, as chief counsellor. The commons, not forgetting their old grudge, renewed again their former articles and accusations against the said duke, against the bishop of Salisbury, and sir James Fynies, lord Say, and others. When the king perceived that no glossing nor dissimulation would serve to appease the continual clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first, he sequestered from him the lord Say, treasurer of England, and other the duke's adherents from their offices. Then he put in exile the duke of Suffolk for a term of five years; supposing, by that space, the furious rage of the people would assuage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltless blood of Humphrey duke of Gloucester to be unrevenge, or that flagitious person further to continue. For when he was shipped in Suffolk, intending to be transported into France, he was encountered with a ship of war belonging to the Tower, whereby he was taken, and brought into Dover-roads, and there, on the side of a ship-boat, one struck off his head: which was A. D. 1450.

And thus have ye heard the full story and discourse of duke Humphrey, and of all his adversaries; also of God's condign punishment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the said story of the aforesaid duke, and of the proud cardinal his enemy, I will here annex, by the way, a certain instrument, by the king and advice of his council, made against the said cardinal, taking upon him to enter into this realm as legate from the pope, contrary to the old laws and customs of this realm; as by the words of the said instrument hereunder in Latin may well appear.¹ The sum and effect whereof in English is this:

(1) "In Dei nomine, amen. Per præsen publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod A. D. 1428, indictione septima pontificatus sancti in Christo patris, et D. nostri D. Martini, etc. Ego Richardus Candry, procurator et nomine procurator christianissimum principis domini Henrici, Dei gratia regis Angliæ et Franciæ, et domini Hiberniæ, domini mei supremi, de assensu pariter et advisamento illustris et potentis principis Humfredi ducis Glocestriæ, comitis Pembrochiæ, protectoris et defensoris regni Angliæ et ecclesiæ Angliancæ, et cæterorum dominorum meorum de consilio suæ regniæ celsitudinis ac consilium ejusdem facientium et hac vice representantium, dico, allego, et in his scriptis propono, quod dictus christianissimus princeps, dominus meus supremus, sui que inclityssimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ reges fuerunt et sunt, tam speciali privilegio, quam consuetudine laudabili legitimeque præscripta, necnon a tempore et per tempus (cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit) pacifice et inconvulsa observata, sufficienter dotata, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus apostolicæ sedis legatus venire debeat in regnum suum Angliæ, aut alias suas terras et dominia, nisi ad regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, invitationem, seu rogatum: Fueruntque et sunt dicti christianissimus princeps dominus meus supremus ac sui inclity progenitores, hujusmodi reges Angliæ, in possessione quasi juris et facti privilegii, et consuetudinis prædictorum, absque interruptione quacunque, toto et omni tempore supradicto, pacifice et quiete Romanis pontificibus, per totum tempus supradictum, præmissa omnia et singula scientibus, tolerantibus, et iisdem consentientibus tam tacite quam expresse, ac extra omnem et omnimodam possessionem, quasi juris et facti, legatum hujusmodi (ut præfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias suas terras et dominia mittendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, et rogatum regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis. Et quia

Henry VI.

A. D. 1450.

The duke again accused.

Example of God's judgment, and of blood revenged. The duke beheaded.

Henry VI.

Substance of the King's Writ against admitting the Pope's Legate.

A. D.
1450.

In the year of our Lord 1428, as the king, with duke Humphrey lord protector, and the rest of the council, were in the duke's house in the parish of St. Bennet's by Paul's-wharf, one Richard Candray, procurator, in the king's name and behalf, did protest and denounce, by this public instrument: that whereas the king and all his progenitors, kings before him of this realm of England, have been heretofore possessed, time out of mind, with special privilege and custom used and observed in this realm from time to time, that no legate from the apostolic see should enter into this land or any of the king's dominions, without the calling, petition, request, invitement, or desire of the king; and forasmuch as Henry, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal of St. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as legate from the pope, being neither called, sent for, required, nor desired by the king; therefore the said Richard Candray, in the king's name, doth protest by this instrument, that it standeth not with the king's mind or intent, by the advice of his council, to admit, approve, or ratify the coming of the said legate in any wise, in derogation of the rights, customs and laws of this his realm; or to recognise, or assent to, any exercise of this his authority legatine, or to any acts, attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect, contrary to the foresaid laws, rights, customs, and liberties of this realm, by these presents, &c.

And thus much as an appendix, annexed to the story of duke Humphrey, and the cardinal of Winchester, extracted out of an old written volume, remaining in the hands of Master William Bowyer.

The Invention and Benefit of Printing.¹

In following the course and order of years, we find this aforesaid year of our Lord 1450, to be famous and memorable, for the divine and miraculous invention of printing. Nauclerus, and Wimpelingus following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. In Paralipomena,² it is recorded this faculty to be found, A. D. 1446. Aventinus and Zieglerus do say, A. D. 1450. The first inventor thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Strasburg, afterwards citizen of Mentz, named John Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal; who then, laying black ink upon the metal, gave the form of letters in paper. The man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain others of his counsel, one John Guttemberg and Peter Schafferd, binding them by their oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years John Guttemberg, copartner with John Faustus, began then first to broach the matter at Strasburg.

reverendis, in Christo Patri, et D. D. Henricus Dei gratia, etc. sancti Eusebii presbyter, cardinalis sancte sedis Romane, legatum se adfirmans, more legati, insigniis apostolicis circumdatus, utens, absque vocatione, petitione, requisitione, invitatione, aut regatu christianissimi domini nostri regis predicti, ineluctum regnum Angliæ de facto est ingressus, protector igitur palam, et publico in his scriptis nomine et vice quibus supra ac omnium ipsius domini nostri regis subditorum, quod non fuit, aut est intentionis prefati christianissimi principis, domini mei supremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de consilio, in derogationem legum, jurium, consuetudinum, decretatum et privilegiorum dicti D. nostri regis ac regni, ingressum hujusmodi dicti reverendis, patris, ut legati in Angliam, autoritate ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum ut legatum sedis apostolice in Angliam, contra leges, jura, consuetudines, libertates et privilegia predicta quovismodo admittere seu recognoscere; aut exercitio legationis, seu hujusmodi, aliquibusve per ipsum ut legatum sedis apost. actis, seu agendis, attentatis, seu attentandis adversus premissa, leges, jura, consuetudines, libertates, et privilegia, in aliquo consentire, sed dissentire; sicut dissentit dictus dominus noster rex, atque dissentiat dicti domini mei de consilio, per ipsas presentes," etc.

(1) Ex typographia inventione per Martinum Juedicum, [Copula, 4, 166, p. 14, or in Voeltz Monumenta Typo, cap. 1, 5.]

(2) Paralip. Abbat. Crisp.

The art, being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof; in the number of whom, John Mentel, John Prus, and Adolphus Rusehius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latin called Gallus, first brought it to Rome; whereof the epigram was made:

“Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis
 Constreperes, Gallus decidit. Ultor adest.
 Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,
 Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.”¹

Henry VI.

A. D. 1450.

See Appendix.

Notwithstanding, what man soever was the instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof; no otherwise than he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turn the Jews; so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the gospel.

Printing came of God.

Likened to the gift of tongues.

Now, to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, whoso wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of man, this is to be marked, that when the bishop of Rome, with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, docters, provosts, deans, archdeacons, assembled together in the council of Constance, had condemned poor John Huss and Jerome of Prague to death for heresy, notwithstanding they were no heretics; and after they had subdued the Bohemians and all the whole world under the supreme authority of the Romish see; and had made all christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having (as one would say) all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past, not only the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recovered: in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where man's power could do no more, there the blessed wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his church; not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading: to convince darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So that by this means of printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped upon that proud kingdom a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Huss before, and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacy, nor yet his popish mass, but said mass, and heard mass themselves; neither spake against his purgatory, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pride, his unchristian or rather antichristian abomination of life: thus, while he could not abide his wickedness only of life to be touched, but made it heresy, or at least matter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God, of his secret judgment, seeing time to help his church, hath found a way, by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before

The time considered, when printing was found.

Double confusion upon the pope by printing.

*Henry
VI.**A. D.
1450.*

he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing; that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, laws, and institutions most detestable, in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind but he may see, that either the pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is near cousin to the pope; and all this doth and will, hereafter, more and more appear by printing.

The fruit
and profit
of print-
ing.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over: for else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. But the pope, and all his college of cardinals, must this understand: that through the light of printing the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge; he cannot walk so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, instead of John Huss and others, God hath opened the Press to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven; and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation, is opened to all.

Good
counsel
to the
pope.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand that printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the stream it availeth not. What the pope hath lost, since printing and the press began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was given to all friars and monks in the world? And who seeth not that the pen of Luther, following after Erasmus, and set forward by writing, hath set the triple crown so awry on the pope's head, that it is like never to be set straight again?

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against him, having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many block-houses there be against the high castle of St. Angelo; so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will root him out.¹ For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing of the pope, thus he may repute with himself: that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians; so, contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacy so much, as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgment;

(1) So preached the vicar of Croydon in the days of king Henry VIII., at Paul's Cross, saying, that either we must root out printing, or else printing will root out us.

that is to say, the fruit of printing, whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (by the Lord's blessing) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of men daily, no doubt, be instructed through this benefit of printing. And though the pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession, yet, neither must he think that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forasmuch as in those former days books then were scarce, and also of such excessive price, that few could attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof; which books now, by means of this art, are made easy unto all men.

* Herein¹ also appeareth the prophecy of the Sibyls to be fulfilled, who, long time before, had prophesied, that flax and line should subvert and overthrow Antichrist, God's enemy. Wherefore, as God, by his marvellous providence, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this art or science, for the abolishing of ignorance and idolatry, so, as in these our days, we may well perceive and see how that the pope, that Great Antichrist of Rome, could never have been suppressed, and, being suppressed, could not have been kept under, except this most excellent science of printing had been maintained; whereby the shameful hypocrisy of the papists is detected and discovered unto the whole world, and God's truth and glory manifestly set forth and advanced.*

Ye heard before,² how Nicholas Belward bought a New Testament in those days for four marks and forty pence, whereas now, the same price will well serve forty persons with so many books.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how, for defect of books and good authors, both universities were decayed, and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friars, scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped up all books that could be gotten, into their own libraries; where, either they did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them. In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good books, when neither they who could have books would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvel if the greediness of a few prelates did abuse the blindness of those days, to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore Almighty God, of his merciful providence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedy the same, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came into the world. First, the price of all books is diminished. Secondly, the speedy help of reading is more furthered. And thirdly, the plenty of all good authors is enlarged; according as Campanus, bishop of Abruzzo, doth truly report:

Triple
commodity by
printing.

'Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.'

The Press, in one day, will do in printing,
That none, in one year, can do in writing.

By reason whereof, as printing of books ministered matter of reading, so reading brought learning, learning showed light, by the bright-

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 362.—Ed.

(2) See above, p. 597.—Ed.

Henry
VI.A. D.
1453.When
guns
were first
invented.

ness whereof blind ignorance was suppressed, error detected, and finally, God's glory, with truth of his word, advanced. This faculty of printing was after the invention of guns, the space of one hundred and thirty years; which latter invention was also found in Germany, A. D. 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of printing.

THE LAMENTABLE LOSING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

See
Appendix.

A. D. 1453, Constantinus Paleologus, being emperor of Constantinople, the twenty-ninth day of May, the great city of Constantinople was taken by the Turk Mahomet after the siege of fifty-four days; which siege began in the beginning of April. Within the city, besides the citizens, were but only six thousand rescuers of the Greeks, and three thousand of the Venetians and Genoese. Against these, Mahomet brought an army of four hundred thousand, collected out of the countries and places adjoining near about: as out of Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulgaria, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cilicia, and such others; which places had the name yet of Christians. Thus, one neighbour, for lucre's sake, helped to destroy another.

The city was compassed of the Turks both by the sea and land. Mahomet the Turk divided his army into three sundry parts, which in three parts of the city so beat the walls and brake them down, that they attempted, by the breaches thereof, to enter the city. But the valiantness of the Christians therein won much commendation; whose duke was called John Justinianus, of Genoa. But forasmuch as the assaults were great, and the number of the christian soldiers daily decreased, fighting both at the walls and at the haven against such a multitude of the Turks, they were not able long to hold out. Besides the armies which lay battering at the walls, the Turk had, upon the sea, his navy of two hundred and fifty sail, lying upon the haven of the city, reaching from the one side of the haven's mouth unto the other, as if a bridge should be made from the one bank to the other; which haven by the citizens was barred with iron chains, whereby the Turks were kept out a certain space. Against which navy seven ships there were of Genoa within the haven, and three of Crete, and certain of Chios, which stood against them. Also the soldiers, issuing out of the city as occasion would serve, did manfully gainstand them, and with wildfire set their ships on fire, that for a certain space they could serve to no use. At length the chains being burst, and a way made, the Turk's navy entered the haven, and assaulted the city; whereby the Turk began to conceive great hope, and was in forwardness to obtain the city. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, Mahomet the tyrant, stood by, upon a hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out unto them to scale the walls and enter the town: otherwise, if any recoiled,¹ he threatened to kill them; and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his soldiers, in their repulse and retire, were slain by the Turk's men, being sent by his commandment to slay them: and so they were justly served, and well payed their hire.

Tyranny
of the
Turk to-
ward his
own men.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold, out of the city, the Turk's retinue so consumed, yet that

(1) "Recoile," to recoil or rebel.—Ed.

hope lasted not long. Shortly after, by rage of war, it happened that Justinian, the duke above-named, was hurt; who, notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by Paleologus the emperor, not to leave his tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous, yet could he not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing, and his fort dis-furnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this doughty duke, hurt more with his false heart than with force of weapon, gave over and fled to Chios, where, shortly after, for sorrow, rather than for soreness of his wound, he died. Many of his soldiers, seeing their captain flee, followed after, leaving their fort utterly destitute without defence. The Turks, understanding that vantage, soon burst into the city: the emperor Paleologus seeing no other way but to flee, making toward the gate, either was slain, or else trodden down with the multitude; in which gate eight hundred dead men's bodies were found and taken up.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1453.

Cowardliness of duke Justinian.

The emperor of Constantinople slain; the city won.

The city of Constantinople thus being got, the Turks, sacking and ranging about the streets, houses, and corners, did put to the sword most unmercifully whomsoever they found, both aged and young, matrons, virgins, children and infants, sparing none. The noble matrons and virgins were horribly used; the goods of the city, the treasures in houses, the ornaments in churches were all sacked and spoiled; the pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havoc of the city lasted three days together, while the barbarous soldiers murdered and rifled what them listed.

The bloody victory of the Turks. †

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days Mahomet the Turk entereth into the city; and first calling for the heads and ancients of the city, such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also (saith my author) reported, that in the feasts of the Turks, honest matrons and virgins, and such as were of the king's stock, after other contumelies, were hewn and cut in pieces for their disport.

Their horrible tyranny

And this was the end of that princely and famous city of Constantinople, beginning first with Constantine, and ending also with Constantine, which, for the princely royalty thereof, was named and ever honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the city of Rome, and called also by the name thereof New Rome, and also continued the space of eleven hundred and twenty years. I pray God that Old Rome may learn of New Rome, to take heed and beware betimes.

Constantinople, called New Rome.

This terrible destruction of the city of Constantinople, the queen of cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the barbarous cruelty of these filthy rake-hells and merciless murderers; as specially for this, that we, being admonished by the doleful ruin and misery of these our even christened, may call to mind the plagues and miseries deserved, which seem to hang no less over our own heads, and thereby may learn betimes to invoke, and call more earnestly upon, the name of our terrible and merciful God, that he, for his Son's sake, will keep us, and preserve his church among us, and mitigate those plagues and sorrows, which we no less have deserved, than these above minded have done before us. Christ grant it, Amen!¹

A warning to all Christians by Constantinople.

(1) Ex Hist. Wittenbergica Peuceri,

*Henry
VI.**A. D.
1457.***The History of Reynold Peacock, Bishop of Chichester,**

**AFFLICTED AND TORMENTED BY THE FALSE BISHOPS FOR HIS
GODLINESS, AND PROFESSION OF THE GOSPEL.¹**

*It is not to be marvelled at, if the tyranny of these men did so prevail, and overrun the lay-citizens and common sort of priests, that neither the mitre, nor the anointing, could make the bishops themselves to live in safety; so is there no kind of degree or order, in which some fruit, as clusters of the vineyard, doth not spring and grow up unto the Lord; as amongst priests, monks, friars, lay-men, soldiers, and courtiers, of whom we have somewhat spoken before; the order of the bishops only was behind, being yet slow and barren in bringing forth fruit. Howbeit it is not to be doubted but that the Lord, even amongst them, hath his remainder, who have not bowed their knees unto Baal, as in times past the Pharisaical people had their Nicodemus and Gamaliel: although that these kind of people are very rare and hard to be found; and few of them, either for fear of peril, or loss of substance, dare openly profess that which they do think. Amongst the rest we will bring forth and allege this one man, Peacock, bishop, first by the title of St. Asaph, if there were any such saint, and afterward of Chichester.

*See
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This man, after he had received into his heart some sparks of the pure and sincere religion (all be it that he did not greatly attempt any thing against the bishops in this troublous time), foreseeing and providing for his own safe-guard as much as he might, yet could he not so lurk, or lie hidden, but that at length he was perceived. These men have so many marks, so many eyes, so many suspicions, that there can be none so small a thing which may pass or scape them; no so high estate or dignity, unto which these men, through their cruel and unshamefaced tyranny, will not give assault: in so much that now they begin not only to be feared of the common people, but also to be a terror unto kings and princes. Peacock was taken and carried straight unto Lambeth; Thomas Burschere, archbishop of Canterbury, then primate, bearing all the rule.

Then the doctors and bishops gathered together into the archbishop's court, in which convocation the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the bishop of Rochester, and the bishop of Lincoln, where, besides many other articles, the presence of the bread in the sacrament was laid unto Peacock: insomuch that the knot of amity and concord which was ordained by Christ, to the great comfort of the church, (I know not by what means,) through the envy of Satan, is turned into a matter of most grievous discord and dissension amongst Christians. Insomuch that there hath in a manner no matter continued so many years more pernicious or hurtful unto men's salvation, than that from whence the chief seed or offspring of mutual consolation and comfort of men's life, ought to be taken and sought for.

For what other thing doth the communicating of the Lord's body and blood declare unto us, but first of all a testimony and witness of

(1) For this admirable preamble to the history of Reynold Peacock, see Edition 1563, pp. 362-367; also the Latin Edition, 1559, pp. 101-114.—ED.

his benefits towards us, and of our amity and joining with him? For we do understand by the bread, which is communicate and given unto every man, that his body once broken was given unto all and every one of us. So likewise the cup, passing through us all in order, declareth that the blood once shed for us, not for Himself alone, was, as it were, bestowed for the salvation of all men. Therefore, lest any man should think that His passion should be vain, but that it alone should work in all men (as many as do believe or hereafter shall believe) absolute and perfect peace and quietness, and eternal refreshing of the soul, now languishing with over-long hunger; therefore, as a figure and remembrance of that thing, is the bread together with the cup set before us; which, being received into the outward man, it is easy to be understood what the sacrifice of his body, applied unto us by faith, worketh in our inward soul. For by faith that sacrifice is to be applied, if we will have it profit us any thing at all: for, except the meat be received, it engendereth no nourishing. Therefore we are commanded to eat. Even so, where faith doth not receive Christ, there is no hope of life or quietness of soul; the body is quickened up with eternal life, by the bread which is received, albeit that the bread alone, without the cup, is not of so great effect; neither otherwise is the body and blood of Christ as common meat, but mystical and spiritual food, wherewithal our bodies are not fed, but our spiritual parts and members. For corporal and bodily things are apt and fit for bodies, and spiritual things for the spiritual parts. Therefore I call this, spiritual food or sustenance; for as much as whatsoever effect corporal food worketh in the sustentation of the body, the same doth Christ work in our spiritual soul. That is to say: he feedeth it, refresheth, quickeneth, maketh it joyful, maintaineth and supporteth it, and restoreth it unto everlasting life; giveth peace unto the unquiet conscience, reconcileth the Father's wrath, pacifieth the displeasure of sin, and giveth all kind of abundance of heavenly grace; and, finally, whatsoever force and power the meat outwardly received hath in the visible body, the like power and strength doth the Son of God perform in our invisible members, if he be received with faith.

Thus, not without cause, he is called food in the mystical Scriptures, where the Lord himself prophesieth, saying: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you;" in which place the bare words are not to be looked upon, but the analogy of them; that, like as the Son of God is meat, so our faith should be the mouth and the belly. How the same should be received, it is already declared by the Jews, who, seeking salvation by righteousness of the law, and by works, therefore fell away from God, because they, being filled and stuffed up with other meats, have not eaten the flesh of the Son of Man; that is to say, because they did not believe upon his anointed. The same likewise will happen unto the Turks, whatsoever works they do work by the law, as unto us also there is none other way or mean of salvation appointed in any thing, than only by belief in Jesus Christ. There be many kinds of meat, but one only which bringeth forth eternal life; for the Jews have their meats which are unsavoury

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letters, which they do yet gnaw upon. The Turks also have their unsavoury meats, which are also gathered thereupon; which do nothing else but fill and stretch out the belly and bowels, and engender no lively juice; and we also, playing in a manner the Jews' part, have our dishes filled with divers and sundry ceremonies, traditions, rites, superstitions, and works. This man trusteth much in long pilgrimages; another tarrieth at home, devoutly praying unto saints; another giveth much unto the high altar, and to building of churches; another getteth him a holy vesture, wherein he thinketh himself safe from all evil spirits. There be also some, who think to help themselves much, by often hearing of masses. How much confidence do many put in pardons bought, or in confession of their sins unto the priest! And as these lets are gathered somewhere else, than in the secret gardens of the Scripture; so were there other accidents more near unto the Scriptures than they, which, notwithstanding, for so much as they are nothing else but, as it were, the sauces of that one meat, they are very foolishly taken of many for the meat itself; as fasting, praying, watching, alms, and such other like works of charity, and of the law, which being used as sauces, have their sweet savour. For there is but only one meat which is effectual unto everlasting life, unto such as do eat it, which is the flesh of Christ Jesus; the eating whereof, if we will interpret the allegory, is our faith taking hold of Christ, which alone, without all help, doth only justify us. Where this faith is not present, it is sin, a filthy and vile thing, and a defiled cloth, whatsoever man's holiness doth; and it is mere folly, whatsoever the wisdom of man taketh in hand, or goeth about. Finally, the unhappy hunger of the soul can by no other means be remedied or holpen, but only by this heavenly food, after that Christ came down from heaven, who was offered up for us by his death, pacifying all things. They were but vanities before, whatsoever man's traditions did show unto us. There was great study and care had for good works, wherewithal every man laboured to mitigate and assuage his hunger: but they were all vanities, whatsoever man's power or the elements of this world did show unto us: the soul was wounded, and could not cure itself; it lacked another kind of medicine. The thirst was great, which might be remedied, but could not be satisfied; it might be watered or quenched with blood, otherwise it could not be assuaged with any liquor of man's invention. Wherefore the Lord doth not unaptly call himself 'meat,' and his blood verily 'drink:' not that it is so in deed, according to the outward sense, but that under the covered sense of this sacrament, he might declare what our faith doth work upon him.

Thou, peradventure, believest in Christ, and sayest that he is dead for thee; wilt thou then understand and know, what effect his death doth work in thee? Thou comest to this supper, and, first of all, the bread and the wine is set before thee, which doth pass into thy body. To what end is that done? To none other end, but only that they should nourish thee. Therefore art thou commanded to take and eat.

But what wilt thou eat? Truly if there were none other thing meant in it, the matter were not of great importance. But, foras-

much as the bare elements are not set afore thee, but under the name of the Lord's body and blood, thou mayest well judge that there is some mystery contained herein, which may admonish or warn thee. But what mystery thinkest thou is contained therein? What other canst thou judge, than that thereby thou mayest behold and see, as it were in a seal, what the body and blood of our Lord, being shed for thee, doth work in thy soul? even the very same effect that the bread and the drink do work in the external body. Therefore do the bread and wine take the name of the body and blood, that by the one, the power and operation of the other may the better be understood and known: not that the same should be bread according to his substance which is the body of Christ; but that we, conferring the power and effect of both of them together, may be admonished and warned by the bread, whose memory it is, that we do celebrate by the bread. Wherefore the bread and Christ do wholly differ in the predicament of substance, while that they do understand the quality for the substance, and do not diligently seek out the power and mystery of his passion, only staying themselves upon his passion, and passing over to seek out the power and operation of his death, in which the whole principal point doth consist: in the other part there is not so great profit or benefit received by them, who either behold or handle the same. Let us also here allege the figures of the old law, and especially such as are compared unto memorials. The people of Israel, what time they were amongst the Egyptians, the same night that they should be delivered, were commanded to kill a lamb, which, without all doubt, did signify that Christ should come. But how? did it foreshow the same, according to any part of the substance? No, verily: for there is no man that will say that Christ was a lamb indeed, but according to certain qualities and properties of the same. Therefore were they commanded to take a young lamb, without any spot. What is more simple than a lamb? what is more pure than that which is without spot? and, finally, what can be more like unto Christ?

And, contrariwise, according to the reason of the substance, what can be more unlike the same? Likewise may be said of the cow, with other sacrifices and oblations of the Jews, by which Christ was foreshowed by certain marks, very aptly, when, notwithstanding, their substance was greatly repugnant and contrary. Why do we then in these sacraments so greedily seek for the concordance of the substance, when it doth not greatly pertain unto the purpose? For the mystery doth not lie hid in the matter itself, but rather in more secret notes and marks of things, by which the bread and the body of Christ, the wine and his blood, are correspondent, the one unto the other, by a mutual analogy; which analogy, when the christian mind doth consider and weigh with himself, of necessity he doth thereby get a great confirmation and establishing of his faith, together with great consolation and comfort of his conscience; and, specially, unto such as be afflicted and troubled in spirit, and do labour, being heavy laden. For what can be more acceptable or more pleasant unto that heart, than, where he doth not only believe, but also seeth plainly set forth, as it were, before his eyes, his sins freely to be forgiven him; his long, great hunger to be satisfied, as it were

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at a banquet; and to be converted into all kind of fulness: all the tumults and vexations, which gnaw and trouble the mind, to be at quietness; all fear of damnation utterly to be avoided; and most firm and steadfast hope of salvation to be come in place; and that he shall now enjoy with his God most joyful peace and quietness? And that, not by reason of any of his own merits, neither by any works or labours achieved; not because he had fasted so long, or filled up so many bushels or measures with prayers; not by this or that kind of hurting or tormenting his body, or being clothed in this or that colour, or being conversant in any kind of religion: but freely, through the only faith in Christ, who is made the redemption for our sins, that He alone might worthily be called the bread of our life. Otherwise, if there were any other help or preferment unto salvation but only Christ, then were not he the only bread of life: and, as this bread which came down from heaven is freely given unto us, so is it the only bread, neither doth it require any other food or sustentation; albeit that all other meats do require bread.

Thus, christian reader, thou seest so great strength and power in this death and passion, which, albeit it be invisible, and cannot be perceived with our bodily senses (howsoever that it may be noted or figured out), yet the Lord could by no means more aptly or plainly set out unto us so secret a mystery, than by this kind of sensible sacrament. What is more familiar or common unto the world, than daily bread and drink, by the continual use whereof the life of man is restored and maintained? and what thing comes nearer to the declaration of this unspeakable mystery than they, if we do behold the power, strength, and properties thereof, and not the substance. Wherefore, not without great cause and deep consideration, the Lord himself did give unto us bread and wine, which we should receive for his body and blood; not for any necessity in the things themselves, but, by this means, providing for our dulness and slowness, which is accustomed to be led by none other means than by the outward senses and eyes; that thereby he might the more firmly establish our faith, and make our consolation and comfort in him the more full and certain. And whereupon now is this great frowardness sprung up amongst Christians, that they, envying their own so great felicity, that they now convert and turn that into a snare of their own destruction, which is given us by the Lord to be our only comfort and consolation? Amongst the Greeks, in times past, the celebrating of this communion was called 'Eucharistia;' in which they received the benefit of salvation, and the Lord again received of them thanksgiving. But where is now this love, thanksgiving, and charity, become? when, for our salvation, received of the Lord, we destroy our brother, we shed *his* blood whom the Lord redeemed with his precious blood; and for none other occasion, but only for that which ought to teach us all kind of meekness and gentleness towards all men. I grant that the purity and sincerity of the doctrine is to be defended; but what kind of defence call you this, when men are first slain and put to death, and afterwards we seek out and discourse, in the synods, parliaments, universities, and schools, whether the matter and cause be true and certain or not? And the matter is yet before the Judge! David did not deserve to put to his hand or help to

the building of the temple of God, because he came bloody out of so many battles and slaughters of men; albeit that they were most just battles, and that he took them not upon him without the prescribed commandment of God. Notwithstanding, the business was left wholly unto Solomon to be performed and finished, who succeeded his father in peace and quietness. So likewise let us feign the cause here to be just and true; let us grant that it cannot be proved that Christ's words have any ambiguous sense. Notwithstanding, by mine opinion, it is greatly to be looked upon, and taken heed of, with what lenity and gentleness these christian princes, and these holy builders of the Lord's temple, do execute and use their office; and it is diligently to be marked, lest that thing which is lawful in them, be not likewise allowed of the Lord. How many, before this man Peacock, and how many, since his death, have there been devoured and swallowed up by the bloody bishops! Yet do I not here discourse whether the cause were just and true or no. But admit it were most true, yet in mine opinion, it is greatly to be respected and regarded with what hands they do come to the building of the holy temple of God. Besides that, I will here pass over and speak nothing how unjust and false their cause is.

But now I return again unto Peacock, of whom, notwithstanding, I will not rehearse all things, for his injurious handling is long, and the circumstances thereof very long. I will only touch the principal points. When the articles were laid against him, and that they had charged this catholic bishop with the grievous and heinous name of heresy, they, by and by, made haste to give judgment. For these are the kinds of disputations which are now used amongst Christians: that if any controversy do rise in the church, or that there be any disputation about any ambiguous sense of the Scripture, straightway it is converted and turned into a matter of judgment; so that learning hath lost her liberty, the schools are changed into courts of judgment, where it is not looked for who shall vanquish or win, but whether of them shall live. Instead of the adversary, the judge sitteth; and, in place of the pen, the sword is drawn; which, for the most part, doth not fall upon him who is worst or most wicked, but upon the most inferior and weak; and this may be their liberty which is used in pleading, that, whereas before the face and eyes of the one, death is set; the other, although he be overcome with reason, yet doth he vanquish and overcome by power. How much have we Christians gone astray in these days from the footsteps and examples of the ancient church! What more cruel time of heresies was there, than even in that age, when St. Jerome did live? I will not here report with how grievous heresies the church was infected. Yet, notwithstanding, they were not driven unto this severity of judgment, if any did dissent or disagree from the residue: for there was no need of it. For why? the errors were so manifestly declared and tossed in the books of the doctors, in which the reader might quietly with himself judge, which was confirmable or agreeable in either part, and what contrariwise. How oftentimes doth St. Jerome, in equal and open contentions, provoke his adversaries to read over his writings, epistles, and apologies, as unto places abundantly discussing such matters; neither suffering his own liberties to be taken from him,

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neither taking away others.' "I will not," said he, "that he should answer me, who by power and might may oppress me, but teach me cannot." Notwithstanding, he did no less prevail in this behalf, in seeking out the perils and dangers of opinions, but much more happily and fortunately satisfied also them who did contend; and confirmed and established the others who were in doubt. How little could Helvidius, Jovinianus, and Pelagius, prevail in sowing of their opinions and heresies, when that St. Jerome's works, being so eloquently written, were once spread abroad, and read! What heresy was it so largely spread over all, which, as soon as St. Augustine's works were once published, did not, by and by, keep silence, as though the voice or speech thereof had been utterly taken away; or, when St. Jerome began to shine in the church, who is no less to be feared in his books, than any judge sitting in the place of judgment. But now we have lost all those learned contentions; or, more truly to speak, we have lost such heads and rulers of the church as St. Augustine and St. Jerome were, who have knowledge and understanding to dispute with learning and eloquence. But, in their place, there is such posterity crept in, as which, with mere power and violence, do for the most part defend that, which they cannot judge or discern, when they are not able to accomplish the matter by learning. Yet notwithstanding learned men must now, will they, nil they, speak and answer to their unlearned law: or else let them learn, by the peril and danger of this man Peacock, to keep silence and hold their peace.

For how do they vanquish or overcome him with learning, according to the example of their elders? Do they overthrow him with eloquence, or confound him with writing? do they subdue him with arguments, or subvert him by learning or judgment? or else do they, as St. Jerome saith, set foot to foot, conferring together, and bring to light the secret snares of errors? or do they convince them, when they are so made manifest, and violently take away the victory from the man, although he do never so much resist? Finally, they do either force him to silence, or put him to shame; so compassing him round about with snares and nets of reasons, that he dare not, not once, open his mouth against them; but also he cannot, though he would. And with such helps and means, they ought to proceed in such matters, if they were learned men. If they be not learned, why have they the rule in determining controversies in the church? why is the pooreblind suffered to judge colours? If it were a false matter which Peacock did sustain, there was no doubt but that he might easily have been overcome, if any learned man had withstood him with apt and fit arguments, who, by the dexterity of learning, and by the force and power of the Scriptures, might have caused the truth and goodness of the matter to have had the upper hand; such as in our forefathers' days were wont to root out errors.

But now, it may thus be thought, that amongst them, either they lacked some fit champions to defend the truth, who might be equal unto him in doing the business; or else that their matters seemed very doubtful unto them, in which they durst not, in equal balance, contend and strive, but that they fly straightway to judgment, as unto their only fort and defence, where they do not contend with

learning, but with threatenings and authority; wherewithal it is easy to vanquish and overcome even the most wise and learned men. When Peacock was brought before the judges and bishops, although he did nothing prevail, notwithstanding he declared many things worthy of a good divine, and armed himself with all kind of armour, both for the defence of his life and cause. They, on the contrary part, with like labour and pain, laboured and travailed for their dignity and gain; and so much the more earnestly, because they had now gotten such an adversary, whose authority, the higher and greater it was in the church, they supposed it would bring the greater ruin and decay of their tyranny and estimation unto the people. They, fearing this, and the matter being as it were even now brought to hand-strokes, they thought good to use all kind of preparation and to show their power and strength, all that ever they might. Wherefore the most subtle and exquisite sophisters, philosophers, divines, and orators, were called for, besides centurions of lawyers, and decretists, whose use and help in these matters is greatly esteemed.

First of all the matter was attempted with private colloquies, and, by and by after, a terrible form of judgment was appointed, threatening present death unto him. To these terrors often were adjoined threatening exhortations, and quarrellings, and oftentimes there lacked no flattering promises, as cups mingled with the venomous enchantment of Circe. And, finally, there is no stone left unturned; they entreat him; desire him; they earnestly lay upon him; they require him with fair means; they threaten him; they make him fair promises; they flatter him. Moreover they grant him a further time to consult and repent, whereby the delay of his death might make his life the sweeter unto him: they bid him speedily to foresee and look unto himself, affirming that there was yet great hope both of having his life and dignity, if he would recant and forsake his opinions.*

After the death of Henry Chichesley above mentioned, next succeeded John Stafford, A.D. 1443, who continued nearly nine years. After him came John Kemp, A.D. 1452, who sat but one year and a half. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of which archbishop fell the trouble of Reynold Peacock, bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the pope's prelates for his faith and profession of the gospel. Of this bishop, Hall also, in his Chronology, toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthwart judgment, as he termeth it, was given by the fathers of the spirituality against him. "This man," saith he, "began to move questions not privately, but openly in the universities, concerning the Annates or Peter-pence, and other jurisdictions and authorities pertaining to the see of Rome; and not only put forth the questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abjured at Paul's Cross." Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This bishop, first of St. Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as duke Humphrey lived, by whom he was promoted and much made of, was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote, as Leland recordeth, divers books and treatises. But after that good duke was thus, as ye have heard, made away, this good man, lacking his back-stay, was open to his enemies, and

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nold Pea-
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 matter soon found against him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accused by privy and malignant promoters unto the archbishop, letters first were directed down from the archbishop, to cite all men to appear that could say any thing against him. The form of which citation here ensueth.

Copy of the Citation sent by Thomas Bowcher, alias Burschere, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas, by the permission of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to all and singular parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks and learned men, whatsoever they be, constituted and ordained in any place throughout our province of Canterbury, health, grace, and benediction.

We have received a grievous complaint of our reverend fellow-brother, Reynold Peacock bishop of Chichester, containing in it: that, albeit our said reverend fellow-brother, the bishop, delivered unto us certain books written by him in the English tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, corrected, reformed, and allowed: notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the said books depending and remaining before us undiscussed) have openly preached and taught at Paul's Cross in London, and in divers other places of our province of Canterbury, that our said fellow-brother the bishop hath propounded, made, and written, or caused to be written, in the said books, certain conclusions repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same; by the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the state and good name and fame of the lord Reynold the bishop, are grievously offended and hurt, and he and his opinions marvellously burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and severally apart do command you, firmly enjoining you, that openly and generally you do warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular such persons, who will object any thing contrary and against the conclusions of our said reverend fellow-brother the bishop, had or contained in his books or writings; that the twentieth day after such monition or warning had, they do freely, of their own accord, appear before us and our commissaries in this behalf appointed, wheresoever we shall then be, in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to speak, propound, allege, and affirm fully and sufficiently in writing, whatsoever heretical or erroneous matter they will speak, propound, or object, against the said conclusions contained in his said books; and both to satisfy and receive, whatsoever shall seem meet and right in this behalf by the holy institution and ordinances.

And forasmuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and undiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed, we charge you that, by this our authority, you inhibit and forbid all and every one so to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom also we, by the tenor of these presents, do likewise forbid, that, during the examination of the conclusions and books aforesaid, depending before us and our commissaries undiscussed, they do not presume by any means, without good advice and judgment, to preach, judge, and affirm, any thing to the prejudice or offence of the said lord Reynold the bishop: and if so be you do find any in this behalf gainsaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cause them peremptorily to be cited, to appear before us or our commissaries, in this behalf appointed, the tenth day after their citation, if it be a court day, or else the next court-day following, wheresoever we shall then be, in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to make further declaration, by form of law, of the cause of their disobedience, and to receive such punishment as justice and equity shall determine in that behalf; and that by your letters you do duly certify us or our commissaries, what you have done in the premises, at the day and place aforesaid; or that he who hath so executed our commandment, do so certify us by his letters.

Dated at our manor of Lambeth, the 22d day of October, A. D. 1457, and in the fourth year of our translation.

Peacock
 appeareth
 at Lambeth.

This citation being directed, the bishop, upon the summons thereof, was brought, or rather came, before the judges and bishops unto

Lambeth, where the aforesaid Thomas the archbishop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbishop's court; in which convention also, the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied by the bishops of Rochester and Lincoln. What were the opinions and articles against him objected, afterwards, in his revocation, shall be specified. In his answering for himself, in such a company of the pope's friends, albeit he could not prevail, notwithstanding he, stoutly defending himself, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could have prevailed.

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But they, on the contrary part, with all labour and travail extended themselves, either to reduce him, or else to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terror and threatening, so also many fair flattering words and gentle persuasions were admixed withal. Briefly, to make a short narration of a long and busy traverse, here was no stone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to entreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrify his mind, till at length, he, being vanquished and overcome by the bishops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by, a recantation was put unto him by the bishops, which he should declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth.

Great labour to reduce Peacock from his opinions.

The Form and Manner of the Retraction of Reynold Peacock.

In the name of God, Amen. Before you, the most reverend father in Christ and lord, the lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England and legate of the apostolic see: I Reynold Peacock, unworthy, bishop of Chichester, do purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confess and acknowledge, that I, in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twenty years last past and more, have otherwise conceived, holden, taught, and written, as touching the sacraments, and the articles of the faith, than the holy church of Rome, and universal church; and also that I have made, written, published, and set forth, many and divers pernicious doctrines, books, works, writings, heresies, contrary to and against the true catholic and apostolic faith, containing in them errors contrary to the catholic faith, and especially these errors and heresies hereunder written.¹

I. First of all, That we are not bound, by the necessity of faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, after his death, descended into hell.

II. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholic church.

III. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe the communion of saints.

IV. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the body materially in the Sacrament.

V. Item, That the universal church may err in matters which pertain unto faith.

VI. Item, That it is not necessary unto salvation to believe that that, which every general council doth universally ordain, approve, or determine, should necessarily, for the help of our faith, and the salvation of souls, be approved and holden of all faithful Christians.

Wherefore I Reynold Peacock, wretched sinner, who have long walked in darkness, and now, by the merciful disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and restored unto the unity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forsake all errors and heresies aforesaid.

Articles formerly held by Peacock.

Notwithstanding, godly reader, it is not to be believed that Peacock

(1) Ex Regist.

*Henry
VI.*
A. D.
1457.

did so give over these opinions, howsoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the bishops, that when they do subdue or overcome any man, they carry him whither they list, as it were a young steer by the nose, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a parrot, what he should speak unto the people; not according to his own will, but after their lust and fantasy. Neither is it to be doubted but that this bishop repented him afterwards of his recantation; which may easily be judged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppressed with privy and secret tyranny, and there obtained the crown of martyrdom, or no.

Articles
of Pea-
cock,
mention-
ed by
Thomas
Gas-
coigne.

The dictionary of Thomas Gascoigne I have not in my hands at present: but, if credit be to be given to such as have to us alleged the book, this we may find in the eighth century of John Bale, chapter xix.; that the said Thomas Gascoigne, in the third part of his said dictionary, writing of Reynold Peacock, maketh declaration of his articles, containing in them matter of sore heresy.¹ First, saith he, Reynold Peacock, at Paul's Cross, preached openly, that the office of a christian prelate, chiefly, above all other things, is to preach the word of God. That man's reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. That the use of the sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature. That bishops who buy their admissions of the bishop of Rome, do sin. That no man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the church of Rome. Also that the riches of the bishops, by inheritance, are the goods of the poor. Item, that the apostles themselves, personally, were not the makers of the Creed; and that in the same Creed, once, was not the article, "He went down to hell." Item, that of the four senses of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gave little estimation, in some points, to the authority of the old doctors. Item, that he condemned the wilful begging of the friars, as a thing idle and needless. This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also, adding this moreover, saith, that he, not contented to follow the catholic sentence of the church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think soundly (as he judged it) of the holy Eucharist.

Peacock
detained
in prison.

At length, for these and such other articles, the said Reynold Peacock was condemned for a heretic, by the archbishops and by the bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and Winchester, with other divines more. Whereupon he, being driven to his recantation, was notwithstanding detained still in prison; where some say, that he was privily made away by death.

Polydore
noted.

Hall addeth, that some say his opinions to be, that spiritual persons, by God's law, ought to have no temporal possessions. Others write, that he said, that personal tithes were not due by God's law. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at Paul's Cross to abjure, and all his books burned, and he himself kept in his own house during his natural life. I marvel that Polydore, of this extremity of the bishop's handling, and of his articles, in his history maketh no memorial. Be-like it made but little for the honesty of his great master the pope.

(1) Ex Tho. Gascoig. lib de Doctrina Theolog. part iii.

From persecution and burning in England, now out of the way to digress a little, to speak of foreign matters of the church of Rome: you remember before, in the latter end of the council of Basil, how Eugene was deposed.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1157.

See Appendix.

* The¹ Germans at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with Felix, and the council of Basil; others with Eugene and the council of Ferrara; and some with neither. It happened also, at the same time, A. D. 1444, that the dauphin of France, set on, as it is supposed by some, by the same Eugene, leading an army of twenty-five thousand men into Alsace, laid siege unto Basil to disturb the council, having, there, a great conflict with the Germans, not without great slaughter on both sides; whereby the council could no longer be kept in Germany for the power of pope Eugene and his adherents, but only in France, through the pragmatical sanction of the French king. At length Eugene brought to pass, partly through the help of Frederic (being not yet emperor, but labouring for the empire), partly by his orators, in the number of whom was Æneas Sylvius above mentioned, amongst the Germans, that they were content to give over, both the council of Basil, and the neutrality.*

Of the conditions and martial affairs of Eugene, how he made war against Sfortia, a famous captain of Italy, and what other wars he raised besides, not only in Italy, but also in Germany, against the city and council of Basil, I shall not need to make any long rehearsal. After his deposition ye heard also how Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope. Whereupon another great schism followed in the church during all the life of Eugene.

Eugene warrreth against Sfortia and divers others. Pope Felix.

After his death, his next successor was pope Nicholas V., who, as you before have heard, brought so to pass with the emperor Frederic III., that Felix was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas, and was therefore of him afterwards received to the room of cardinal for his submission; and Frederic, for his working, was confirmed at Rome to be full emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451. For emperors, before they be confirmed and crowned by the pope, are no emperors, but only called kings of Romans.

Emperors are but kings of Romans before they be crowned by the pope.

This pope Nicholas here mentioned, to get and gather great sums of money, appointed a jubilee A. D. 1450, at which time there resorted a greater number of people unto Rome, than hath at any time before been seen. At which time we read in the story of Platina that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing.² As there was a great concourse of people resorting up to the mount Vatican to behold the image of our Saviour, which there they had to show to pilgrims, the people being thick going to and fro between the mount and the city, by chance a certain mule, belonging to the cardinal of St. Mark, came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to avoid the way, one or two falling upon the mule, there was such a press and throng upon that occasion on the bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of men, and three horses were there strangled, and on each side of the bridge many besides fell over into the water, and were drowned. By means of which occasion the pope afterwards caused the small houses to be

Idolatry punished

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 369.—ED.

(2) Ex Platina de vitis.

Henry VI.

plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by idolatry.¹

A.D. 1458.

In the time of this pope one Mattheus Palmerius wrote a book 'De Angelis,' for defending whereof he was condemned by the pope, and burned at Corna, A. D. 1448.²

After Nicholas V. succeeded Calixtus III., who, amongst divers other things, ordained, both at noon and at evening the bell to toll the aves, as it was used in the popish time, to help the soldiers that fought against the Turks; for which cause, also, he ordained the feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord, solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences, as was Corpus Christi day.

St. Edmund of Canterbury canonized.

Also this pope, proceeding contrary to the councils of Constance and Basil, decreed that no man should appeal from the pope to any council. By him also St. Edmund of Canterbury, with divers others, were made saints.

Promotion choketh religion.

Next after this Calixtus succeeded Pius II., otherwise called Æneas Sylvius, who wrote the two books of commentaries upon the council of Basil before mentioned. This Æneas, at the time of the writing of those his books, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tolerable judgment and doctrine, from which he afterwards, being pope, seemed to decline and swerve, seeking by all means possible how to deface and abolish the books which heretofore he had written.

Sentences or Proverbs attributed unto this Pope Pius II.

The divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by faith, than by disputation.

Christian faith is to be considered, not by what reason it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neither can a covetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poor men instead of silver, to noblemen instead of gold, and to princes instead of precious stones.

An artificial oration moveth fools, but not wise men.

Suitors in the law be as birds: the court is the bait; the judges be the nets and the lawyers be the fowlers.

Men are to be given to dignities, and not dignities to men.

The office of a bishop is heavy, but it is blessed to him that doth well bear it

A bishop without learning may be likened to an ass.

An evil physician destroyeth bodies, but an unlearned priest destroyeth souls.

Marriage was taken from priests not without great reason; but with much greater reason it ought to be restored again.

Marriage of priests allowed by Æneas Sylvius.

The like sentence to this last, he uttereth in his second book of the Council of Basil before specified, saying, "Peradventure it were not the worst, that the most part of priests had their wives, for many should be saved in priestly marriage, who now, in unmarried priesthood, are damned." The same Pius also, as Cælius reporteth, dissolved certain orders of nuns, of the orders of St. Bridget and St. Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burn no more, nor cover a harlot under the vesture of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought as much piety and godliness as he brought learning unto his popedom, had excelled many popes that went before him.

(1) Ex Platina.

(2) Ex Tritemio.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Æneas, called Pius the Pope, writeth touching the peace of the church, unto Gasper Schlick, the emperor's chancellor, in his 54th epistle.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1461.

A Letter of Pope Pius, touching the Peace of the Church

All men do abhor and detest schism. The way to remedy this evil Charles, the French king, hath showed us both safe and brief; which is, that princes or their orators should convent and assemble together in some common place, where they may conclude upon matters amongst themselves. To bring this to pass, it were needful for writings to be sent again to all kings and princes, to send their orators to Strasburg, or to Constance, with their full authority, there to treat of matters appertaining to the peace of the church. Neither would it require so great expenses; forasmuch as we see the year before three hundred gilders to be sufficient. Constantine, the emperor, bestowed not much more in the congregation of the council of Nice. And this way could not be stopped; neither could the pope or the council withstand it, or make excuse, as though this might not easily be done without them. For why? The secular princes may convent and assemble together, will they, nill they; and yet notwithstanding unity may there be concluded; for he should be an undoubted pope, whom all princes would obey. Neither do I see any of the clergy so constant to death, who will suffer martyrdom either for the one part or the other.¹ All we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold; which if they would worship idols, we would also do the same, and deny not only the pope, but God also, if the secular power strain us thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. Howsoever it be, let us all desire and seek for peace; which peace, whether it come by a council, or by assembly of princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we stand not upon the term, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you give it me to assuage my hunger. Whether you call it a council, or a conventicle, or an assembly, or a congregation, or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schism may be excluded, and peace established.

The way to exclude schism is by the concord of princes.

Thus much out of the epistle of Pius. Thus again it may appear, of what sentence and mind this Pius was in the time of the council of Basil, before he was made pope.² For, as our common proverb saith, "Honours change manners;" so it happened with this Pius, who, after he came once to be pope, was much altered from what he was before. For when before, he preferred general councils before the pope, now, being pope, he did decree that no man should appeal from the high bishop of Rome to any general council.

And likewise for priests' marriage, whereas before he thought it best to have their wives restored, yet afterwards he altered his mind otherwise, insomuch that in his book treating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of Augsburg, by occasion he inveighed against a certain epistle of Huldericke, once bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests: whereby it appeareth how the mind of this Pius was altered from that it was before.³ This epistle of Huldericke is before expressed at large.⁴

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Æneas Sylvius and Diether, archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred up in Germany upon the same between Frederic palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, with others; by

Discord between Pius and the archbishop of Mentz.

(1) The pope's clergy will not abide the fire, either for prince, or pope.

(2) The breath of this pestilent seat corrupteth all that sit in it, whatsoever they were before.

(3) Æneas Sylvius, now puffed up with worldly pomp and glory, impugneth the truth which he did before both know and profess.

(4) Vol. ii. page 8.—Ed.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1457.

the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the city of Mentz, which was free before, lost her freedom and became servile.

The causes of the discord betwixt pope Pius and Diether were these:—First, Because that Diether would not consent unto him in the imposition of certain tallages and taxes within his country. Secondly, For that Diether would not be bound unto him, requiring that the said Diether, being prince-elect, should not call the other electors together without his license, that is, without the license of the bishop of Rome. And thirdly, Because Diether would not permit to the pope's legates, to convocate his clergy together after their own lust. This pope Pius began his see about A. D. 1458.

A. D. 1458.

See Appendix.

After this Pius II. succeeded Paul II., a pope wholly set upon his belly and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. This Paul, who had a daughter begotten in fornication, because he saw her on that account to be had in reproach, began (as the stories report) to repent him of the law of the single life of priests, and went about to reform the same, had not death prevented him.¹

After this Paul, came Sixtus IV., who builded up in Rome stews of both kinds, getting thereby no small revenues and rents unto the church of Rome.² This pope, amongst his other acts, reduced the year of Jubilee from the fiftieth unto the twenty-fifth. He also instituted the feast of the Conception, and the Preservation of Mary and Anna her mother and Joseph. Also he canonized Bonaventure and St. Francis for saints.

The feast of the Conception and Preservation of our Lady.

Beads brought in.

By this Sixtus also were beads brought in, and instituted to make our Lady's Psalter, through the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptista maketh mention of in this verse: "Hi filo insertis numerant sua murmura baccis;" that is, "These men, putting their beads upon a string, number their prayers." This Sixtus the pope made two and thirty cardinals in his time, of whom Petrus Ruerius was the first, who, for the time that he was cardinal, which was but two years, spent in luxurious riot, wasted and consumed, two hundred thousand florins, and was left sixty thousand in debt. Wesellus Groningensis, in a certain treatise of his, 'De Indulgentiis Papalibus,' writing of this pope Sixtus, reporteth this, That at the request of the aforesaid Peter, cardinal, and of Jerome, his brother, the said pope Sixtus permitted and granted unto the whole family of the cardinal of St. Lucy, in the three hot months of summer, June, July, and August, a thing too horrible to be spoken; with this clause, "Fiat ut petitur;" that is, "Be it as it is asked."

†

Innocent VIII. He condemned eight men and six women for heresy.

George, king of Bohemia, condemned.

Next after this Sixtus, came Innocent VIII., as rude, and as far from all learning, as his predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble facts of this pope this was one, that in the town of Poli in the Campagna he caused eight men and six women, with the lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for heretics, because that they said none of them was the vicar of Christ who came after Peter, but they only who followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of heresy, George, the king of Bohemia, and deprived him of his dignity, and also of his kingdom, and procured his whole

(1) Ex Stanisl. Rutheno. Cent. viii. Bal. [See Appendix.]
 (2) See Appendix. (3) Ibid.

stock to be utterly rejected and put down, giving his kingdom to Matthias, king of Pannonia.

Henry VI.

A. D.
1458.

Now from the popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the emperors incident to this time, with matters and grievances of the Germans, and also other princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the overthrow of this king Henry and his seat, now following to be showed. And briefly to contract long process of much tumult and business into a short narration, here is to be remembered, which partly before was signified, how, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the king and his realm. For, after the giving away of Anjou and Maine to the Frenchmen, by the unfortunate marriage of queen Margaret above-mentioned, the said Frenchmen, perceiving now by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the stay and pillar of this commonwealth to be decayed, and seeing, moreover, the hearts of the nobility amongst themselves to be divided, foreslacked no time, having such an open way into Normandy, that in short time they recovered the same, and also got Gascony, so that no more now remained to England of all the parts beyond the sea, but only Calais. Neither yet did all the calamity of the realm only rest in this: for the king, now having lost his friendly uncle, as the stay and staff of his age, who had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldened to set upon him; as appeared first by Jack Cade, the Kentish captain, who, encamping first on Blackheath, afterwards aspired to London, and had the spoil thereof, the king being driven into Warwickshire. After the suppression of Cade, ensued not long after the duke of York, who, being accompanied with three earls, set upon the king near to St. Alban's, where the king was taken in the field captive, and the duke of York was by parliament declared protector; which was A. D. 1454. After this followed long division and mortal war between the two houses of Lancaster and York, continuing many years. At length about A. D. 1460, the duke of York was slain in battle by the queen, near to the town of Wakefield, and with him also his son, the earl of Rutland; by which queen also, shortly after, in the same year, were discomfited the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Norfolk, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the duke of York; and so the queen again delivered her husband.

Mischiefs to England after the death of the duke of Gloucester.

Lands recovered of the Frenchmen.

Jack Cade.

The duke of York against the king.

See Appendix.

A. D. 1460.

After this victory obtained, the northern men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoil and rob churches, and religious houses, and villages, but also were fully intended, partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their lords and captains, to sack, waste, and utterly to subvert the city of London, and to take the spoil thereof; and no doubt (saith my history¹) would have proceeded in their conceived greedy intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy. For, as these mischiefs were in brewing, suddenly cometh the noble prince Edward unto London with a mighty army, the 27th day of February, who was the son and heir to the duke of York

The northern men intended the subversion of London.

London rescued by prince Edward.

(1) *Ex historia manuscripta, cui titulus, 'Scala Mundi.'*

Henry VI.
A. D. 1459.

above-mentioned, accompanied with the earl of Warwick, and divers more. King Henry, in the mean time, with his victory, went up to York; when Edward, being at London, caused there to be proclaimed certain articles concerning his title to the crown of England, which was the second day of March. Whereupon the next day following, the lords both temporal and spiritual being assembled together, the said articles were propounded, and also well approved. The 4th day of the said month of March, A. D. 1461, after a solemn general procession (according to the blind superstition of those days) the bishop of Exeter made a sermon at Paul's Cross, wherein he commended and proved, by manifold evidences, the title of prince Edward to be just and lawful, answering in the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

The title of Edward to the crown proved at Paul's Cross. He taketh possession of the crown.

This matter being thus discussed, prince Edward, accompanied with the lords spiritual and temporal, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to Westminster Hall, and there, by the full consent, as well of the lords, as also by the voice of all the commons, took his possession of the crown, and was called king Edward the Fourth.

These things thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of money sufficiently being ministered of the people and commons, with most ready and willing minds, for the necessary furniture of his wars; he, with the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Warwick, and lord Fauconbridge, in all speedy wise took his journey toward king Henry, who, now being at York, and forsaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge only reposed in the northern men.

Fierce and cruel battle between Henry and Edward.

When king Edward with his army had passed over the river Trent, and was come near to Ferrybridge, where also the host of king Henry was not far off, upon Palm Sunday, between Ferrybridge and Tadeaster, both the armies of the southern and northern men joined together in battle. And although, at the first beginning, divers horsemen of king Edward's side turned their backs, and spoiled the king of carriage and victuals, yet the courageous prince with his captains, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries: which battle on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, of thirty thousand of the poor commons, beside men of name. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on king Edward's part, so that king Henry having lost all, was forced to flee into Scotland, where also he gave up to the Scots the town of Berwick, after he had reigned eight and thirty years and a half.

King Henry VI. conquered.

The claim and title of the duke of York, and after him of Edward his son, put up to the lords and commons, whereby they challenged the crown to the house of York, is thus, in the story of *Scata Mundi*, word for word, as hereunder is contained.

The Title of the House of York to the Crown of England.

Edward the Third, right king of England, had issue, first, prince Edward: secondly, William Hatfield: thirdly, Lionel: fourthly, John of Gaunt, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the Second, which died without issue. William Hatfield died without issue. Lionel, duke of Clarence, had issue lawfully begot,

Philippa, his only daughter and heir; the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and had issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and heir; which Roger had issue, Edmund earl of March, Roger, Anne, and Alienor: Edmund and Alienor died without issue, and the said Anne, by lawful matrimony was coupled unto Richard earl of Cambridge, the son of Edmund of Langley, who had issue and lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet, now duke of York. John of Gaunt gat Henry, who unrightfully entreated king Richard, then being alive Edmund Mortimer earl of March, son of the said Philippa, daughter to Lionel. To the which Richard, duke of York and son to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer earl of March, son and heir to the said Philippa, daughter and heir to the said Lionel, the third son of king Edward the Third, the right and dignity of the crown appertained and belonged, afore any issue of the said John of Gaunt. Notwithstanding the said title of dignity of the said Richard of York, the said Richard desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that king Henry the Sixth should be had and taken for king of England during his natural life from this time, without hurt of his title.

Henry
VI.
A. D.
1461.
Richard
Plant-
agenet.

Wherefore the king, understanding the said title of the said duke to be just, lawful, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament, and by the authority of the same parliament, declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the said title for just, good, lawful and true; and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard of York very true and rightful heir to the crown of England and France; and that all other statutes and acts made by any of the late Henries, contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and consented that the said duke and his heirs shall after his natural life enjoy the crown, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the duke of York, shall be high treason, and all acts of parliaments contrary to this principal act be void and of none effect, &c.¹

And thus much for the reign of king Henry VI., who now lacked his uncle and protector, duke of Gloucester, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

In the time of this king was builded the house in London, called Leaden-hall, founded by one Simon Eyre, mayor once of the said city of London, A. D. 1445.

Leaden-
hall. The
standard,
the con-
duit in
Fleet-
street,
and New-
gate: the
colleges
of Eaton
and
King's.

Also the standard in Cheap, builded by John Wells, A. D. 1442; the conduit in Fleet-street, by William Eastfield, A. D. 1438: item, Newgate, builded by the goods of Richard Whittington, A. D. 1422.

Moreover the said Henry VI. founded the college of Eton, and another house, having then the title of St. Nicholas, in Cambridge, now called King's College.²

In the reign of this Henry VI., it is not to be passed over in silence, which we find noted in the parliament rolls, how that Lewis, archbishop of Rouen, after the death of the late bishop of Ely, had granted unto him by the pope's bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said bishopric, by the name of the administrator of the said bishopric. Lewis, the aforesaid archbishop, showed his bulls to the king, who utterly rejected his bulls. Notwithstanding, for his service done in France, the king granted to him the administration aforesaid, which, to all intents, at the petition of the said Lewis, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were bishop, touching profits, liberties, and hability.

The king
rejects
the pope's
bulls.

Neither again is here to be overpast a certain tragical act done

(1) Ex Scala Mundi.

(2) Ib.

Henry VI.
 A. D. 1461.
 Example of God's rod and judgment.

between Easter and Whitsuntide of a false Briton, A. D. 1427, who murdered a good widow in her bed (who had brought him up of alms, without Aldgate in the suburbs of London) and bare away all that she had, and afterwards he took succour of holy church at St. George's in Southwark; but at last he took the cross, and forswore the king's land.¹ And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and women of the same parish came out with stones and channel-dung, and there made an end of him in the High-street, so that he went no further, notwithstanding the constables and other men also, who had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.

EDWARD THE FOURTH.²

A. D. 1461.
 KING EDWARD, after his conquest and victory achieved against king Henry, returned again to London, where, upon the vigil of St. Peter and Paul, being on a Sunday, he was crowned king of England, and reigned twenty-two years, albeit not without great disquietness, and much perturbation in his reign.

Queen Margaret flees the land.

Queen Margaret, hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also fain to flee the land, and went to her father, duke of Anjou; from whence, the next year following, she returned again, to renew war against king Edward, with small succour and less luck. For being encountered by the earl of Warwick, about November, she was driven to the seas again, and by tempest of weather was driven into Scotland.

A. D. 1462. In this year we read that king Edward, in the cause of a certain widow for rape, sat in his own person in Westminster-hall, upon his own bench, discussing her cause.³

A. D. 1463. King Henry VI. again repulsed at the battle of Exham.

The year following, king Henry, issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the north country to recover the crown, unto whom the lord Radulph Percy, and lord Radulph Gray flying from king Edward, did adjoin themselves: but the Lord so disposing, king Henry with his power was repulsed in battle at Exham by the lord Mounteute, having then the rule of the north; where the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Ross, with certain others were taken. The lord Radulph Percy was slain, the residue fled. Albeit the history of 'Scala Mundi' referreth this battle to the year 1464, the 15th day of May: in which month of May were beheaded the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Ross, lord Philip Wentworth, lord Thomas Hussy, lord Thomas Findern, besides twenty-one others belonging to the retinue and household of King Henry VI. Queen Margaret, finding no resting place here in England, took her progress again from whence she came, learning in her own country to drink that drink, which she herself had brewed here in England.

(1) Ex vetusto cod. cui initium, nomina custodem, &c. Et ex Fabiano.

(2) Edition 1585. p. 712.—Ed.

(3) Ex Scala Mundi.

And not long after, the next year, A. D. 1465, on the day of St. Peter and Paul, king Henry being found and known in a wood by one Cantlow (as they say), was arrested by the earl of Warwick, and at last, of a king made prisoner in the Tower of London. †

In this mean time, king Edward after the motion of marriage for him being made, and first the lady Margaret, sister to James IV., king of Scots, thought upon, but that motion taking no effect, afterwards the lady Elizabeth, sister to Henry king of Castile, was intended; but she being under age, the earl of Warwick turning then his legation and voyage to the French king, Louis XI., to obtain lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to Charlott: the French queen, and having obtained the same, had cast favour upon one Elizabeth Grey, widow of sir John Grey, knight, slain before in the battle of St. Alban's, daughter to the duchess of Bedford, and lord Rivers; and first went about to have her to his concubine. But she, as being unworthy (as she said) to be the wife of such a high personage, so thinking herself too good to be his concubine, in such sort won the king's heart, that incontinent, before the return of the earl of Warwick, he married her; at which marriage were no more than only the duchess of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the priest, and the clerk. Upon this so hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the king, much bloodshed to the realm, undoing almost to all her kindred, and finally confusion to king Edward's two sons, who both were declared afterwards to be bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the earl of Warwick, who had been the faithful friend and chief maintainer before of the king, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his mind, that he never after sought any thing more, than how to work displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cushion. And, although for a time he dissembled his wrathful mood, till he might spy a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last, finding occasion somewhat serving to his mind, he breaketh his heart to his two brethren, to wit, the marquis Mountacute, and the archbishop of York, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to prove afar off the mind of the duke of Clarence, king Edward's brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his daughter in marriage.

This matter being thus prepared against the king, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the north country. Where the northern men, in short space gathering themselves in open rebellion, and finding captains of their wicked purpose, came down from York toward London. Against whom was appointed by the king, William lord Herbert, earl of Pembroke, with the lord Stafford, and certain other captains, to encounter. The Yorkshire men, giving the overthrow first to the lord Stafford, then to the earl of Pembroke, and his company of Welchmen at Banbury field, at last, joining together with the army of the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night secretly stealing on the king's field at Wolney by Warwick, killed the watch, and took the king prisoner, who first being in the castle of Warwick, then was conveyed by night to Middleham castle in Yorkshire, under

Edward
IV.A. D.
1465.King
Henry
taken,
arrested,
and com-
mitted to
the
Tower.The
king's
sudden
marriage
with
queen
Eliza-
beth.The first
falling
out
between
king
Edward
and the
earl of
Warwick
Conspi-
racy
against
king
Edward.

Edward IV.

A. D. 1465.

King Edward taken prisoner by the earl of Warwick. The rebellion in Lincolnshire repressed.

The earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence flee into France.

The earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence return into England.

King Henry again proclaimed king.

The inconstant levity of the people of England.

the custody of the archbishop of York, where he, having loose keeping, and liberty to go on hunting, meeting with sir William Stanley, sir Thomas of Borough, and other his friends, was too good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to York, where he was well received; from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the lord Hastings, his chamberlain, well accompanied; by whose help he came safe to London.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to perfect peace and unity, although much labour was made by the nobility, the earl of Warwick raiseth up a new war in Lincolnshire, the captain whereof was sir Robert Wells, knight, who shortly after, being taken in battle with his father, and sir Thomas Dunocke, were beheaded. The residue casting away their coats, ran away and fled, giving the name of the field, called Loose-coat-field. The earl of Warwick after this, put out of comfort and hope to prevail at home, fled out of England, A. D. 1470, first to Calais, then to Louis, the French king, accompanied with the duke of Clarence. The fame of the earl of Warwick and of his famous acts was at that time in great admiration above measure, and so highly favoured, that both in England and France all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the coming of this earl, and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little grateful to the French king, and no less opportune to queen Margaret, king Henry's wife, and prince Edward her son, who also came to the French court to meet and confer together touching their affairs, where a league between them was concluded; and, moreover, a marriage between Edward prince of Wales, and Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the earl's part, besides the large offers and great promises made by the French king, in the best manner to set forward their purpose; the earl having also intelligence by letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sorely for his presence, so that there lacked now but only haste, with all speed possible to return; he, with the duke of Clarence, well fortified with the French navy, set forward toward England: for so was it between them before decreed, that they two should prove the first venture, and then queen Margaret, with prince Edward her son, should follow after. The arrival of the earl was no sooner heard of at Dartmouth in Devonshire, than great concourse of people, by thousands, went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him; who immediately made proclamation, in the name of king Henry the Sixth, charging all men, able to bear armour, to prepare themselves to fight against Edward duke of York, usurper of the crown. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for such a matter.

When king Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seeking how either to have stopped his landing, or else straightways to have encountered with him, before the gathering of his friends, but passing forth the time in hunting, in hawking, in all pleasure and dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly repaired more and more daily about the earl and the duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when it was too late; who, trusting too much to his friends and fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially

here of England, whose nature is never to be content long with the present state, but always delighting in news, seeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the wind, and wavering with the reed, did well appear in the course of this king's story. For he, through the means of the people when he was down, was exalted; now being exalted, of the same was forsaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firm and stable; so there is no trust nor assurance to be made, but only in the favour of God, and in the promises of his word, only in Christ his Son, whose kingdom only shall never have an end, nor is subject to any mutation.

Edward
IV.A. D.
1470.

These things thus passing on in England on the earl's side against king Edward, he, accompanied with the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the lord Hastings, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister, and yet was never untrue to the king his master, and the lord Scales, brother to the queen, sent abroad to all his trusty friends for furniture of able soldiers, for defence of his person, to withstand his enemies. When little rescue and few in effect would come, the king himself, so destitute, departed to Lincolnshire, where he, perceiving his enemies daily to increase upon him, and all the countries about to be in a roar, making fires, and singing songs, crying, "King Henry, king Henry," "a Warwick, a Warwick," and hearing moreover his enemies, the Lancastrians, to be within half a day's journey of him, was advised by his friends to flee over the sea to the duke of Burgundy, who not long before had married king Edward's sister.

The
constant
heart and
truth of
the lord
HastingsKing
Edward
forsaken
of his
people in
his need.

Here, peradventure, might be thought, by the common judgment and policy of man, that king Edward, as he had in his hands the lives of king Henry, his queen, and his prince, so if he had dispatched them out of the way when he might, he had not fallen into this misery: but because he took not the vantage, which time rather than godly reason gave him, therefore that sparing pity of his, turned now to his confusion and ruin. And, certes, I suppose no less, but if the same case had fallen in these our pitiless days, in which charity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is almost forgotten, the occasion of such a time should not be so neglected. But let us here note and learn, how godly simplicity always, in the end of things, gaineth more than man's policy, forasmuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

Whether
godly
simplici-
ty or
man's
policy be
stronger.

And so far is it off, that the event and success of things be governed by man's advised policy, or unadvised affection in this world, that that is judged to be weaker which flourisheth in man, than that which is cast down in the Lord; as in the double case of both these kings may well appear. And first, let us consider the case of king Edward, who, being so beset and compassed with evils and distresses on every side, first was compelled to take the Washes between Lincolnshire and Lynn, which was no less dangerous to his life, than it was unseemly for his estate. Being come to Lynn, in what peril was he there, through the doubtful mutability of the townsmen, if he had been known to his enemies? and how could he but be known, if he had tarried any space? But, though men and friends forsook him, yet

The
double
case of
these
two kings
consider-
ed.
King
Edward
taketh
the
Washes.

*Edward IV.*A.D.
1470.

God provideth.

King Edward taketh shipping.

King Edward near taken of the Easterlings.

God again provideth.

King Edward delivered from the Easterlings.

Charles duke of Burgundy, King Edward's brother-in-law.

Queen Elizabeth taketh sanctuary. Prince Edward born in sanctuary.

the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of him who showed mercy unto others, so provided, that at the same present there was an English ship, and two hulks of Holland, ready to their journey. Thus king Edward, without provision, without bag or baggage, without cloth-sack or mail, without store of money, without raiment, save only apparel for war; also without all friends, except only his brother the duke of Gloucester, the lord Scales, and lord Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the number of seven or eight hundred persons, took shipping towards Holland; at which time he was in no less jeopardy almost on the sea, than he was on the land. For certain Easterlings, having many ships of war, which lay roving the same time on the sea, and had done much damage the year before, as well to the English merchants as to the French nation, spying the king's ship, with seven or eight gallant ships made sail after the king and his company. The king's ship was good of sail, and got some ground, albeit not much, of the Easterlings, that she came to the coast of Holland before Alekmaer, and there cast anchor: for otherwise, being an ebbing-water, they could not enter the haven. The Easterlings with their great ships approached as near as they could possibly come for the low water, purposing at the flood to obtain their prey; and so were like to do, if the Lord had not there also provided Mounsieur de Grounture, governor for duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the town of Alekmaer, who, hearing of the jeopardy of the king being there at anchor, prohibited the Easterlings, on pain of death, to meddle with any Englishmen who were the duke's friends and allies.

Thus king Edward, well chastised of God for his wantonness, both by sea and land, but not utterly given over from his protection, escaping so many hard chances, was set on land with his company; who, there well refreshed, and newly apparelled, were conducted to the Hague.

Duke Charles, at the hearing of the unprosperous case and condition of king Edward, his brother-in-law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in himself, much casting and doubting what he should do. For being then at war with the French king, he could not well provoke the English nation against him, without his manifest grievance and decay; neither yet could he, without great shame and obloquy, leave the king his brother in that necessity. Notwithstanding, so he demeaned himself through fair speech, pretending to the Englishmen to join part with the house of Lancaster, being himself partly descended of the same family by his grandmother's side; that he both was his own friend openly, and the king's friend covertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tidings were spread in England of king Edward's flying, innumerable people on all hands resorted to the earl of Warwick, to take his part against king Edward, a few only excepted of his constant friends, who took sanctuary. Amongst whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who, desperate almost of all comfort, took also sanctuary at Westminster, where she, in great penury forsaken, was delivered of a fair son called Edward, that without all pomp was baptized like another poor woman's child, the godfathers being the abbot and prior of Westminster; the godmother was the lady Scroope.

To make the story short, the earl of Warwick, having now brought all things to his appetite, upon the twelfth day of October rode to the Tower, which was then delivered to him, and there took king Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the king's lodging. The 25th day of the same month, the duke of Clarence, accompanied with the earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and the lord Stanley, with a great company, brought him, in a long gown of blue velvet, through the high streets of London, first to Paul's church to offer, then to the palace of the bishop of London, and there he resumed again the crown royal, A. D. 1470, which he did not long enjoy.

Edward IV.

A. D. 1471

Henry VI. brought out of the Tower, but restored again to his kingdom. See Appendix.

After this followed a parliament, in which king Edward with all his partakers were judged traitors. Queen Margaret with her son prince Edward, all this while were tarrying for a fair wind, thinking long, belike, till she came to an evil bargain, as it proved after. For king Edward, within six months after his departure out of England unto the duke of Burgundy, whether solicited by letters from his friends, or whether by his adventurous courage incited, made instant suit to duke Charles his brother, to rescue him with such power as he would bestow upon him: for he was fully resolved to defer the matter, and to protract the time, no longer.

The duke, damped in double fear in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding overcome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be delivered to him fifty thousand florins, and further caused four great ships to be appointed for him in a haven in Zealand, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same duke had for him hired fourteen ships of the Easterlings well appointed, taking bond of them to serve him truly till he were landed in England, and fifteen days after.

King Edward returneth again into England.

Thus king Edward, being furnished but only with two thousand men of war, with more luck than hope to speed, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Ravenspur, on the coast of Yorkshire. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of soldiers to do any good, yet, to use policy where strength did lack, first he sent forth certain light horsemen to prove the country on every side with persuasions, to see whether the uplandish people would be stirred to take king Edward's part. Perceiving that it would not be, king Edward flieth to his shifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claim the crown and kingdom, but only to claim the duchy of York, which was his own title; and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more but only his just patrimony and lineal inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compassion towards him, either to favour him, or not to resist him: and so journeying toward York, he came to Beverley. The marquis Montacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, was then at Pomfret, to whom the earl had sent straight charge, with all expedition to set upon him, or else to stop his passage; and likewise to the citizens of York and all Yorkshire, to shut their gates and take armour against him. King Edward, being in these straits, proceeded notwithstanding near to York without resistance, where he required of the citizens to be admitted into their city. But so stood the case then, that they durst not grant it unto him, but on the contrary sent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own

King Edward with only two thousand soldiers cometh to Ravenspur, alias Ravensport. The dissembling policy of King Edward.

He cometh to York.

He is repelled by the citizens of York.

*Edward IV.*A. D.
1471.King Edward changeth his title. His gentle and fair words.

safeguard. The desolate king was here driven to a narrow strait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the country and loss of his cause; neither could go further, for the present danger of the city. Wherefore, using the same policy as before, with loving words and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare unto the citizens, that his coming was not to demand the realm of England, or the title of the same, but only the duchy of York, his old inheritance; and that he therefore determined to set forward neither with army nor weapon. The messengers were not so soon within the gates, but he was at the gates in a manner as soon as they.

The citizens, hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the king, nor of the realm, were something mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the walls, willing him to withdraw his power to some other place, and they would be the more ready to aid him; at least he should have no damage by them.

Notwithstanding he again used such lowly language, and delivered so fair speech unto them, entreating them so courteously, and saluting the aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his own town, whereof he had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talk and debating upon the matter, partly also enticed with fair and large promises, fell to this convention: That if he would swear to be true to king Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receive him into the city.

Two conditions put to Edward.

King Edward put to his oath.

Victory, got by perjury, punished at length in posterity.

This being concluded, the next morning at the entering of the gate, a priest was ready to say mass, in which, after the receiving the sacrament, the king received a solemn oath to observe the two articles before agreed upon. By reason of which oath so rashly made, and as shortly broken, and not long after punished (as it may well be thought) in his posterity, he obtained the city of York; where he, in short time, forgetting his oath, to make all sure, set in garrisons of armed soldiers. Furthermore, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no stir to be made against him, he thought to fore-slack no opportunity of time, and so made forward toward London, leaving by the way the marquis Mountacute, who lay then with his army at Pomfret, on the right hand, not fully four miles distant from his camp: and so returning to the high-way again, he went forward without any stirring to the town of Nottingham; where came to him sir William Parre, sir Thomas of Borough, sir Thomas Montgomery, and divers else of his assured friends, with their aids, who caused him by a proclamation to stand to his own title of king Edward IV., saying, That they would serve no man but a king.—

King Edward's friends resort unto him at Nottingham.

Resumeth the name of a king.

Cometh to Leicester.

At the fame hereof being blown abroad, as the citizens of York were not a little offended (and that worthily), so from other towns and cities, lords and noblemen began to fall unto him, thinking with themselves that the marquis Mountacute either favoured his cause, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Howsoever it was, king Edward, being now more fully furnished at all points, came to the town of Leicester, and there hearing that the earl of Warwick, accompanied with the earl of Oxford, were together at Warwick with a great power, minding to set on the earl, he removed from thence his army, hoping to give him battle. The duke of Clarence in the mean

time about London had levied a great host coming toward the earl of Warwick, as he was by the earl appointed. But when the earl saw the duke to linger the time, he began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his brethren's part. The king, advancing forward his host, came to Warwick, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward Coventry, where the earl was; unto whom, the next day after, he boldly offered battle. But the earl, expecting the duke of Clarence's coming, kept him within the walls. All this made for the king. For he, hearing that his brother the duke of Clarence was not far off, coming towards him with a great army, raised his camp, and made towards him, either to treat or else to encounter with his brother. When each host was in sight of the other, Richard duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as arbiter between them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertain; but hereby both the brethren, laying all army and weapon aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joined together. And that fraternal amity by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspicion.

Then was it agreed between the three brethren to attempt the earl of Warwick, if he likewise would be reconciled: but he, crying out shame upon the duke of Clarence, stood at utter defiance. From thence king Edward, so strongly furnished, and daily increasing, taketh his way to London; where, after it was known that the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much fear fell upon the Londoners, casting with themselves what was best to do. The suddenness of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London at the same time the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Somerset, with others of king Henry's council, to whom the earl had sent in commandment a little before, knowing the weakness of the city, that they should keep the city from their enemies two or three days, and he would follow with all possible speed with a puissant army, who, according to their commandment, defended the city with all their power; but yet to little purpose. For the citizens, consulting with themselves most for their own indemnity, having no walls to defend them, thought best to take that way which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with king Edward. This was not so soon known abroad, but the commonalty ran out by heaps to meet king Edward, and to salute him as their king. Whereupon the duke of Somerset, with others of king Henry's council, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the world, to shift for themselves, fled away and left there king Henry alone; who, the same day being caused by the archbishop of York to ride about London like a king, was before night made captive, and reduced again to the Tower.

It was not long after these things thus done at London, but the coming of the earl of Warwick was heard of; who, thinking to prevent mischiefs with making speed, came a little too late and missed of his purpose. In the earl's army were John, duke of Exeter, Edmund earl of Somerset, John earl of Oxford, and the marquis Mountaute, the earl's brother. The earl had now passed a great

Edward IV.

A. D. 1471.

King Edward cometh to Warwick. The earl of Warwick flyeth to Coventry.

The duke of Clarence cometh with a great army.

Concord of brethren.

The earl of Warwick refuseth to be reconciled.

King Edward cometh to London.

Londoners take part with king Edward.

King Henry's councillors flee away.

Henry again taken and committed to prison.

*Edward
IV.*

A. D.
1471.

The earl
of War-
wick
cometh to
Barnet.

The
battle of
Barnet.

The earl
of War-
wick
and his
brother
slain

Differ-
ence be-
tween
Polydore
and Fa-
bian.

Polydore
is said to
have
burned a
number
of our
English
writers.

The re-
turn of
Queen
Margaret
into Eng-
land.

part of his journey, when he, hearing news of the world so changed, and of the captivity of king Henry, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind; wherefore he stayed with his army at St. Alban's, to see what way further to take. And, forasmuch as there was no other remedy, but either he must yield, or one conflict must finish the matter, he removed to Barnet, ten miles from St. Alban's.

Against him set forth king Edward, well appointed, with a strong army of picked and able persons, with artillery, engines, and instruments, meet for the purpose; bringing with him also king Henry. On Easter-even he came to Barnet, and there he embattled himself. In the morning upon Easter-day the battle began, and fiercely continued almost till noon, with murder on each side, much doubtful, till both parties were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then, desirous to see an end, off or on, with a great crew of new fresh soldiers set upon his wearied enemies, whereby the earl's men, encouraged with the words of their captain, stoutly fought; but they, sore wounded and wearied, could not long hold out. The earl, rushing into the midst of his enemies, ventured so far that he could not be rescued; where he was stricken down and slain, and there lay he. The marquis Montacute, thinking to succour his brother, whom he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise overthrown and slain. After that Richard Nevil earl of Warwick and his brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them who were in this field slain, are judged about ten thousand, as Polydore Virgil reciteth. Fabian numbereth of them that were slain but fifteen hundred. The duke of Somerset and the earl of Oxford, thinking to fly to Scotland, returned to Jasper, earl of Pembroke, in Wales. The duke of Exeter hardly escaped to Westminster, and there took sanctuary. For the death of the earl of Warwick, the king was not so glad, as he was sorry for the marquis Mountacute, whom he took to be his friend. The corpses of these two were brought to the church of Paul's, where they lay open in two coffins two days, and then were interred.¹

In the narration of this history, Polydore Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth some deal differ from Robert Fabian; neither do I doubt but both these had their authors by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this I marvel, that Polydore, writing of so many things which he never saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite unto us those writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I marvel or rather lament, if it be true what I have heard, that he not only nameth no author unto us, but also burned a heap of our English stories unknown, after the finishing of his, in the days of king Henry VIII. But now to our text again.

All this while Queen Margaret, with young prince Edward her son, was scarce come over, being long let with contrary winds; who, at length, in the month of April, arrived at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, and hearing the sorrowful tidings of these things lately happened to her husband, and to the earl of Warwick and his brother, and of the prosperous success of king Edward, was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things, contrary to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with

herself, lamenting her husband, bewailing her son, cursing her coming, and crying out of fortune; as though blind fortune were she that governeth times and tides (rewarding just punishments to unjust deservings of men), and not the secret power and terrible justice of Almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that queen, being not able to bear the vehemency of her passion (who rather should have sorrowed the dolorous death of duke Humphrey, whom before she neglected, but now she lacked), that her senses failed, her spirits were taken, her speech decayed, and, life almost gone, she fell to the ground, as one that would rather die than live.¹ In this desolate case queen Margaret, learning now to know her friends from her foes when it was too late, fraught full of heaviness, without sojace or hope of remedy, she with her son and her company departed for her next refuge, to a monastery of monks called Beaully in Hampshire, there to take sanctuary and privilege of the house.

Edward IV.

A. D. 1471.

Queen Margaret for sorrow swoons.

Takes sanctuary.

Yet all hearts were not sound nor subdued in England, especially Edmund duke of Somerset, with lord John his brother; Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonshire; Jasper, earl of Pembroke; lord Wenlock; John Longscrother, being prior of the knights of St. John in Rhodes. These, hearing of the queen's return, with speed resorted to her; by whom she, being somewhat quickened in her spirits, and animated to war, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsel; which was, in all the hot haste, to renew war against king Edward, being now unprovided, by reason his army was now dispersed, and chiefest of his soldiers wasted. Here great hope of victory was showed; great promises made. Although the queen's mind was (being more careful for the young prince than for herself) to send him over into France, before some proof or trial made; yet following the contrary counsel of them, and partly cut off by shortness of time, which required haste, she began with all expedition to gather power. Likewise Jasper, earl of Pembroke, posted into Wales to do the same.

Moved by her friends to renew wars against king Edward.

King Edward, having intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certain light horsemen, to espy abroad through the west parts what ways his enemies did take. In the mean time he, using all celerity to meet them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as he could make about London, and first cometh to Abingdon, from thence to Marlborough, hearing that the queen was at Bath, thinking to encounter with them before they diverted into Wales to the earl of Pembroke, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the queen, understanding the king to be so nigh, removeth from Bath to Bristol, sending word in the mean while to the citizens of Gloucester, that they would grant her leave safely to pass by their city. Which when it could not be obtained, with her army she departed from Bristol to Tewkesbury; where the duke of Somerset, knowing king Edward to be at hand at his very back, willed the queen there to stay, and in no wise to fly backward, for certain doubts that might be cast. Although this counsel was against the consent of many other captains, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the earl of Pembroke with his army were

King Edward warreth against queen Margaret.

Queen Margaret debured from Gloucester.

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Polyd. lib. xlv.

*Edward
IV.*

A. D.
1471.

The bat-
tle of
Tewkes-
bury.

with them associated; yet the mind of the duke prevailed, the place was prefixed, the field pitched, the time of battle came, the king was looked for; who, being within one mile of Tewkesbury, with like industry and policy as his enemies had done, disposed his army likewise in array. This celerity of the king, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwise, if he had deferred till they had conjoined with the earl of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Of this battle Hall thus reporteth, adding more than Polydore, that the duke of Somerset, although he was strongly intrenched, yet, through the occasion or policy of the duke of Gloucester, who had the fore-ward of the king's part, a little reculing back, followed the chase, supposing that the lord Wenlock, who had the middle-ward, would have followed hard at his back. The duke of Gloucester, whether for shame rather than of policy, espying his advantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was eftsoons discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separated from their company. The duke of Somerset, not a little aggrieved at this so unfortunate a case, returneth to the middle-ward, where he, seeing the lord Wenlock abiding still, revileth him, and calleth him traitor, and with his axe striketh the brains out of his head.

This much addeth Hall besides Polydore; but showeth not his author where he had it. Polydore, writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this: That the queen's army, being overset with the number and multitude of their enemies, and she having no fresh soldiers to furnish the field, was at last overmatched, and the most part were slain or taken. In which battle were named to be slain, the earl of Devonshire, the lord Wenlock, lord John the duke of Somerset's brother, besides others. Among them that were taken was queen Margaret, found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow, prince Edward, Edmund duke of Somerset, John, prior of St. John's, with twenty other knights; all which were beheaded within two days after, the queen only and the young prince excepted: which prince Edward being then brought to the king's presence, it was demanded of him how he durst be so bold to stand in battle against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith, that after the field was finished the king made proclamation, That whosoever would bring prince Edward to him, should have an annuity of a hundred pounds during his life, and the prince's life should be saved. Whereupon sir Richard Croftes, not mistrusting the king's promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuously enter this realm with his banner displayed against him, he answered, saying, That he came to recover his father's kingdom and inheritance, from his grandfather and father to him descending; whereat (said Polydore) the king with his hand disdainfully thrust him from him. Others say, that the king struck him on the face with his gauntlet.

At the speaking of these words were present George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, and the earl, lord William Hastings; who, upon the same, uncourteously falling upon the prince, did slay him. Queen Margaret, being brought prisoner to London,

Queen
Margaret
taken in
battle.

Prince
Edward
brought
to the
king.

The stout
answer of
the prince
to the
king.

Prince
Edward,
son to
king
Henry,
slain.

was afterwards ransomed by her father, the duke of Anjou, for a great sum of money which he borrowed of the French king, and for the payment thereof was fain to yield unto him the title of the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, &c. King Edward, for these prosperous wars, rendered to God his hearty thanks, and caused publicly, through his realm, solemn processions to be kept three days together. And thus much, and too much, touching the wars of king Edward IV., which was done, A. D. 1471.¹

The same year, and about the same time, upon Ascension-even, king Henry, being prisoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all thirty-eight years and six months. Polydore, and Hall following him, affirm that he was slain with a dagger by Richard duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, for the more quiet and safe-guard of the king his brother. In the history, entitled, 'Scala Mundi,' I find these words: "Quod in turri, in vigilia ascensionis Dominice, ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamesiam navicula usque ad abbati- am de Chertsey deductus, ibi sepultus est;" that is, "That king Henry, being in the Tower, upon the Ascension-even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boat to the abbey of Chertsey, and there buried."

Polydore, after he hath described the virtues of this king, recordeth that king Henry VII. did afterwards translate the corpse of him from Chertsey to Windsor, and addeth, moreover, that by him certain miracles were wrought: For which cause the said king Henry VII. (saith he) laboured with pope Julius, to have him canonized for a saint; but the death of the king was the let, why that matter proceeded not. Edward Hall, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause, why king Henry's sancting went not forward, to be this: for that the fees for canonizing a king were of so great a quantity at Rome (more than of another, bishop or prelate), that the said king thought it better to keep the money in his chests, than, with the impoverishing of the realm to buy so dear, and pay so much, for a new holy-day of St. Henry in the calendar, &c.² Which if it be true, it might be replied then to pope Julius, that if popes be higher than kings in the earth, and especially in heaven, why then is a pope-saint so cheap in the market-place of Rome, and a king-saint so dear? Again, if the valuation of things in all markets and burses be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought, what reason is it, seeing the sancting of a king beareth a bigger sale than the sancting of any pope in heaven, but that kings should be above popes also upon the earth? *Sed extra jocum*, as I do not doubt, but that king Henry was a good and a quiet prince, if he had not otherwise been abused by some; so, touching the ruin of his house, I think not contrary, but it came not without the just appointment of the Lord, either for that Henry of Lancaster's house were such enemies to God's people, and for the burning of the lord Cobham and many others; or else for the unjust displacing of king Richard II.; or else, thirdly, for the cruel slaughter of Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester, his uncle; whereof sufficiently hath been said before.

During the time of these doings, being about A. D. 1464, there

(1) Ex Polyd. et aliis.

(2) Ex Edv. Hallo.

Edward IV.

A. D. 1471.

Queen Margaret ransomed for a great sum of money.

Public processions.

The death of king Henry VI.

King Henry buried at Chertsey.

Polydore's miracles.

A king-saint, is dear ware in the pope's market.

The cause examined of Lancaster house.

Example of God's just rod of correction.

Edward
*IV.*A. D.
1171.A sore
heresy
preached
at Paul's
cross.
Contention
in the
church,
whether
Christ
was a
beggar,
or not.
Times
compar-
ed.

was here in England a certain friar Carmelite, who, about the term of Michael the Archangel, preached at Paul's in London, that our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present world, was in poverty, and did beg. To whose opinion and doctrine the provincial of that order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other doctors more and brethren of the same order; unto whom also joined certain of the Jacobites, and stiffly did take their parts. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both in their public lectures and preaching, to the uttermost of their cunning did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the defendant part was driven for a while to keep silence. Much like to those times I might well resemble these our days now present, with our tumultuous contention of forms and fashions of garments. But I put myself here in Pythagoras's school, and keep silence with these friars. In the story, moreover, it followeth, that this beggarly question of the begging friars, whether Christ did beg or no, went so far, that at length it came to the pope's ears, Paul II., who was no beggar ye may be sure! After that the fame of this doctrine, mounting over the Alps, came flying to the court of Rome, which was about the assumption of the Virgin Mary, the year next following, A. D. 1465, it brought with it such an evil smell to the fine noses there, that it was no need to bid them to stir; for begging to them was worse than high heresy. Wherefore the holy father pope Paul II., to repress the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise perhaps might have set his whole kitchen on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eftsoons directeth down his bull into England, insinuating to the prelates here, "That this heresy, which pestiferously doth affirm that Christ did openly beg, was condemned of old time by the bishop of Rome, and their councils, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be trodden down under all men's feet," &c. This was in the same year when prince Edward, king Edward's son, was born in the sanctuary at Westminster, A. D. 1465.

The
pope's de-
termined
solution,
that
Christ
was no
beggar.King Ed-
ward van-
quished
in nine
battles,
being
himself
present
at them
all.

As touching the rest of the doings and affairs of this king (who had vanquished hitherto in nine battles, himself being present), how afterwards he, through the incitement of Charles duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, ventured into France with a puissant army, and how the duke failed him in his promise; also how peace between these two kings was at length concluded in a solemn meeting of both the said kings together (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white dove, sitting the same day of meeting upon the top of king Edward's tent); also of the marriage promised between the young Dauphin and Elizabeth, king Edward's eldest daughter, but afterwards broken off on the French king's part; moreover as touching the death of the duke of Burgundy slain in war, and of his daughter Mary, niece to king Edward, being spoiled of her lands and possessions wrongfully by Louis, the French king, and married after to Maximilian: Furthermore, as touching the expedition of king Edward into Scotland, by

(1) "Heresim illam pestifera asserentem quod Christus publice mendicavit, esse antiquitas a Romanis pontificibus, cum suis conciliis damnatam, et eam pro damnata undique declarandam et conculeandam," &c. *Ex Hist. Scelte Mundi, fol. ult.*

reason of king James breaking promise in marrying with Cecilia, the second daughter of king Edward, and of his driving out his brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recovery again of Berwick; of these (I say) and such other things more, partly because they are described sufficiently in our common English stories, partly also because they be matters not greatly pertaining to the church, I omit to speak, making of them a 'supersedas.' Two things I find here, among many others, specially to be remembered.

The first is concerning a godly and constant servant of Christ, named John Goose, who, in the time of this king, was unjustly condemned and burnt at the Tower-hill, A. D. 1473, in the month of August. Thus had England also its John Huss as well as Bohemia. Wherein moreover this is to be noted, that since the time of king Richard II., there is no reign of any king to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the pains of fire, for the religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus. Of this said John Goose, or John Huss, this, moreover, I find in another English monument recorded, that the said John being delivered to Robert Belisdon, one of the sheriffs, to see him burnt in the afternoon; the sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (saith the story) his errors. But the godly man, after long exhortation heard, desired the sheriff to be content; for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this, he desired of the sheriff, for God's sake to give him some meat, saying, That he was very sore hungered. Then the sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been towards no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him, "I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower, ere I go to supper." And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might shortly be led to the place, where he should yield up his spirit unto God.¹

The second thing herein to be noted is the death of George duke of Clarence, the king's second brother; of whom relation was made before, how he assisted king Edward his brother, against the earl of Warwick, at Barnet field, and helped him to the crown; and now, after all these benefits, was at length thus requited, that (for what cause it is uncertain) he was apprehended and cast into the Tower, where he, being adjudged for a traitor, was privily drowned in a butt of Malmsey. What the true cause was of his death it cannot certainly be affirmed. Divers conjectures and imaginations there be diversely put forth. Some partly imputed it to the queen's displeasure. Others suppose it came from taking part in the cause of his servant, who was accused and condemned for poisoning, sorcery, or enchantment. Another fame there is, which surmiseth the cause hereof to rise upon the vain fear of a foolish prophecy, coming no doubt, if it were true, by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times else happen among infidels and gentiles, where Christ is not known; where, among high princes and in noble houses, much mischief groweth, first murder and parricide, and thereby ruin of ancient families, and alteration of kingdoms. The effect of this prophecy, as the fame goeth, was this: that after king Edward, should one reign whose name should begin with G; and, because the name of the duke of Clarence, being George,

Edward IV.

A. D. 1471.

King James of Scotland goeth from his promise of marriage.

Berwick recovered.

A. D. 1473

John Goose, martyr.

John Goose in English, as much as John Huss in the Bohemian tongue.

See Appendix.

John Goose taketh his dinner, before he goeth to martyrdom.

The unworthy death of the duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of Malmsey.

The mischief that Satan worketh by false prophecies.

The prophecy of G.

(1) Ex Polychron.

Edward IV. began with a G, therefore he began to be feared, and afterwards privily, as is before said, was made away with.

A. D.
1473.

CERTAIN NOTES UPON FALSE PROPHECIES.

Prophecies not rashly to be believed.

Satan can say truth, for a wicked end.

Devilish prophecies, although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Merlin's prophecies.

Three things to be noted concerning false prophecies.

By these experiments and mischievous ends of such prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is soon to be seen from what fountain or author they proceed; that is, no doubt, from Satan, the ancient enemy of mankind, and prince of this world; against whose deceitful delusions, christian men must be well instructed, neither to marvel greatly at them, though they seem strange, nor yet to believe them, though they happen true. For Satan, being the prince of this world, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can say truth for a mischievous end; and yet for all that, is but a Satan. So the dream of Astyages, seeing a vine to grow out of his daughter, which should cover all Asia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdom, proved true in the sequel thereof; and yet notwithstanding of Satan it came, and caused cruel murder to follow, first of the shepherd's child, then of the son of Harpagus, whom he set before his own father to eat.¹ Likewise Cyrus was prophetically admonished by his dream, to take him for his guide, whom he first met the next morrow. In that also his dream fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blind oracles of the idolatrous gentiles, which although they proceed of a lying spirit, yet sometimes they hit the truth to a mischievous purpose. The like judgment also is to be given of Merlin's prophecies. The sorceress mentioned I Sam. xviii., raising up Samuel, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In Acts xvi. there was a damsel having the spirit of Pytho,² who said truth of Paul and Silas, calling them the messengers of the high God: and yet it was a wrong spirit. The unclean spirits, in giving testimony of Christ, said the truth; yet because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valentinian the emperor, that he also had a blind prophecy, not much unlike to this of king Edward, which was, that one should succeed him in the empire whose name should begin with θ , σ , and δ . Whereupon one Theodorus, trusting upon the prophecy, began rebelliously to hope for the crown, and for his labour felt the pains of a traitor. Notwithstanding the effect of the prophecy followed: for, after Valentinian, succeeded Theodosius. Wherefore christian princes and noblemen, and all Christ's faithful people must beware and learn:

First, That no man be inquisitive or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, besides those things only which are promised and expressed in the Word.

Secondly, To understand what difference there is, and how to discern the voice of God from the voice of Satan.

Thirdly, How to resist and avoid the danger of false and devilish prophecies.

Many there be, who, not being contented with things present, curi-

(1) Ex Just. lib. 1.

(2) A spirit of divination, which could guess and foredecim things past, present, and to come which knowledge God, many times, permitteth to the devil.

ously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end will come, how long princes shall reign, and who, after, shall succeed them; and for the same get unto them soothsayers, astrologers, sorcerers, conjurers, or familiars. And these are not so much inquisitive to search or ask, but the devil is as ready to answer them, who either falsely doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to work them perpetual care and sorrow. Thus was pope Silvester, the sorcerer, circumvented by the devil, who told him, that he should be at Jerusalem before he died, and so it fell out. For as he was saying his mass at a chapel in Rome, called Jerusalem, there he fell sick, and within three days after died: ¹ to king Henry IV., also, it seemeth it was prophesied, that he should not die before he went to Jerusalem; who, being brought to the abbot's chamber of Westminster, and hearing the name of the chamber to be called Jerusalem, knew his time to be come, and died.

By such deceitful prophecies it cannot be lamented enough to see what inconvenience, both public and private, groweth to the life of men, either causing them falsely to trust where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate what they would not; as may appear both by this king, and also divers more. So were Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar (as writeth Cicero) deceived by the false Chaldees, in declaring to them that they should not die but in their beds, and with worship, and in their old age. Of such false trust rising upon false prophecies, St. Ambrose, in his book of Exameron, writeth, speaking of rain, which being in those parts greatly desired, was promised and prophesied by one certainly to fall upon such a day, which was at the changing of the new moon: but (saith St. Ambrose) there fell no such rain at all, till, at the prayers of the church, the same was obtained. Giving us to understand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the moon, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator.²

Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, in his excellent books written against these vain star-tellers and astrologers,³ writeth of one Ordela-phus, a prince, to whom it was prognosticated by a famous cunning man in that science, called Hieronymus Manfredus, that he should enjoy long continuance of health, and prosperous life; who, notwithstanding, the self-same year, and in the first year of his marriage, deceased; and, after divers other examples added moreover upon the same, he inferreth also mention, and the name, of a certain rich matron in Rome, named Constantia, who, in like manner, departed the same year in which she received great promises by these soothsayers and astrologers, of a long and happy life, saying to her husband these words. "Behold," saith she, "how true be the prognostications of these sooth-tellers!"

If it were not for noting of those who now are gone, and whose names I would in no case to be blemished with any spot, I could recite the names of certain, especially one, who, taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation and forecasting of the success and good speed of his journey, was, notwithstanding, in the same

Edward
IV.A. D.
1473.False
trust by
devilish
prophe-
cies.Experi-
ence of
false pro-
phesies.This man
by false
dissem-
blers was
taken,
and
brought
into Eng-
land-

(*) See vol. II. p. 35.

(2) Ex Ambros in Examer

(3) Lib. II. cap. 9.

Zd card
IV.

A. D.
1473.

journey apprehended, and brought where he would not; and after that never enjoying a good day, in a short time he departed. In Basil this I myself heard, of one who knew and was conversant with the party, who, having a curious delight in these speculations of chances and events to come, by his calculation noted a certain day, which he mistrusted should be fatal unto him, by something which at that day should fall upon him. Whereupon he determined with himself all that day to keep him sure and safe within his chamber: where he, reaching up his hand to take down a book, the book falling down upon his head, gave him his death's wound: and, shortly after, he died upon the same. Of these and such like examples the world is full, and yet the curiousness of men's heads will not refrain still to pluck the apple of this unlucky and forbidden tree.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

Beside all this, what murder and parricide come by the fear of these prophecies, in great bloods and noble houses, I refer it unto them who read and well advise the stories, as well of our kings here in England, as in other kingdoms more, both Christened and Turkish, whereof another place shall serve as well (Christ willing) more largely to treat, and particularly to discourse. To this pertain also the great inconvenience and hindrance that grow by the fear of such prophecies in the vocation of men, forasmuch as many there be, who, fearing some one danger, some another, leave their vocations undone, and follow inordinate ways. As if one having a blind prophecy, that his destruction should be in the day, would wake and do all his business by night and candle-light; and so forth in other several cases of men and women, as every one in his own conscience knoweth his own case best.

The second part: how prophecies are to be discerned.

The second thing to be considered in these prophecies, is rightly to discern and understand, as near as we can, the difference between the prophecies proceeding from God, and the false prophecies counterfeited by Satan. For Satan sometimes playeth God's ape, and transformeth himself into an angel of light; bearing such a resemblance and colour of truth and religion, that a wise man is scarcely able to discern one from the other, and the most part is beguiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be observed:

First, Whether they go simply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous: whereof the one seemeth to taste of God's Spirit, such as be the prophecies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwise, having a double or doubtful interpretation. Although the time of God's prophecies, as also of miracles, is commonly and ordinarily expired, yet if the Lord in these days now extraordinarily do show any prophecy, by the simpleness and plainness thereof it may partly be discerned.

Secondly, This is to be expended: whether they be private, tending to this family or that family, or public. For, as the Scriptures, so commonly the prophecies of God, have no private interpretation, but general; forasmuch as the care of God's Holy Spirit is not restrained partially to one person more than to another, but generally, and indifferently, respecteth the whole church of his elect in Christ Jesus his Son. Wherefore such prophecies as privately are touching the arms of

houses or names of men, rising or falling of private and particular families, are worthy to be suspected.

Edward IV.

The third note and special argument to descry the true prophecies of God from the false prophecies of Satan and his false prophets, is this, to consider the matter and the end thereof; that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be spiritual, or whether they tend to any glory or state of this present world, or whether they tend to the spiritual instruction, admonition, or comfort, of the public church.

A. D. 1473.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be instructed next how to eschew the fear and peril of all devilish prophecies, which make against us; wherein two special remedies are to be marked of every christian man, whereby he may be safe and sure against all danger of the enemy. The first is, that we set the name of Christ Jesus, the Son of God, against them, through a true faith in him; knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared to dissolve the works of the devil. And again, "This is the victory," saith the Scripture, "that overcometh the world, even our faith." Whatsoever then Satan worketh, or can work against us, be it ever so forcible, faith in Christ will vanquish it. Such a majesty is in our faith, believing in the name of the Son of God.

The third part: how to avoid the danger of sinister prophecies.

The other remedy is faithful prayer, which obtaineth, in the name of Christ, all things with the Lord. So that wicked fiend, which had killed before seven husbands of Tobias's wife, could not hurt him entering his matrimony with earnest prayer: so no more shall any sinister prophecy prevail, where prayer out of a faithful heart doth strive against it. Neither am I ignorant, that against such temporal evils and punishments in this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth also in this, when Satan findeth nothing wherein greatly to accuse our conscience. But because such a conscience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to fly to repentance, with amendment of life. For many times where sin doth reign in our mortal bodies, there also the operation of Satan is strong against us, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternal salvation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but only our faith in Christ. And thus much briefly touching the two special remedies, whereby the operation of all devilish prophecies may be avoided and defeated.

Now many there be, who, leaving these remedies aforesaid, and the safe protection which the Lord hath set up in Christ, take other ways of their own, seeking by their own policy how to withstand and escape such prophecies, either subtilely in eschewing the place and time, or else cruelly, by killing the party whom they fear; whereof cometh injury, murder, and parricide, with other mischiefs in commonwealths unspeakable. To whom commonly it cometh so to pass, that whereby they think most to save themselves, by the same means they fall most into the snare, being subverted and confounded in their own policy, for that they, trusting to their own device, and not unto the Lord, who only can dissolve the operation of Satan, the Lord so turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they think most surely to escape. Examples whereof we see not only in Astyages, king of the Medes aforesaid, and Cyrus; but in infinite other like events, which the trade of the world doth daily offer to our

Man's policy can do nothing against the devil.

No power can withstand him but only Christ, and our faith in him.

Edward
IV.A.D.
1173.

eyes. So queen Margaret thought her then cock-sure, when duke Humphrey was made away; when nothing else was her confusion so much, as the loss and lack of that man.

So, if king Richard II. had not exercised such cruelty upon his uncle Thomas, duke of Gloucester, he had not received such wrong by king Henry IV. as he did. Likewise this king Edward IV., if he had suffered his brother George, duke of Clarence, to live, his house had not so gone to wrack by Richard, his other brother, as it did. What befel the student of astrology, in the university of Basil, ye heard before; who, if he had not mewed himself in his chamber for fear of his divination, had escaped the stroke that fell. Now, in avoiding such propheticall events, which he should not have searched, he fell into that which he did fear. These few examples, for instruction's sake, I thought by occasion to infer, not as though these were alone; but by these few to admonish the reader of infinite others, which daily come in practice of life, to the great danger and decay, as well of private houses, as of weals public.

A brief
rehearsal
of the
matter of
prophe-
cies
before
passed.

Wherefore, briefly to repeat what before simply hath been said touching this matter, seeing that Satan, through such subtle prophecies, hath yet and doth daily practise so manifold mischiefs in the world, setting brother against brother, nephew against the uncle, house against house, and realm against realm; engendering hatred where love was, and subverting privily the simplicity of our christian faith: therefore the first and best thing is for godly men not to busy their brains about such phantasies, neither in delighting in them, nor in hearkening to them, nor in searching for them, either by soothsayer, or by conjuration, or by familiar, or by astrologer; knowing and considering this, that whosoever shall be desirous or ready to search for them, the devil is as ready to answer his curiosity therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentility, he gave his oracles by idols and priests of that time; so the same devil, although he worketh not now by idols, yet he craftily can give now answer by astrologers and conjurers in these our days; and in so doing, both to say truth, and yet to deceive men, when he hath said. Wherefore, leaving off such curiosity, let every christian man walk simply in his present vocation, referring hid things, not in the word expressed, unto him who saith in his word, "Non est vestrum scire tempora et momenta temporum," &c. "It is not for you to know the times, and seasons of times, which the Father hath kept in his own power," &c.

The devil
ready to
answer, in
matters of
divina-
tion.

Curiosity
of prophe-
cies to be
avoided.

Secondly, In this matter of prophecies, requisite it is (as is said) for every christian man to learn, how to discern and distinguish the true prophecies, which proceed of God, and the false prophecies, which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned; so necessary it is, that every good man do rightly understand the same, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certain and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, Because it is not sufficient that the deceitful prophecies of the devil be known, but also that they be resisted, I have also declared, by what means the operation of Satan's works and prophecies is to be overcome; that is, not with strength and policy of man, for that there is nothing in man able to countervail the power of that enemy. Under heaven there is nothing else that can prevail

against his works, but only the name of the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, not outwardly pronounced only with our lips, or signed on our foreheads with the outward cross, but inwardly apprehended, and dwelling in our hearts by a silent faith, firmly and earnestly trusting upon the promises of God, given and sealed unto us in his name. For so it hath pleased his fatherly wisdom to set him up, to be both our righteousness before himself, and also to be our fortitude against the enemy, accepting our faith in his Son in no less price than he accepteth the works and worthiness of the same his Son, in whom we do believe.

Edward IV.
A. D. 1437.

The strength of a christian man's faith in Christ.

Such is the strength and effect of faith both in heaven, in earth, and also in hell: in heaven to justify, in earth to preserve, in hell to conquer. And, therefore, when any such prophesy, or any other thing is to us objected, which seemeth to tend against us, let us first consider whether it savour of Satan, or not. If it do, then let us seek our succour, not in ourselves, where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor slay, nor change our vocation there-for, following inordinate ways: but let us run to our Castle of refuge, which is, to the power of the Lord Jesus, remembering the true promise of the ninety-first Psalm: "Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei cæli commorabitur;" that is, "Whoso putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall have the God of heaven to be his protector." And then shall it afterwards follow, as in the same Psalm: "Ipse liberabit te a laqueo venantium, et a verbo aspero;" that is, "And he shall deliver him from the snare of the hunter, and from all evil words and prophecies, be they never so sharp or bitter against him," &c. And thus much, by the occasion of king Edward, of prophecies.

Only Christ able to withstand the power of Satan.

Now, having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places also of Christ's church, as well here in Europe under the pope, as in the east parts under the Turk, first deducing our story from the time of Sigismund, where we before left off; which Sigismund, as is above recorded, was a great doer in the council of Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague. This emperor had ever evil luck, fighting against the Turks. Twice he warred against them, and in both the battles was discomfited and put to flight; once about the city of Nicopolis in Mœsia, fighting against Bajazet, the great Turk, A. D. 1395, the second time fighting against Celebine, the son of Bajazet, about the town called Columbaciū.¹ But especially after the council of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned those two godly martyrs, more unprosperous success did then follow him, fighting against the Bohemians, his own subjects, A. D. 1420, by whom he was repulsed in so many battles, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Zisca and of Procopius, as is before more at large expressed: who was so beaten both of the Turks, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the Turks after. Then followed the council of Basil, after the beginning whereof, within six years, this Sigismund, who was emperor, king of Hungary, and king of Bohemia, died in Moravia [Dec. 9th], A. D. 1437.

Sigismund, the emperor, unprosperous in his wars.

(1) Columbetz, near Semendria, on the Danube. See vol. iv. p. 93, note (4).—Ed.

Edward IV.

ALBERT, THE EMPEROR.

A. D.
1440.

This Sigismund left behind him one only daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert duke of Austria, by reason whereof he was advanced to the empire, and so was both duke of Austria, emperor, king of Hungary, and king also of Bohemia. But this Albert (as is afore declared) being an enemy and a disquieter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Tabor, as he was preparing and setting forth against the Turks, in the mean time died, in the second year of his empire, A. D. 1439, leaving his wife great with child; who lying then in Hungary, and thinking herself to be great with a daughter, called to her the princes and the chieftains of the realms, declaring to them that she was but a woman, and insufficient to the governance of such a state; and moreover how she thought herself to be but with child of a daughter; and therefore required them to provide among them such a prince and governor (reserving the right of the kingdom to herself), as would be fit and able under her, to have the regiment of the land committed. The Turk, in the mean while, being elevated and encouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismund afore-said, began then more fiercely to invade Hungary, and those parts of Christendom. Wherefore the Hungarians, making the more haste, consulted among themselves to make duke Uladislau, brother to Cassimir king of Poland, their king.

The Turk
beginneth
to invade
Hungary.

The
queen
hath a
son.
Uladislau
prince of
Hungary,
born.

Division
and dis-
cord in
Hungary.
See
Appendix.

The Turk
warreth
against
Hungary.
Uladis-
lous slain
by the
Turks

But while this was in working between the Hungarians and Uladislau the duke, in the mean space Elizabeth brought forth a son called Ladislau, who being the lawful heir of the kingdom, the queen called back again her former word, minding to reserve the kingdom for her son, being the true heir thereof, and therefore refused marriage with the said Uladislau, which she had before pretended. But Uladislau, joining with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting still in the condition before granted, would not give over; by reason whereof great contention and division kindling among the people of Hungary, Amurath, the great Turk, taking his advantage of their disoord, and partly suppressed with pride of his former success against Sigismund afore-said, with his whole main and force invaded the realm of Hungary; where Huniades, the Vaivode or prince of Transylvania, joining with the new king Uladislau, did both together set against the Turk A. D. 1444, and there Uladislau, the new king of Hungary, in the fourth year of his kingdom, was slain. Elizabeth with her son had fled in the mean while to Frederic the emperor. Of Huniades, the noble captain, and of his acts, and also of Ladislau, (Christ willing) more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

FREDERIC THE THIRD, EMPEROR.

After the decease of Albert succeeded in the empire Frederick III., duke of Austria, A. D. 1440; by whom it was procured (as we have before signified) that pope Felix, elected by the council of Basil, did resign his popedom to pope Nicholas V., upon this condition, that the said pope Nicholas should ratify the acts decreed in the said council of Basil. In the days of this emperor, much war and dissension raged almost through all christian realms in Austria, Hungary, Poland.

France, Burgundy, and also here in England, between king Henry VI. and king Edward IV., as ye have already heard; whereby it had been easy for the Turk, with little mastery, to have overrun all the christian realms in Europe, had not the providence of our merciful Lord otherwise provided to keep Amurath, the Turk, occupied in other civil wars at home in the mean while. Unto this Frederic came Elizabeth (as is afore said) with Ladislaus her son; by whom he was nourished and entertained a certain space, till at length, after the death of Uladislaus aforesaid, king of Hungary (who was slain in battle by the Turks), the men of Austria, through the instigation of Ulric Eizinger, and of Ulric, earl of Cilley, rising up in arms, required of Frederic the emperor, either to give them their young king, or else to stand to his own defence.¹

When Frederic heard this, neither would he render to them a sudden answer, neither would they abide any longer delay; and so the matter growing to war, Neustadt was besieged, where many were slain, and much harm done. At length, the emperor's part being the weaker, the emperor, through the intervention of certain nobles of Germany, restored Ladislaus unto their hands, who being yet under age committed his three kingdoms to three governors, whereof John Huniades, the worthy captain above-mentioned, had the ruling of Hungary; George Podiebrad had Bohemia; and Ulric, the earl of Cilley, had Austria: which Ulric, having the chief custody of the king, bare the greatest authority above the rest; a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almost of all the Austrians, and, shortly after by the means of Eizinger was excluded also from the king and the court, but afterward restored again, and Eizinger thrust out. Such is the unstable condition of those, who be next in place about princes. But this contention between them I overpass.

Not long after, Ladislaus, the young king, went to Bohemia, there to be crowned, where George Podiebrad (as is said) had the governance. But Ladislaus, during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the churches, nor hear the service of those who did draw after the doctrine of Huss. Insomuch that when a certain priest was appointed and addressed, after the manner of priests, to say service before the king in the castle chapel at Prague, being discovered to hold with John Huss and Rochezanus, the king disdainning at him, commanded him to give place and depart, or else he would send him down headlong from the castle rock: and so the good minister, repulsed by the king, departed. Also another time, the said Ladislaus seeing the sacrament carried by a minister of that side, whom they called then Rochezanians, would do thereunto no reverence.

At length the long abode of the king, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly-disposed to be longer than they wished; and that was not to the king unknown, which made him to make the more haste away: but, before he departed, he thought first to visit the noble city of Breslau in Silesia; in the which city the aforesaid king Ladislaus, being there in the high church at service, many great princes were about him. Among whom was also George Podiebrad, who then stood nearest to the king, unto whom one Chilianus,

Edward
IV.A. D.
1453.Governors of
Hungary
and Bo-
hemia
under the
king of
Austria.Ladis-
laus, a
young
popish
king,
could not
abide the
doctrine
of Huss.

(1) Ex Æn. Sylv. [See the Appendix.—ED.]

Edward
IV.
A. D.
1456.

The words of a popish jester to Podiebrad.

the king's 'fool' (a term applied to certain persons, who, while they pretend themselves fools, make fools of others), spake in this wise as followeth :

'With what countenance you do behold this our service I see right well, but your heart I do not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our religion seem unto you decent and comely? do you not see how many and how great princes, yea, the king himself, do follow one order and uniformity? and why do you not then follow these, rather than your preacher Rochezana? do you think a few Bohemians to be more wise than all the church of Christ besides? why then do you not forsake that rude and rustical people, and join to these nobles, as you are a noble man yourself?'

Unto whom thus Podiebrad sagely again answered,

An answer proceeding of a heavenly wisdom.

'If you speak these words of yourself, saith he, you are not the man whom you feign yourself to be; and so to you I answer, not as to a fool. But if you speak this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfy them. Hear therefore: As touching the ceremonies of the church, every man hath a conscience of his own to follow. As for us we use such ceremonies, as we trust do please God; neither is it in our arbitrement to believe what we will ourselves. The mind of man, being persuaded with great reasons, is captived, will he, will he; and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawn, in some one way, and in some another. As for myself, I am fully persuaded of the religion of my preachers. If I should follow thy religion, I might perchance deceive men, while going counter to my own conscience; but I cannot deceive God, who seeth the hearts of all; neither shall it become me to frame myself to thy disposition. That which is meet for a jester, is not likewise convenient for a noble man. And these words either take to thyself, as spoken to thee, if thou be a wise man; or else I refer them to those who set thee at work.'

Ulric seeketh the death of Huniades.

See Appendix.

Huniades spareth his enemy.

Belgrade besieged by the Turk.

After the king was returned from the Bohemians again to Austria, the Hungarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would also come unto them. The governor of Hungary (as ye before have heard) was John Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulric, earl of Cilley, did all he could with the king, to bring him to destruction, and therefore caused the king to send for him up to Vienna, and there privily to work his death. But Huniades, having thereof intelligence, offereth himself, within Hungary, to serve his prince in all affairs: out of the land where he was, he was not bound (he said) to attend his commands. The earl, being so disappointed, came down with certain nobles of the court to the borders of Hungary, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to Vienna, or there to dispatch him. Huniades said he would commune with him abroad in the fields; within the town he would not be brought. After that, another train also was laid for him, that under pretence of the king's safe-conduct he should meet the king in the broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades, suspecting deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where he, neither seeing the king to come, nor the earl to have any safe-conduct for him, was moved (and not without cause) against the earl, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him, who went about to seek his blood; but, for the reverence of the king, he would spare him and let him go.

Not long after this, the Turk with a great power of fighting men, to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand, arrived in Hungary, where he laid siege to the city of Belgrade. But through the merciful

hand of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus a certain Minorite, with a good muster of christian soldiers, gave him the repulse and put him to flight with all his mighty host; whereof more, Christ willing, hereafter.¹ Huniades shortly after this victory deceased. Of whose death when the king and the earl did understand, they came the more boldly into Hungary; where, being received by Ladislaus, Huniades's son, into the city of Belgrade, they viewed the place where the Turks before had pitched their tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was coming first toward the town, obediently he opened to him the gates. Four thousand only of armed soldiers he debarred from entering the city.

In the mean time, while the king was there resident in the city, the earl with other nobles did sit in council, requiring also Ladislaus to resort unto them; who, first doubting with himself what he should do, at length putteth on a privy coat of mail, and cometh to them. Whether the earl first began with him, or he with the earl, it is not known. The opinion of some is, that Ulric first called him traitor, for slutting the gates against the king's soldiers. Howsoever the occasion began, this is undoubted, that Ulric, taking his sword from his page, let fly at his head. To break the blow, some, putting up their hands, had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians, hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber, brake in upon them, and there incontinent slew Ulric the earl, wounding and cutting him almost all to pieces. The king hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his mind, yet seeing there was then no other remedy, dissembled his grief for a time.

From thence taking his journey again to Buda, accompanied with the aforesaid Ladislaus, the king, passing by the town where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed with many fair words to comfort her, and after he had there sufficiently repasted himself, with such pretence of dissembled love, and feigned favour, that they were without all suspicion and fear; from thence he set forward on his journey, taking with him the two sons of Huniades, Ladislaus and Matthias, who were right ready to wait upon him. The king, being come to Buda (whether of his own head, or by sinister counsel set on), when he had them at a vantage, caused both the sons of Huniades, to wit, Ladislaus and Matthias, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth Ladislaus, the elder son, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded; where meckly he suffered, being charged with no other crime but this, published by the voice of the crier, saying, "Thus are they to be chastened, who are rebels against their Lord." Peucer, writing of his death, addeth this moreover, that after the hangman had three blows at his neck, yet notwithstanding the said Ladislaus, having his hands bound behind him, after the third stroke rose upright upon his feet, and looking up to heaven called upon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf; and so laying down his neck again, at the fourth blow was dispatched.² Matthias, the other brother, was led captive with the king into Austria. The rest of the captives brake the prison, and escaped.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon Ladislaus (the king being about the age of eighteen years), that talk was made

*Edward
IV.*

A. D.
1456.

The power of God by means of Huniades and Capistranus against the Turk.

Debate between Ulric and Ladislaus, Huniades's son.

Ulric, earl of Cilley, slain.

The cruel dissimulation of Ladislaus, the king

The two sons of Huniades, Ladislaus, and Matthias, Ladislaus, Huniades's son, innocently put to death. A miraculous token at the death of Ladislaus.

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Hist. Bohera. Æn. Sylvi. [cap. 65. See *infra*, vol. iv. p. 40.] (2) Ex Peucer. Chron. lib. 5.

Edward
*IV.*A. D.
1458.

Preparation for the king's marriage. Ladislaus, the king, received in Bohemia. A fierce enemy against the Hussites.

The sacrament of the altar used to many purposes.

of the king's marriage with Magdalen, daughter to Charles the French king. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prague, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the king into the city of Prague, Rochezana, with a company of ministers such as were favourers of John Huss and of sincere religion, came with all solemnity to receive the king, making there his oration to gratulate the king's most joyful and prosperous access into the same his own realm and country of Bohemia. Unto which Rochezana, after he had ended his oration, scarce the king would open his mouth to give thanks to him, or show any cheerful countenance unto his company, but seemed fiercely to frown upon them. In the next pageant after these, came forth the priests of the high minster after the most popish manner, meeting him with procession and with the sacrament of the altar: for as panacea, among physicians, serveth for all diseases, so the sacrament of the pope's altar serveth for all pomps and pageants. First it must lie upon the altar; then it must be holden up with hands; then it must hang in the pix; it must serve for the quick; it must also help the dead; it must, moreover, visit the sick; it must walk about the churchyard; it must go about the streets; it must be carried about the fields to make the grass to grow; it must be had to the battle; it must ride on horseback before the pope: and finally it must welcome kings into cities. Wherein these catholic fathers do seem somewhat to forget themselves. For if the pope, being inferior to the sacrament of the altar, at the coming of kings do use to sit still, while the kings come and kiss his feet, what reason is it that the sacrament of the altar, which is (I trow) above the pope, should meet kings by the way, and welcome them to the town? But this by the way of parenthesis: let us now continue the text.

When Ladislaus, this catholic king, who had showed himself before so stout and stern against Rochezana and his company, had seen these catholic priests with their procession, and especially with their blessed sacrament, coming; with all reverence and much devotion, he lighted down from his horse, he embraced the cross and kissed it, and with cheerful countenance saluted the priests in order. All this while, his young wife was not yet come out of France, but legates were sent, after most sumptuous wise to conduct her. Other legates also were sent at the same time to the emperor Frederic, for conclusion of peace. The third legation was directed likewise to pope Calixtus about religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the church of Rome.¹

A great concourse of catholic princes intended against the Hussites.

The author of this story (who was pope Pius II. himself) declareth further the opinion of some to be, that king Ladislaus, the same time, had intended to make a final end and destruction of all that sect in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of John Huss and Jerome, by the assembly and concourse of the catholic princes and popish prelates, who were appointed there to meet together at that marriage in Prague. For there should be first, the emperor Frederic and the empress, the king's two sisters Elizabeth and Anna, the princes of Saxony, Bavaria, Silesia, Franconia, the Palatine and other princes of the Rhine: many also of the lords of France, besides the pope's cardinals, legates, prelates, and other potestates of the pope's church; who if they had altogether convented in Bohemia, no doubt but

See
Appendix.(1) *Ex Ænoa Sylvio in hist. Bohem. [cap. 69.]*

some great mischief had been wrought there against the Hussites, against whom this Ladislaus, following the steps of Sigismund, his grandfather, and Albert, his father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth him.

And therefore truly it is written by Æneas Sylvius in the same place, saying, "De regimine civitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum est quod homines possunt: magna magnus disponit Deus:" That is, "In regiment of cities, in alteration of kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is less than nothing that man can do; it is the high God that ruleth high things." Whereunto then I may well add this moreover, and say: that if the governance of worldly kingdoms standeth not in man's power, but in the disposition of God, much less is it then that man's power can do, in the regiment and governing of religion. Example whereof in this purposed device of princes doth evidently appear: for, as this great preparation and solemnity of marriage was in doing, and the princes ready to set forth, with a little turn of God's holy hand all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this business, about midnight, the 22nd day of November, A.D. 1458, this great adversary of Christ's people, king Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, and prince of Austria, sickened, and within thirty-six hours died; some say of a pestilent sore in his groin, some say of poison. But howsoever it was, as it came not without the just judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of Ladislaus, Huniades's son, wrongfully put to death before; so, by the opportune death of this king the poor churches of Bohemia were graciously delivered. And this end made Ladislaus, one of the mightiest princes at that time in all Europe; in whom three mighty kingdoms were conjoined and combined together, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia; which countries do lie south east from England, in the farthest parts of all Germany, toward Constantinople and the dominion of the Turks, and contain these principal towns in them.

Edward
IV
A. D.
1458.

Governance of empires and kingdoms is not in man's power, much less the governance of religion. The great work of God in defending his poor servants. Death of king Ladislaus. See Appendix. Blood revenged by God.

THE LARGE DOMINIONS OF LADISLAUS.

AUSTRIA. ¹	Kotzo.	Agria.
	Raba.	Orszaw.
Vienna. ²	Lindenburg.	Bossen.
Melck.		Sabaria.
Neustadt (nova Civitas).		
Gretz.	HUNGARY. ³	BOHEMIA.
St. Hypolit.	Ofen Buda.	
Lintz.	Strigonium.	Prague.
Stein.	Kalachia.	Pizen.
Haimburg.	Varadein.	Tabor.
Kremsier.	Nitria.	Budweis.
Karolsburg.	Nicopolis, Nova et	Koln, or Kœlu.
Teben.	Vetus.	Egra.

(1) Called once Pannonia Superior. To Austria be adjoining also certain provinces and earldoms as, Stiria, Carinthia, Croatia: provinces. Silesia and Tyrolentz; earldoms.

(2) Besieged by the Turk, A.D. 1533.

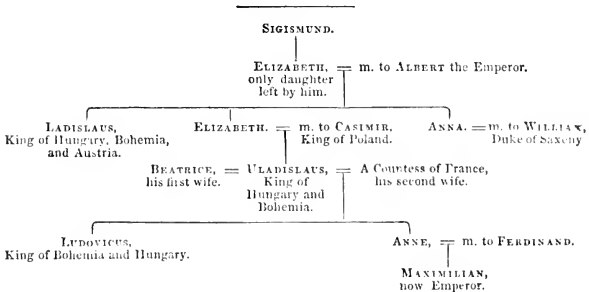
(3) This Hungary was first called Pannonia Inferior, or Pœonia. After the coming of the Huns, it was called Hungaria: of whom came Attila, who destroyed Italy, about A.D. 450. Through Hungary runneth the Danube, having on the west side, Anstria; and Bohemia on the east: Servia, on the south side; Polonia, &c. The most of this Hungary is now under the Turk; which Turk first came into Europe, A.D. 1211.

<i>Edward</i>	Kuttenberg.	Austi.	Krupa.
<i>II.</i>	Leimiritz.	Maut, or Myto.	Krumaw.
<hr/>	Laun.	Hof.	Pardubice.
A. D	Racownitz.	Jaromir.	Chumitaum.
1162.	Glataw.	Dubitz, or Biela.	Loket, or Teplitz.
	Bern, or Beraun.	Lantzbut.	Hantzburg, or Zbraslau.
	Bruck, or Most.	Gilgwey.	Labes, or Ultawa.
	Gretz, or Hradetz.		

After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdom of Bohemia fell to George Podicbrad above mentioned, whom Pope Innocent VIII. did excommunicate and depose for his religion, as is afore declared.

Furthermore the kingdom of Hungary was given to Matthias, son of Huniades, who was in captivity (as is said) with king Ladislaus, and should have been put to death after his brother, had not the king before been prevented with death, as is above recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that the said king, Ladislaus, thus dying without wife and issue, left behind him two sisters alive, to wit, Elizabeth, who was married to Casimir, king of Poland; and Anna, married to William duke of Saxony; Elizabeth by her husband Casimir, king of Poland, had Uladislaus, who at length was king of both Bohemia and Hungary. This Uladislaus was first married to Beatrix, wife before to Matthias. Then, being divorced from her by the dispensation of pope Alexander, he married a new wife, a countess of France, by whom he had two children, Louis and Anne; Louis, who was heir of both kingdoms, Bohemia and Hungary, was slain fighting against the Turks. Anne was married to Ferdinand, by whom he was archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, &c.

MAXIMILIAN, HOW DESCENDED FROM SIGISMUND.



War
between
Matthias
and
Frederic
the
emperor.

We heard before, how, after the decease of Ladislaus, the Hungarians, by their election, preferred Matthias, surnamed Corvinus, who was son of Huniades, to the kingdom of Hungary: for which cause dissension fell between Frederic the emperor and him, for that the said Frederic was both nominated himself by divers unto that kingdom, and also because he had the crown of Hungary then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth, mother to king Ladislaus, had brought to the emperor, as was before declared. But this war between them was ceased by the intercession of the princes of

Germany, so that Matthias ransomed that crown of Frederic for eight thousand florins. *Edward IV.*

Not long after, pope Innocent being displeased with George Podiebrad (or Bojebracius), king of Bohemia, for favouring of John Huss and his religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly prince, did excommunicate and depose him, conferring his kingdom on Matthias. But, forsomuch as Frederic the emperor would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaid George, when the emperor and the Bohemians, leaving out Matthias, did nominate Uladislaus, son of Casimair king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, to be king of Bohemia, therefore great war and trouble kindled between him and Frederic the emperor; wherein the emperor had utterly gone to ruin, had not Albert, duke of Saxony, rescued the emperor, and repressed the vehemency of Matthias. A. D. 1474.
George Podiebrad by the pope deposed from his kingdom, for favouring of John Huss. Albert, duke of Saxony.

The noble acts of John Huniades, and of this Matthias, his son, were not only great stays to Hungary, but almost to all Christendom, in repelling back the Turk. For besides the other victories of John Huniades, the father aforementioned, this Matthias also, his son, succeeding no less in valiantness, than in the name of his father, did so recover Sirmium, and the confines of Illyria, from the hands of the Turks, and so vanquished their power, that both Mahomet, and also Bajazet, his son, were enforced to seek for truce. The noble acts of John and Matthias Huniades against the Turks.

Over and besides, the same Matthias conducting his army into Bosnia, which lieth south from Hungary, recovered again Jaitza, the principal town of that kingdom, from the Turks' possession; who, if other christian princes had joined their helps withal, would have proceeded further into Thrace. But behold here the malicious subtlety of Satan, working by the pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turks, wherein he should have been set forward and aided by christian princes, and bishops; the bishop of Rome wickedly and sinfully ministereth matter of civil discord between him and Podiebrad aforesaid, in removing him from the right of his kingdom, and transferring the same to Matthias. Whereupon, not only the course of victory against the Turks was stopped, but also great war and bloodshed followed in christian realms, as well between this Matthias and Podiebrad, with his two sons Victorinus and Henricus, as also between Casimir, Uladislaus, and Matthias, warring about Breslau; till at length the matter was taken up by the princes of Germany. Jaitza recovered. The subtle practice of Satan to stop good proceedings.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the pope against Podiebrad, a great part of Bohemia would not be removed from the obedience of their king, whom the pope had cursed, and deposed: yet Matthias took from him Moravia, and a great portion of Silesia, and adjoined it to his kingdom of Hungary, A. D. 1474. The pope's excommunication not obeyed by divers in Bohemia.

Here this by the way is to be noted, that the religion in Bohemia, planted by John Huss, could not be extinguished or suppressed with all the power of four mighty princes, Wenceslaus, Sigismund, Albert, and Ladislaus, notwithstanding they, with the popes, did therein what they possibly could; but still the Lord maintained the same, as

Edward IV.

A. D.
1171.

the four greatest princes in Europe. Matthias a great lover of learning and of learned men; his noble library.

Commen-
dation of
Podie-
brad.

God's fa-
vour to
the sons
of Pogie-
bracius.

The death
of Podie-
brad,
[May 22d,
A. D.
1471.]
Uladis-
laus,
Casimir's
son,
made
king of
Hungary.

Uladis-
laus ob-
taineth a
dispensa-
tion from
pope
Alexan-
der, to
forsake
his first
wife, and
to marry
another.

ye see by this Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, whom the pope could not utterly remove out of the kingdom of Bohemia.

This forementioned Matthias, besides his other memorable acts of chivalry, is no less also commended for his singular knowledge, and love of learning and of learned men, whom he with great stipends procured into Pannonia; where, by the means of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced in short space the barbarous rudeness of that country into a flourishing commonwealth. Moreover such a library he did there erect, and replenish with all kind of authors, sciences, and histories, which he caused to be translated out of Greek into Latin, as the like is not thought to be found, next to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which library we have received divers fragments of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before.¹

The constant fortitude also of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, is not unworthy of commendation; of whom also pope Pius himself, in 'Descriptione Europæ,' doth honestly report (as a pope may speak of a protestant), in these words writing, "Magnus vir alioqui, et rebus bellicis clarus," &c.: who, although pope Innocent did execrate him with his children, yet he left not off the profession of the verity and the knowledge which he had received. Moreover, the Lord so prospered his sons, Victorinus and Henricus, that they subdued their enemies, and kept their estate: insomuch that when Frederic the emperor, at Vienna, was in custody enclosed by the citizens, Victorinus did restore, and deliver him out of their hands. Wherefore the emperor afterwards advanced them to be dukes. Also God gave them sometimes prosperous victory against Matthias, as at the city of Glogau, &c.

After the decease of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, Frederic the emperor assigned that kingdom, not to Matthias, upon whom the pope had bestowed it before, but to Uladislau, son of Casimir king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Albert II., and sister to Ladislau. For the which Matthias being discontented, and for that the emperor had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Uladislau out of Bohemia, and also proclaimed war against Frederic. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death prevented him, who without issue departed, A. D. 1490.

After the death of Matthias, departing without issue, Uladislau, son of Casimir king of Poland, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert the emperor, and sister to king Ladislau, married his wife Beatrix, whom Matthias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungary, with this condition made between him and Frederic the emperor, that if he died without lawful issue, then the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia should return to Maximilian, son to Frederic. But Uladislau not long after did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and depriving her of her kingdom, caused the said Beatrix to swear and to consent to his marrying another woman, who was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuring from pope Alexander a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By

(1) Ex Peue. lib. v.

this Anne, Uladislaus had Louis and Anne, which Anne afterwards was married to Ferdinand.

Ferdard IV.

Louis succeeding his father, had both the said kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, A. D. 1492, and married Mary, sister to the emperor Charles the Fifth. Anne as is said, was couled to Ferdinand, &c.

A. D. 1475.

Of Charles duke of Burgundy somewhat was before touched, who had married king Edward's sister; and what troubles by him were stirred up in France, partly was before notified. This Charles after he had besieged the town of Nuys, near to Cologne, the space of a whole year, went about to alienate the territory of Cologne from the empire to his own dominion: wherefore war began to be moved between him and Frederic the emperor. At length, through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appointed between Mary the only daughter of Charles, and Maximilian the emperor's son, A. D. 1475. Then from Nuys Charles leadeth his army towards Switzerland, against Renatus, or René, duke of Lorraine; then against the Switzers, where he, being thrice overcome, first at Granson, then at Moratum, or Morat, in the higher part of Switzerland, at last, at the town of Nancy, was overthrown and slain, A. D. 1477. The procurer of which wars was chiefly Louis XI., the French king, to the intent he might compass the dominion of Burgundy under his subjection; which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding Mary, the daughter of Charles, of her rightful inheritance; for the which cause the Burgundians were the more willing to join her in marriage with Maximilian, son of Frederic the emperor: by reason whereof the title of Burgundy was first joined to the house of Austria.

War between Charles duke of Burgundy and Frederic the emperor.

A. D. 1475.

And thus have you the miserable vexations and contentions among our christian princes here in Europe described, under the reign of this emperor Frederic III., so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendom (whether we consider the state of the church, or civil government) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worm of ambition so mightily creepeth, and every where prevaleth in these latter ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in commonweals, nor peace in the church, nor any sparkle of charity almost to remain in the life of men. And what marvel then if the Lord, seeing us so far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, uncle with nephew, blood with blood, cannot agree, in striving, killing and fighting for worldly dominions, do send therefore these cruel Turks upon us, so to scourge and devour us? of whose bloody tyranny and daily spilling of christian blood hereafter, by the grace of Christ, we will discourse more at large, when we come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkish stories. In the mean time this shall be for us to note and observe: not so much the scourge how grievous it is, but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip upon us, which are our own miserable ambition and wretched wars among ourselves.

Duke of Burgundy slain in war.

A. D. 1477.

Mary, daughter of Charles of Burgundy, married to Maximilian.

And yet if this christian peace and love, left and commended so heartily unto us by the mouth of the Son of God, being now banished out of christian realms, and civil governance, might at least find

War and dissension among christian princes.

The discord of the Christians scourged by the Turks.

Discord in the church, noted.

*Edward
17.*A. D.
1438.Ambition
and avarice
of
the
church
of Rome.

some refuge in the church, or take sanctuary among men professing nothing but religion, less cause we had to mourn. Now so it is, that as we see little peace and amity among civil potentates; so less we find in the spiritual sort of those, who chiefly take upon them the administration of Christ's church. So that it may well be doubted whether the scourge of the Turk, or the civil sword of princes have slain more in the fields, or the pope's keys have burnt more in towns and cities. And albeit such as be professed to the church, do not fight with sword and target for dominions and revenues, as warlike princes do; yet this ambition, pride, and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior unto other worldly potestates; especially if we behold and advise the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great arguments and proof hereof neither are hard to be found, nor far to be sought. What realm almost through all Christendom hath not only seen with their eyes, but have felt in their purses the ambition intolerable, and avarice insatiable of that devouring church, and also have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redressed? What exactions and extortions have been here in England out of bishoprics, monasteries, benefices, deaneries, archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the pope's coffers? and when they had all done, yet almost every year brought some new invention from Rome to fetch in our English money; and if all the floods in England (yea in all Europe) did run into the see of Rome, yet were that ocean never able to be satisfied.

The see
of Rome
is turned
into an
ocean,
that hath
no bot-
tom.

In France, likewise, what floods of money were swallowed up in this see of Rome! It was openly complained of in the council of Basil, as is testified by Henry Token, canon and ambassador of the archbishop of Magdeburg, written in his book, entitled, 'Rapularium,' where he writeth that in the council of Basil, A. D. 1436, the archbishop of Lyons did declare, that in the time of pope Martin there came out of France to the court of Rome, nine millions of gold, which was gathered of the bishops and prelates, besides those which could not be counted of the poor clergy, who daily, without number, ran unto the court of Rome, carrying with them all their whole substance. The archbishop of Tours said also at Basil, A. D. 1439, that three millions of gold came unto Rome in his time, within the space of fourteen years, from the prelates and prelacies, whereof no account could be made, besides the poor clergy who daily run to that court. Let the man that feareth God judge what a devouring gulf this is: a million containeth ten hundred thousand.

Concili-
um Bitu-
ricense.Pragmatica
Sanctio.

And what made pope Pius II. to labour so earnestly to Louis XI., the French king, who, as is aforesaid, was a great enemy to the house of Burgundy, that he would, according to his former promise, abolish and utterly extinguish the constitution established before at the council of Bourges, by king Charles VII., his predecessor, called 'Pragmatica Sanctio,' but only the ambition of that see, which had no measure, and their avarice, which had no end? The story is this: King Charles VII., the French king, willing to obey and follow the council of Basil, did summon a Parliament at Bourges; where, by the full consent of all the states in France, both spiritual and temporal, a certain constitution was decreed and published, called 'Pragmatica Sanctio;' wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and

effect of all the canons and decrees concluded in the council of Basil. Which constitution the said king Charles willed and commanded through all his realm inviolably to be observed and ratified, for the honour and increase of the christian religion, for ever. This was A. D. 1438.¹

It followed that after the decease of the foresaid Charles VII. succeeded king Louis XI., who had promised before (being dauphin) to pope Pius, that if he ever came to the crown the aforesaid 'Sanctio Pragmatica' should be abolished. Whereupon pope Pius, hearing him to be crowned, did send unto him John Balveus a cardinal, with his great letters patent, willing him to be mindful of his promise made. The king, either willing, or else pretending a will, to perform and accomplish that he had promised, directed the pope's letters patent, with the said cardinal, to the council of Paris; requiring them to consult upon the cause.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the parliament-house, the king's attorney, named Johannes Romanus, a man well spoken, singularly witted, and well reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence, and no less boldness, proved the said sanction to be profitable, holy, and necessary for the wealth of the realm, and in no case to be abolished. Unto whose sentence the university of Paris, adjoining their consent, did appeal from the attempts of the pope to the next general council. The cardinal understanding this, took no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatening many terrible things against them: but, all his minatory words notwithstanding, he returned again to the king, his purpose not obtained, A. D. 1466.²

Thus the pope's purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germany had come to the like effect, if Frederic the emperor had there done his part likewise toward the Germans; who, at the same time, bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suit to persuade the emperor, that he should no longer be under the subjection of the popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certain things of them as touching the charter of appeals; declaring their estate to be far worse (although undeserved) than the Frenchmen or Italians, whose servants (and especially of the Italians) they are worthily to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles and commonalty of Germany did instantly entreat, with most weighty reasons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the empire, to have the emperor's aid and help therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an oath; alleging also the great dishonour and ignominy, in that they alone had not the use of their own laws, declaring how the French nation had not made their suit unto their king in vain against the exactions of popes, by whom they were defended; who also provided decrees and ordinances for the liberty of his people, and caused the same to be observed; which thing the emperor ought to foresee within his empire, and to provide for his people and states of his empire, as well as other kings do. For what shall come to pass thereby, if that foreign nations, having recourse unto their kings, being relieved and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germans, and states of the empire flying unto their

Edward IV.

A. D. 1466.

Pope Pius laboureth that 'Pragmatica Sanctio' should be abolished.

The council of Paris appealeth from the pope to the general council.

The complaint of the Germans to the emperor, for help and aid against the oppression of the pope.

(1) Ex Joan. Mario Belg de Schismat. et Concilio, cap. 24.

(2) Ex Joan. Mario.

Edward
IV.A. D.
1457.

emperor, be by him forsaken, or rather betrayed and deprived of their own laws and decrees? The emperor, being moved, and partly overcome by their persuasions, promised that he would provide no less for them, than the king of France had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of Æneas Sylvius, as Platina writeth in the history of Pius II., brake off the matter; * whose¹ talk was thus unto the emperor. Mark here the wicked oration of a wicked and traitorous orator. "Amongst princes," saith he, "albeit there be variance and discord about great and weighty matters, yet peace may sometimes be made again: but between the prince and the common people there is always mortal hatred." Wherefore this wicked Æneas, forasmuch as he should be shortly the successor of Calixtus, concluded upon this point, saying: That he thought it much better to accord with the pope, than to follow their covetous desires, whose minds are led with covetousness and appetite, rather than by reason. Behold by what policy and engine, with what force of impiety and wickedness, that venomous tongue hath suddenly envenomed and enchanted the emperor, that with one word he hath subverted and put away such evident truth, such exquisite justice, and such manifest utility and necessity of laws and decrees, which Æneas himself was present at the making of, and a long time allowed the same unto the emperor, and put them in execution; besides the manifold and weighty reasons of the princes and people of Germany, who were admitted, had already taken place and persuaded, but that as yet they were not performed. This, I say, he brought to pass by that his only false, seditious, and venomous oration, that he* did so bewitch the emperor, that he, contemning the equal, just, and necessary requests of his subjects, chose the said Æneas to be his ambassador unto Calixtus, then newly chosen pope, to swear unto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germany, as the only country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their country, as before he had done unto Eugene IV., being ambassador for the said Frederic, promising that he and all the Germans would be obedient unto him from henceforth, in all matters, as well spiritual as temporal.

Thus, twice, Frederic of Austria contemned and derided the Germans, and, frustrating them of their native decrees and ordinances, brought them under subjection and bondage of the pope; which partly was the cause that seven years before his death, he caused his son Maximilian not only to be chosen, but also crowned king of the Romans, and did associate him in the ministration of the empire, lest after his death (as it came to pass) the empire should be transported into another family; suspecting the Germans, whom he had twice, contrary to his laws, made subject, and in bondage unto the pope's exactions; first, before he was crowned in the time of Eugene IV.; and again, the second time, after his coronation, and the death of pope Nicholas V., denying their requests; by whom, afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1463, he was besieged. Whereupon Germany being in this miserable poverty and grievous subjection under the pope's tyranny and pollings, with tears and sighs lamenting their

Frederic made the Germans twice subject unto the pope. Frederic, Albert, and Sigismund, strive for the dukedom of Austria.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 370. — Ed.

estate, continued so almost unto Luther's time; as the histories hereafter following do testify.

And here ceasing with the story of Frederic, we will now proceed to the reign of Maximilian, his son, omitting divers things else incident in the time of this emperor; as first, touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts between this Frederic and Albert his brother, and Sigismund his uncle, for the dukedom of Austria, after the death of Matthias afore-mentioned. Omitting also to speak of the long and cruel war between the Prussians and Poles, with the religious sect of those who were called 'Teutones fratres sancte Mariæ,' in the time of Uladislaus: omitting also the strife and variance for the dukedom of Milan, between Frederic the emperor, Alphonsus, Charles duke of Orleans, and Francis Sfortia: and how the said principedom being after given to Sfortia, great wars were kindled and long continued between Sfortia and the Milanese, then between the Milanese and Venetians, and after between the Frenchmen and the Milanese. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpose of this story, I refer to other writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed.

Edward IV.

A. D.
1477.

War between Francis Sfortia and the Venetians about Milan.

War between Louis the French king, and the city of Milan

John the Neatherd, of Franconia, a Martyr; and Doctor Johannes de Wesalia.

This, as more properly belonging to the story of the church, I thought good not to pass over, touching such as were condemned, and suffered the pains of fire, for testimony of Christ and his truth; of whom one was John, a pastor or neatherd, who was a keeper of cattle: the other was Johannes de Wesalia, although not burned, yet persecuted nearly to death, under the reign of this emperor, Frederic III.

And first touching this John, the neatherd, thus writeth Sebastian Munster: That the bishop of Würzburg condemned and burned for a heretic one John, who was a keeper of cattle at a town called Nicholas Hausen, in Franconia, because he taught and held that the life of the clergy was ignominious and abominable before God, A. D. 1479.

John, the neatherd of Franconia, a martyr.

The other was doctor Johannes de Wesalia, who was complained of unto Dietherus, archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, upon certain articles and opinions gathered out of his books. Wherefore the said Dietherus, fearing else to be deposed again from his bishopric, directeth forth commission to the universities of Heidelburgh and Cologne, to have the matter in examination; who, conventing together the year above mentioned, called this doctor de Wesalia before them, making him to swear that he should present and give up all his treatises, works, and writings, whatsoever he had made or preached. That being done, they divided his books amongst themselves, severally every man to find out what heresies and errors they could. His articles and opinions are these:

John de Wesalia persecuted. A. D. 1479.

- I. That all men be saved freely, and through mere grace, by faith in Christ.
- II. Free-will to be nothing.
- III. That we should only believe the word of God, and not the gloss of any man, or fathers.

His articles and opinions.

Edward IV.

IV. That the word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another.

A. D. 1479.

V. That prelates have no authority to make laws, or to expound the Scriptures, by any peculiar right given unto them, more than to another.

VI. That men's traditions, as fastings, pardons, feasts, long prayers, peregrinations, and such like, are to be rejected.

VII. Extreme unction and confirmation to be reprov'd.

VIII. Confession and satisfaction to be reprehended.

IX. The primacy of the pope also he affirmed to be nothing.

Certain other articles also were gathered out of him by his adversaries, but in such sort, that they may seem rather to follow their own malicious gathering, than any true intelligence of his mind; whereof more is to be understood in this process hereafter.

Thus when Wesalianus was commanded to appear, there convened together first the archbishop, the inquisitor, the doctors of Cologne, and the doctors of Heidelburgh, with the masters of the same, and the rector of the university of Mentz, the dean of faculties, bachelors of divinity, and many other masters of the same university, canons, doctors, with the bishop's chancellor, and his counsellors; besides many religious prelates, scholars, with a doctor of Frankfort, the somner, and beadles, who all met together in the great hall of the Minorites, for the examination of this Johannes de Wesalia.

The inquisitor speaks.

Friar Elton, the inquisitor, first sitteth in the highest place; then, after him, others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, first the inquisitor beginneth with these words:

'Most reverend father and honourable doctors! &c. Our reverend father and prince elector hath caused this present convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Master John de Wesalia, in certain suspected articles concerning the catholic faith. But something I will say before, that may do him good, and desire that two or three of them that favour him, or some other, will rise up and give him counsel to forsake and leave his errors, to recognise himself, and to ask pardon: which if he will do, he shall have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed against him without pardon.'

John of Wesalia brought before the prelates.

And thus Wesalianus, being cited, and brought in the midst betwixt two Minorites, being very aged, and having a staff in his hand, was set before the inquisitor: who, beginning to answer for himself with a long protestation, could not be suffered to prosecute his oration, but was cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words, whether he would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he answered, that he never spake any thing against the determination of the church, but said, that he had written divers and sundry treatises, in which if he had erred, or were found to say otherwise than well, he was contented to revoke and call back the same, and to do all things that were requisite. Then said the inquisitor, "Do you ask then pardon?" The other answered: "Why should I ask pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?" The inquisitor said: "Well, we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceed to the examination."

His answer reasonable.

The cruel proceeding of the inquisitor.

In the mean time, others called upon him instantly to ask pardon. Then said Wesalianus: "I ask pardon." Notwithstanding the inquisitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two instruments,

declaring that he had authority from the apostolic see. After this, he cited the said John to appear to his examination. Thirdly, he commanded him, under pain of disobedience, in the virtue of the Holy Ghost, and under pain of excommunication of the greater curse (from which no man could absolve him, but only the pope, or the inquisitor, except only at the point of death), to tell plainly the truth upon such things as should be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages, and sophistication of words. And so, being demanded first whether he did believe upon his oath taken, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were against himself or any other: To this he answered, "Scio," that is, "I know." Then the inquisitor biddeth him say, "Credo," that is, "I believe." To which he answered again, "What need I say, that I believe that thing which I know?" There the inquisitor something stirred with the matter, as hot as a toast (as they say) eried with a loud voice, "Master Johannes, Master Johannes, Master Johannes, say 'Credo,' say 'Credo:'" then he answered, 'Credo.'

Edward IV.

A.D. 1479.

The greater curse of the people.

Scio.

Credo.

After this, being demanded whether he had written any treatise, concerning the binding of human laws, to one Nicholas of Bohemia; and whether he had written any treatise on the ecclesiastical power of Indulgences and Pardons, and on Fasting and other treatises; he answered, That he believed he had so written, and had conferred with divers learned men; also, that he had sent to the bishop of Worms a certain treatise on Fasting.

Many other interrogatories were ministered unto him, whereof some were vain, some false. Such as were more principal, here we will briefly touch, leaving out superfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a fautor of the Bohemians, he said, he was not. Also, being demanded concerning the sacrament of the holy body and blood of our Lord, whether he thought Christ there to be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he did believe, in the said sacrament, the substance of bread there to remain, or only the form thereof: To this he answered, not denying but the body of Christ was there really contained, and also, that with the body of Christ, the substance of bread did remain.

His opinion of the sacrament.

After this, he was demanded his opinion concerning religious men, as monks, nuns, or beguines, whether he thought them to be bound to the vow of chastity, or to the keeping of any other vow, and whether he said to the friars Minorites any such word in effect, "I cannot save you in this your state and order." This he confessed that he had said, how that "not your religion saveth you, but the grace of God," &c.; not denying but they might be saved.

His opinion of monks and nuns. The vow of chastity.

Item, Being required whether he believed, or had written, that there is no mortal sin,¹ but that which is expressed to be mortal in the canon of the holy Bible: to this he answered, that he did so believe as he had written, till he was better informed. Likewise, being required what he thought of the vicar of Christ on earth,² he answered, That he believed that Christ left no vicar on earth: for the confirmation whereof he alleged and said, That Christ, ascending up to heaven, said "Ecce ego vobiscum sum;" "Behold I am with

(1) Mortal sin found by the pope, besides that which is expressed to be mortal in the Scripture.

(2) What is this article, but to make the pope a God? Christ left no vicar on earth.

*Edward
IV.*

A. D.
1479.

Pardons
and in-
dulgen-
ces be of no
effect.

The trea-
sure of
saints'
merits
is not on
earth.

you:" in which words he plainly declared, that he would substitute under him no vicar here on earth: and he said moreover; "If a vicar signify any man who, in the absence of the principal, hath to do the works of the principal, then Christ hath no vicar here on earth."

In like manner, concerning indulgences and pardons, such as the church doth use to give, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought thereof: who answered again, That he had written a certain treatise of that matter, and what he had written in that treatise he would persist therein, which was thus: That he believed that the treasure-box of the merits of saints could not be distributed of the pope to others, because that treasure is not left here on earth; for so it is written in the Apocalypse, "Opera enim illorum sequuntur illos," &c. that is, "Their works follow them."

Item, That their merits could not be applied to other men, for the satisfaction of their pain due unto them; and therefore that the pope and other prelates, cannot distribute that treasure to men.

It was objected to him moreover, that in his said treatise he called pardons and indulgences, '*pias fraudes fidelium,*' that is, 'holy frauds and deceits of the faithful.'¹

Also, being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and blessing of altars, chalices, vestments, wax-candles, palms, herbs, holy water, and other divine things, &c. He answered, That they had no spiritual virtue and power in them to drive away devils, and that holy water hath no more efficacy than other water not hallowed, as concerning remission of venial sins, and driving away devils, and other effects, which the school-doctors do attribute to it.

Item, For degrees of marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he believeth, That all christian men under deadly sin are bound unto the same.

Item, That he believeth, That God may give grace to a man, having the use of reason, without all motion of free will. Also he thinketh, that St. Paul, in his conversion, did nothing of his own free will for his conversion. He believeth moreover, That God may give such grace to a man having the use of reason, not doing that which in him is.

Item, He affirmed, That nothing is to be believed, which is not contained in the canon of the Bible.

Also, That the elect are saved only by the grace of God.

Besides all these, moreover he was charged with the old opinion of the Greeks, which they did hold contrary to the Roman church, unto the time of the council of Ferrara above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

The Wednesday next following, three doctors, the Suffragan, Herwieus, and Jacobus Sprenger, were sent unto him, with persuasions to exhort him; and when he would not stand to their canons, whereby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwieus, why he would believe rather the four evangelists, than the gospel of Nicodemus? to whom he answered, Because he would.

(1) This saying was taken out of one Cantor Parisiensis, who was wont to say, That pardons were holy deserts, because that laymen there were provoked, by naughty deserts, to give good alms.

Being asked again, why he believed the four evangelists? he said, Because he so received of his parents. Then being demanded, why he would not believe the doctors? Because (said he) their doctrine is not canonical scripture.¹ Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himself when he preached, seeing he would not believe the holy doctors? to whom he answered in this wise, saying, That he did preach as his duty was; but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care.

This examination being ended, after these articles were condemned by the inquisitor and his assistants, then said he after this manner: "As you do with me, if Christ himself were here, he might be condemned as a heretic." After this they sent divers to him to have communication with him, and to persuade him, sending also to him, with his articles, a form of asking pardon. At length, within three or four days after, he was content to condescend unto them, and to submit himself to their holy mother church, and the information of the doctors. In the book of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralipomena, adjoined to Abbas Urspergensis, we read these words written of this Johannes de Wesalia:² 'Except only the article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, in other articles it seemeth that he was not to be chastened with so sharp censure, if respite and space had been given him, if good counsellors had been about him, if all they who did accuse and molest him had not been 'de via realium,' as Thomists, that is, of the sect of Thomas; which Thomists were set at that time against the other sect of the seculars, who were called Nominals, and therefore they so spited this doctor, because he did not hold with their Thomas, against whom otherwise (had it not been for that cause), they would never have been so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witness, who knoweth all things, that this process which was made against him, for his revoking and burning of his books, did greatly displease Master Engeline of Brunswick, a great divine, and also Master John Keisersberg, being both learned and famous men; but namely Master Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashness were showed in handling of that same man, and did not fear to say, That many of his articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well enough; and greatly blamed the mad and fantastical dissension of the Thomists, seeking by all manner of ways how to get the triumph over the secular divines,' &c.³

Although this aged and feeble old man, by weakness, was constrained to give over unto the Romish clergy, by outward profession of his mouth; yet notwithstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgment he was, if fear of death present, had not enforced him to say otherwise than he did think. Again, although he had revoked after their minds, yet we read no such form of recantation to be prescribed to him to read openly unto the people, as the use is here in England. The story of this man is more fully to be found in the books of Orthuinus Gratius, &c.

As touching the reign of this emperor Frederic, seeing we have comprehended hitherto sufficiently the most principal matters in his

Edward IV.

A. D. 1479.

By this inquisition, Christ himself might be condemned.

See Appendix.

Discord betwixt Reals and Nominals.

Doctor John de Wesalia revoketh his opinions.

(1) The church giveth witness who were the writers of the Scriptures; but hath no authority above that which is written.

(2) *Dempto solo articulo de processione Spiritus Sancti in aliis videtur non ita gravi censura, &c.*

(3) *Ex Orth. Grat.*

Edward
IV.A. D.
1479.

time incurrent, we will now pass forward, the Lord guiding us, to Maximilian, after I have first given a brief memorandum of three valiant princes and captains, flourishing in the same time of this Frederic in Germany, of which, one was Albert duke of Saxony, who for his renowned and famous acts, was called by public voice, 'Dextra manus imperii,' 'the right hand of the empire;' another was Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, to whom also the name attributed (named of pope Pius) was Achilles Germanicus; the third was Frederic, carl Palatine, surnamed Victoriosus, who manfully defended the freedom and majesty of the empire, from the fraudulent oppressions of the pope's tyranny.

The abo-
mination
of pope
Sixtus.

In the year of our Lord 1484, in this emperor's time, died pope Sixtus IV., a little before touched; rather a monster of nature, than a prelate of the church. Of him writeth Platina, that unjustly he vexed all Italy with war and dissension. Agrippa, writing of him, saith, That among all the bawds of these our latter days, who were builders of brothel-houses, this pope Sixtus IV. surmounted all others; who at Rome erected stews of double abomination, not only of women, but also, &c.; whereupon no small gain redounded to his coffers. For every such common harlot in Rome paid to him a July piece, the sum whereof grew in the year, some while to twenty thousand; at length to forty thousand ducats.¹ Whereunto accordeth right well the epitaph of John Sapidus, which in the end hereof we will annex.

See
Appendix.The wars
of pope
Sixtus

John Carion also, speaking of this bishop, witnesseth him to be a man rather born to war than to religion. For he warred against Vitellius Tiphernates, against the Florentines, the Venetians, whom he excommunicated, and did not absolve till he died; also against Columnensis, against Ferdinand, king of Apulia, and duke of Calabria; also against other nations and princes besides.²

A large
gift of the
pope to
the beg-
ging
friars.Alanus,
author of
our lady's
Psalter.

Of the said pope it is recorded, that he was a special patron and tutor to all begging friars, granting them to have and enjoy revenues in this world, and in the world to come everlasting life. Among which friars there was one named Alanus de Rupe a black friar, who made the rosary of our lady's psalter (so they term it) and erected a certain new fraternity upon the same, called Fraternitas Coronariorum, pertaining to the order of the Dominics; of which order Jacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Johannes de Wesalia above-mentioned, was a great advancer, and especially this pope Sixtus IV., who gave to the said fraternity large graces and privileges.

Then had
the
blessed
Virgin
Mary two
husbands.An old
knave!

Concerning the institution of this rosary, there was a book set forth about A. D. 1480, in the beginning whereof is declared, That the blessed Virgin entered into the cell of this Alanus, and was so familiar with him, that not only she did espouse him for her husband, but also kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also, for more familiarity, opened to him her paps, and poured great plenty of her own milk into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof, the said Alanus, this holy babe (saith the story), did swear deeply, cursing himself, if it were not thus, as he had made relation.

This fabulous figment when I read in the Centuries of John Bale, I began with myself to mistrust the credit thereof, and had thought

(1) Ex declamatione Agrippæ ad Lovanienses. (2) Ex Joan Laziaro, lib. hist. univers. c. 234.

not to trouble the reader with such incredible forgeries. But, as the providence of God worketh in all things, so also it appeared in this, that the very same book came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this self-same narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in John Bale is expressed, but also found in like manner another wonder, as prodigious as this; where, in another place not far off, it is storied in the same book, how that about the time of St. Dominic, there was a certain matron in Spain, named Lucia, who, being taken captive by the Saracens, having her husband killed, was carried, great with child, into the Turkish land. When the time of her labour came, she being left desolate among beasts and hogs, and remembering this twice holy rosary (first instituted, saith the book, by St. Dominic, and afterwards renewed by Alanus), eftsoons the Holy Virgin was ready and stood by her, and received the child at her travail, supplying all the parts of a diligent midwife; and, moreover, causing a priest suddenly to appear, she gave the child to be christened, calling it after her own name, Marianus. And so was she wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and godmother to Marianus! Which story if it be true, then is the pope's canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth midwives in time of necessity to baptize, seeing the blessed Virgin, playing the part herself of a midwife, durst not baptize this child without a priest. It followeth more in the story, that by the help of the said blessed Virgin, this Lucia, our lady's gossip, after her purification, was restored with her child safe to her country again!

Edward IV.

A. D.
1480.

The detestable impiety and blasphemy of the popish lying religion. Mendaçem memorem esse oportet.

This book, being in Latin and printed, beareth this title, 'Rosacea augustissimæ Christiferæ Mariæ corona;' and in front it showeth the name of Jodocus Beisselius, a nobleman of Aix-la-Chapelle.¹ And this by occasion of pope Sixtus; which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind superstition he was, partly by that before spoken, partly by the end following, it may be seen. For we read in certain writers, that after this pope had understanding that Hercules Estensis, duke of Ferrara, had joined peace with the Venetians against his will, he was so grieved therewith, that for rancour of mind, within five days after, he died; whereunto his epitaph following giveth sufficient record. About this time also died Platina, a man not unlearned, but yet a shameful flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the popes.

*See Appen-
dix.*

*Death of
Pope Six-
tus IV.
Here
endeth
Platina.*

An Epitaph on Pope Sixtus.

Non potuit sævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

Another on the same Pope.

Sixte jaces tandem, nostri discordia secli,
Sævisti in superos, nunc Acheronta move.
Sixte jaces tandem, deflent tua busta cinædi,
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

Another.

Gaude prisce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
Hic seclus omne simul clauditur, et vitium.

(1) Ex Latino Codice impresso, cui titulus, 'Rosacea Mariæ Corona.'

*Edward IV.*A. D.
1183.Death of
king Ed-
ward IV.The laws
of the
realm
miscon-
strued for
the
prince's
pleasure.

But leaving here pope Sixtus with his verses and vices, let us now proceed, as we before promised, to enter the story of Maximilian, keeping notwithstanding, the order of our kings here in England. For a little before the reign of Maximilian, king Edward IV. ceased his life, A. D. 1483, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

In the time of which king Edward this also is not to be forgotten, that one Burdet, a merchant dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, which is now the sign of the Fleur-de-luce, merrily speaking to his son, said that he would make him inheritor of the crown, meaning indeed his own house; for which words, king Edward causing them to be misconstrued, and interpreted as though he had meant the crown of the realm, within less space than four hours, he was apprehended, judged, drawn, and quartered, in Cheapside!

EDWARD THE FIFTH.

A. D.
1183.

THIS king Edward left behind him by his wife Elizabeth, two sons, Edward and Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Cecilia: which two sons, Edward and Richard, forasmuch as they were under age, and not ripe to govern, a consultation was called among the peers, to debate whether the aforesaid young prince and king, should be under the government of his mother, or else that Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother to king Edward IV., and uncle to the child, should be governor of the king, and protector of the realm. There hath been, and is, an old adage, the words whereof, rather than the true meaning, wrested out of Solomon [Eecl. x.], "Vae regno ejus rex est puer," &c.; i. e. "Wo to the kingdom, the king whereof is a child," &c. But if I may find leave herein to thrust in a gloss, I would add this, and say: "Vae illi puero, qui sui regni rex non est;" i. e. "Wo to that child, which is a king in a kingdom unruly and ambitious."

There was, the same season, among other noble peers of the realm, the duke of Buckingham, a man of great authority, who had married the sister of king Edward's wife. Because the duke, being so nearly allied to the king, had been unkindly, as he thought, of the king entreated, having by him no advancement, nor any great friendship showed, according to his expectation, he took part therefore with Richard, duke of Gloucester, both against the queen and her children, to make the aforesaid duke the chief governor and protector. Which thing being brought to pass, by the aid, assistance, and working of the duke of Buckingham, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son; the elder brother, who was the king, remaining in the custody of the duke of Gloucester, his uncle; who, being now in a good towardness to obtain that which he had long looked for, sought all the means, and soon compassed the matter, by false colour of dissembled words, by perjury, and labour of friends, namely the duke of Buckingham and the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, that the other brother also should be committed to his credit.

Thus the ambitious protector and unnatural uncle, having the

Richard,
duke of
Gloucester,
made
protector.The
young
king com-
mitted to
him.
Bucking-
ham, a
great doer
for the
protector.

possession of his two nephews, and innocent babes, thought himself almost up the wheel where he would climb; although he could not walk in such mists and clouds, but his devised purposes began to be espied; which caused him more covertly to go about to remove from him all suspicion, and to blind the people's eyes. But before he could accomplish his execrable enterprise, some there were whom he thought first must be rid out of his way, as namely the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley; who, as they were sitting together in council within the Tower, the protector (the matter being so appointed before) suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he suddenly hasted out again (his mind belike, being full of mischief and fury, was not quiet); who, within the space of an hour, returned again into the chamber with a stern countenance and a frowning look, and so there sat down in his place. When the lords were in great marvel and muse at the meaning hereof, then he, out of a cankered heart, thus began to bray, asking them: "What are they worthy to have, who go about to imagine the destruction of him being so near to the king's blood, and protector of the realm?" At which question as the other lords sat musing, the lord Hastings, because he had been more familiar with him, thus answered, That they were worthy of punishment, whatsoever they were: which when the other lords also had affirmed, "That is," quoth the protector, "yonder sorceress, my brother's wife," meaning the queen and others with her: adding moreover, and saying, "That sorceress, and others of her council, as Shore's wife, with her affinity, have, by their witchcraft, thus wasted my body;" and therewith showed forth his left arm, a wearish withered thing, as it was never otherwise, as was well known.

This Shore's wife had been before a concubine to king Edward, and afterwards was kept by the same lord Hastings. Moreover, here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said lord Hastings, the cruel protector had devised, about the same time, the kindred of the queen innocently to be beheaded at Pomfret, of mere despite and hatred. Wherefore, this punishment not undeservedly, by the just hand of God, fell upon the lord Hastings.

It followeth then more in the story, that when the lord Hastings had heard of these false accusations of the tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they have so done, they be worthy of heinous punishment." "Why," quoth the protector, "dost thou serve me with *if*, and with *and*? I tell thee, they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor;" and therewith giving a great rap on the board (for a token or a watchword), one without cried 'treason,' and forthwith the chamber was full of harnessed men. The protector then, approaching to the lord Hastings, arrested him as a traitor. Another let fly at the lord Stanley; who, to avoid the blow, shrunk under the table, or else his head had been cleft asunder; notwithstanding he received such a wound, that the blood ran about his ears. There were in that council at the same time the archbishop of York, and doctor Morton, bishop of Ely (by whose procurement, afterwards, king Henry VII. was sent for into England, and he made archbishop, after that, of Canterbury); these, with the lord Stanley, diversly were bestowed in divers chambers. The lord Hastings was commanded to speed and shrieve him apace,

Edward
V.A.
1483.Both king
Edward's
children
in the pos-
session of
the pro-
tector.The
devilish
protector
picketh
quarrels.The
queen
and
Shore's
wife
falsely ac-
cused of
the pro-
tector to
bewitch
his arm.Murder
justly
punished
of God.Lord
Hastings
arrested
for a
traitor.
Lord
Stanley
wounded.Bishop
Morton.The ty-
ranny of
the pro-
tector.

*Edward
V.*

A. D.
1483.

for before dinner, the protector sware by St. Paul, that he should die And so incontinently, without further judgment, his head was stricken off, by whose counsel the queen's kindred were, at the same time and day, beheaded at Pomfret.

The protector accuseth his own mother. Dr. Shaw's impudent sermon at Paul's Cross.

Wisd. iv.

Example for all flattering preachers to beware.

The duke of Buckingham, another minister for the protector's fury, speaketh for the protector in Guild-hall.

A hard thing, to make the tongue speak against the heart.

A stolen consent in the Guild-hall.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischievous protector, aspiring still to the crown, to set his devices forward, first, through gifts and fair promises, did suborn doctor Shaw, a famous preacher then in London, at Paul's Cross to insinuate to the people, that neither king Edward with his sons, nor the duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the duke of York; but begotten, unlawfully by other persons, in adultery, on the duchess their mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawful heir of the duke of York. Moreover, to declare and to signify to the audience, that king Edward was never lawfully married to the queen, but his wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so the two children of king Edward to be base and bastards, and therefore the title of the crown most rightly to pertain unto the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer and loud lying preacher, to serve the protector's humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy place, that reverend auditory, and the sacred word of God, taking for his theme, "Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altas," &c., which he most impiously did apply against the innocent children, and right heirs of the realm. Whereupon such grudge and disdain of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that for shame of the people crying out of him, in a few days after he pined away.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, rested not thus, but within a few days after excited the duke of Buckingham, first to break the matter in covert talk to the mayor, and certain heads of the city, picked out for the purpose: that done, to come to the Guildhall, to move the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same, which shameless Shaw before had preached at Paul's Cross. This the duke, with all diligence and helps of eloquence (being a man both learned and well spoken), endeavoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificial oration, supposing no less but that the people, allured by his crafty insinuations, would cry, "King Richard!" "King Richard!" But there was no king Richard in their mouths; less in their hearts. Whereupon the duke, looking to the lord mayor, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other, it was then answered of the mayor, that the people, peradventure, well understood him not: wherefore the duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again that he had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his oration again and again. Then the commons, who before stood mute, being now in amaze, seeing this opportunity, began to mutter softly among themselves, but yet no king Richard could sound in their lips, save only that in the nether end of the hall, certain of the duke's servants, with one Nashfield, and others belonging to the protector, thrusting into the hall among the press, began suddenly, at men's backs, to cry "King Richard," "King Richard;" throwing up their caps: wherat the citizens, turning back their heads, marvelled not a little, but said nothing.

The duke and the lord mayor with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came, blowing for haste, to the protector then lying at Baynard's castle; where the matter being made before, was now so contrived, that forsooth humble petition was made, in the name of the whole commons, and that with three sundry suits, to the humble and simple protector, That he, although it was utterly against his will to take it, yet would, of his humility, stoop so low, as to receive the heavy kingdom of England upon his shoulders. At this their tender request and suit of the lords and commons made (ye must know how), the mild duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although sorely against his will (ye must so imagine), and to submit himself so low, as of a protector to be made king: not much herein unlike to our prelates in the popish church, who when they have before well compounded for the pope's bulls, yet must they for manner-sake make courtesy, and thrice deny that, for which they so long before have gaped, and so sweetly have prayed.

Edward V.

A. D. 1483

Fye of hypocrisy.

The hypocrisy of the protector denying the crown thrice before he would take it.

RICHARD THE THIRD, THE USURPER.

And thus Richard duke of Gloucester took upon him to be made and proclaimed king of England the year aforesaid, A. D. 1483, in the month of June: who then coming to the Tower by water, first made his son, a child of ten years old, prince of Wales, and John Howard (a man of great industry and service) he advanced to be duke of Norfolk, and sir Thomas Howard his son, he ordained earl of Surrey. Also William lord Berkley was appointed earl of Nottingham. Francis lord Lovel was made viscount Lovel. Lord Stanley, for fear of his son, was delivered out of the Tower, and made steward of the king's household: likewise the archbishop of York was set free. But Morton bishop of Ely, was committed to the duke of Buckingham, by whom was wrought the first device to bring in Henry earl of Richmond into England, and to conjoin marriage between Elizabeth, king Edward's daughter, and him, whereby the two houses of York and Lancaster were united together.

A. D. 1483.

After the kingdom of England was thus allotted to king Richard the usurper, as in manner above remembered, he tarried not long for his coronation, which was solemnized the month next ensuing, the sixth day of July.

King Richard crowned

The triumph and solemnity of this usurped coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this unquiet tyrant yet could not think himself safe, so long as young Edward the right king, and his brother, were alive; wherefore the next enterprise which he did set upon was this: how to rid those innocent babes out of the way, that he might reign king alone.

In the mean time, while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherless and friendless children were in, what little joy of themselves, what small joy of life they had, it is not so hard, as dolorous, for tender hearts to understand. As the younger brother lingered in thought and heaviness, so the prince, who

*Richard**III.*

A.D.

1183.

The truth of Robert Brakenbury to his prince.

The two young children of king Edward murdered.

The just punishment of God upon the murderers of them two.

Also upon king Richard.

The punishment of God upon the duke of Buckingham.

Dr. Shaw, and Dr. Pinky, two flattering preachers.

God's judgment upon flattering preachers.

The first motion of joining the two houses, York and Lancaster, together.

was eleven years old, was so out of heart, and so fraught with fear, that he never tied his points, nor enjoyed good day, till the traitorous impiety of their cruel uncle had delivered them of their wretchedness; which was not long in despatching. For after king Richard, their uncle, had first attempted to compass his devilish device by Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, and could not win him to such a cruel fact (to die therefore), then he got one James Tyrell, joining with him John Dighton, and Miles Forrest, to perpetrate this heinous murder. Which Dighton and Forrest, about midnight entering into their chamber, so bewrapped and entangled them amongst the clothes, keeping down the feather-bed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them piteously in their bed.

And thus ended these two young princes their lives, through the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors, who, for their detestable and bloody murder committed, escaped not long unpunished by the just hand of God. For first Miles Forrest, at St. Martin's-le-Grand, by piece-meal miserably rotted away: John Dighton lived at Calais long after, so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great misery: sir James Tyrell was beheaded at Tower Hill for treason. Also king Richard himself, within a year and a half after, was slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies' hands, torn and tugged like a cur-dog.

Furthermore, the said justice of God's hand let not the duke of Buckingham escape free, who was a great maintainer and setter-up of this butcherly usurper: for less than within a year after, so God wrought, that he was himself beheaded for treason by the said king, whom he so unjustly before had advanced and set up.

In the same catalogue and order of these wicked doers afore recited, we have also to comprehend two others, as well worthy of memorial as the best, or rather as the worst. The name of the one was doctor Shaw above rehearsed; the other doctor Pinky, provincial of the Austin friars; both famous preachers, and both doctors in divinity; both of more learning than virtue (saith the story), of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. Shaw made a sermon in praise of the protector, before his coronation. Pinky preached after his coronation. Both were so full of tedious flattery, that no good ears could abide them. Pinky, in his sermon, so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst. Dr. Shaw by his sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world; so that he never durst, after that, show his face again. But as for the friar, he was so far past shame, that the loss thereof did little touch him. Mention was made a little before of doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, by whose means the device was first broached, for the conjoining of the two houses of York and Lancaster together. This device was first broken to the duke of Buckingham, which soon after cost him his life. But that bishop, more crafty, to save himself, incontinent fled into Brittany. Notwithstanding, the device, once broached, was so plausible and took such effect, that message was sent over the sea to Henry earl of Richmond, by his mother, and by the queen, mother to the lady Elizabeth, that if he would make his return, and promise to marry with the said lady Elizabeth, king Edward's

daughter, he should be received. To make a longer discourse of this matter which is sufficiently set forth by sir Thomas More, and so ornately, it needeth not.

Briefly (to contract that in a small compass of words, which was not so small a thing in doing), after that the earl Henry, with such other banished men as fled out of England at the taking of the duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother, and by the queen and other friends more out of England, how the case of the realm stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should with all convenient speed hasten his return over into England, promising to marry with lady Elizabeth; he, with all diligence, as time and preparation would serve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furnished by Francis duke of Brittany, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first voyage sped not; for that the winds turning contrary, by force of weather his ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France again. His second voyage was more prosperous, who, taking the seas at Harfleur, in the month of August, A. D. 1485, accompanied only with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, arrived at Milford Haven in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Haverfordwest, where he was joyfully received, and also, by the coming in of Arnold Butler and the Pembroke men, was in power increased. From thence, he removed by Cardigan to Shrewsbury, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Lichfield, his army still more and more augmenting. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many small rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; so to this earl, divers noble captains and men of power adjoined themselves, as Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Rice ap Thomas; then sir George Talbot, with the young earl or Shrewsbury his ward, sir William Stanley, sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, knights. At last the said earl, hearing of the king's coming, conducted his whole army to Tamworth.

King Richard, first hearing of the arrival of the earl Henry in the parts of Wales after such a slender sort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after, understanding that he was come to Lichfield without resistance or incumbrance, he was sore moved, and exceedingly took on, cursing and crying out against those who had so deceived him; and in all post speed sent for John duke of Norfolk, Henry earl of Northumberland, Thomas earl of Surrey, with other his friends of special trust. Robert Brakenbury also, lieutenant of the Tower, was sent for, with sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, with certain other knights and esquires, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had some suspicious jealousy. Thus king Richard, after most forcible manner well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, set forward toward his enemies. The earl by this time was come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the evening resorted sir John Savage, sir Bryan Sanford, sir Simon Digby, and many others; forsaking the part of king Richard, whom all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserved. The king, having perfect knowledge that the earl was encamped at Tamworth, embattled himself in a place near to a village called Bosworth, not far from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his adversaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense con-

Richard III.

A. D. 1483.

Earl Henry maketh preparation toward his journey.

Arrival of Henry earl of Richmond in Wales.

King Richard gathereth his power to encounter with earl Henry.

King Richard taketh the field of Bosworth.

Richard
III.
A. D.
1485.

cerning the Lord Stanley,¹ who was the earl's father-in-law, and had married his mother, to what part he would incline. For, although his heart went, no doubt, with the earl, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his son and heir George, lord Strange, being then in the hands of king Richard, lest the king should attempt any prejudicial thing against him, he durst not be seen openly to go that way where in heart he favoured; therefore closely kept himself between both, till the push came, that his help might serve at a pinch.

The number of the earl's part exceeded not the one half of the side of king Richard. When the time and the place were appointed, where the two battles should encounter and join together, sore stripes and great blows were given on both sides, and many slain. If number and multitude might govern the success of battle, king Richard had double to the earl. But God is he, not man, that giveth victory, by what means it seemeth to his divine providence best. In what order, and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certain intelligence we have not certainly expressed, but only the history of Polydore Virgil, whom sir Thomas More doth follow word for word; in which story it doth appear, that as these two armies were coupling together, king Richard, understanding by his espials where the earl of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approach more near unto him, rather carried with courage, than ruled with reason, set spurs to his horse, and ranging out of the compass of his ranks, pressed toward the earl, setting upon him so sharply, that first he killed sir William Brandon the earl's standard-bearer, father to the lord Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, then after overthrew sir John Cheney, thinking likewise to oppress the earl. But, as the Lord by his secret providence disposeth the event of all things, as the earl with his men about him, being overmatched, began to despair of victory, suddenly and opportunely came sir William Stanley with three thousand well appointed able men, whereby king Richard's men were driven back, and he himself, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there slain, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserved.

In the mean time the earl of Oxford, who had the guiding of the forward, discomfited the fore-front of king Richard's host, and put them to flight, in which chase many were slain, of noblemen especially above others: John duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrers, sir Richard Radcliff, and Robert Brakenbury lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Howard earl of Surrey there submitted himself, and although he was not received at first to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet at length, for his fidelity, he was delivered and advanced to his recovered honour and dignity again.

This king Richard had but one son, who, shortly after the cruel murder of king Edward's sons, was taken with sickness and died. The wife of the said king Richard (whether by poison or by sickness) died also a little before the field of Bosworth, after whose decease, the story of Polydore and of sir Thomas More affirmeth, that he intended himself to marry the lady Elizabeth, his own brother's daughter, and so to prevent the earl of Richmond.

(1) This lord Stanley was he who was hurt at the Tower, when the lord Hastings was arrested.

The
history
of sir
Thomas
More,
word for
word,
taken out
of Poly-
dore Vir-
gil.

The
death of
king
Richard.

King
Richard
purposed
to marry
Eliza-
beth, his
brother's
daughter.

Moreover, as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the story, that king Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for the lord Stanley by a pursuivant, to advance forward with his company, and come to his presence: otherwise, he sware by Christ's passion, that he would strike off his son's head before dinner. The lord Stanley sent word again, That if he did, he had more sons alive. Whereupon the king immediately commanded the lord Strange to be beheaded; which was the very time when both the armies were within sight, and were ready to join together. Wherefore the king's counsellors, pondering the time and the case, persuaded the king that it was now time to fight, and not to do execution, advising him to delay the matter till the battle were ended. And so, as God would, king Richard breaking his oath, or rather keeping his oath, for he himself was slain before dinner, the lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the king's tent; who then, after the victory gotten, was sought out and brought to his joyful father. And thus have ye the tragical life and end of this wretched king Richard.

Richard
III.A. D.
1485.Lord
Stanley,
husband
to king
Henry's
mother,
forsakes
king
Richard.The lord
Strange
marvel
lously
pre-
served.

Henry, the earl of Richmond, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God for his glorious victory obtained, proceeded to the town of Leicester, where was brought to him, by the lord Strange, the crown, and put on the earl's head.

In the mean time the dead corpse of king Richard was shamefully carried to the town of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin; and being trussed behind a pursuivant at arms, was carried like a hog or a dog, having his head and arms hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legs on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the usurped reign of king Richard, who reigned two years and two months.¹

The
shameful
tossing
of king
Richard's
dead
corpse.

(1) Ex Polyd. et Thoma More.

APPENDIX TO VOL. III.

PAGE 3, line 1. "*His son's son.*"—The Latin edition calls Richard "Edvardi ex filio nepos:" the edition of 1563, Edward's "nephew" (see vol. i. p. 89, note 2): the edition of 1570, "his sonne:" the editions of 1576, &c. "his sonnes sonne."

Page 4.]—Foxe has derived the ensuing account of Wickliff, extending to page 24, from several sources (see pp. 5, 8, 13, 19, 20): most of it, however, will be found in Walsingham; the present page, for example, might be considered as a translation of the following passage:—

"Qui [Wiclevus], ut suam hæresin cautius palliaret, ac sub exquisito colore dilataret latiùs, congregavit iniquitatem sibi, videlicet, comites atque socios unius sectæ insimul Oxoniis et alibi commorantes, talaribus indutos vestibus de russeto, in signum perfectionis amplioris, incedentes nudis pedibus, qui suos errores in populo ventilarent et palam ac publice in suis sermonibus prædicarent. Qui inter cætera ista quidem tenuerunt ad unguem, videlicet, &c." [Then follow the Articles which Foxe here translates: after which Walsingham proceeds,] "Ista et plura aliaasseruerunt et affirmarunt Cum autem conclusiones istæ et deliramenta fuissent exhibita et perlecta coram Papa, viginti tres earum tanquam hereticas et vanas ipse damnavit, dirigens bullas suas archiepiscopo et episcopo Londinensi, ut ipsarum autoritate dictum Johannetum facerent comprehendendi, ac supra dictis conclusionibus diligenter examinari. Quo facto, atque habitâ declaratione super istis, licet ficta et vana, dictus dominus archiepiscopus sibi et omnibus aliis super illa materia, præsentè duce Lancastriæ cum domino Henrico Percy, indixit silentium, prohibens ne de cetero illam materiam quovismodo tangeret aut tractaret, et ne illam permetteret alios ventilare. Igitur tam ipse quam sequaces sui aliquandiu siluerunt. Sed tandem contemplatione dominorum temporalium easdem opiniones et alias multò peiores illis postmodum ausi sunt reassumere et laicis spargere, quam sparsere prius. Hi vocabantur a vulgo Lollardi, incedentes nudis pedibus, vestiti pannis vilibus, scilicet de russeto, ut per vitam pœnalem facilius incautos traherent ad sectam suam. Eo vero die quo præmissa Londoniis erant peracta, propter verbum quoddam injuriosum et insolens à duce Lancastriæ episcopo Londinensi prolatum confestim Londonienses unanimiter insurgentes, arreptis armis, ipsum occidere proponebant," &c. (Walsingham's History, edit. 1574, p. 188, and Hypodig. Neust. p. 135.)

There is considerable perplexity, however, about this part of Foxe's narrative. The second half of this page, beginning at the § "In the mean time," &c., is only a repetition of the former half; and yet the second half is made to grow out of the first, as though it were posterior in time. Here is a council at St. Paul's (bottom of page 3), then an injunction of silence, disregarded by Wickliff, and followed by papal interference. This papal interference produces—not, *another* but—the *same* citation of Wickliff to appear at St. Paul's, "*as is aforesaid*;" where all proceeded "*as hath been above recorded*," except the addition of the pope's part, which is certainly quite new: and then the same sequel follows—an injunction of silence, disregarded by Wickliff, and papal interference *in consequence*. This manifest incoherency in the narrative would have been avoided, if Foxe, instead of alluding at bottom of page 3 to the council at St. Paul's, had referred to some earlier stage of Wickliff's course; for example, to vol. ii. pp. 799, 800, where Wickliff is stated to have "commenced in sundry acts and disputations, contrary unto the form and teaching of the pope's church in many things," &c.; for which "he was deprived, and prohibited to stir any more in those sorts of matters:" then this page would naturally proceed, "Who, notwithstanding," &c. The articles ensuing, called

in the margin Wickliff's "first articles," would then appear what Walsingham represents them, viz. as the substance of his preaching *previous* to the council at St. Paul's: and it is observable, that the articles here given as Wickliff's "first articles" coincide exactly with the description given of his preaching at that period, vol. ii. pp. 799, 800.

There is yet another difficulty, however, which requires explanation. The description given in the middle of this page of the origin and proceedings of the council at St. Paul's, is inconsistent with the former narrative, vol. ii. p. 801, where it is described as purely the act of the English prelates, and as followed by no result, not even an injunction of silence on Wickliff: *here*, however, it is represented as summoned purposely to receive the pope's letters, wherein Wickliff's doctrines were condemned (as Walsingham says) *to the number of twenty-three*, or (as Foxe says) *by twenty-three cardinals*; and these letters (it seems) were exhibited; and (according to Walsingham) a declaration made thereon (*i.e.* by Wickliff), and an injunction of silence, &c.: in short, a deal of solemn business was transacted; only, through the presence of the two noblemen Wickliff escaped without any personal molestation. The explanation of this inconsistency seems to be, that there was a *second* council at St. Paul's about February 1378, *i.e.* a year after the *first*—that council, in fact, the summons to which is given at p. 12, note (6); at which all this might have really happened, and Wickliff might have again escaped through the second intervention of the two noblemen, who were yet overawed by the pope's letters to behave with less violence than on the former occasion. Such a second failure at St. Paul's would lead, naturally, to another citation of Wickliff soon after to appear at *Lambeth*, where the bishops might hope to have it all their own way; but how Wickliff again escaped through court favour, is told at page 13 Walsingham might easily blunder the two councils into one, if both were held in the same month (February), and if the same two noblemen interposed with like success on both occasions: he would also be glad, for the church's credit, to merge the account of a second defeat at St. Paul's in that at *Lambeth*. It may be added, that the impassioned state of mind in which the bishops are described (p. 12) as going to the council of *Lambeth*, would be well accounted for by the supposition of a recent *second* disappointment at St. Paul's. The hypothesis of this second council would also account for a statement of Foxe in this page, which (as it stands) is not accurate; viz. that "all this," *i.e.* the proceedings at St. Paul's, "happened in the days and last year of King Edward III. and pope Gregory XI.;" the *second* council would fall in the "last year" of this pope, who died March 27th, 1378, but the *first* evidently did not.

Page 4, line 3. "*Long frieze gowns.*"—See the archbishop's remark to Thorpe, p. 272, line 44.

Page 4, last line but one. "*Accordingly, that same year.*"—Foxe says, "In the year following (A. D. 1378)," evidently supposing the pope's bulls to have been issued in that year; at p. 8 he repeats the error, and defends it: the following passage from Walsingham (containing in itself a manifest inconsistency) shows how Foxe was betrayed into it:—"Anno dominicæ incarnationis millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo octavo, qui est annus regni regis Richardi Secundi *primus*, tenuit idem rex natale apud Windesore. Paucis diebus *ante natale dominicum*, misit dominus papa bullam suam universitati Oxoniæ, ministerio magistri Edmundi Stafford," &c. From which it appears, that the five bulls ensuing were not *made use of* till the end of 1377, or the beginning of 1378; but they were *issued* (and probably sent over into England) May 22d, 1377: the death of Edward III., June 21st following, prevented any immediate *use* being made of them. It is observable, that the summons to the *second* council at St. Paul's (p. 12, note (6)) speaks of the bulls as then (Dec. 28th, 1377) in the archbishop's possession. It is probable that the bishops were roused into fresh activity at this time, by the reply which Wickliff had just returned to a question proposed to him by Richard's first parliament, which met October 13th, 1377: see a portion of that reply at p. 54.

Page 5, line 12. "*The authors of this story, whom I follow.*"—Walsingham says (Hist. p. 200), "*Pudet recordationis tante imprudentiæ, et idèd supersedeo in hujusmodi materia immorari, ne materna videar ubera decerpere dentibus, que dare lac potum scientiæ consueverc.*"

Page 6, last line.]—Two lines which follow here in Foxe's text—"and that the king . . . or to his doctrine in any wise"—have been transferred to the next page, as belonging to the description of another letter: see the letters themselves, as given in the foot notes.

Page 7, line 7.]—The words in the text—"the one directing . . . within three months"—are put into the text on the authority of the letter in the note.

Page 7, note, line 9 from bottom.]—Walsingham, p. 201, inserts "Johannam" before "principissam."

Page 8, note (1).]—Foxe here again falls into the error mentioned in the note on the last line but one of page 4, of supposing the five bulls to have been first issued when they were first used, and defends his error by a false argument, for the 7th year of Gregory began January 5th, 1377, and his bulls are dated May 22nd following; and Edward III. did not die till June 21st following.

Page 11, line 13.]—See the remarks with which Foxe introduces the 24 Articles at p. 21, and upon his Articles generally at p. 64. Dr. Wordsworth, in his "Ecl. Biog." vol. i. p. 203, edit. 1839, makes some valuable remarks on these Conclusions, "in justice" (as he says) "to the reader and to the memory of this great man." After remarking that several of the Articles will startle the reader, he adds that, "partly it is to be borne in mind, that the Articles come to us from the hands of Wickliff's adversaries; and partly, we must take them in connexion with the limitations and explanations which he himself has given of them." Dr. Wordsworth then shows, that in regard to some of them he is certainly calumniated.

Page 11, Art. IV.]—The doctrine that *dominion is founded in grace*, which the pope here tries to fasten on Wickliff, was none of his, but was, in truth, maintained and acted upon to a fearful degree by the Roman Catholics themselves. See Lewis, pp. 115—117, 312; and Dr. Wordsworth's note on this Article.

Page 11, Art. VI.]—Wickliff in both his subsequent Expositions of these Articles (see p. 15, and Appendix) disclaims any intention of teaching, that where individuals were dissatisfied with their clergyman, however justly, they should take the law into their own hands: he rather pleaded for better laws and discipline in regard to the clergy, and that proper facilities should be afforded for legal process against such of them as grossly neglected their duties. It is observable that John Huss, while defending this Article of Wickliff, makes a similar disclaimer at p. 78: "Notwithstanding, I protest that it is not my intention," &c.

Page 12, Art. XVI.]—This Article may be illustrated by the conduct of Henry III. toward the bishop and chapter of Hereford, as related *supra*, vol. ii. p. 559.

Page 12, Art. XVII. "*Under a condition implied.*"—See Swinberby's observations on this point at p. 122, line 32; "And as anentes," &c.

Page 12, note (6).]—The meeting at Lambeth must have been early in 1378, for Gregory XI. died March 27th; and Walsingham particularly bewails his death, because it put a stop to any further process against Wickliff.

Page 13, middle.]—Dr. Vaughan insinuates a doubt, as to how far the document which Walsingham has preserved as Wickliff's exposition of his sentiments, is genuine: certainly Walsingham entertained a bitter hatred toward Wickliff and his opinions, which he takes no pains to conceal; and occasionally gives a much more unfavourable turn to his history than Walden. (See p. 19, note (1).) Knyghton is open to the same charge, and gives documents as recantations, which are either plainly the reverse or plainly forgeries.

Page 13, note (1).]—Walsingham says, p. 206, "*tanto timore concussi sunt, ut cornibus eos carere putares, factos velut homo non audiens, et non habens in ore suo redargutiones:*" a citation of Psalm xxxviii. 14.

Page 13, note (3).]—The following is Foxe's translation (somewhat modified) of the second edition of Wickliff's Protestation and Expositions, referred to in the note, and extant in Walden's "Fasciculus" apud Bodleianum, fol. 57 b, and in the Selden MSS. B. 10. Walden speaks of it as addressed to the *bishops*,

but the other copy intitules it as addressed "*ad Parliamentum Regis.*" The paper begins in the Selden MS. with this preface: "*Ista est protestatio Reverendi Doctoris, una cum ejus conclusionibus quæ ab eo in subscripta forma sunt positæ, quæ in consimilibus materiis et dissimilibus formis sunt et fuerunt reportatæ et ad curiam Romanam transmissæ, et sic in multis minus bene impositæ.*" The paper then proceeds:—

Conclusions, and Expositions thereof, exhibited by John Wickliff to the Parliament.

"I protest publicly, as I have often before done, that I intend and wish to be entirely a Christian, and as long as breath shall remain in me to profess the law of Christ in word and deed. But if from ignorance or any other cause I shall fail thereof, now as then I revoke and abhor the same, humbly submitting myself to the correction of holy mother church.

I. "The whole human race concurring," &c. This I grant from the Scriptures; forso much as before the final judgment all civil polity must cease; for the Apostle speaking in 1 Cor. xv. of the day of judgment, writeth thus: "Then shall th' end come, when he shall deliver up his kingdom unto God, his Father; when as he shall have made void all princely rule, power, and dominion." Whosoever then believeth the resurrection of the flesh, believeth also this article, forso much as after that there shall be no more exaction or secular conversation. No man, then, hath power to ordain any thing contrary to the decree of the Lord on this behalf.

II. "God cannot give civil dominion to any man," &c. Here it is to be understood, First, that the term "for ever" is taken properly and famously and after the manner of the church, when she prayeth, "Glory be unto the Trinity both now and ever:" Secondly, I understand that civil dominion is taken formally for that, whereby any man doth civilly govern: and, Thirdly, that the conclusion speaketh of the ordinary power of God: and then this conclusion followeth from the preceding. But speaking of the absolute power of God, it seemeth probable unto many, that God cannot continue eternally the pilgrimage of his spouse, because he would then defraud her of her reward, or would unjustly defer to take that vengeance upon the body of the devil, which he hath deserved.

III. "Charters of human invention," &c. This was spoken by the way unto a certain doctor, who highly commended the writings of men, to the disparagement of the Christian Scripture: I said it were best to attend to the defence and exposition of the Scripture, forso much as many of these charters are impossible. I therefore grant the conclusion, forso much as many charters affirm as touching those who are disherited and dead intestate, that certain lordships are given to them for themselves and their heirs for ever: the which thing, forso much as it is against the divine ordinance, we must not caunize every such charter, thereby contemning the Scriptures.

IV. "Every one existing [or, being] in grace justifying," &c. The which is proved evidently enough from the holy Scripture (Matt. xxiv.). "He will set him over all his goods," &c.; together with that of the apostle in Romans viii., "God spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all; how then (saith he) did he not give us all things with him?" Wherefore the *first three* conclusions do print the faith of Christ on the hearts of worldlings, that they should not be drowned in the sea of the world, which passeth away with its concupiscence: and the *fourth* conclusion allureth men unto the love of the Lord, who hath chosen us to so many true riches.

V. "A man can give any temporal dominion (or eternal, by implication), as well to his natural son, as to his son by adoption, only ministratoriously." This is proved from Luke vi., "They shall give into your bosom a good measure, shaken together, and running over." And, that it is done only ministratoriously is proved from this, that it is not lawful for a man purely to give any thing except as the minister of God, according to the saying of the Apostle (1 Cor. iv.), "Let a man account us as the ministers of Christ." Whence Christ was a true minister of the church, as the Apostle saith (Rom. xv.), "I say that Jesus Christ was a minister," &c. Let not his vicar, therefore, blush to perform the ministry of the church, forso much as he is (or at the least, ought to be) the "servant of the servants of God." For any decree

deviating from the manner of speaking of the holy Scripture, and the pride of secular dominion, with an ambitious worldly style, seemeth to tend too much unto blasphemy and to the advancement of Antichrist; and specially if the verities of the Scripture faith are reputed as cockle, something contrary to the christian faith, by the chief captains themselves, who presume that all controversies of the faith should stand in their determination, albeit they be never so ignorant of the faith of the Scriptures. For so they might come together to the Court [of Rome] to purchase a condemnation of holy Scripture as heretical, and a determination against the articles of our christian faith.

VI. "If God is, temporal lords can lawfully," &c. Here it is to be understood that we use the expression "can" according as the authentic Scripture saith most truly and excellently (Matt. iii.), "God *can* even of these stones raise up children unto Abraham." Wherefore I grant the conclusion as correlative unto the first article of our faith: for if God be, he is omnipotent; and if he be omnipotent, he can give unto the secular lords such power; and so, by consequence, they can meritoriously and lawfully use such a power. But lest this conclusion should seem far fetched and inconsequential, I have shown that the temporal lords have power to take away their alms bestowed upon a church, if that she abuse the same, and that such taking away might, percase, be a spiritual work of mercy, saving the soul from hell-fire, and obtaining for both parties blessedness; and such alms bestowed upon the church, although beyond, yea, against the religion which Christ instituted, doth relieve the body from temporal misery as well as a corporal alms. And as it seemeth that giving may be an occasion of blessedness, so more likely taking away. Yet notwithstanding, I have said it was not lawful to do this but by the authority of the church, and in lack of a spiritual ruler, and in case that the ecclesiastical ruler shall himself need to be rebuked by persons worthy of that trust.

VII. "We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ," &c. This is proved from the Scripture, according to which the church doth fully believe that the enabling of any man must first proceed from the Lord. But no vicar of Christ hath any power in this matter, except as vicar in the name of the Lord, to notify unto the church whom God hath enabled. Therefore if he do any thing not as vicar and in the name of the Lord, whom he is to recognise in his work and account as the author thereof, it is presumption worthy of Lucifer, since in 2 Cor. iii. Christ saith by his apostle, "All your sufficiency is of the Lord."

VIII. "It is not possible that a man should be excommunicated to his damage," &c. This appeareth, in that every such excommunication doth tend unto the damaging of him who is excommunicated. But no man, according to St. Chrysostom and the holy Scripture, can be endamaged, except he be hurt by sin, the which must take its first original from him who committeth the sin. For the merited suspension of a man from the sacraments and from entrance into the church, is no excommunication but in name only. And as touching the desert itself, it proceedeth first from him which is excommunicated, not from the vicar of Christ, who only giveth the sentence against him. For no man is damnified, except through sin the divine help were withdrawn from him; as is proved by Isaiah lix., "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God."

IX. "No body ought to excommunicate," &c. This is proved from the circumstance, that no man ought to seek vengeance but in the cause of justice: but every cause of justice is the cause of God, since he is himself the fountain of justice: *Ergo*, &c. For inasmuch as all such punishment hath its original in sin, and that all sin is against God, according to the saying, Psalm li. "Against thee only have I sinned," thereby it is evident that no man ought to proceed to such punishment but only in respect to take vengeance for the injury done to God. For according unto the Scripture, no man ought to take vengeance but only on the account of injury being done to his Lord, remitting all account of personal injury; as is plain from the commandment of Christ (Matt. xviii.), "If thy brother have sinned against thee, forgive him even unto seventy times seven."

X. "Cursing or excommunication doth not bind simply [or, absolutely], but only in so far as it is pronounced against the adversary of God's law." This is proved thus. Every such curse doth not bind as touching God, except

that he who is so bound do offend against his law : but it doth not bind except so far as it bound touching God : *Ergo*, &c. "For if God do justify, who is he that can condemn?" and God is not offended at any time, except it be for resistance of his law. And these articles of faith do further and help, both that the law of Christ should be the more loved, for that it ought to be the rule to direct us in every lawful process, and also that the Scripture doctrine written in Romans xii. should be the better impressed, where it is said, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give place to wrath, for it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay."

XI. "There is no power exemplified [or, granted] by Christ," &c. This is proved from the fact, that Christ teacheth, that the honour of God and the profit of the church are to be thought of before any personal commodity or the denial of temporalities. The second part is proved from Luke ix., where Christ forbade his disciples, when they would have had fire to come down from heaven, to excommunicate the unbelievers, unjustly keeping back their goods from Christ and his disciples. "Ye know not," said he, "what spirit you are of; for the Son of man is come, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Whence it is concluded generally, that it is not lawful for Christ's vicar to excommunicate his neighbour but only for love, wherewithal he must be more affected than with [the desire of] all the temporal goods in the world. The negative conclusion is also proved inductively, and by reducing us to an impossibility which otherwise should have been in Christ, namely, a "yea" and a "nay."

XII. "The disciples of Christ have no power," &c. This is proved from the apostles and the other of Christ's disciples until the time that the church was endowed with possessions; for in how great necessity soever the faithful then were, they did never exercise any such kind of power, but exhorted men according to the law of God and from devotedness to his service to suitable benefactions of voluntary alms. But after that the church was endowed, then were these cloaked censures and secular exactions brought in. Nay, it is proved by Luke xxii., that civil possessions were prohibited unto Christ's disciples.

XIII. "It is not possible by the absolute power of God," &c. This is proved from the fact, that every Christian might err in this matter so as to disagree with the church triumphant; but in that case he would not bind or loose as he doth pretend to do; wherefore it cannot be, that albeit he do pretend to bind and loose, that he necessarily doth so. Whereupon it seemeth unto me, that he that doth usurp that power unto himself should be that Man of Sin, of whom it is written in 2 Thess. ii. that "he sitteth in the temple of God, and sheweth himself as though he were God."

XIV. "We ought to believe, that then only the vicar of Christ," &c. This is proved from the fact, that all the power of Christ's vicar is then only lawful in effect, when it is regulated and governed by the good pleasure of the Head of the church.

XV. "This ought universally to be believed, that any priest rightly ordered according unto the law of grace, hath a power, according to which he may minister the sacraments, and, by consequence, absolve any man who confesseth to him from any sin whatever, he being contrite for the same." This is proved by the fact, that the powers of orders in all christian priests are equal; as Hugo in his second book 'on the Sacraments' doth declare. Notwithstanding, the powers of orders in some, though substantially equal to those of others, are reasonably restrained, and yet may again be loosed for the work of the ministry, as the conclusion saith.

XVI. "It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by the law, to take away the temporalities from ecclesiastics habitually abusing the same." This is proved by the principle laid down in the fifth conclusion; for to the works of greatest merit, and at the same time most easy to the temporal lords, the said lords are most bound: but it might, perchance, be a greater alms, as well as an easier thing for the temporal lord, to take away his alms from one who is building unto damnation through the abuse thereof, than to bestow the said alms for mere corporal succour: *Ergo*, &c. Whence this opinion is specified according to a threefold law: The first is the civil law, "de Capitulis Corradi," col. 10. "If

(1) The passage referred to will be found in the Corpus Juris Civilis, tom. ii. among the "Constitutiones Feudorum," lib. ii. tit. 40: these Constitutiones are printed immediately after the Authenticæ Collationes, or Novellæ of Justinian, of which Collationes there are nine, and these

a cleric," saith that law, "as a bishop or an abbot, having a benefice given by the king, not only to his own person but also to the church, through his own default should lose the same, during his life let it pertain to the king; but after the death of the cleric let it revert to his successor." The second is the canon law, [Causa] 16, quæst. 7, where it is thus decreed touching sons, that "it shall be lawful for the sons, nephews, and the most respectable of the kindred of him who either builded or endowed any church, to have this foresight, that if they perceive any priest to mis-apply any portion of the property bestowed upon him, they should either admonish him by honest communication, or else report to the bishop or judge the matters needing correction: but if the bishop shall be negligent in doing of his office, let it be told unto the metropolitan: and thirdly, in case of his neglect, it ought (as saith the canon) to be intimated to the king." But I cannot imagine any end in so complaining to the king, but only that he should himself apply correction; neither is there any doubt, but that the correction most suitable for the king and most advantageous in this behalf would be, the taking away of the goods (whereof he is lord *in capite*) in proportion to the quality of the fault. The third is the law of the gospel, 2 Thess. iii., where the apostle writeth thus; "When we were with you, this we declared unto you, that if any would not work neither should he eat." The law of nature also doth allow, that such as have the governance of kingdoms should rectify such abuses of the temporalities, as would prove the chief destruction of their kingdoms.

XVII. "Whether they be temporal lords, or any others, who have endowed," &c. This is proved from the fact, that the condition consequent upon the gift of any goods unto the church is, that God should be honoured and the church edified thereby; which condition, if it fail through the opposite result taking place, proveth that the title of the gift is lost, and that, by consequence, the lord who gave the gift ought to correct the fault. But excommunication ought not to stop the full execution of justice, for otherwise the clergy might by their excommunications get the whole world into their hands.

XVIII. "An ecclesiastical minister, even the Roman pontiff," &c. The first part is proved by the fact, that every such ecclesiastic is our peccable brother, and is consequently under the law of brotherly correction; wherefore, according to Matt. xviii., if he do offend in any point, any body having any possible opportunity ought to rebuke him; and so likewise, if that he obstinately continue in the maintenance of any heretical opinion or other grievous offence tending to the spiritual damage of the church, in that case he ought to be complained on to his superiors, to the intent that through his correction the danger to the church may be avoided. For so was Peter rebuked by St. Paul (Gal. ii.); and many unruly popes have been deposed by the emperors, as Cæstrensis in the fifth book of his *Polychronicon*¹ doth declare. For the church is above the pontiff, and therefore to say that he ought not to be rebuked of man but only of the Lord, what offence soever he hath committed, seemeth to me to imply that he is above the church, the spouse of Christ, and that, after the manner of Antichrist, he is exalted higher even than Christ. For Christ himself, albeit that he was without sin, yet chose to be subject to princes, even in the taking away of his temporalities, as appeareth in Matt. xvii. This is a sort of rejoinder to the bull.² These conclusions I would describe as the pure wheat of faith separated from the chaff; whereby is to be burned the intrusive cockle, which, after it hath brought out the scarlet and unsavoury blossom of vengeance, provideth food for Antichrist against the holy Scriptures: of whose coming it is an infallible sign, that there should reign among the clergy the venom of Lucifer, namely, pride, consisting in the lust of domination, whose wife, namely, covetous desire of earthly things, should bring forth children of the devil, the children of evangelical poverty being extinguished. But some judgment may be formed of the vigorous growth of this plant from the fact, that many even of the children of poverty, having degenerated, do maintain by their

"Constitutiones Feudorum" are sometimes (as here) called the tenth Collatio. Cujacius "de Feudis," lib. iv. tit. 49, says that Frederic II., not Conrad, was the real author of this constitution.—Ed.

(1) Lewis would here read "Polycratica."—Ed.

(2) "Hæc est aliqualis responsio ad bullam." These words are in the Latin Selden MS. but they are not in Walden, or in Foxe's Latin edition, nor is there anything corresponding to them in Foxe's translation. The bull referred to is no doubt that addressed to the University of Oxford, translated at p. 5 of this volume.—Ed.

words, or at the least by their silence, the part of Lucifer, not being able, or at the least not daring, because of the seed of the man of sin which is sown in their hearts, or else for the slavish dread of losing their temporalities, to stand to the defence of evangelical poverty."

Then follow these words in the Selden MS.: "Hæ sunt Conclusiones quas vult etiam usque ad mortem defendere, ut per hoc valeat mores ecclesie reformare."

Foxe then proceeds:—

"These were the chief conclusions which Wickliff, at that present, exhibited unto the bishops, which being either not thoroughly read, or at least not well understood, (I cannot tell by what means) suddenly they waxed very meek and gentle, and granted him free liberty to depart."—See Latin Edition, Basle, 1559, pp. 8—12. Edition 1563, London, pp. 91—95. See these conclusions also, in Lewis's Life of Wickliff, p. 318, and Vaughan's Life of Wickliff (Appendix to vol. i.), copied from MSS. Seldeni Archi. B. 10.

About the same time, as Lewis thinks (p. 326), or rather later according to Dr. Vaughan, Wickliff wrote an answer in Latin under a feigned name to a certain doctor, whom he calls a *medley divine* ("mixtus theologus"), who had asserted the papal supremacy and infallibility; it is extant in MSS. Seldeni, Archi. B. 10. Lewis and Vaughan give an abstract of it.

Dr. Lingard has inverted the chronological order of these three apologies by Wickliff, and represents him as gradually qualifying his assertions; whereas internal evidence seems to prove their order to be as above stated, and consequently that Wickliff grew bolder and more distinct in the avowal of his sentiments.—Milner in his Church History speaks of the explanations as evasive, and inconsistent with that boldness with which Wickliff has spoken against the pope in his other writings: Dr. Vaughan, however, triumphantly vindicates the Reformer against this charge, by showing that those other writings were of a posterior date; and that Wickliff in reality increased in boldness, as he became more distinct in his views of the errors and abominations of popery. In fact, Wickliff took the 18 Articles as he found them, *framed by his enemies*, and therefore likely enough to be distortions, if not falsifications, of his real sentiments: yet even at such a disadvantage, he chose rather to face his adversaries than appear timidly to abandon the cause which he had undertaken. His feeling in writing these Expositions was doubtless the same as that, with which John Huss afterwards undertook the defence of some of the most obnoxious Articles: "I protest that it is not my intention, like as it is not the intention of the University, to persuade, &c. . . . But it is our intention diligently to search out whether this Article may have in it a true sense, in which it may be defended without reproof." (See p. 78 of this vol.)

Page 17, note (3).]—Foxe considers the schism as terminating when the council of Constance deposed Benedict XIII., July 1417, which would make it thirty-nine years in duration. Sir H. Nicolas however observes, that on the death of Benedict XIII. in 1424, another pope was chosen as Clement VIII., who however abdicated July 1429, thus terminating a schism of fifty-one years.

Wickliff himself refers to this schism in his writings. Among other advantages which he gained from it, one was, that of leisure from controversy for carrying on his translation of the Scriptures, which Walsingham does not notice; this may account for Foxe's silence on that point.

Page 17, note (4).]—It should have been stated in this note, that several erroneous dates in the text have been corrected.

Page 18, line 13.]"—*The bishop of Aquilonensis*," Foxe. Stephen, bishop of Aquila, in Apulia, is the individual here meant.

Page 18, line 15 from bottom.]"—The first edition (1563) reads "route out."

Page 18, note (1).]"—Theodoric, of Niem in Germany, and (according to some) bishop of Verden, was private secretary to several popes. He wrote a history of the schism, from the death of Gregory XI. to the election of Alexander V., i.e. from A. D. 1378 to A. D. 1410, in three books; which is here referred to. See Cave's "Hist. Lit.," and Illyricus's "Cat. Test.," which gives extracts.

Page 18, note (2).]"—The following is Berton's Process against Wickliff,

copied from Walden's "Fasciculus," folio 28 *b*, and collated with the copy in the "Sudbury Register," folio 76 *b*, Wilkins, iii. p. 170. Foxe misdates this process "A. D. 1380," though he begins his next paragraph, "The next year after (A. D. 1382):" Walden places it in or after the year 1381, which year is inserted in the text.

"Diffinitio facta per Cancellarium et Doctores Universitatis Oxoniæ de Sacramento Altaris contra opiniones Wycliffianas: aliàs, Sententia Willielmi Cancellarii Oxon. contra opiniones Wycliff."

"Willielmus de Berton, Cancellarius Universitatis Oxon. omnibus dictæ Universitatis filiis ad quos præsens nostrum mandatum pervenerit, salutem et mandatis nostris firmiter obedire. Ad nostrum non sine grandi displicentia pervenit auditum, quòd, cum omnes heresium inventores, defensores, seu fautores, cum eorum perniciosis dogmatibus, sint per sacros canones sententia majoris excommunicationis damnabiliter involuti, et sic à cunctis catholicis rationabiliter evitandi; nonnulli tamen maligni Spiritus repleti consilio, in insaniam mentis producti, molientes tunicam Domini scilicet Sanctæ Ecclesiæ scindere unitatem, quasdam hæreses olim ab Ecclesia solemniter condemnatas his diebus (proh dolor!) innovant, et tam in universitate ista quam extra publicè dogmatizant; duo inter alia sua documenta pestifera asserentes; Primò, in sacramento altaris substantiam panis materialis et vini, quæ prius fuerunt ante consecrationem, post consecrationem realiter remanere; Secundò, quod execrabilis est auditu, in illo venerabili sacramento non esse corpus Christi et sanguinem essentialiter, nec substantialiter, nec etiam corporaliter, sed figurativè seu tropicè, sic quòd Christus non sit ibi veraciter in sua propria Præsentia corporali. Ex quibus documentis fides catholica periclitatur, devotio populi minoratur, et hæc Universitas mater nostra non mediocriter diffamatur. Nos igitur advertentes quòd assertiones hujusmodi per tempus se deteriores haberent, si diutius in hac Universitate sic conniventibus oculis tolerentur, convocavimus plures sacræ theologiæ doctores et juris canonici professores quos peritiores credidimus, et, præmissis assertionibus in eorum præsentia patenter expositis ac diligenter discussis, tandem finaliter est compertum et eorum judicio declaratum, ipsas esse erroneas atque determinationibus ecclesiæ repugnantes, contradictoriasque earundem esse veritates catholicas, et ex dictis sanctorum et determinationibus ecclesiæ manifestè sequentes; videlicet quòd per verba sacramentalia a sacerdote rite prolata panis et vinum in altari in verum corpus Christi et sanguinem transubstantiantur seu substantialiter convertuntur, sic quòd post consecrationem non remanent in illo venerabili sacramento panis materialis et vinum quæ prius, secundum suas substantias seu naturas, sed solum species eorundem: sub quibus speciebus verum corpus Christi et sanguis realiter continentur, non solum figurativè seu tropicè, sed essentialiter, substantialiter ac corporaliter, sic quòd Christus est ibi veraciter in sua propria præsentia corporali. Hoc credendum, hoc docendum, hoc contra contradicentes viriliter defendendum. Hortamur igitur in Domino, et auctoritate nostra monemus primò, secundò, et tertio, ac districtius inhihemus, pro prima monitione assignando unum diem, pro secunda alium diem, et pro tertia monitione canonicà ac preceptoriam unum alium diem, nequis de cetero, cujuscunque gradus status aut conditionis existat, præmissas duas assertiones erroneas, aut earum alteram, in scholis vel extra scholas in hac Universitate publicè teneat, doceat, seu defendat, sub pœna incarcerationis et suspensionis ab omni actu scholastico, ac etiam sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, quam in omnes et singulos in hac parte rebelles et nostris monitionibus non parentes, lapsis ipsis tribus diebus pro monitione canonica assignatis, mora, culpa, et offensa precedentibus et id fieri meritò exigentibus, ferimus in his scriptis, quorum omnium absolutiones et absolvendi potestatem, præterquam in mortis articulo, nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reservamus.

"Insuper ut homines, quamvis non propter timorem latæ sententiæ, saltem propter defectum audientiæ, à talibus doctrinis illicitis retrahantur, et eorum opiniones erroneæ sopiantur, eadem auctoritate qua prius monemus, primò, secundò, tertio, ac districtius inhihemus, ne quis de cetero aliquid publicè docentem, tenentem, seu defendentem præmissas duas assertiones erroneas, aut earum alteram, in scholis vel extra scholas in hac Universitate quovismodo audiat vel auscultet, sed statim sic docentem tanquam serpentem venenum pestiferum emittentem fugiat et abscedat, sub pœna excommunicationis majoris

in omnes et singulos contravenientes non immeritò fulminandæ et sub pœnis aliis superius annotatis.

“Nomina autem Doctorum qui præsentì decreto specialiter affuerunt, et eidem unanimiter consenserunt, sunt hæc:—

“Magister Johannes Lawndryne, sacræ paginæ professor et secularis.

“Magister Henricus Crompe, Albus Monachus.

“Magister Johannes Chessham, de ordine Prædicatorum.

“Magister Willielmus Bruscombe, de eodem ordine.

“Magister Johannes Schipton, de ordine Augustinensium.

“Magister Johannes Tissington, de ordine Minorum.

“Magister Johannes Loveye, de ordine Carmelitarum.

“Magister Johannes Welles, monachus de Ramesey.

“Magister Johannes Wolvertou, de ordine Prædicatorum.

“Magister Robertus Rygge, S. paginæ professor et secularis.

“Magister Johannes Moubray, Doctor in utroque Jure.

“Magister Johannes Gascoigne, Doctor in Decretis.

“Convocatis igitur præfatis Doctoribus, ut dictum est, in eorum domum, et plena deliberatione habitâ de præmissis, ex omnium nostrorum unanimi consilio et assensu præsens mandatum emanare decrevimus. In quorum omnium singulorum testimonium, sigillum officii nostri fecimus his apponi.”

Page 19, note (1).]—The following is from Walden's "Fasciculus" apud Bodleianum, whence it is printed by Spelman. It is also in Wilkins, iii. p. 171, where it pieces on to the Process given in the note preceding this. It is also printed by Lewis, p. 271. Dr. Vaughan is mistaken in saying that it is in the "Sudbury Register."

"Ista prædicta condemnatio promulgata est publicè in scholis Augustinensium, ipso Magistro Joanne sedente in cathedra et determinante contrarium: sed confusus est ista audita condemnatione. Sed tamen dixit quòd nec Cancellarius nec aliquis de suis complicitibus poterat suam sententiam infringere, se in hoc ostendens hereticum pertinacem. Sed post, ad suæ heresis majorem manifestationem et suæ pertinaciæ ostentationem, aliàs publicè à condemnatione Cancellarii et judicio prædicto appellavit, non ad Papam, vel ad Episcopum, vel ad Ordinarium Ecclesiasticum: sed hereticus, adherens seculari potestati in defensionem sui erroris et heresis, appellavit ad Regem Ricardum, volens per hoc se protegere regali potestate, quòd non puniretur vel emendaretur ecclesiastica potestate. Et post appellationem advenit nobilis dominus, dux egregius et miles strenuus sapiensque Consiliarius, dux Lancastriæ, Sacræ Ecclesiæ filius fidelis, prohibens magistro prædicto Johanni quòd de cetero non loqueretur de ista materia. Sed nec ipse obtemperans suo ordinario, Cancellario, nec etiam tam strenuo domino, incepit confessionem quandam facere, in qua continebatur omnis error pristinus, sed secretius sub velamine vario verborum, in qua dixit suum conceptum, et nisus est suam sententiam probare. Sed velut hereticus pertinax refutavit omnes Doctores de Secundo Millenario in materia de Sacramento Altaris, et dixit omnes illos errasse præter Berengarium, ejus opinio damnatur Distinct. 2^a 'de Consecratione,' cap. 'Ego Berengarius,' et ipsum et suos complices; dixit palam Sathanam solutum et potestatem habere in Magistro Sententiarum et in omnibus qui fidem catholicam prædicaverunt."

Wicliff is stated by Wood (Ant. Oxon. I. p. 189) to have read a Confession on the Sacrament in Latin at Oxford before certain bishops and an assembled multitude, in which he retracted his opinions. Lewis gives a Latin Confession in his Appendix No. *16; together with the ensuing one in English, from Kynghton, col. 2649. One can only wonder how either of them should be considered a recantation. See the note in this Appendix, on p. 49, note (1).

"We beleve as Crist and his Apostolus han taugt us, that the Sacrament of the Auter white and roud, and lyk tyl oure Brede or ost unsacrede is verray Goddus Body in fourme of Brede, and if it be broken in thre Parties or the Kirke uses, or elles in a Thousand, everylk one of these Parties is the same Goddus Body, and ryth so as the Persone of Crist is veray God and verray Man, verray Godhede, and verray Manhede, ryth so, as holy Kirke many hundrith wynter has trowyde, the same Sacrament is verray Goddus Body and verray Brede: As it is Forme of Godus Body and Forme of Brede as teelith Crist and his Apostolus. And therefore Seynt Poule nemeth it never but

when he callus it Brede, and he be our beleve tok his wit of God in this: And the Argument of Heretykus agayne this Sentens, lyth to a Cristene Man for to assolve. And right as it is Heresie [to beleve that Crist is a Spirit and no Body: So it is Heresie] for to trowe that this Sacrament is Goddus Body and no Brede; for it is both togedur. But the most Heresie that God sufferyde come tyl his Kirke is to trowe that this Sacrament is an accident withouten a Substance, and may on no wyse be Goddus Body: for Crist sayde be witness of John, that this Brede is my Body. And if the say that be this skylle that holy Kyrke hat bene in Heresy many Hundred Wynter, sothe it is, specially sythen the Fende was lousede that was be witness of Angele to John Evangeliste after a Thousande Wynter that Crist was stenynde to Heven. But it is to suppose that many Seyntes that dyede in the mene tyme before her Death were purede of this Erroure. Owe howe grete diversitie is betwene us that trowes that this Sacrament is verry Brede in his Kynde, and betwene Heretykus that tell us that this is an Accident withouten a Sujet. For before that the Fende Father of Lesyngus was lowside, was never this gabbyng contryvede. And howe grete diversitie is betwene us that trowes that this Sacrament that in his Kinde is veray Brede and sacramentally Goddus Body, and betwene Heretykes that trowes and telles that this Sacrament may on none wyse be Goddus Body. For I dare surly say that gif this were soth Crist and his Seynts dyede Heretykus, and the more partye of holy Kyrke belevyth nowe Heresy, and before devout Men suppose that this Counsayle of Freres in London was with the Herydene.¹ For they put an Heresie upon Crist and Seynts in Hevyne, wherefore the Erth tremblide. Fay land maynnus Voice answerde for God als it did in tyme of his Passione, whan he was dampnyde to bodely Deth. Crist and his Modur that in gronde had destroyde all Heresies kep his Kyrke in right Belefe of this Sacrament, and move the King and his Rewme to aske sharply of his Clerkus this Offis that all his Possessioneres on pain of lesing all her Temporaltes telle the King and his Rewme with sufficient grounding what is this Sacrament; and all the Orders of Freres on payne of lesing her Legians telle the King and his Rewme with gode grounding what is the Sacrament; for I am certaine of the thridde Partie of Clergie that defendus these Doutes that is heresaid, that they will defende it on paine of her Lyfe."

Page 19, note (3).—This anecdote respecting the earthquake is told by Walden, who says expressly, "In die S. Dunstani post prandium apud Prædicatores London." ("Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi," apud Bodleianum, fol. 63.) St. Dunstan's day was May 19th. (Nicolas's Chronol. of History.)

The Preaching Friars were Dominicans, and also called Black Friars: their priory stood in the parish near St. Paul's, which is still called, from them, St. Anne's Black-friars. The Grey Friars were of the Franciscan order; and their priory was where Christ's Hospital now stands. (Tanner's Notitia Monastica.)

Page 20, line 9. "*Reported by John Huss's enemies.*"—See p. 455.

Page 20, note (3).—The short paragraph in the text is put in by the Editor, in lieu of the following words which stand in Foxe's text: "The mandate of the archbishop, William Courtney, sent abroad for the conventing together of this council, here followeth underwritten, truly copied out of his own register." Instead of a "Mandate for the conventing of the council," it is a Process consequent upon the council: it is so called in the Register (Wilkins, Conc. iii. p. 157), and internal evidence proves it such. In conformity with this correction, the whole previous paragraph—"Here is not to be passed over . . . nature and infirmity"—which contains some account of the council itself, but which in Foxe stands *after* the Process, is in this edition placed *before* it. The marginal note to that paragraph—"Determination upon the Articles of Wicliff"—in the edition of 1570 was slipped down and made, in that and all subsequent editions, the head line of a paragraph relating to a totally different matter (see the note in this Appendix, on page 24, note (2)). The whole of the ensuing Process, Articles, and Mandates, to p. 24, have been collated with the original in Wilkins, and revised, or rather retranslated.

(1) "Herydene," earthquake.—ED.

Page 21, line 27. "*The articles of John Wickliff,*" &c.]—The manner in which Foxe here cautions his readers against receiving these twenty-four Articles too implicitly as a fair exhibition of Wickliff's sentiments, accords with what has been already said on this subject in reference to the eighteen Articles above, p. 11. The need of this caution is illustrated in the foot-notes, with regard to several of the ensuing Articles; several more illustrations shall be added here.

Page 21, note (1).]—See the explanation of Huss at p. 454. In fact, Wickliff himself says expressly: "Sophisters shulden know well, that a *cursed man doth fully* the sacraments, though it be to his damning; for they ben not authors of these sacraments, but God keepeth that divinity to himself." (Lewis, p. 96. See also Swin Derby's answer on this point at p. 117, Art. IV.)

Page 21, note (2).]—Wickliff in a Defence of his opinions, written after this council, takes notice of this Article thus: "Such things they do invent of Catholic men that they may blacken their reputation, as if they held this heresy, That God is the devil, or any other open heresy; being consequently prepared by false witnesses to impose such heresies on true men, as if they were the false inventors of them." (Lewis, p. 96.)

Page 22, Art. XVIII. "*That tithes are pure alms,*" &c.]—Wickliff does not appear to have held this Article, in its absolute sense. See the note on Article VI. at p. 11, and Dr. Wordsworth's note in his Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. i. p. 326. Lewis (pp. 119—124) maintains that he only taught (what was the fact) that the tithes were held by the tenure called *frank-almoigne*, i. e. exempt from secular burdens, being originally given "in liberam, puram, et perpetuam eleemosynam, ad Deo soli et ecclesie serviendum;" and that, consequently, when these implied ends were not accomplished by the clergy, it was the duty of the supreme authority in the realm to rectify the abuse, by transferring their benefices to those who would carry out the pious intentions of the donors. This is no more than was actually done at the period of the Reformation, when the tithes were transferred by the State from the papal clergy to the clergy of the Reformed church. Dr. Wordsworth, indeed, cites (Ecc. Biog. 1839, vol. i. p. 329) an awkward passage from Wickliff himself, proposing, that "when the new bishops came successively before the king to do homage, he should in all cases refuse to make restitution of the temporalities, seize them into his own hands, and dispose of them to whatever uses he might be advised to think good." (Trialogus, p. 239.) Still it may be doubted whether Wickliff meant anything more by this proposal than what is hinted above, viz. a transfer by legal authority of the church endowments to those who would accomplish their ends. It is likely, however, that some of Wickliff's disciples were tempted by the desperate corruption of the church in that age to go a step further, and maintain that "tithes were pure alms," in the sense that the payment of them was optional. (See *Thorpe's Examination*, pp. 269, &c.) But the expression "*perpetua eleemosyna*," as Dr. Wordsworth well shows, makes the payment of tithes obligatory, and precludes the notion of *purely spontaneous gift*, which Thorpe and others seem to contend for, except in the case of the original donors; and the State, in securing the payment of the tithes and other church dues, is only executing a sacred trust placed in its hands by those original donors.

Page 22, note (1).]—Foxe refers to Huss's defence of this article at pp. 70—76. Neither Wickliff nor Huss, however, would have denied the right of ecclesiastical rulers to regulate the ministrations of the clergy so as should most tend to general edification, nor the general duty of the clergy to render canonical obedience to such regulations. Wickliff says, that "though the priestly power is not more or less sufficient in its essence, still the powers of inferior priests are at times reasonably *restrained*, and at other times *relaxed*." (See p. 16, Art. XV.) But Huss argues, that the church in all ages had expected all clergymen to preach the word of God as the essential business of their calling, and that the ordination vows of a clergyman involved as much; and that consequently any regulations which went to prevent such exercise of their function, were unlawful, and not entitled to obedience. The reasoning of Swin Derby and Thorpe goes to the same point. (See pp. 123, 260.) If there be some danger attending such a doctrine, there is no less danger attending

the opposite doctrine of unqualified submission to the authority of the church. There are cases in which we must "obey God rather than man;" and the case of the Reformers was surely one of them. (See Bilney's apology in his last moments for some irregularity of proceeding, *infra*, vol. iv. p. 654.) What would have become of the Reformation, if its early champions had submitted to the repeated injunctions of silence, or to such a constitution as that of archbishop Arundel at p. 243, which went virtually to silence the witnesses for Christ, while it left the mendicant friars in undisturbed possession of their privilege of preaching where, and when, and how they pleased. Often as those friars interfered with the province of the parochial clergy, so as to produce the most unseemly bickerings and heart-burnings, they were shortly after secured in the enjoyment of their privileges by a special declaration of archbishop Arundel, published the same year with his Constitutions (Wilkins, iii. p. 324). Hence, as Thorpe observes in his Testament at p. 284, "Hermits and pardoners, anchorites and strange beggars, are licensed and admitted by prelates and priests to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously against all good reason and true belief; and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them that accept them or consent unto them." We cannot wonder that the Reformers felt their "spirit stirred within them" at the sight of such things, and stoutly maintained the right and duty of rightly ordained clergymen to preach "the everlasting gospel" of Christ.

Some persons may think, that these good men would have acted in a more straightforward manner, had they seceded openly from a church the proceedings of which they deemed unscriptural. But they entertained a laudable dread of schism, and rather than incur that charge they preferred asserting the constitutional liberties of the church by the Scriptures, by her own canons, and by the writings of her most eminent fathers, though at the risk of appearing contumacious. The notion, moreover, had for ages prevailed, that the church of Rome was the only true church; and most, if not all, of the early Reformers appear to have died in her communion, though protesting against her errors; and they must be allowed the praise of having made the experiment (to many of them a most dreadful one), what might be done to reclaim her from her unscriptural dogmas and proceedings. This experiment failing, men began to inquire into the grounds on which Rome claimed the supremacy, when it was perceived to be founded altogether on fable and usurpation. Whereupon an indignant nation arose, and emancipated both herself and her church from the unrighteous tyranny.

Page 22, note (4).]—The correcting and retaining of the passage in the text from the edition of 1563, besides filling up the narrative here, makes it harmonize with the subsequent narrative at p. 25, where it is expressly stated, that "the doing of this matter was committed to Peter Stokes, friar," &c.

Page 23, line 5.]—Knyghton (col. 2651) gives a letter of John, bishop of Lincoln, to his diocese, dated Stowe-park, 12th July, 1382, including a letter to himself from Robert, bishop of London, dated London, July 5th, 1382, and communicating this mandate of the archbishop, dated Otteford, penult. die Maii.

Page 24, note (2).]—Foxe derived the ensuing account of Rygge, Hereford, Reppyngdon, and Ashton (extending to page 48) *immediately* from Walden's "Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi." The documentary portions of it were not introduced by Foxe before the edition of 1570, and are distinguished in this edition from the rest of the narrative by being printed in smaller type. The whole has been collated with Walden's "Fasciculus," and with the archbishop's Registers as printed in Wilkins's Concilia, tom. iii. p. 157; some errors have been thence corrected in the narrative, and the documents have been retranslated. A new arrangement also of the whole has been found absolutely necessary, to render the account consistent and intelligible. Foxe appears to have become fairly puzzled amidst the numerous facts and documents before him; and for want of accurately considering their dates, and their mutual relation, he lost the thread of the story, and of course perplexed his narrative. By a new arrangement of his own materials, however, and the occasional introduction of a few connecting words, order has been restored. These first four pages, for example, would stand, according to Foxe's arrangement, immediately before the king's letter in

favour of Henry Crompe, at p. 43: and instead of the proper commencement of the narrative, as it stands in this present edition—"Matters incident of Robert Rygge, &c."—we have here, according to Foxe's text—"Determination upon the Articles of Wickliff. Item, the twelfth day of June, A. D. 1382, in the chamber of the friars preachers, the *aforesaid* Master Robert Rigges, &c."—whereas no mention whatever had been made of Robert Rigges. This proves incidentally, that the arrangement now adopted was that which Foxe originally intended. He afterwards resolved to connect the proceedings at Black-friars against Rygge with those at the same place against Wickliff in the preceding month. Hence he brought down a side-note which had originally related to the proceedings against Wickliff (see note on p. 20, note (3)), and made it the title to these proceedings against Rygge. Foxe was led so strangely to dislocate his materials, partly, through his misunderstanding a passage in Walden, which will be brought forward in a note on p. 31, note (1).

A large extract from Walden, extending to eight folios, and embracing most of this affair, is among the Cotton MSS. Cleopatra E. Anthony à Wood also gives the history in his "Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.," i. p. 190, on the authority of the "Fasciculus," referring to the folios as they stand in the copy preserved in the Bodleian, formerly the property of bishop Bale, and which has been referred to by the present Editor.

Page 21.]—With respect to the mode of writing the proper names concerned in this process—"Ryggæus," "Rygge," and "Rigges," are the readings in the several editions of Foxe: "Rygge" is retained, as the spelling in the archbishop's Registers. "Hereford" is "Herford" and "Harford" in Foxe, but "Hereford" at p. 188, "Hereford" in the Registers, and "Herefordiensis" in Walden and Wood. Foxe uses "Repyngdonus," "Rapyndon," "Repyngton," "Repyngton" in the Registers it is always "Repyngdon," except twice, when it is "Rappyingdon:" probably it was always pronounced "Rappyingdon," just as "Derby" (in which county Repton stands) is pronounced Darby: and this pronunciation would the more easily suggest the nickname "Rampyngdon," which was afterwards applied to this man (see pp. 46, 258).

Lastly, Rygge is called by Foxe "chancellor," "vice-chancellor," and "commissary," of Oxford, for which he is criticized by Wood. He is always called "chancellor" in the Registers, which designation is adopted in the text, to preserve the identity of the individual.

Page 25, line 14.]—"His first degree unto doctorship," *i. e.* he was already bachelor of divinity.

Page 25, line 17. "*But through the great and notable dexterity of his wit,*" &c.]—Foxe's original Latin here seems to have been penned rather with an eye to Reppyngdon's subsequent apostasy, and to imply that he had never been sincere in the cause: "Erat hic canonicus Leicestrensis, jamque primum gradum fecerat ad Doctoratum: quo tempore concionem ad Braclenses quandam habuit; ob quam Pharisæis invisus suspectusque reddebatur. Cæterum ob ingenii niveum quendam quem omnibus ubique præ se tulit, cum pari conitatum modestiâ, candorem, vel superavit vel temperavit certè hanc Nemesiû; moxque in Doctoratum cum publicâ theatri approbatione adoptatus est. Qui simul atque jam sumpta doctoris persona in scenam tandem fabulam saltaturus prodiit, cœpit protinus bene celatum ac dissimulatum ingenium prodere, publice attestatus, Wiclevum se in omni materia morali defensurum: De re vero sacramentariâ *Pythagorisare* velle, donec Dominus afflasset cleri animos." (Lat. Ed. p. 19.)

Page 25, line 3 from the bottom.]—The words "as is before declared" have been added to Foxe's text, to show that this narrative synchronizes with that in page 22.

Page 25, note (2). *Brackley.*]—The Latin edition says "ad Braclenses;" the edition of 1563 "at Bracle;" all the subsequent editions "at Broad-gates," a hall for law-students at Oxford, now merged in Queen's College: Walden says "Bracle," and Wood (Ant. Oxon. i.) says "Bracleia in agro Northampton:." "Doctoratum hoc anno adeptus in Theologia Wicliffio ad-dictum sese ostendit; quod semel tantum antehac fecerat, nempe cum Bracleie in agro Northampton concionem habens doctrinam ejus de sacramento

altaris enunciavit." As there seems to be no authority for "Broadgates," Foxe's original text is retained: there can be no doubt that the place meant was Brackley Hall, which formerly stood near Baliol College (see Peshall's Oxford, p. 241), and not, as Wood conjectures, Brackley in Northamptonshire.

Page 25, note (3).]—Lewis gives this letter in his Appendix, with marginal corrections of certain alleged errors in the MS.; but the Editor is able to state, on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Coxe, sub-librarian of the Bodleian, that Lewis's collator mis-read the MS., except in the two instances noticed in the present copy.

Page 26, line 1.]—The retaining of this passage from the Edition 1563 is important, as it explains what is said in the next page about the chancellor being "accused for the contempt of the archbishop's letters."

Page 27, line 19.]—On Brightwell's recantation, see the note *infra*, on p. 257, line 7. He seems to have been rewarded with the Deanery of the New College at Leicester; see Lewis, p. 338. He is, nevertheless, honourably mentioned by Foxe *infra*, p. 96.

Page 27, note (2).]—The whole of these seven "Evidentiæ" are given at length from Walden by Wood (*Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.* i. 191).

Page 27, note (3). "*The Tuesday after.*"]—Foxe says, "three days after." Walden's words are, "Sabbato autem proximo [*i. e.* Saturday next following his sermon, which was on Thursday, June 5th, see margin, p. 25] dixit Philippus publicè in scholis inter cætera, quòd ordo suus, &c. *Feria* autem *tertia proxima* frater Petrus prædictus determinavit contra eum publicè in scholis in materia recommendationis," &c. "*Feria*" means *a day of the week* (see vol. ii. p. 209, note (1)); "*tertia feria*" therefore is *Tuesday*: Wood, not understanding this, says "tertio abhinc festo," which conveys no distinct meaning. According to Walden, the archbishop's letter summoning Stokes to London was delivered to him before he had left the schools; and both he and the chancellor appeared next day (Wednesday, June 11th) before the archbishop in London, when the matter was remanded to the "*feria quinta* [Thursday, June 12th] proximè sequens," *i. e.* the morrow; at which point the archbishop's Register takes up the matter next page.

Page 28, line 6 from the bottom. "*Bedeman.*"]—Foxe reads "Redman" both here and at p. 96, which reading he derived from Walden ("Fasciculus," fol. 70); but the Register reads "Bedeman" (Wilkins, iii. p. 160), and in one place "Laurentius Stephyns, alias Bedeman." (*Ibid.* p. 168.)

Page 28, note (1).]—The words "For confirmation of the foregoing history hereunder follow" have been put into the text for the sake of clearness. It has been already explained (see the note in this Appendix on page 24, note (2)), that the foregoing narrative respecting Rygge, Hereford, and Reppyngdon, would not be introduced according to Foxe's arrangement till page 43; *i. e.* after the story had been told from the archbishop's Register, it is partly told again some pages after, to the utter confounding of the reader. This confusion is obviated on the plan here adopted, by which the Register is brought in to confirm the previous narrative; conformably to Foxe's own example at p. 342, where he brings in a long epistle of archbishop Arundel from the Registers, "for confirmation" of the previous account of Lord Cobham's prosecution.

Page 29, line 25. "*After this, the same day and place,*" &c.]—Foxe here says, "After this, within a few days, the aforesaid archbishop William Courtney directed down his letters monitory," &c. But the Register expressly says, "Postmodum, *eisdem die et loco*, dictus Dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Cancellarium prædictum monuit sub eo qui sequitur tenore verborum."

Page 30, line 21. "*Were offended and in the tops of the friars,*" &c.]—"At qui religiosis potissimum infensi infestique omnes reddebantur," &c. (*Lat. Ed.* p. 15.) The phrase "to be in the top of" is similarly used at p. 24, line 5 from the bottom.

Page 30, line 31.]—Henry Crompe was a Cistercian monk of Baltinglass, diocese of Meath, in Ireland. Wood states from Walden (*Hist. Oxon.* i. p. 196),

that Crompe after this returned to Ireland and preached the doctrines of Wickliff, for which he was called to account by William Andrew, bishop of Meath, and after steadily refusing to recant was declared a heretic, A.D. 1385: after this he returned to Oxford, and preached there the doctrines of Wickliff, for which he was suspended from all his Acts, cited up to the king's council, March 21st, 15 Rich. II. (A.D. 1392), and compelled to recant at Stamford, May 28th: he subsequently renewed his profession of Wickliffite doctrines at Oxford, and was somewhat protected against the chancellor and others by a letter of the archbishop, dated October 21st, A.D. 1392. (Walden's "Fasciculus," fol. 77 b.) Foxe, following Walden, at once introduces a letter of the king's in his favour here: it has been postponed in this edition to page 43, that the reader may the better perceive the chronological order of the events. That letter supports Foxe's statements in this paragraph.

Page 30, line 17 from the bottom. "*He called the heretics 'Lollards.'*"—Foxe, in using the term "heretics," is only translating his authority: "Suspenditur Henricus Crompe, magister in theologia, ab actibus suis publicè in ecclesia beate Virginis, et imponunt sibi perturbationem pacis, quia vocavit hæreticos Lollardos." (Walden, fol. 70 b). Wood appears to have caught the true sense of the passage, when he says, "Quòd Hæreticorum stigmatè Lollardos vocaverat." "Lollard" was the nickname for supposed heretics, from *lollen* to sing.

Page 30, note (2).]—The fact that Rygge returned to Oxford on Saturday is stated by Walden in a passage which shall be quoted presently.

Page 31, note (1). "*On Monday.*"—This appears from Walden, who says "feria ii," *i.e.* "the second day of the week." It may be well here to quote the passage of Walden, on which this part of the narrative is founded, because Foxe has evidently misunderstood the passage. Walden, after mentioning Crompe's affair, and Rygge's *second* citation up to London, and the king's subsequent letter in Crompe's favour, dated July 14th, proceeds thus:—"Sed et cancellarius prædictus postquam feriâ quintâ habuit mandatum prædictum ab archiepiscopo et præceptum concilii regni, venit (ut dictum est) Oxonium sabbato proximo; qui intimavit Philippo et Nicolao suas suspensiones; qui statim feria ii proximâ London. venerunt, quærentes dominum ducem Lancastriæ Johannem. Quo invento apud Totenhale juxta London, &c. . . . In crastino [*i.e.* Tuesday] plures doctores pontificii . . . Tandem præcepit eis [dux Lancastriæ] ut starent ordinationi domini archiepiscopi, qui eis assignavit feriam sextam proximam [*i.e.* Friday, June 20th] ad respondendum London. in conventu prædicatorum: qui comparuerunt, et petierunt tempus deliberandi, et datum est usque ad 12 Kalend. Julii [*i.e.* Friday, June 20th], et tum venerunt," &c. It is obvious that Walden has made a mistake in calling the first day of their appearance "feriam sextam," as it should have been "quartam," *i.e.* Wednesday, June 18th, the day presently named in the Registers: he probably mis-read, or it was mis-written, in some MS. "feriam vi" for "feriam iv;" or he was thinking of the day on which they were eventually brought to their answer.

Walden, in the foregoing passage, clearly intended to resume the thread of his narrative—interrupted by the anticipative introduction of Crompe's affair and the king's letter in his favour dated July 14th—and informs us that Rygge, having on the Thursday [June 12th] received the commands of the archbishop and the council, returned, *as before stated*, to Oxford on the Saturday following [June 14th], when he informed his friends Hereford and Reppyngdon of their suspension: they on the Monday following [June 16th] fled to the duke of Lancaster, who received them kindly, but next day [June 17th] being solicited by some doctors of the other party changed his mind, and desired them to go and submit to the archbishop's award. Foxe was quite aware that this was the general drift of the passage; but in an evil hour confounded this flight of Hereford and Reppyngdon from Oxford to the duke with their *subsequent* absconding from London while their trial was pending, between June 27th and July 1st; for he follows up this paragraph on which we are now commenting by the following: "In the mean time, while they were thus fled to the duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found," &c. The Latin edition (page 15) makes it still plainer that this was his notion: "Unde iterum accessit cancellarius

cum procuratoribus, regis et concilii nomine sed pontificis instinctu, nova accepit mandata ad investigandos persecuendosque hereticos. Ibi Philipp. Reppynghonius et Nic. Herfordus clam admoniti per cancellarium, ilico ad D. Johan. Lancastriæ ducem se receperunt." It is curious that Anthony à Wood has likewise stumbled at the above passage of Walden, and supposes it to describe events altogether subsequent to July 14th: for he interprets Walden's "feria quinta" by "quinto abhinc die," which makes his narrative as confused and incoherent as Foxe's. To Foxe's misunderstanding of this passage of Walden we are to trace his dislocation of these proceedings against the Oxford reformers.

Page 31, note (3). "*From the hall to the kitchen.*"]—Here ends the portion which, according to Foxe's arrangement, would have stood at page 43. (See note on p. 24.)—The reader will find the English proverb used by Foxe again at p. 377, line 29, only in an inverse order.—That this occurred on the Tuesday appears from Walden, as cited in the last note.

Page 31. "*Examination of N. Hereford,*" &c.]—These proceedings, taken by Walden (fol. 70) from the archbishop's Register, show that the alleged recantation of Hereford given by Knyghton (col. 2655), dated June 19th, must be a forgery.

Page 32, line 35.]—Foxe reads "Si Dudum" for the first words of this Clementine, both here and at p. 34: he misunderstood Walden's abbreviation, "Si Dñm." ("Fasciculus," fol. 72, 73.)

Page 34, line 15 from the bottom. "*The nineteenth conclusion.*"]—Both Walden and the Register here call this the "twentieth" conclusion: but 12 lines lower they call it "decimam nonam," which Foxe's text translates "tenth ninth," as if it were not certain whether two Articles were not referred to, the 10th and the 9th. It is the 19th in p. 33, and is therefore so numbered here.

Page 35, line 27. "*The same day se'nnight.*"]—Foxe's text reads, "eight days' space;" the Register says, "præfixit et assignavit præfatis Nicolao et Philippo diem eundem ad 8 dies, videlicet 27 diem dicti mensis." (Wilkins, iii. p. 163.)

Page 35, line 4 from the bottom. "*Uttered frivolous and opprobrious contumelies,*" &c.]—The reader will observe that this is the statement of the archbishop's Register, which Foxe gives just as he found it: "Clamando verba frivola opprobriosa et contumeliosa . . . ut videbatur." (Wilkins, iii. p. 164.)

Page 36, line 32. "*That day se'nnight, that is to say, the twenty-seventh of the said month.*"]—Here again Foxe misapprehends the date: "Præfixit et assignavit dictum diem octavum, videlicet 27 diem dicti mensis" (Wilkins, iii. p. 164); whence Foxe says, "assigned . . . eight days after, that is to say, the twenty-eighth of the said month;" and 11 lines lower down he says, "the twenty-eighth of June," whereas the Register says, "Subsequenter die Veneris dicto, videlicet vicesimo septimo die mensis Junii."

Page 36, note (1).]—Foxe mis-read the MS. of Walden here, and translates, "Saying oftentimes and expressly, as Luke said;" which is not sense. "To believe as the church believes," *i. e.* as the priest teaches, is a principle sedulously inculcated on the laity of the Romish church to this day.—Several of the early Reformers seem to have used a prudent reserve on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Reppynghon above (p. 25) had said, "De materia sacramenti altaris *pythagorizare* velle, donec Dominus afflasset cleri animos;" and Purvey recommends his friends a particular course to be taken, when they were catechized on the subject of the Lord's Supper: "Therefore, when Anti-Christ, &c. . . . as true martyrs of Jesus Christ." (See the note in this Appendix on p. 287.) The conduct of Ashton seems to have been regulated on this occasion by the foregoing maxim.

Page 37, line 1. "*The archbishop, yet not contented with this,*" &c.]—Another transposition is here made of Foxe's materials; for the three pages extending from hence to the bottom of p. 39 would, according to the original text, come in at p. 42, before the paragraph, "The young king also, moved. &c." The new arrangement preserves the chronological order of events, and seems in the present case very important. (See page 39, foot-note (3).)

Page 37, line 3. "*Hitherto . . . no public law or statute of this land to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever in case of religion, but only by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome.*"—Foxe could hardly mean that the ensuing "bastard statute," as he terms it, would authorize putting to death for heresy, real or pretended; it was only meant as a stepping-stone to that dreadful climax, and for the present only authorized the imprisonment of persons suspected of heresy, on a certificate being sent by the diocesan to the king's chancellor of their being so suspected. Hitherto heretics (real or pretended) had been burnt by the Common Law.

. Page 37, note (1).]—The above statute has been collated with and revised by Cotton's Abridgment and the Statutes at Large. The date is put in from Sir E. Coke: see the next note but one. The repeal of this statute in next page is printed in Cotton's Abridgment of the Parliamentary Rolls, vol. iii. p. 141, from which Foxe's translation has been revised:

Page 39, line 15.]—This royal letter is printed in Wilkins, iii. p. 156, "ex autographo" in the Ely Register, dated July 12th, 6 R. II.

Page 39, note (2).]—Sir Edward Coke, in chap. 5 of the third part of his "Institutions," explains this affair thus. He says, that of ancient time, when Acts of Parliament had been passed, in order to their being published (especially before the use of printing) the Acts were engrossed on parchment, and sent in a bundle to the sheriff of each county, accompanied by a writ in the king's name and under the great seal, ordering the sheriff to publish the said Acts within his bailiwick. Now Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London and lord chancellor of England at the time, caused the said ordinance of the king and lords to be inserted in the writ for proclamation, and to be proclaimed among the Acts of Parliament; which writ Sir E. Coke says he had seen, dated "Teste Rege apud Westm. 26 May, anno regni Regis R. 2, 5." But in the parliamentary proclamation of the Acts passed 6 R. 2, the Act of 6 R. 2, whereby the aforesaid supposed Act of 5 R. 2 was declared void, is omitted; and afterwards the said supposed Act of 5 R. 2 was continually printed, and the other Act of 6 R. 2 hath by the prelates from time to time been kept from the print. Bishop Gibson, however, in his Codex, takes a different view of the subject, and defends the genuineness of the statute.

Page 41. "*This archbishop, moreover, the said year,*" &c.]—This paragraph in Foxe follows, instead of precedes, the ensuing "Mandate," which Foxe calls a "Citation." The paragraph itself, moreover, is clipped here of a small piece, "Whereby may appear," &c., which has been transferred to a more appropriate place, at the bottom of p. 41, where the archbishop, having failed to discover his prey by means of Rygge, writes a similar mandate to all the bishops of England.

Page 42. "*The young king also,*" &c.]—This paragraph is a description of the ensuing royal letter: in Foxe's text, however, the royal letter is placed first, and the paragraph then begins, "Besides these letters-patent, the said young king, &c. . . . sendeth, moreover, another special letter, &c.:" and after describing the contents of the letter at the conclusion of the paragraph, he says that it bore date "July 14th," as though it were a totally different letter from that last given, and written the day following.

Page 43, line 28. "*And we give in charge unto the sheriff.*"—"Et damus Vic. et Majori Oxon. pro temp. existent. ac universis ac singulis Vicecomitibus, Majoribus, et Ballivis, et subditis nostris," &c. (Wilkins, iii. p. 166.) Foxe, though he had intituled the letter itself as addressed to "the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors of Oxford," takes "Vic." to mean "Vice-Cancellario," instead of "Vice-Comiti."

Page 43. "*Besides these letters-patent,*" &c.]—This paragraph is put in by the Editor to introduce the ensuing letter, which in Foxe's text is introduced by the paragraph at p. 30, ending, "the words of which letter hereafter follow." See the note on p. 30, line 31.

Page 41, line 23. "*Unto the aforesaid letters.*"—This refers to the archbishop's mandate to Rygge, at p. 41. Foxe has confused his narrative by mis-translating the opening of the ensuing letter from Rygge to the archbishop. The letter says:—"Literas vestras mihi directas mensis Junii die decimo

quarto reverenter recepi" (Wilkins, iii. p. 168)—where *Junii* is plainly an error for *Julii*. Foxe mistranslates, "Your letters bearing the date of the fourteenth of July I have received." See the next note to this.

Page 44, last paragraph. "*In the mean time.*"—Foxe adds, "while they were thus fled to the duke." These words have been dropped, because Foxe here laboured under a mistaken impression, pointed out in the note on p. 31, note (1); viz. that their present flight from the archbishop's judgment, between June 27th and July 1st, was identical with their former flight from Oxford to the duke, June 16th. The reader will bear in mind, that according to Foxe's arrangement, the last paragraph at p. 30, "Mention was made before," &c. would immediately precede this paragraph; but the words, "while they were thus fled to the duke," lose their meaning under the new arrangement.

Another change in this paragraph requires notice. Foxe says that "the archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtney, directed his letters first to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, then to the bishop of London, named Robert Braybroke, charging them not only to excommunicate the said Nicholas and Philip within their jurisdiction, and the said excommunication to be denounced, likewise, throughout all the diocese of his suffragans, but also, moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might be apprehended; requiring, moreover, by them to be certified again, what they had done in the premises. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, A.D. 1382." But the archbishop's letter to Rygge has already been given at p. 41, dated July 13th; and Rygge's reply, given in this page, dated July 25th, was received before the archbishop's letter to the bishop of London was sent, which is given in the note, dated July 30th. Rygge's reply to the archbishop, which is placed by Foxe after this last paragraph, has for the above reason been placed before it. The last sentence, also, of this paragraph, "Whereby may appear," &c. has been brought from a previous page. See the note on p. 41.

Page 45, line 15.]—The restoration of Laurence Stephyns, alias Bedeman, is dated October 18th, 1382 (Wilkins, iii. p. 168); that of Reppyngdon, October 23d (ibid. p. 169); and that of Ashton, November 27th (ibid.).

Page 46, line 10 from the bottom. "*Became at length the most bitter persecutor.*"—That this was no slander against Reppyngdon, will appear from the character given of him by abp. Arundel in 1407, at p. 258. The following notices of his course subsequent to this period may be acceptable to the reader:—He became abbot of Leicester, according to Thorpe, p. 258; he became chancellor of Oxford in 1400; was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, March 29th, 1405; made by Gregory XII. cardinal of St. Nereus and Achilles, Sept. 18th, 1408; resigned his bishopric, October 10th, 1419; ceased his spiritual functions, Feb. 1st, 1420; Regist. Repynd. (Godwin); was yet living, 1 Hen. VI. Regist. Chich. (Richardson apud Godwin.)

Page 47, line 13. "(1382).]"—This date is calculated to mislead: the above particulars about Ashton are perhaps told in the Chronicle by anticipation under that year; but Arundel did not become archbishop till the year 1397. This error is repeated at p. 285.

Page 49, line 12. "*And thus far concerning Nicholas Hereford, and the other aforesaid.*"—The following notices have been collected of the subsequent fortunes of these Reformers. Knyghton (col. 2657) states that Hereford went to Rome in 1382, and there pleaded his cause before the pope, who imprisoned him; but that he escaped from prison by occasion of a riot of the citizens; and that returning to England he resumed his preaching, and was again imprisoned by the archbishop. In 1387 he was reckoned a Lollard, for Wilkins (iii. 203) gives a mandate of the bishop of Worcester, dated August 10th, 1387, against Lollard preachers in his diocese, and naming N. Hereford, J. Ashton, John Purvey, John Parker, and Robert Swinderby; and in 1392 he sought and obtained the protection of the court against the machinations of his enemies, who supposed him to be a disciple of Wickliff. (Vaughan, ii. p. 89.) Yet we find him, at p. 187, sitting on his countryman Walter Brute in 1393; and a letter from some Lollard, reproaching him with apostacy, is given at p. 188. Thorpe, at pp. 257, 258, speaks of Hereford and others as having then (1407) recanted their Lollard doctrines,

and as bringing much scandal on their profession by their vacillation; while he speaks with the greatest respect of Wickliff and Ashton, the latter of whom, he says, "died as he had lived." (See p. 258.)

Page 49, line 22.]—This letter is by Walden dated 1384.

Page 49, note (1).]—Whatever became of Wickliff after his appearance at the Black-friars, it is certain that (as Foxe says at p. 53) he "again within short space repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson;" for Dr. Vaughan gives us a passage from one of his parochial homilies, in which he probably adverts to the process pending against Hereford, Ashton, &c. He is speaking of the entombment of Christ, and of the abortive attempts of the priesthood to prevent his resurrection; and these he produces as illustrating the attempts of the prelates to suppress the revival of the Gospel of Christ: "Even thus do our high priests; lest God's law, after all they have done, should be *quicken*ed. Therefore make they statutes, stable as a rock; and they obtain grace of knights to confirm them; and thus they well mark with the witness of lords: and all lest the truth of God's law, hid in the sepulchre, should break out, to the knowing of the common people. O Christ, thy law is hidden thus; when wilt thou send thine angel to remove the stone, and shew thy truth unto thy flock? Well I know that knights have taken gold in this case to help that thy law may be thus hid, and thine ordinances consumed: but well I know, that at the day of doom it shall be made manifest, and even before, when thou arisest against all thine enemies." Dr. Vaughan also gives an extract from another of his parochial expositions, referring to the same process, wherein he attributes the persecution principally to the zeal of Courtney, whom he describes as the "great bishop of England," and as deeply incensed "because God's law is written in English to lewd men." "He pursueth a certain priest, because he writeth to men this English, and summoneth him, and traveleth him so that it is hard for him to bear it. And thus he pursueth another priest by the help of Pharisees, because he preacheth Christ's gospel freely and without fables. Oh! men who are on Christ's behalf, help ye now against Antichrist, for the perilous times are come which Christ and Paul foretold." MS. Hom. Bib. Reg. cited by Dr. Vaughan, vol. ii. pp. 87, 96, edit. 1831. The former of the two priests here alluded to was probably Hereford, who much assisted Wickliff in translating the Testament (see the Preface to Bagster's English Hexapla, pp. 18, 24); and the latter well describes Ashton, who was famous as an itinerant preacher.

Mr. Le-Bas (Life of Wickliff, p. 267) conjectures that he was protected during this period by the appeal which he had made to the crown; which he further followed up in November by an "Appeal and Complaint to the king and parliament." Soon after which the Commons entered their protest against the statute of 5 Rich. II. (see p. 38). Wickliff was cited before the Convocation at Oxford to answer respecting the opinions expressed in the Articles of his "Complaint;" after which he published the two confessions of his belief touching the Eucharist, mentioned in the note on p. 19, note (1). After this he was by a royal ordinance expelled the university of Oxford, whence he retired to Lutterworth for the rest of his life.

There is no reason to believe that Wickliff retired into comparative privacy in order to shun the crown of martyrdom, for it was during his retirement that some of his most spirited attacks on popery were penned; particularly his "Trialogus" and his "Objections to the Freres." That he was also aware of the danger attendant upon his unsparing exposure of errors and corruptions in the Church, Mr. Le-Bas¹ thinks to be clear from various passages of his writings, and more especially of his "Trialogus," which was produced after his banishment from Oxford, and in which it is plainly intimated, that a multitude of the friars, and of others who were called Christians, were then compassing his death by every variety of machination.² That he had fully counted the cost of his warfare, is further evident from the language in which he contends for the necessity of constant preparation for martyrdom. "It is a satanical excuse," he says in the same treatise, "made by modern hypocrites, that it is

(1) Life of Wickliff, p. 291.

(2) "Trialogus," lib. iv. c. 4, 17, 39. See Lewis, c. vii. p. 125. Turner's Hist. of England, pt. iv. p. 224.

not necessary now to suffer martyrdom, as it was in the primitive Church, because now all, or the greatest part of living men, are believers, and there are no tyrants who put Christians to death. This excuse is suggested by the devil; for if the faithful would now stand firm for the law of Christ, and, as his soldiers, endure bravely any sufferings, they might tell the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and other prelates, how, departing from the faith of the Gospel, they minister unfitly to God, and what perilous injury they commit against his people." And he adds, "Instead of visiting pagans, to convert them by martyrdom, let us preach constantly the law of Christ to princely prelates: martyrdom will then meet us, speedily enough, if we persevere in faith and patience."¹

Page 49, note (2).]—Dr. Wordsworth observes rightly, that the Latin should have been thus rendered in the text above: "And *that* Christ, who did give this same gospel, I believe to be very God and very man; and in this I believe the gospel law to surpass all other parts of Scripture." The expression, three lines from the bottom, "*If I could labour,*" is thought by Lewis (p. 284) to imply, that Wickliff pleaded his paralysis as an excuse for not appearing before the pope. (See the note on p. 53, note (1).)

Page 51.]—In the Appendix to Dr. Hickes's *Apologetical Vindication of the Church of England*, Lond. 1706, are contained several records relating to the schism between Urban VI. and Clement VII. The bishop of Norwich, Knyghton tells us (Hist. Ang. scripp. x. col. 2671), "collected an innumerable and incredible sum for his expedition, in silver, gold, jewels, bracelets, spoons, rings, &c. especially from the ladies and other women, who gave liberally, and many of them above their ability, to procure the benefit of absolution for themselves and their friends. For Urban had furnished him with wonderful indulgences for all who would assist him, or contribute towards the *Crusado*, with power to absolve a *pœna et culpa*; and some of his commissioners, who were all priests, told the people that at their command the angels came down from heaven, and delivered souls out of purgatory. Among the crimes for which Master *John de Aston* was then censured, it was not the least that he preached at *Gloucester* against this bloody crusado (Knyghton, col. 2660), telling the people, that of all the facts that ever were, he thought *that* the most wicked; that they were all thieves who promoted it; and that the encouragers of it tempted Christians to contribute to the murder of men."—*Preface to Vind.*

Page 52, line 19.]—Walsingham (Hist. p. 321, edit. 1574) states, that the bishop came to Canterbury "circa festum Trinitatis, quod advenit hoc anno in medio mensis Maii [May 17]," and that he was lodged "ad manerium abbatis Sti. Augustini vocatum Northbourne."

Page 52, note (1).]—Walsingham says: "Talibus monitis animata juventus vires colligit et hostes *acrius* invadendo cœdit, retro-cedere cogit, donec rarus super muros defensor appareret. Occupant idcirco muros nostri viriliter," &c. Walsingham, Hist. p. 322.

Page 53, note (1).]—Wickliff died of paralysis. There is in Vaughan's *Life of Wickliff*, vol. i. p. 346, an extract from the Bokingham (Lincoln) Register, proving that he died the last day of December, 1384. Walsingham's *Hypod. Neust.* and the *Teinmouth Chronicle* state that he was struck with palsy on Thomas Becket's day, December 29th, and died St. Sylvester's day, December 31. Walsingham (Hist. p. 312) mentions a report as current, that Wickliff was struck the very day he was preparing to blaspheme the holy martyr Becket. John Horne, however, who was curate to Wickliff at Lutterworth during his last two years, attests that Wickliff was struck on Holy Innocents, the day before the feast of Thomas Becket. Horne further states, that he was a paralytic for two whole years before his death; which statement appears the more probable, because it accounts for our hearing no more of Wickliff in a public capacity: his inability also for active exertions delivered his enemies from any further dread of him, and saved them the odium of persecuting so popular a man. (See Lewis's Appendix, No. 19.) It is stated on the same authority, that he was hearing mass in the church at the time when he was struck for death; and this circumstance has been noticed both by friends and

(1) "Triologus," cited by Turner, pt. iv. p. 424.

enemies as an inconsistency with his former profession. It nowhere appears, however, that he entertained any scruples on the subject of the mass; and it has been already observed on p. 22, that the early Reformers strove to maintain communion with the Church of Rome.

Supplement to "Early Notices of different Wycliffes," at pp. 939—941 of vol. ii.

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 Gurlington.

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,¹ with

John Wyclif of Wyclif, Esq.² 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 Belaysse, Knt.

John Wyclif, armiger, of Wyclif, in co. York, = Anne, alibi Agnes, daughter of Sir Thomas Rokesby of Rokesby, Knt. 3 Dec. 1 Hen. VI. (1422): living in 22 Hen. VI. (1444).

After which the Pedigree is perfect.

2. The Abbotsley documents at Baliol show that the Society consisted of "discreti viri *Magister* Johannes de Wykelyffe (Wycliffe, Wyclif, or Wycliff) *domini* Hugo de Wakfeld, Johannes de Hugate, Johannes de Prestwold, Rogerus de Grisburgh, Willielmus Alayn, Thomas de Lincolnia, Willielmus de Wykelyffe (or Wycliff), Ricardus de Assewell, Johannes Bridd, et Hugo de Felton, clerici *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, April 7th, 1361 (Wednesday); and that he did take possession of it, as vacant "per mortem Willielmi de Kyngeston ultimi rectoris," April 8th and 9th.

3. The distinction between *Magister* and *Dominus* in the above extract refers to the M.A. and B.A. degrees; and suggests a pretty decisive proof, hitherto unnoticed, 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 accident, as hinted at vol. ii. p. 943.

4. It seems, therefore, pretty certain that the Merton "Wyclif" was the Reformer, and not the vicar of Mayfield: the spelling of the name, and the connexion with Bengier at Merton, point to this conclusion. Wood, Wharton, Tanner, and Barlow, all say that the Reformer began his studies at Merton. Having been a fellow of Islep's College, he would be well known to Islep, and his appointment to the archbishop's New Hall at once appears natural.

5. The suggestion at vol. ii. p. 941, of a *third* contemporary John Wycliffe, rector of Lekehamstede, in Bucks, in 1371, must be retracted; for the Bokyngham Register shows, that John de Barton was instituted rector of Lekehamstede, Oct. 1, 1361, on Ingh 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,

(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 vol. ii. p. 939.)

(3) The same who presented Dominus William de Wycliffe to the rectory, August 1363; and Dominus Henry Hugate, August 1369. (See vol. ii. p. 939.) This William de Wycliffe was no doubt the Scholar of Baliol when John de Wycliffe was Master. (See § 2.)

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 "Lekehamstede," 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.

Page 54, line 7. "*As Æneas Sylvius writeth.*"—Historia Bohemica, cap. 35.

Page 54, note (4).—John Cochläus, a native of Nuremberg, wrote, "Historiæ Hussitarum Libri Duodecim per Joannem Cochläum, Artium ac sacræ theologiæ magistrum, canonicum Uratislaviensem: operosè collecti ex variis et antiquis tum Bohemorum tum aliorum codicibus, antea nunquam excusis;" printed "apud S. Victorem prope Moguntiam MDXLIX." He died A. D. 1552. (Hoffman.) Like Walsingham, he entertained and expressed a bitter hatred towards John Wickliff and his followers, and says of his name, "quod est Anglicè interpretatum Joannes Impiæ Vitæ." (Hist. p. 7.) The passage here referred to is at p. 8 of the "Historia."

Page 56, note (1).—Walden states, that the above question and reply were made in the first parliament of Richard II., which met October 13th, 1377; and they probably led to the renewal of the proceedings against Wickliff, as remarked in the note on page 4, last line but one. The last paragraph of the reply, "And moreover, as far as I remember," &c. is printed in all the English editions of Foxe in the large type of the text; which occasions Dr. Vaughan to complain, that the reader can scarcely make out where Wickliff ends and Foxe begins again. The Latin edition is not open to this objection, which after this last paragraph says, "Hæc Wiclevus, præter multa id genus similia, quæ hic brevitatæ necessitate præcidimus." (Lat. ed. p. 18.)

Page 59, line 10 from the bottom. "*This seemeth also false,*" &c.—This sentence appears in Foxe's text in large type, as if it were Foxe's remark; whereas it is a continuation of Huss's "Testimonial;" as well as the next sentence, which the Editor has put in from the original, but does not appear in Foxe at all.

Page 63, article 3.—"Ego Berengarius" is the beginning of a Confession put into the hands of Berengarius by pope Nicholas II., at a council held at Rome A. D. 1059.

Page 64, note (1).—In the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius is a treatise by William Wideford, dedicated to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, written at his command, and intituled at its conclusion—"Tractatus Magistri Willielmi Widefordi, de Ordine Minorum, contra errores Wiclephi in Trialogo, qui damnatus est in concilio provinciali London. sub domino Thoma Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Anno Domini MCCCXCVI."—Its opening describes it to contain, "Causas condemnationis articulorum per vos nuper damnatorum, ac etiam responsiones adargumenta per ad versarium pro articulis facta." It is accompanied with a copy of these eighteen articles, whence a few corrections are introduced in this translation.

Page 64, line 5 from the bottom, "*The fourteenth article of Wickliff.*"—This is numbered according to the original in "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss," and as it stands among the 45 Articles of Wickliff *suprà* p. 22, and as Huss numbers it next page, and Foxe himself only eight lines above; here, however, he miscalls it the "thirteenth."

Page 65, line 34. "*Augustine, in his book 'De Baptismo contra Donatistas,' lib. ii. cap. 3.*"—Foxe and his authority both refer here erroneously to the "De Unico Baptismo," which consists of only *one* book, in which this passage does not occur.

Page 67, line 20 from the bottom.—St. Rusticus, fifth archbishop of Narbonne, born in 394, embraced the monastic life about 411. St. Jerome wrote his 95th Epistle to him, to confirm him in his holy vows. He became archbishop of Narbonne 427 or 430, and died October 26th, 461.—*Gallia Christiana, on the Archbishops of Narbonne.*

Page 81, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Beatus Gregorius in Registro, libro 7, cap. 9"—is the reading in "Hist. et Mon. J. Huss." But in a 3 vol. collection of *Epistolæ Decretales, Romæ 1591*, we find this letter (to Brunichilda, the French queen) as the 64th letter of the 9th book of Gregory's Register.

Page 84, line 16.]—The author here cited as "Hostiensis" is Henry de Susâ or Segusio, a celebrated canonist of the 13th century, of such repute as to have been called "the source and splendour of the law." He was first created archbishop of Embrun, then cardinal-bishop of Ostia in 1262, whence he is often called "Ostiensis," or "Hostiensis." Hostiensis is perpetually quoted in the Notes on the Decretals as a commentator; and in the 3d book of all Decretals this heading is to be found, "De Decimis, Primitiis, et Oblationibus." The author of *Paraleipomena Urspergensis* (p. 252) about the death of Frederic II. A. D. 1250, mentions "Compostellanus et Hostiensis, Decretalium illustratores," as then flourishing.

Page 85, line 3. "*Eighteen more.*"—Foxe says "twenty:" but in "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss" the reasons go on to the number of 43 in all; so that, as Foxe has given 25 of them, there remain but 18 more.—The rest of this paragraph needed much revision from the Latin.

Page 85, line 9. "Lincolniensis" means Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, of whom so interesting an account is given by Foxe *suprà*, vol. ii. pp. 523—531. He wrote 128 Epistles, which are collected into one volume, furnished with a good index: 101 of his Letters are printed in Browne's Appendix to the "*Fasciculus*" of Orth. Gratius. The reference here, in "Hist. et Mon." fol. 121, is to "Lincolniens. Epist. 71."

Page 85, line 5 from the bottom.]—This saying of pope Leo IV. is mentioned *suprà*, vol. i. p. 25.

Page 85, note (1).]—This 42d reason in the margin of "Hist. et Mon." is called "Optima ratio," which perhaps induced Foxe to give it.

Page 86, line 23.]—Eugene III. was pope A. D. 1145—1153, and this council of Treves was held A. D. 1147. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 88, line 14.]—Hugo de St. Victor, abbot of the Augustine monastery of St. Victor at Paris, flourished 1120, died February 11th, 1140, 44 years old. (Cave's Hist. Lit.)

Page 89, line 16. "*To redeem the captive.*"—This sixth, though given in the original, Foxe has omitted.

Page 90, note (1).]—A Dominican friar, named Johannes Januenis, *i. e.* of Genoa, published a dictionary, called "*Summa seu Catholicon*," compiled from the two older dictionaries of Papias and Ugutino, with additions of his own. He himself states at the conclusion, that he finished it on the Nones of March, 1286. Erasmus thought meanly of its Latinity. It has been several times printed; first at Mentz 1460, and afterwards, with successive additions, at Venice 1487, and Lyons 1514. See Preface to Ducange's Glossary, cap. 47.

Page 91, note (1).]—Wickliff died the last day of the year A. D. 1384, and this decree is dated May 4, 1415. There was, therefore, an interval of 30 years and 4 months. The decree, however, was not *executed* till 1424, by Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, by order of the council of Siena. Richardson (in a note on Godwin de præsulibus) quotes the authority of Lyndwood, for its not having been done till 1428. Fleming was bishop from 1420 to 1430.

Page 96, line 12 from the bottom. "*Bedman.*"—Fuxe reads "Redman," but "Bednamus" in the Latin edition: see note on p. 28, line 6 from the bottom.

Page 97, line 8.]—Peter Paine was vice-principal of St. Edmund Hall from 1410 to 1415, as may be seen by reference to the list of vice-principals in the Oxford Calendar and Wood's History of Oxford. He was born at Haugh or Hough, three miles from Grantham. He was a delegate from the Bohemians to the council of Basil, 1433, and in that character we find him introduced at p. 679: he is supposed to have died at Prague in 1455. He is called Peter Clerk at p. 538.

Page 97, line 35. "*There chanced at that time a certain student of the*

country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, of a wealthy house, and also of a noble stock."]—Foxy probably had the following passage of Cochlæus before him:—"Quidam ex discipulis ejus, nomine Petrus Payne, Anglus, Pragam cum libris illius profugit, regnante Wenceslao: ea forsitan occasione permotus, quòd ante eum Bohemus quidam genere nobilis, ex domo quam 'Putridi Piscis' vocant, apud Oxonium in literari studio constitutus, libros Wiclevi quibus titulus est 'de Universalibus realibus' inde in patriam secum retulit, velut pretiosum thesaurum. Commodavit verò libros illos iis potissimum qui Teutonicorum (uti refert Æneas) odio tenebantur, ut illi, per nova dogmata vexati, Academiam Pragensem in qua prævalebant Bohemis regendam discedentes relinquerent." (Cochlæi Hist. p. 8). L'Enfant, "Hist. Hussit. et Concilii Basil," says that "Faulfish" was the surname of the Bohemian nobleman.

Page 97, line 10 from the bottom. "*Finding.*"]—*I. e.* maintaining: so infra, vol. iv. p. 660, line 17.

Page 99, line 5. "*Improved.*"]—*I. e.* disproved. See Horne Tooke's "*Diversions of Purley.*" (P. 86, edit. 1840.)

Page 105, line 11 from the bottom. "*Prophecy of Jerome Savonarola.*"]—He is out of his place in this part of the history, having flourished about 1490. A number of his sermons, which were printed in the earlier part of the 16th century, both in Latin and in his own language, Italian, are included in the Trent Index of Prohibited Books, till expurgated. His prophecies and their supposed fulfilment will be found in *Flacius Illyr. Cat. Testium Veritatis*, col. 1914, edit. folio, 1608. See more in Dupin's *Eccelesiastical History*, cent. 15, ch. 4, p. 102.—It is rather singular that John Huss, on the contrary, at pp. 72—73, has been arguing that miracles were a sign of Antichrist.

Page 105, note (3). "*Fluentius Antistes.*" (Lat. ed. p. 57.)]—"Fluentius" is probably only another form for Florentinus, the title, not the name, of the bishop: see Hoffman, v. *Fluentius*, and the Index to Carolus Molinæus's Works.

Page 106, note (4.)]—Guy of Perpignan was bishop of Elne in Roussillon, and inquisitor against the Waldenses. He flourished, and some say died, A. D. 1330. A portion of the prophecies of the *Abbot Joachim* is quoted at the end of Bale's "*Brefe Chronycle,*" "*Ex Compendiario Guidonis Perpiniani de Here-sibus,*" the first sentence of which is, "In the latter days shall appear a law of liberty."

Page 107.]—One *Robert Swinderby* was known as a preacher of Wickliff's doctrines in the diocese of Worcester, in the year 1387. (See the note in this Appendix on p. 49, line 12.) The present account of William Swinderby is first introduced into the edition of 1570, the notices of him in the previous Latin and English editions being very short. Several corrections of the punctuation and references have been made.

Page 108, line 20. "*The church of St. Mary, Newark.*"]—A church so called at Leicester; of which the following account is taken from Tanner's "*Notitia Monastica:*"—"There was a district in Leicester, near the castle, called the 'Liberty of Newark' or 'the Newarks;' in which a hospital was founded, 1330, by Henry earl of Leicester and Lancaster, to the honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; this was so enlarged by his son, Henry duke of Lancaster, that about 1355 it was turned into a noble college, called the 'New Work' or 'Newark' or 'Collegium Novi Operis,' or St. Mary's the Greater. It was finished by the son of the last named Henry, viz. John of Gaunt." Foxy both here and at p. 200 reads, "Our Lady's churches at Newark."—The three places presently mentioned, "Helhoughton," &c. are, Houghton-on-the-Hill, 6 miles S.E. of Leicester, Market Harborough, and Loughborough.

Page 109.]—The bishop of Hereford's name is "*Tresnant*" in Foxy: "*Trefnant*" is put in on the authority of Godwin's "*De Præsulibus,*" which says that Johannes Trevenant, al. Trefant, was "in Romana Curia Auditor Rotæ," and instituted to the bishopric of Hereford October 9th, 1389. Henry IV. sent him as his ambassador to Boniface IX. He sat fourteen years and a half, and died about April, 1404.

Page 111, note (1). "*Concomitanter.*"]—Foxy reads "communicant:" the

other is put in as the true reading on the authority of Art. IX. p. 131, with which this article is identical.

Page 112, line 7. "*Have not their power of binding and loosing mediately from the pope,*" &c.]—The reading "mediately" of the editions of 1570 and 1576, is corrupted into "immediately" in that of 1583 and all subsequent editions. In Article XIII. p. 131, which is identical with this, all the editions correctly read "mediately," and refer to this passage.

Page 114, line 20. "*That it were medefull and leefull,*" &c.]—This sentence has been made more intelligible than in Foxe, by a better punctuation.

Page 119, line 13 from the bottom. "*Maumetrie.*"—“We charge the prelatical clergy with popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing; just as heretofore they called images ‘Mammets,’ and the adoration of images ‘Mammetry,’ i.e. Mahomets and Mahometry: odious names, when all the world knows that Turks are forbidden images by their religion.” Selden’s Table Talk, article *Popery*. (Wordsworth’s *Eccl. Biog.* vol. i. p. 368.) See p. 327, line 18.

Page 119, line 12 from the bottom.]—Wickliff and his followers did not oppose the setting up of images in churches as *laymen’s books*. See p. 327, line 14.

Page 120.]—The names of places in this Process all appear in Carlisle’s Topographical Dictionary, whence one or two corrections are made; thus Foxe reads (line 17), “and Monmouth Clifford,” whereas these are two places.

Page 122, line 23. "*It were medefull and leefull,*" &c.]—See this sentence better punctuated at p. 114.

Page 128, line 30.]—On “to,” for “till,” see Appendix to vol. viii. note on p. 304.

Page 130, note (1).]—The edition of 1583 alters “disperple” into “disperkle,” but retains “disperpel.” According to Phillips’s Dictionary of New Words, “Disperpled” or “Disparpled” (in Heraldry) means loosely scattered, or shooting itself into several parts. In Wimbledon’s Sermon, at p. 304, we have “disparkled into all the world.” “Disperple” is used by Rogers *infra*, vol. vi. p. 609, line 10.

Page 130, note (2).]—There are some proceedings against “William Skinderby” in Wilkins’s *Concilia*, sub anno 1391.

Page 130, note (3).]—The Latin edition here says: “*Exacto itaque anno Domini supra millesimum quadringentesimo primo, post Wiclevi verò obitum 13, principante apud Anglos Henrico 4, cum jam Richardus e fastigio regie sublimitatis in turrim abreptus occubisset, factum est Londini parlamentum, in quo edictum est ut manibus injectis prehenderentur,*” &c. (Lat. ed. p. 59.) Richard resigned the crown September 29th, A. D. 1399, but he lived till the following year (as Foxe states at p. 221), and died February 1400. (Rapin.) The person who translated the above passage from Foxe’s Latin (and the first English edition of Foxe, 1563, was little else but a translation of the Latin by other hands), not aware, perhaps, of these facts, introduced into the text the inaccuracy of making Henry IV. to “invade the kingdom of England” first in 1401: this date indeed might be retained, if we were to say “at which time, king Richard, *having been wrongfully deposed*, Henry IV. *had* invaded the kingdom of England;” and to omit the clause “during the time of king Richard II.,” because Richard’s influence in this, as in every other matter, of course ceased when he resigned the crown in 1399. This, on the whole, would be the preferable way of amending the text, because Foxe in his Latin evidently meant to direct attention to the statute of 2 Henry IV., as the limit to Swinderby’s safety.

Page 131, line 3. "*This law (saith the story) brought a certain priest to punish the same year . . . it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinderby.*”]—No doubt the “piece of an old story,” whence Foxe says he derived this account, meant William Sautre by the nameless priest; for Walsingham in the following passage states the same fact, and names Sautre as the sufferer. “*Anno Domini mcccxi. (qui est annus regni regis Henrici a conquestu quarti secundus) post Epiphaniam factum est parlamentum Londoniis, in quo statutum*

fuit editum de Lollardis, ut ubicunque deprehenderentur suam pravam doctrinam amplexantes caperentur et diocesano episcopo traderentur. Qui si perseverarent pertinaciter opiniones suas defendere, degradarentur, et jurisdictioni seculari committerentur: practizataque fuit hæc lex in pseudo-presbyterum, qui apud Smithfeld (multis aspectantibus) est combustus." (Hist. p. 405.) It is a mistake, however, to represent Sautre as at all the victim of the statute "Ex Officio," for he was burnt under the king's writ. Foxe being aware of this, for this very reason suggests that the nameless priest was Swinderby. It is most probable, however, that both the "old story" and Walsingham were mistaken; and that neither Swinderby nor any other person was burnt after Sautre till Badby suffered nine years later, and even he not by this statute. (See the notes on pp. 234, 239.)

Page 131. "*The story and process against Walter Brute.*"—Contemporary references (or anything approaching it) to such characters are so rare, that it may be worth noticing the mention of this man in the Creed of Piers Plowman, v. 1305; in Mr. Wright's edition, p. 489. Lond. 1812.

"Byhold upon Walter Brut
Whom bisiliche thei pursueden,
For he seid hem the sothe."

Page 132, line 25.]—According to Godwin (edit. Richardson), John Gilbert was made bishop of Hereford A. D. 1375, and translated from Hereford to *St. David's* by a bull dated May 5th, 12th of Urban VI. A. D. 1389, and was succeeded at Hereford by John Trefnant, who held this Process.

Page 132, line 10 from bottom. "*Whereas of late,*" &c.]—Swinderby was condemned October 3d, 1391 (p. 126), and this appearance is October 15th following.

Page 135, line 1. "1391, the *indiction* 14."—Foxe's text has here "the *indiction* fifteen," which must be incorrect; for the *indiction* is found by adding 3 to the year and dividing the sum by 15, the remainder is the *indiction*, which in this case would be 14: the *indiction* of 1391 is again, lower in the page, said to be "fifteen;" but in that instance 1391 means 1392: see note (2). The year of *indiction* was reckoned from January 1st, as appears from p. 235, where 1408 [*i.e.* 1409] is said to be the second *indiction*, which suits 1409, not 1408.

Page 173, line 6.]—Foxe's text has here "Gregory IX." and 3 lines lower "Honorius III.;" but these two popes should change places, and the text has been corrected accordingly. The allusions in this paragraph have been supported by references in the foot of the page to the foregoing history.

Page 177, line 29. "*But 'Sermo' (that is the word),*" &c.]—The translator has no doubt bungled here; the whole paragraph is evidently a citation of Heb. vii. 25—28.

Page 181, line 29. "*With which agreeth that of Jerome in the Decretum.*"—Foxe's text reads absurdly, "With which agreeth the writing of Jerome upon the decretals."

Page 187, line 1.]—To this place belongs the letter of king Richard II., dated September 22d, A. D. 1393, given at pp. 196, 197.

Page 187, last paragraph.]—The treatise of W. Wiford against Wickliff's articles is mentioned in the note on p. 63, as published in the "*Fasciculus*" of Ortluinus Gratius. In that treatise, under Art. 11, he uses this expression: "Ut diffusè aliàs declaravi in epistolâ missâ domino Erfordensi contra libellum Waltheri Britte:" and again, under Art. 12, he speaks of "historia directa domino episcopo Erfordensi contra Walterum Britte."

Page 189, line 23 from bottom. "*The four chief doctors.*"—These were Austin, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory.

Page 190, note (1).]—Wolfius, in his "*Lectiones Memorabiles*," tom. i. p. 654 [or 540], has published a copy of the Latin Letter, ascribing it to Nicholas Orem, whose sermon before pope Urban (translated by Foxe *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 767) he had just given. Fabricius, "*De Scriptoribus Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*,"

ascribes a letter opening with the very same words to Henry of Hesse, and cites Bernard Pezius (p. 79) for his authority. A different letter by Henry of Hesse is mentioned by Foxe from Illyricus at p. 193. Toward the end, Foxe's version is slightly amplified from the Latin copy in Wolfius.

Page 192, last line. "*The foregoing letter.*"—Foxe says, "Divers other writings of like argument, both before and since, have been devised; as one bearing the title 'Luciferi,' &c. He is evidently translating Illyricus in the whole of the ensuing page, and Illyricus makes the said letter "Luciferi," &c. *the same* with that of which Foxe has just given the translation. Illyricus says that he printed this letter himself at Magdeburg in the year 1519, and that he afterwards met with a copy of it printed at Paris in 1507, with the "De Collatione Beneficiorum" of William bishop of Paris, and that a still older impression of it had been published about 1490. The error in Foxe's text has been corrected.

Page 195. "*The king's commission.*"—This commission is erroneously represented by its position as the effect of the preceding papal bull, whereas it is dated three and a half years earlier. It belongs to p. 130 *suprà*, where see note (2). This is a specimen of the commissions referred to *suprà* p. 39, line 6. The general commission spoken of in the beginning of this document is given at p. 39.

Page 196.]—This letter of the king against Brute belongs to p. 187 *suprà*; the feast of St. Thomas of Hereford (bottom of this page) was October 2d; the day of appearance was therefore October 3d, which was a Friday, and this agrees with the dates in p. 187.

Page 197, note (1).]—This account of the visitation at Leicester is given in Wilkins, iii. p. 208, A. D. 1389, where it begins thus:—"In quo quidem monasterio præfato, ultimo die dicti mensis Octobris. . . ." No monastery, however, is mentioned till toward the end (see p. 199), where the register says, "Injungens abbati monasterii de Pratis prædicti." The house referred to is the nunnery of St. Mary Prè—or "de Pratis juxta Leicester, extra portam aquilonarem Legecestræ"—founded in the reign of Stephen for nuns of the Clunia order (Tanner, Dugdale). Wilkins reads, "Dominus Waytstach capellanus"—"Harry"—and "Parchmener."

Page 198, line 26. "*The said monastery.*"—None has been mentioned, but see the ensuing page, line 9, and the note preceding this.

Page 198, note (1).]—The second article in Wilkins is as follows:—"Item, quòd decimæ non debent solvi rectoribus vel vicariis quamdiu sunt in peccato mortali." This is omitted by Foxe.

Page 198, note (2).]—"Quod quædam mulier Mathildis anchorita in quodam inclusorio infra cœmeterium St. Petri . . . reclusa, &c."—*Wilkins*.

Page 199, line 6. "*The monastery of St. James at Northampton.*"—The Austin abbey of St. James was an abbey of black canons in the extreme part of the west suburb of Northampton, founded in the year 1112 to the honour of St. James.—*Tanner's Not. Mon.*

Page 199, note (1).]—The original Latin of the text is as follows:—"Quòd ostium, in quo ipsa Mathildis reclusa fuerit, aperiri et usque ad ejus reditum honestè et securè faceret custodiri." (Wilkins, *ut supra*.) After this passage, Wilkins gives an edict of the archbishop concerning the Lollards, dated Tower, Nov. 7th, A. D. 1389, "translationis nostræ 9:" and next to that the king's Process ensuing. William Courtney was translated July 1381. (See p. 579.) Nov. 7th in 1389 was a Sunday. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 199, note (2).]—The Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary and St. Radegund was founded in 1130 or 1160, and converted into Jesus College in 1497. (Tanner.) John Fordham was bishop of Ely A. D. 1388—1426.—*Godwin*.

Page 200, line 5. "*The collegiate church of St. Mary Newark.*"—"*Decano ecclesiæ collegiatæ B. Mariæ Novi Operis Leycestr.*" (Wilkins, iii. p. 217.) "The cathedral church of our Lady of Leicester," says Foxe. For an explanation of what is meant by St. Mary Newark, Leicester, see the note in this Appendix on p. 108. The ensuing letter of the archbishop is retranslated.

Page 202, line 27. "*Who was married to king Richard about the fifth, some say the sixth, year of his reign.*"—They were married at the Chapel Royal, Westminster, January 14th, A.D. 1382 (Tyrrel, Rymer's *Fœd.*), and, consequently, in the fifth year of Richard II. (Nicolas's *Tables.*) The queen died at Shene, in Surrey, June 7th, A.D. 1394, and was buried at Westminster August 3d (Rymer), *i.e.* she lived nearly twelve years and a half with her husband.

Page 203, line 15. "*The next year.*"—Foxe says "the same year" [*i. e.* 1394]: the king, no doubt, went over to Ireland in September of that year; but it was the *next* year (1395) that he was fetched as described, *in consequence* of the proceedings in parliament presently detailed. Hence another alteration is made in Foxe's text, 12 lines lower. "The occasion of which complaint was," is put in by the Editor for Foxe's "In the meantime, in the beginning of the year following." (See Rapin, Henry, &c.)

Page 203, note (3).]—Bale says that these "Conclusions" were drawn up by Lord Cobham (Preface to the "*Brefe Chronicle,*" &c. fol. 7, and Conclusion, fol. 50, edition 1544): they are found in Latin in Foxe's Latin edition, p. 76; in Wilkins's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 221, ex MSS. Cotton. Cleopatra, E. 2, fol. 210; and in Lewis's *Life of Wicliff*, p. 298. These different copies slightly vary in a few passages. They were exhibited by Sir Thomas Latimer and Sir Richard Stury to the parliament which was held at Westminster Jan. 29th, A.D. 1394-5, by Edward Duke of York, who was left Regent when the king went to Ireland. (Rapin.)

Page 204, note (1).]—The following are the words of Foxe's Latin Edition (p. 76): "Quia ipsi dant coronas in characteribus loco alborum cervorum; et hic character est Antichristi introductum in sanctam ecclesiam ad colorandam ociositatem." The copies in Wilkins and in Lewis both read "cervorum" instead of "cervorum;" Foxe's, however, is probably the true reading. The "hart" was often used as a figure of spiritual persons by the divines of the middle ages. The index to tom. v. of Bernard Pezsius's "*Thesaurus Anecdotorum,*" v. "Cervus," will show that it is used as a figure of Christ, of the patriarchs and prophets, the apostles, the devout soul, the sinner, and of spiritual persons.

Page 205, note (1).]—Foxe reads "spiritual," and all the Latin copies "spiritualis." The argument, however, and the context, which uses "specialis" three times, require that we here also read "special."

Page 205, note (2).]—"Qui sunt populus strenuus ad operandum et inseruiendum toti regno, jam retentus in otio," is Foxe's Latin: the other copies read, "Qui sunt populo magni operis toti regno manutentus in ociositate," which Lewis judges to be corrupt.

Page 206. "*Certain verses.*"—Bale gives an inferior translation of these verses in the Conclusion of his "*Brefe Chronicle,*" fol. 50, ed. 1544; and adds, that "when the Conclusions themselves would not help towards any reformation, but were laughed to scorn of the bishops, then were these verses copied out by divers men, and set upon their windows, gates, and doors, which were then known for obstinate hypocrites and fleshly livers, and this made the prelates mad. And this is the great insurrection that Walden, then the king's confessor, complaineth of to Pope Martin V., and afterwards Polydorus, the pope's collector, and other papists more, wherein never a one man was hurt."

Page 206, note (1).]—The following corollary, wanting in Foxe, is given in the other Latin copies. "*Corelarium est, quòd ex quo Sanctus Paulus dicit, Habentes victum et vestitum his contenti simus, videtur nobis quòd aurifabri et armatores et omnimodæ artes non necessariæ homini secundum Apostolum destruerentur pro incremento virtutis; quia licet istæ duæ artes nominatæ erant multum necessariæ in antiqua lege, Novum Testamentum evacuat istas et multas alias.*"

Page 213, line 17.]—The words—"consecrated bishop of Durham . . . the miracle of St. Cuthbert was"—have dropped out of edition 1583 and those which follow: the particulars here restored to the text are not mentioned in Malmesbury or M. Paris, but are in the *Chronicle* of Simeon of Durham.

Page 213.]—Foxe's "Notes of certain Parliaments" have, like those at the close of vol. ii., been collated with the originals printed in Cotton's Abridgement, and many inaccuracies corrected.

Page 214, line 1.]—It was this enactment which occasioned the valuation of benefices mentioned vol. ii. p. 809. See the note in the Appendix on that passage.

Page 214, line 9. "*A certain new grant.*"—The grant was, for justices of the peace to be competent to see the execution of the statute of provisors, and to inquire into cases of clerical extortion, without waiting for the justices of assize. See the Records.

Page 215, line 9. "*Then termed shifts.*"—"*Et l'appellent chevance.*"—*Records.* See explanation of *Chevantia* by Corrie, Latimer's Works, Vol. II., p. 400, P. S.

Page 216, line 11. "*Within six weeks,*" &c.]—"*De la Vendredi en la Veille del Fest de Saint Michel a sys semaines prochein ensuites.*"—*Records.*

Page 217, line 32.]—This parliament, called the Merciless, sat from February 3d, 1388, to June 4th.

Page 218, note (3).]—Maitland's History of London gives
 John Hynde . . . Mayor, Nov. 1391—Nov. 1392.
 John Shadworth }
 Henry Vamere } Sheriffs, Oct. 1391—Oct. 1392.

and all these displaced by a decree of Richard II. in Rymer, dated Nottingham Castle, June 25th, 1392, and appointing Edward Dalyngrugge *Custos*. Another decree of Richard in Rymer, dated Windsor Castle, July 22nd, appoints Sir Baldwin de Radyncton *Custos*. (See the note in the Appendix on vol. ii. p. 342, note (3).) In Rymer, there is an act of pardon for the city functionaries, dated Woodstock, September 19th, 1392. The decree for removing the courts to York is given in Rymer, dated Stamford, March 30th, to take effect the morrow after St. John Baptist's day, *i. e.* June 25th.

Page 219, line 6.]—Froissart states that it was the castle of Pleshey where the duke of Gloucester lay. He was strangled in September. His body was brought over from Calais by an order of the king's, dated October 4th. (Rym. Fœd.) John Hall, servant of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, captain of Calais, confessed his share in the murder, and was executed for it in 1400.—See *Cotton*.

Page 219, note (1).]—These Cartes-Blanches or Ragmans (as they were called) were demanded of the richer gentlemen and burgesses by the king as a penalty for joining the rebellion of the duke of Gloucester, and were peculiarly unjust and hateful, because the parliament of 1388 had pardoned all his adherents. They were afterwards burnt by order of Henry IV. (Rymer.) John of Gaunt died about Feb. 2d, 1399.

Page 221, note (3).]—The following process against William Sautre is taken from the archbishop's Registers, and is printed in Wilkins's Conc. iii. pp. 254—260, where it is stated that the convocation met "in Crastino Conversionis S. Pauli," *i. e.* Jan. 26th, and adjourned "in *diem Sabbati* post festum S. Scholasticæ virginis" (which feast is on Feb. 10th) "proximè futurum, viz. 12 Feb." The year mentioned in the Register (as in Foxe) is A.D. 1400; but that is "juxta supputationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," which made the year commence at March 25th. Hence it was really A.D. 1401, in which year Feb. 12th fell on a Saturday; and all the subsequent notes of time concur to prove that it was A.D. 1401.

Page 224, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe says "the twenty-fourth." But the Register, as quoted in Wilkins, says "23 Feb.," which fell on a Wednesday in the year 1401.

Page 225, line 6.]—Both North and South Elmham were formerly manorial residences of the bishops of Norwich. "And of Tilney" (line 10) is put in from the Register. Tilney is between five and six miles south-west of Lynn.

Page 226, line 17.]—Foxe says "the 22d of February:" but the Register, as

printed in Wilkins, says "Et subsequenter, dicto 23 die mensis Feb. A.D. 1400," which is correct, and "23rd" is put into the text.

Page 227, line 6. "*Upon Saturday, being the 26th of February.*"—Wilkins says "24 die Feb." which must be a mistake.

Page 228. "*Thus William Sautre.*"—In Wilkins it is stated, that after the "degradation" the council adjourned "in diem lunæ proximè sequentem [which would be Feb. 28th] viz. ejusdem mensis Feb. ultimo die:" another proof that this was A.D. 1401 according to modern computation, for A.D. 1400 was a leap year, and Feb. 28 would not be the last day of February in that year. (See Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 229, note (3). "*Roger Clarendon.*"—Foxe says "John," but Walsingham says "Roger," also Foxe at p. 232.—There was a priory of Augustine canons at Launde, or Lodington, in Leicestershire, founded in the time of Henry I.—*Tanner.*

Page 234, note (1).—In the Latin and first English editions this part of the history, though more scanty, was more chronologically arranged; there was Sautre's martyrdom, immediately followed by the statute "Ex Officio;" then a nameless priest, supposed by Foxe to be Swinderby, a victim thereof; then mention of Crompe and others; then the History and Testament of Thorpe; and lastly, Badby's martyrdom. In the edition of 1570 and all subsequent, Foxe has brought back the martyrdom of Badby to stand next after that of Sautre and next before the statute "Ex Officio." Foxe might wish to make it clearer (what was really the fact) that Badby was no more a victim of the statute "Ex Officio" than Sautre had been, for, like Sautre, he was burnt under a king's writ. (See the note on p. 239.)

Page 235, line 1.—The ensuing process against John Badby is printed from the archbishop's Registers (see Wilkins's Concilia, iii. p. 324), with which Foxe's text has been collated. Several errors have been thence corrected in this paragraph. Foxe says, "In the year of our Lord 1409, on Sunday, being the first day of March, &c." The ecclesiastical year then commenced at March 25th, consequently this was A.D. 1410 according to modern computation. The Register also says, "in die Sabbati," which means Saturday, and would be March 1st in A.D. 1410, by Nicolas's Tables; see also the course of the dates in Wilkins's Concilia, iii. pp. 324, 325. A few lines lower, Foxe says, that the bishop of "Oxford" was one of the assessors on the trial: the Register says "Exon." not "Oxon.": the bishopric of Oxford was not created till the reign of Henry VIII. The Register calls Badby "scissor," which Foxe sometimes renders "shearman:" Collier calls him "a smith," on the authority of Walsingham's "Faber." In the writ for his burning he is called "Johannes Badby de Evesham in comitatu Wigornie." In the document below, Foxe mis-numbers the pope "Gregory XI.," though at p. 308 he calls him correctly "Gregory XII.:" he was elected Nov. 30th, A.D. 1406, and deposed June 5th, A.D. 1409. Lower down, Foxe says, "In the chapel Carnarie of St. Thomas the Martyr;" the Register says, "In capella carnarie S. Thomæ Martyris;" i.e. "The chapel of the Carnaria or charnel-house, dedicated to St. Thomas Becket." There were several chapels in the cathedral of Worcester, as in most cathedrals, and this was one of them. See Green's History of Worcester Cathedral, vol. i. p. 96.

Page 236, line 24.—The names in this paragraph slightly vary from those in Wilkins, who reads "Malverne," "Dudeley," "monk and sub-prior," "Hawley," "Pentyngs," "Swippeden," "Gerbryg," "Wyche," "Wyble," "Peverell," "Wolstan," and "Wesseborne."

Page 237, line 12 from the bottom. "*Wednesday arrived, being the fifth day of May.*"—Foxe says the "fifteenth;" but Wilkins, "Adveniente præfato die Mercurii viz. dicti mensis Martii die 5;" which is correct.

Page 238, note (1).—Edition 1563, p. 172, says, "for so muche as Cherillus Bul was not then in ure:" the Latin also has "Cherillus," which is not altered into "Perillus" till edition 1596. "Ure" was an old form, or rather a corruption, of "use." "Sustentation" (last line) is corrupted in all editions after the first (1563) into "contentation."

Page 239, line 17. "*This godly martyr Badby,*" &c.]—The parliament of 11 Hen. IV., referred to in this paragraph, met in January 1410, and the Commons then presented two petitions: 1. That given at p. 318; 2. For the repeal of the statute of 2 Hen. IV. against heretics. The king rejected both these petitions (see Cotton's Abridgement), and so virtually (as Foxe here says) "granted to the said parliament a statute called 'Ex Officio' to be observed." Foxe has reserved his description of the statute till the time was arrived for its becoming operative: previously it was a dead letter. The archbishop's Register takes the same course; for under the year 1410 it gives the statute, but in a very brief and imperfect form (Wilkins, iii. p. 252); but *after relating Badby's martyrdom* the Register says: "Et interim à dicto die Lunæ usque in diem Martis et deinde de die in diem usque ad diem Lunæ 10 diem ejusdem mensis Martii in domo capitulari, qua supra, continuata fuit convocatio. Quo die adveniente exhibitum fuit quoddam statutum regium," &c. (Wilkins, iii. p. 328.) Then follows the statute, in the same form as that which Foxe has given. The reader, then, is only to bear in mind that he is not here reading the *first enactment* of the statute in the 2d year of Hen. IV., but its *confirmation* in the 11th year of Hen. IV., previous to which it had never been operative. (See above, p. 130, last five lines.)

Page 241, line 25. "*Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurrereth also another constitution of archbishop Arundel.*"]—The reader must here forget the concluding sentence of the last note, and suppose he had been reading a history of the first enactment of the statute "Ex Officio," in 2 Hen. IV. or A.D. 1401. The "Constitution," or "Constitutions," of archbishop Arundel are given in Wilkins, iii. pp. 314—319: who also adds (p. 320) a mandate from the archbishop to the bishop of London for the publication thereof, dated the castle of Queenborough, Ap. 13th, A.D. 1409, the thirteenth year of his translation. From this mandate we learn, that the "Constitutions" were first agreed on at a provincial synod held at Oxford, and afterwards confirmed at a full convocation of the province of Canterbury, held at St. Paul's, Jan. 14th, A.D. 1408, the thirteenth of his translation, a full year before the martyrdom of John Badby.

Page 244, note (1).]—The original says:—"Prætereà nullus clericus aut populus cujuscunque parochie aut loci nostræ Cantuariensis provincie."

Page 248, line 26. "*Albeit, some there were that did shrink,*" &c.]—And then Foxe proceeds to specify divers persons who were induced to recant by the "laws and constitutions" just described; and yet, with only one exception, the instances which he gives all occurred previous to the "law" of 1401 and the "constitutions" of 1409.

Page 248, line 28. "*John Purvey.*"]—Purvey evidently recanted twice: 1st, at Paul's Cross, June 1st, A.D. 1401; 2dly, at Saltwood, before archbishop Arundel, A.D. 1421. (See pp. 248, 257, 285, 292.) Foxe says, "of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to be said in 1421;" but nothing is said of Purvey under that year: what is told at p. 285, &c. relates to his recantation in 1401. By enlarging the parenthesis, and changing 1421 into 1401, the difficulty is obviated.

Page 248, line 3 from the bottom. "*To change the purpose.*"]—"Ad mutandum propositum dicti Johannis, substantiam . . . esse . . ."—*Wilkins.*

Page 248, note (2).]—*John Purvey* recanted at Paul's Cross, Sunday, March 6th, A.D. 1401, (Wilkins, iii. p. 262): *John Edward* recanted at Norwich Palm Sunday, April 12th, A.D. 1405, (Ib. p. 282): *John Becket*, of Padswick in the diocese of London, recanted at Sleyden June 10th, A.D. 1400, (Ib. p. 247): *John Seynons*, parish priest of Dounton, Lincolnshire, recanted at Christ Church Canterbury, April 19th, A.D. 1401.

Page 248, note (3).]—The articles on this page are given in the singular number by Wilkins, iii. p. 249, and as those recanted by John Seynons, who is meant by "John" in article 6. Wilkins improperly places them under the year A.D. 1400, as they refer to Sautre's martyrdom.

Page 249, line 1.]—The *whole* of the ensuing batch of articles is given by Wilkins, iii. p. 282, as recanted by John Edward de Bryngton, chaplain, of the

diocese of Lincoln, at Norwich, Palm Sunday, April 12th, A.D. 1405, William Appelby, mayor, and John Skye, John Sampson, sheriffs, in a garden contiguous to the north side of the cathedral called the Greneyard. The five first of them are also given by Wilkins, iii. p. 208, A.D. 1389, as a part of the errors of the Leicester Lollards, Dexter, Tailor, Parchmenear, &c. (See p. 198.)

Page 249, line 10 from the bottom.]—Whitehead was in 1552 recommended by Cranmer for “his good knowledge, special honestie, fervent zeal, and politick wisdom,” to the archbishopric of Armagh. It is said that on the accession of Elizabeth he was solicited to accept of the see of Canterbury. George Constantine is supposed by Sir Thomas More to have been the first editor of Thorpe’s Examinations. Foxe’s text of the first Edition has been followed, and many valuable readings have thus been restored, which were corrupted in subsequent Editions. There is a contemporary MS. in the Bodleian of great value. (Bodl. MS. Recent. 1030.) It once belonged to the Cottonian Collection.

Page 252, line 21.]—Lammas-Day, or the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, was August 1st, which in 1407 fell on a Monday; so that this examination took place August 7th.

Page 253, line 13. “*Concluded the feend.*”]—i. e. silenced. Pierce Ploughman thus versifies a part of our Saviour’s promises to his apostles:

“Though ye come before kings and clarkes of the law,
Be not abashed, for I shall be in your mouthes,
And gyve you wytte & will, & conning to conclud
Them all that agaynst you of Christendom disputen.”

Dr. Wordsworth gives this and other examples of the use of the word. Eccl. Biog. i. p. 266, edit. 1839.

Page 253, line 25.]—“Comone forth,” i. e. communicate: very often used of the sacrament, as in Thorpe’s Testament, at p. 284, line 19 from the bottom.

Page 253, line 33.]—“Blow,” to discolour and disfigure. “File” for defile, or make vile. “The visage which was moost fayre of all other membres is *fyled*, bespytte, and mute with the thornes of the Jewes.” “The vysage which aungels desyre to se, the Jewes with theyr spyttyng have *defyled*; with theyr handes have smytten.”—*Golden Legend*, fol. 16, b, cited by Dr. Wordsworth.

Page 253, line 35.]—“To dinge,” to beat or knock.

Page 253, line 15 from the bottom. “*To make a blind knight.*”]—According to some of the old writers, the soldier who pierced the side of Christ with his spear on Calvary was physically blind when he did it; and touching his eyes afterwards with his own bloody hands, he instantly recovered his sight. Hence he was canonized as St. Longinus (Δόγλην).—See *Golden Legend*, fol. 98, b, and Pierce Ploughman’s Vision, fol. 98.

Page 254, line 15.]—“Buxome,” obedient. (Johnson’s Dict.) See vol. ii. p. 747, line 8, for this use of it in the “Ploughman’s Complaint.”

Page 254, line 13 from the bottom. “*To what entent? to swear thereby?*”]—A note of interrogation should be inserted after “entent.” The Latin edition (p. 81) puts this matter thus: “Sed unum hoc abs te, Domine Archipræsul, scire expeto, cur manum libro apponerem? Archiepiscopus. Ut fidei juramentum præstes.”

Page 255, line 17. “*How Susan saide,*” &c.]—See the Hist. of Susanna, v. 22.

Page 255, line 20.]—An “appealer,” according to Foxe, was a name given to thieves, who, to screen themselves, accused innocent persons (suprà, p. 56, line 28); but according to Blount’s Law Dictionary, it means one who impeaches and betrays an accomplice, and this seems to be its meaning here: the Latin edition (p. 81) says, “Meritò totius Angliæ exp̄rator proditorque videri possem, quovis Juda scelerator.”

Page 255, line 33. “*This office* [i. e. of *appealer* or *spy*] *that ye would now infeasfe me with.*”]—It was perpetually enjoined on Lollards in the edicts against

them, that they should turn informers against their party. See the dreadful effects of this injunction in the diocese of Lincoln, *infra*, vol. iv. pp. 221—240.

Page 255, line 4 from the bottom. "*And as I considered.*"]—Dr. Wordsworth suggests "*als,*" i. e. *also*, for "*as.*"

Page 256, line 2. "*For that there was no audience of secular men by.*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 256, line 25.]—"Or" for "ere," i. e. before. So at p. 257, line 11 from bottom, "or we depart;" p. 264, line 8 from the bottom, "or that I leave thee;" and p. 293, note (9). So in Daniel, vi. 24: "Or ever they came at the bottom of the den."

Page 256, line 44.]—The words "or displeasure" are restored from the first Edition.

Page 257, line 7. "*H., J. P., and B.*"]—Dr. Wordsworth conjectures these initials to denote Hereford, John Purvey, and Becket. On the recantation of these three individuals, see pp. 27, 49, 248, and the notes. The adversary alludes to the first two by name at p. 279, still disguising the third under his initial "B." But both in this and that passage the Latin edition names "Brightwell" (see *suprà*, p. 27) as the person indicated by "B——." "*Satis me exempla imbecillium quorundam docent, præcipuè N. Herfordi, I. Purvei, Tho. Brightwelli, ac hujus potissimum Repingtoni, quid mihi hic multisque aliis metuendum*" (Lat. Ed. p. 82): "*Simulque tecum cogita, quam eruditi fuerint Lincolnienſis jam præsul, Herfordus, et Purveus: Brituellus quoque, vir haud vulgariter peritus.*" (Ibid. p. 95.) One Stephen Bell is mentioned at p. 195. The Bodleian MS. reads here: "But, Syr, bi ensaunple chiefli of Nycol Herforde, of Joon Purveye, of *Robert Bowland*, and also bi the present doynge of Filip Repingtoun, that is now bi come bischop of Lyncolne, I am now lerned as many other ben," &c. And at p. 279; "for the sclaudres revoking at the cros of Poulis of Hertforde (*sic*), Purveye and of *Bowland*, and how Filip of Repinton pursueth now cristen peple," &c.

Page 257, line 12 from the bottom. "*A false harlot.*"]—A very common expression in the old writers: see Foxe's account of the origin of the word 'harlot' *suprà*, vol. ii. pp. 559, 560. The Latin Edition (p. 82) says, "*Si Purveus versipellis ac callidus fuerit.*"

Page 258, line 7. "*Dan Geffrey of Pickering, monke of Byland,*" &c.]—Foxe says "David Cotraie of Pakring:" but the Latin Edition (p. 83) makes "Pakring" the name of a person; "David Gottæus, et Pakryngus monachus Bylandensis ac theologiæ candidatus, et Joannes Purveus, cum aliis quàm plurimis." The true reading is no doubt that furnished by the contemporary Bodleian MS. above referred to: "Also Filip of Repintone, whilis he was a Chanoun of Leyeetre, Nycol Herforde, Dane Geffrey of Pikeringe, monke of Biland and a maistir of dyvynyte, and Joon Purveye, and many other," &c. *Dane* or *Dan* was a term peculiarly applied to monks. (See Nares's Glossary.) Foxe seems to have misread "Dane" for "Davie," and his printer mistook "Goffræus" for "Gottæus," whence was hatched "*Cotraie.*"

Page 258, line 34.]—"Philippo Repyngtono, Leicestriensi olim canonico et abbati, accessit dies ille festivus, cujus tam diu jejunavit vigiliam." (Lat. Ed. p. 83.) See the note on p. 46.

Page 258, line 22 from the bottom. "*Wherefore tariest thou me thus here with such fables?*"—"Tarry" here means "delay," transitively: the Latin edition (p. 83) says, "Quare his nugis tam diu nos *detines?*" Another example occurs at p. 274, line 15 from the bottom: "Wilt thou tarrie my lord no lenger?" where the Latin edition (p. 92) says, "Quin age: ne quid amplius *moreris* dominum Archiepiscopum, apposita libro manu, spondeas te illius et ecclesiæ ordinationibus assensurum." Another example occurs p. 278, last line but one: "Tarrie thou me no lenger."

Page 259, line 8. "*To suffer open jouresse.*"]—The Latin edition (p. 84) says, *πρὸς τὸ παλιωθεῖν*: to abjuration.

Page 260, line 4.]—See the note in this Appendix, on p. 22, note (1).

Page 260, line 35.]—"Subject" and "sovereign," were often used of *inferior*

minister and *prelate*, or of *layman* and *clerk*: in this *ecclesiastical* sense (as Dr. Wordsworth remarks) Thorpe here applies St. Paul's words.

Page 261, line 23 from the bottom. "*Deserveth need.*"—On the doctrine of unqualified submission to the church here, and generally to this day, taught by the Roman church, and the awful consequences to which it leads, see Dr. Wordsworth's valuable note on this passage.

Page 261, line 17 from the bottom. "*In the decrees.*"—See *Corpus Juris Canon.* i. 2,306.

Page 261, line 15 from the bottom. "*Lefull and lawfull.*"—The former of these two words, which are used together at page 273, line 25, Dr. Wordsworth interprets as quasi "*leave-full*," i. e. allowable, permissible; and cites "*leve-full*" from a passage of Wickliff's works. The Latin edition (p. 85) says, "*Præterquam in honestis et licitis.*"

Page 262, line 22. "*Saith Lincolne.*"—i. e. Robert Grostead, bishop of Lincoln: see the note on p. 85, line 9.

Page 263, line 1. "*Therefore, sir, appose you him now,*" &c.]—"*Interrogetur, itaque, quid de objectis articulis sentiat.*" (Latin edit. p. 86.) See the note on p. 273, line 8.

Page 263, line 25.]—See the note on p. 36, note (1).

Page 263, line 12 from the bottom. "*The houres of the moste blessed Virgin.*"—The Latin edition (p. 86) gives the words, thus:—

"Memento, salutis auctor,
Quod nostri quondam corporis
Ex illibata virgine
Nascendo *formam* sumpseris."

Page 263, last line but one. "*That the ordinance of men,*" &c.]—i. e. that the determinations of men living under obligations of obedience to the articles of the Christian faith, should be elevated to equal authority with those articles. The Latin edition (p. 86) says, "*Antehac non audiivi humanas traditiones sub fidei vocabulo venire.*"

Page 264, line 15. "*An ententife doctor.*"—i. e. "busie, earnest, intentive," Cotgrave, cited by Dr. Wordsworth. The Latin edition (p. 86) says, "*Et hujus opinionis est Fulgentius, doctor non aspernandus.*"

Page 264, line 19. "*Secret of the mid masse on Christmase daies.*"—The Latin edition (p. 87) says, "*In secreto missæ Christi nativitatis in Aurorâ.*"

Page 264, line 21. "*The fourth ferie 'quatuor temporum Septembris.'*"—The "*quatuor tempora*," or four quarter fasts, called now *Ember weeks*: the service in the Breviary for the *Wednesday* next after September 14th is here denoted.

Page 264, line 12 from the bottom. See the note on p. 263, line 25.

Page 264, note (2).]—The text says "*friar Thomas againe*" in every one of the English editions of Foxe: "*Aquine*" is put in on Dr. Wordsworth's suggestion. The place cited is in "*Summa Theolog.*" part. 3, quest. 75, art. 5: The Latin edition (p. 87) says here, "*Quæ vero deinceps, post Satanam ab angelo solutum, per fratrem Thomam ejusque farinae sophistas invecta sunt in ecclesiam (veluti accidens sine subjecto, atque id genus nugæ), his ego neutiquam assentiendum arbitror: ex hujus fratris emendicata aliunde sententia fidei articulum non constituam. De me videat agatque Dominus pro sancto arbitratu suo.*"

Page 265, line 4. "*God worshippingeth.*"] i. e. honoureth: "With my body I thee worship." (Marriage Service.)

Page 265, line 16.]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note on the worshipping of images.

Page 265, line 25. "*Do off their caps to these letters.*"—See Dr. Wordsworth's note for illustrations of this passage.

Page 266, line 5. "*Bookes and calenders.*"—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 266, line 17 from the bottom.]—Towards the great north door of St. Paul's was a crucifix, to which pilgrimages and offerings were often made, of which the dean and canons had the benefit. (Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's.) The Latin edition (p. 88) says, "Londini apud Sanctum Paulum ad valvas aquilonares," and "de diva virgine Parathalassia."

Page 267, line 3. "*The fiend hath great power,*" &c.]—See the dialogue between Bilney and friar Brusierd *infra*, vol. iv. bottom of p. 630.

Page 267, line 11.]—On these representations of the Deity, Dr. Wordsworth refers to Lewis's *Life of Bishop Peacock*, p. 85, and Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*.

Page 267, line 25 from the bottom.]—"The seven deadly sins" were pride, envy, wrath, sloth, covetousness, gluttony, and lewdness. See Lewis, p. 136. (Ed. 1820.)

Page 268, line 12.]—On the gross ignorance of the people in religion at this period, see Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 268, line 17 from the bottom. "*Sing wanton songs.*"—See Dr. Wordsworth's notes.

Page 269, line 20.]—On the corruptions in church music, and the scandal which this subject occasioned, not only to Lollards, but Romanists, and Erasmus himself, see Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 269, line 22 from the bottom. "*No tittle to tithes.*"—See the note on p. 22, Art. xviii.

Page 269, line 15 from the bottom. "*And that they are accursed.*"—Alluding to a general sentence pronounced four times a year. See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 270, line 24.]—This is an error of Thorpe and the old writers, for Gregory's ordinance only respected tithes which had not been *previously* conveyed. The payment of tithes to the parish priest was fully settled in the Saxon times.

Page 271, line 12. "*To depart.*"—To divide. See Nares's Glossary; also the Ploughman's Complaint *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 746, line 6 from the bottom. Originally our Marriage Service read, "till death us depart;" altered at the Savoy Conference in 1661 to "do part."—On the doctrine of poverty of ministers here advocated, see the opinion of Nicholas Orem *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 771, line 7 from the bottom. The same doctrine has been sometimes alleged to have been held by Wickliff, but both his practice and writings show that he was in favour of a more generous mode of living among clergymen than Thorpe here seems to advocate.

Page 273, line 8. "*The lenger that ye appose him.*"—"Quo magis interrogas, hoc videtur præfractor." (Lat. ed. p. 91.) See note on p. 263, line 1.

Page 273, line 16.] It seems doubtful whether the Lollards held this doctrine absolutely. Dr. Wordsworth observes, that the statement that they did so may have originated from two causes: 1st, their protesting against the profane swearing then so common; and, 2dly, a scruple as to the mode of taking an oath. See Swinburn's view of this subject *suprà*, p. 119, art. 14.

Page 274, line 15 from the bottom.]—See on "tarric," the note on p. 258, line 22 from the bottom.

Page 276, line 20 from the bottom. "*Evil apayd.*"—Ill-satisfied, ill-contented. See the word *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 359, line 9; and "apayd," *ib.* p. 360, line 21 from the bottom.

Page 278, last line but one. "*Tarric.*"—See the note on p. 274.

Page 279, line 11 from the bottom. "*Bethinke thee, how great clerkes,*" &c.]—See the note on p. 257, line 7.

Page 280, line 3 from the bottom. "*Thomas Purvey.*"—No doubt "Thomas" is a mistake for "John." The Latin edition (p. 95) only says "Purveyus," omitting the Christian name, and therefore clearly referring to the same Purvey elsewhere mentioned in this Examination as "John."

Page 281, line 1.]—Archbishop Arundel was tried on a charge of treason in 1397, and banished; but in about two years was restored.

Page 281, line 23. "*Rowned with him.*"—To *rowne* or *round* a person in the ear, is to whisper to him. See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 285, line 16. "*Again, neither is it found that he was burned.*"—The Latin edition, however, says (p. 96), "*Sunt qui testantur eum eodem anno Domini 1407 in Augusto exustum: sed locum non designant: ex quo atque aliis colligendum,*" &c.

Page 285, line 27. "1382."—On the error in this date, see the note on p. 47.

Page 286. "*Articles of John Purvey.*"—These articles, with Purvey's recantation of each seriatim, are given by Wilkins, from the archbishop's Register. (Conc. iii. pp. 260—262.) The first appearance of Purvey before the council is there dated "*die Lunæ: viz. ultimo die ejusdem mensis Feb. in domo capitulari;*" *i. e.* Feb. 28th, A. D. 1401, the next meeting after the degradation of Sautre. He is called *Purney* in Wilkins; and "*capellanus Lincoln. diocesis.*" The recantation is dated at "*Paul's Cross, Sunday, March 6th, 1401.*"

Page 286, line 13. "*A certain whispering.*"—"Quædam auriculatio." (Wilkins.)

Page 286, Art. 3. "*Yet is he a true priest before God.*"—The Register says here, "*Est verus presbyter et sacerdos, ordinatus a Deo ad ministrandum omnia sacramenta necessaria hominibus ad salutem;*" adding, as the first-born were natural priests, and Moses before Aaron. (Wilkins.) See Purvey's doctrine more fully drawn out by Foxe at the middle of p. 288.

Page 286, Art. 4. "*Have not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but rather of hell.*"—Foxe translates erroneously, "*Either of the kingdom of heaven, or yet of hell:*" "*sed claves inferni*" (Wilkins). The sense is correctly given by Foxe at p. 289, line 18, and margin.

Page 286.]—Articles 5 and 6 change places with each other in Wilkins.

Page 286, Art. 7.]—"In the general council of Lyons" is put in from Wilkins. "*A proper priest*" (*proprio sacerdoti*) means "*their own parish-priest.*"

Page 287, line 36. "*Therefore when Antichrist, or any of his shavelings,*" &c.]—This maxim of Purvey's seems to have been pretty generally acted upon by the Lollards: see the examples of Reppyngdon, p. 25; Hereford and Reppyngdon, p. 34; Ashton, p. 36; Swinderby, pp. 117, 124; Thorpe, p. 263; lord Cobham, p. 328. Walter Brute is explicit, p. 173, &c. William Sautre attempted to evade the question, but was forced honestly to avow his opinion, p. 224. This prudent reserve or evasion is ridiculed in Barlowe's "*Dialogue concerning Lutheran Factions,*" signat. I 1, I 2, Edition 1553. Wickliff also seems to have disapproved of it: see the note on p. 49, note (1).

Page 288, line 9. "*To remain continuing his life in the wars.*"—The original imports just the contrary—"militiæ cingulo careat."

Page 292, line 34. "*At Saltwood.*"—The recantation before archbishop Arundel was at *St. Paul's*; and that at Saltwood was before Archbishop Chichesley. See pp. 248, 285, 286, and the notes.

Page 292, line 9 from the bottom. "*Being then, as it seemeth, William Courtenay.*"—See the table of archbishops given at p. 579.

Page 292, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe here reads "*anno 1389,*" though in his text, a few lines above, he says 1388. This must be the true year, if the statement be correct at p. 304, that when this sermon was preached, there wanted "*not fully twelve years and a halfe*" of the year 1400, for $1387\frac{1}{2} + 12\frac{1}{2} = 1400$, so that this would make the sermon preached a little after Midsummer 1388. In accordance with this, it may be remarked, that the text is in the Gospel for the 9th Sunday after Trinity, which in the year 1388 fell on July 26th. On the other hand, this does not well accord with the statement

that it was preached on Quinquagesima Sunday, which in 1388 fell on Feb. 9th, and in 1389 on Feb. 28th (see Nicolas's Tables). It is remarkable, that in the edition of 1563 the words "and a halfe" are wanting; "not fully twelve yeares" were "lacking" of 1400: this would suit Quinquagesima, but would make the year 1389. Perhaps the sermon was first composed or preached July 26th, 1388, ("made in the year of our Lord M.CCC.LXXXVIII.:" Edition of 1563), and re-preached Quinquagesima 1389; and so the words "and a halfe" are retained or omitted accordingly.

Page 293, line 22. "*Priesthood, knythode, and laborers.*"]—See the note on p. 324, line 13 from the bottom.

Page 304, line 36. "*Disparkled.*"]—See note on p. 130, note (1).

Page 307, note (4).]—Foxe's text reads, "which was about the year 1409;" this for the sake of precision is altered into, "which last was in the year 1410."—Four lines lower, Foxe says in all the old editions, the schism endured "this space of xxix. years;" at the same time referring to the passage at p. 17, where they all read plainly and properly "xxxix.:" "thirty-nine" is therefore put into the text here.—He also mis-numbers the pope "Urban V."

Page 307, note (5).—Boniface IX. was elected Nov. 2d, and crowned Nov. 9th, A.D. 1389: died Oct. 1st, A.D. 1401.

Page 308, line 11.]—The process of Gregory's election is given, confirming Foxe's account of it, in Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. p. 286—288, from archbishop Arundel's Register. He was elected unanimously Nov. 30th, A.D. 1406. (Nicolas.)

Page 308, line 22.]—There is a letter in Wilkins from Benedict XIII. to Gregory, dated 11 Cal. Feb. in the 13th year of his pontificate, *i. e.* January 22, A.D. 1407.

Page 308, line 29. "*The Cardinal of Bourdeaux.*"]—Foxe, following Walsingham, says, "the Cardinal Bituriensis" (of Bourges): we should here read "Burdegalensis:" the individual meant was Francesco Hugociono, a very able canonist, who was made archbishop of Bourdeaux in 1389, and cardinal Quatuor Sanctorum Coronatorum by Innocent VII. in 1405; he died at Florence, Aug. 14th, 1412. He was very zealous in striving to persuade Gregory to fulfil his engagements (*Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 839). He is mentioned in a public document of archbishop Arundel given in Wilkins's *Conc.* iii. p. 311, as having come over to England between July 23d and Nov. 30th, A.D. 1408. He is also mentioned in a letter of the cardinal's to Henry IV., given in Wilkins, as a particular favourite of the king's. It seems from Moreri's *Dict. v. Cardinal*, that there was not a cardinal of *Bourges* at this time.—Foxe misdates the letters ensuing A.D. 1409, as he had the election of pope Gregory XII. above, A.D. 1407.

Page 309, line 19.]—The council of Pisa sat March 25th to August 7th, A.D. 1409.

Page 309, line 31.]—"Within the twelvemonth" is more correct than Foxe's "within the same year;" for Alexander V. was elected in June, A.D. 1409, and crowned soon after: he died May 3d, A.D. 1410. (Nicolas.)

Page 309, note (4).]—Foxe's narrative, from hence to the top of p. 311, is taken accurately from Cochlæus: Foxe repeats a portion of it at p. 405, professedly from the same authority, but not so accurately. (See the note on p. 405.) Foxe (after Cochlæus) calls the archbishop "Swineo;" and sometimes strangely confounds his name and his title, calling him archbishop of "Swineo" instead of "Prague;" for which Cochlæus gives no foundation. He has already been mentioned *suprà*, at p. 54.

Page 311. "*A Mandate of Thomas Arundel.*"]—This is given in Wilkins's *Conc.* iii. p. 246, from the Register of Braybrooke, bishop of London. It is headed "*Mandatum Arundelli . . . pro veneratione Sanctæ Dei genetricis ad pulsationem in Aurorâ sicut ad pulsationem ignitegii.*" Foxe heads it, "A Mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the bishop of London, to warn men to say certain prayers at the tolling of the 'Aves' or ringing of Curfew;" which is a very vague description of it. Several expressions of the original, badly translated by Foxe, have been better rendered—"mystico inspiramine," "inter

cultores vineæ," "ad ipsius domini nostri regis specialem rogatum." The concluding sentence, "and when before day," &c. is rather obscurely expressed in the original: but the heading of the letter explains it.

Page 312, note (5).]—Foxe misdates the mandate "anno transl. 9, A.D. 1405," when no "Robert" was bishop of London. The date in Wilkins is "Anno Domini mcccxcix., et nostræ translationis anno quarto," which is inserted in the text: Robert Braybrooke was bishop of London January 5th, A.D. 1381 to August 27th, A.D. 1404 (Godwin, edit. Richardson); and as Arundel became archbishop towards the close of 1396, his fourth year would begin toward the close of A.D. 1399: it is evident, therefore, that the 1399 of Wilkins here means the 1400 of modern computation.

Page 313. "A commission directed to the Somner," &c.]—On the subject of ringing bells, see Brand's Pop. Ant. vol. ii. p. 135, note, and infra, vol. vi. p. 562. Latimer, in his Sixth Sermon before Edward VI., alludes to these interdicts for not ringing the bells.

Page 315.]—As Chichesley became archbishop A.D. 1414, his twelfth year would end in A.D. 1426, which year is clearly meant by the "1425" of the Register.

Page 316.]—These "parliamentary notes," and the references in the notes, are revised from the original printed in Cotton's Abridgement, as in similar cases at p. 213, and vol. ii. p. 783. The note relating to the "eleventh" year of the reign, at the bottom of p. 317, Foxe places, in p. 316, to the "second year of the said king," no doubt owing to his having misunderstood "11" for ii. instead of xi.

Page 316, note (1).]—This Latin penance is corrected by the Register.

Page 318, last line but one.]—Foxe, by mistake, reads "thirteenth" instead of "fourteenth."

Page 318, note (1).]—The whole of this page has been collated with Walsingham and Fabian, where the matter will be found; some corrections have thence been made: in the list of abbeyes, "Osii" (Fabian) is for "Osyth's:" in this form we trace the origin of "Size Lane" in London, where formerly stood St. Osyth's Church. The clause "in the see of Durham," &c. omitted by Foxe, is put in from Fabian: without it the calculation at the end would not be correct.

Page 319, line 17 from the bottom. "Then called Passion Sunday."]—The fifth Sunday of Lent is so called, because the Gospel for the day is John viii. 46, &c., where the Jews take up stones to cast at Jesus, and this the Festival (fol. 25) says, was the beginning of Christ's passion.

Page 319, line 8 from the bottom. "In holy kitchen—in holy church, I would say."]—This is a species of wit common (as Dr. Maitland remarks) among the writers of that age, when, having said a saucy thing, they affect to catch themselves up and correct a pretended mistake.

Page 320. "The trouble and persecution of Sir John Oldcastle, knight, lord Cobham."]—Most of the ensuing narrative is taken from John Bale's "Breve Chronycle concernyng the Examinacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ Sir Johan Oldecastell the Lord Cobham:" first printed August 16th, A.D. 1544. The source from which Bale derived it (as he informs us in his preface) was chiefly the account drawn up at archbishop Arundel's command expressly for distribution through the realm, and now extant in his Register. This is called "The Great Process of Thomas Arundell," &c. Walden's "Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi" embodies this Process, together with some other matters relating to the subject: Walden's first epistle to Martin V., his "Sermo de funere regis," and his first and second books "adversus Wiclevistas," have also contributed something. Several important passages which were omitted by Foxe after the edition of 1563 are here retained, especially the account of lord Cobham's death.

Page 320, line 3 from the bottom.]—Foxe, from Walden, reads inaccurately 1387 for 1384.

Page 321, line 26. "There resorted unto them the twelve inquisitors of

heresies; whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before," &c.]—Foxe is here strictly following Walden and Bale; the accuracy of the statement, however, seems doubtful, for Wilkins (iii. p. 339, sub anno 1412, "the year before" this process) gives—"Ex MSS. Cotton, Faustina C. 7"—*An Epistle of the University of Oxford*, reporting the opinion of the xii. judges appointed to examine Wickliff's writings, and giving 267 conclusions which they had picked out of his works and pronounced heretical: but the names of the xii. judges are not mentioned. Wilkins afterwards (p. 350) gives a letter (ex eodem MS.) of archbishop Arundel to pope John. But Wilkins had before (at p. 171) given *precisely the same epistle* of the university of Oxford, sub anno 1381, "ex Registro Sudbury, fol 76." This early copy of the Epistle of the University has the names of the xii. judges appended to their opinion, and they are the *very same* as those given here; but no conclusions are there specified as heretical. Now, it seems rather improbable that the very same xii. judges should have been appointed in 1381 and 1412, to make the same investigation, and report afresh in the very same words: it is most likely, that that epistle and decision of 1381 were reproduced before the council of 1412, not the judges themselves.

Page 321, note (3). "*Two hundred and sixty-six conclusions.*"—The edition of 1563, p. 261, says "two hundredth and lxvi.," which is corrupted in the next edition of 1570, p. 664, into two hundredth and xlvi." Walden and Bale both say "two hundred and lxvi.," and they are printed in Wilkins (iii. p. 339) to the number of 267.

Page 322, line 1. "*Proctors of the clergy*" is put in from Wilkins; both Foxe and Bale read "general proctors," and Foxe in his edition of 1563 adds from Bale, "yea rather betrayers of Christ in his faithful members."

Page 322, line 22. "*At Kennington.*"—Both Bale and Foxe omit to mention what the Register states (Wilkins, iii. p. 357) to have been the immediate matter of complaint against lord Cobham. A volume in quires ("in quaternis") tending, as the Register states, to the subversion of the faith and of holy church, was discovered at a linner's in Paternoster Row, where it was awaiting the process of illumination. The artist, being apprehended, confessed that the book was lord Cobham's. Certain extracts from it were read at Kennington, before the king, who is said to have expressed his abhorrence of them. Lord Cobham, being questioned by the king, allowed that this and similar books had been condemned justly, and denied that he had read more than two or three leaves.

Page 322, line 25.]—For "prelates," the edition of 1563, copying Bale, reads "ravenours."

Page 322, line 30.]—"Not" is improperly foisted in before "contended" in all the editions till 1583.

Page 323, line 7.]—Cowling Castle is said, at p. 313, to have been a little more than three miles from Rochester Cathedral.

Page 323, line 27.]—Ledes Castle is five miles south-east from Maidstone. (Carlisle's Top. Dic.)

Page 323, line 9 from the bottom.]—St. Matthew's day is Sept. 21st, which in A.D. 1413 (by Nicolas's Tables) fell on a Thursday; the Saturday following would be Sept. 23d. Both Bale and Foxe, here and at p. 326, say erroneously, "the Saturday before the feast of St. Matthew." The Register is correct. (Wilkins, iii. p. 354.) See also p. 344, line 5.

Page 324, line 13 from the bottom. "*This latter congregation,*" &c.]—The reader will find a similar triple division of the church militant into "priesthood, knythode, and laborers," in Wimbledon's Sermon *suprà*, p. 293. Lewis also (p. 125) cites a similar division from one of Wickliff's writings.

Page 324, line 4 from the bottom. "*In knighthood.*"—It was the custom in some countries for the nobles to draw their swords at the recital of the Creed or the Gospel. See Archbishop Grindall's works (Parker Soc. p. 56), and Dr. Wordsworth's note on this place.

Page 325, line 8 from the bottom. "*He offered himself, after the law of*

arms, to fight."]—This was according to the notions of the times. The trial by battle, in cases where the question could not be determined by legal proof or testimony, continued to disgrace the law of England till June 22d, 1819, when an Act was passed to abolish the practice. See Dr. Wordsworth's note on this place, which states that in 1352 the bishop of Bath and Wells ordered his clergy to exhort their people to pray for the success of Henry duke of Lancaster, in an intended trial by battle with the duke of Brunswick for some reproachful words.

Page 326, line 8.]—"Nild" is a contraction of "ne willed," which occurs uncontracted in the Ploughman's Complaint *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 732: "God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he ne will not a sinfull man's death, but that he be turned from his sin and liven." In Wimbledon's Sermon *suprà*, p. 295, we find "nis" for "ne is:" "What sinne, I pray you, will the fiend have now on men, that nis now used?" "Nonght" and "never" for "ne ought" and "ne ever," are familiar to us. (Wordsworth.)

Page 326, line 24. "*The Saturday after,*" &c.]—See the note on p. 323, line 9 from the bottom.

Page 327, line 14. "*Calenders to lewd men [laymen].*"—See the note on p. 119, line 12 from the bottom.

Page 327, line 18.]—See the note on p. 119, line 13 from the bottom.

Page 327, line 25. "*To Canterbury.*"—See Dr. Wordsworth's note on this shrine.

Page 327, line 16 from the bottom. "*Remaineth material bread, or not?*"—See the note on p. 287.

Page 331, line 14 from the bottom. "*If he believed not in the determination of the church?*"—See Dr. Wordsworth's note on the distinction between "believing" and "believing in." Bishop Bonner himself held, "Concerning the Catholique church, we must believe it, that is to say, geve credite to it, but not beleve in it, for to beleve in it, were to make it God."—Profitable and Necessary Doctrine, *signat.* I. 46, A. D. 1555.

Page 333, line 7. "*For then cried an angell.*"—Bale in his margin refers to Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychron. lib. iv. cap. 26. The endowment of the church by Constantine is the event referred to.—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 333, line 18.]—"Pilled," shaven, "pilis defectus, pilatus."

Page 334, last line but one.]—Antiochus, a monk of Saba, in Palestine, who wrote in the seventh century, deploras the loss of the real cross, which he says was carried away into Persia after the defeat of the emperor Heraclius by Chosroes in the year 614.—See Fabricius, *Bibl. Græca.* (Wordsworth.)

Page 335, line 6. "*This is a very cross.*"—See what Thorpe says at the top of p. 265. Also the language of Margery Backster, at p. 594, and John Edmunds *infra*, vol. iv. p. 238, cited by Dr. Wordsworth, with a passage from Dr. Barnes's works.

Page 335, line 15. "*Honour to the holy cross.*"—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 336, last line. "*Do him thereupon to death.*"—These words not being in the original, but Bale's exposition of the undoubted meaning of "delivery to the secular power," are put in brackets. See Dr. Wordsworth's note. This writ is dated in Wilkins (iii. p. 357) Oct. 10th, 1413.

Page 337, line 13.]—"Process" is corrupted into "excess," after the edition of 1570.

Page 341, line 11.]—This parliament was called at Leicester, April 30th, A. D. 1414. 1 Parl. Hist. 324.

Page 341, line 16. "*A bill was put in there,*" &c.]—Fabian, sub an. 2 Hen. V. speaks of this bill, as the revival of the former one of 11 Hen. IV., which he mentions in its place, but makes no specific allusion to that in 18 Ric. II. Shakespeare opens his Henry V. with allusion to the two bills of 11 Hen. IV. and 2 Hen. V.

Lord Cobham was banished soon after the first bill of 11 Hen. IV., and pre-

sented a remonstrance in his own name alone with the second in 2 Hen. V. See Rapin, vol. iv. pp. 59, 176, notes.

Page 341, line 17. "*Twice before,*" &c.]—Foxe mentions the bill presented by the Commons in 11 Hen. IV. (or A. D. 1410) *suprà*, p. 318, and the other in 18 Ric. II. at p. 203.

Page 341, line 18. "*By the procurement of the said lord Cobham.*"—This is from Bale; who likewise attributes (Breve Chron. Ed. 1544, folios 7, 51) to Cobham the Articles at p. 203, &c.

Page 341, note (4).]—Foxe reads "synod," in this reference: Bale, fol. 47, reads "sy-done," divided between two lines. This is probably a misprint for "sermone," for Bale in his Preface to the Chron. fol. 6, mentioning *this same matter*, refers in his margin to "Waldenus in ser-mone de funere regis," "sermone" being similarly divided; and at the end of the Preface refers to the same work thus, "Waldenus in Sermone."

Page 344, line 13. "*The twenty-third day of September.*"—Wilkins (iii. p. 354) reads correctly "23," and so do the editions of 1563 and 1570. See notes above on pp. 323, 326.

Page 353. "*The words and content of the statute,*" &c.]—The original French is in Wilkins (iii. p. 358), with which Foxe's translation has been collated, and the first 33 lines much improved.

Page 356, note (1).]—The extracts from the statute 2 Hen. IV., given in the text, have been strictly conformed to the original.

Page 357, note (1).]—The reader will find some remarks by the Rev. Dr. Maitland, in his volume on the Dark Ages, tending to correct the representations of some writers respecting "the feast of the ass." Professor Edgar is not quite exact in representing the *ass* as "taught to kneel;" he derived this notion from a stage-direction in the margin.

Page 361, line 6. "*In the time of king Henry III.*"—This passage as it stands in Foxe is most incorrect: "In the time of king Henry III., Simon Montfort earl of Gloucester, Gilbert Clare earl of Leicester, Humfrey Rone earl of Ferrence," &c.; the alterations made in the text will be borne out by the references at the foot of the page. The large portions of English history given by Foxe in vol. ii. are here turned to account.

Page 375, note (2).]—The incorrectness of Polydore appears thus: Henry IV. became king Sept. 30th, 1399, and died March 20th, 1413, so that he reigned 13 years 6 months, minus 10 days. (Nicolas.)

Page 376, note (4).]—Foxe alludes to Psalm li. 7; "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow;" which stands in the Vulgate, "*Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.*"

Page 381.]—The numerous references at the foot of this and several following pages are added by the present Editor.

Page 381, line 19. "*As Hieronymus Marius doth credibly witness.*"—Eusebins Captivus, pp. 43—46. But a much better reference may be made to Georgi's *Imperatorum totiusque Nationis Germanicæ Gravamina adv. sedem Romanam*, &c. (Francof. 1725, pp. 180—188); who takes his account from Aventinus, Cuspinian, and others. He concludes the chapter with,—"*Tandem A. 1317, v. Id. Octobr. cum venatum exivisset [Ludovicus] de equo præcipitatus, apoplexia, vel veneno periit. Avent. p. 182, Edit. Fr. et p. 628, edit. Basil. Cuspinianus, p. 378, imprimis p. 380, ubi affirmat venenum accepisse, neque ulla alia de causa venatum exiisse, quam ut motu atque labore sibi consuleret, quæ spes hæc vice illum fefellit. Contrarium tamen defendit Bur-gundus, p. 180.*"

Page 393, line 12 from the bottom. "*In canons of the Apostles,*" &c.]—"Daillé affirms that the canons claim for themselves an apostolic origin. De la Roque is of the same opinion, and Gibert reasons in a similar manner: but bishop Beveridge has demonstrated that in each of four instances which may be adduced, interpolation has taken place. In the xxix Canon (according to Beveridge) we find *ὕπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρον*, a *me* Petro; whereas the version by

Dionysius Exiguus, and after him the *Excerptions* from Egbert, contain only *a Petro*. Again, in Canon I. Dionysius has *non enim dixit nobis Dominus*; but this important word is either spurious, or rather has arisen from reading ἡμῶν for ἡμῶν. Moreover, in Canons 82 and 85 the pronouns ἡμέτερος and ἡμῶν have been introduced by some unknown falsifier." Gibbings' Roman Forgeries and Falsifications (Dublin, 1842), pp. 85, 86.

Page 393, line 10 from the bottom. "*Cogging in a false canon to the council of Nice.*"—See vol. i. of Foxe, p. 32, and Appendix, p. 392, for an account of this "cogging in." "To wipe off this scandal, Binius and Baronius stickle vehemently, and try all their art to get St. Peter's ship off from these rocks. The former publishes long notes (in Labbe, tom. ii. col. 1599); the latter falls from writing to disputing (Annal. ad au. 419): but all in vain; for Binius, after he had falsely told us that it was the ancient custom for bishops and priests to appeal to Rome, and for the Africans to desire their sentences to be confirmed by the pope, confesses that the pope's legates cited the canons of *Sardica* under the name of those of Nice, and that they were not to be found in the originals of the council of Nice, kept in the other patriarchal sees." Comber's Roman Forgeries in Councils, part iii. p. 36. See also Richier's *Historia Concilii Generalis*. (edit. Colon. 1683, tom. i. pp. 114—121) for a detailed reply to Bellarmine's arguments on this matter of appeals.

Page 404, line 31. "*Nine and twenty years.*"—Foxe says "five and twenty," both here and at p. 530; but see the table at p. 579, note. From hence to p. 416 Foxe follows Cochläus, pp. 19—68; whence Foxe's text is considerably corrected.

Page 405, line 31. "*Meaux.*"—Foxe, from Fabian, reads "Meldune or Melione:" "de Vincennes" has been added to Foxe's "Bois," as the more usual mode of designating the place.

Page 406, line 22.]—The cardinal Colonna here mentioned was Otho de Colonna, a Roman, created cardinal-deacon of St. George in Velabro in 1405; afterward pope Martin V. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.)

Page 406, last line but one.]—The cardinal of Aquileia was Antoine Panzerino, a native of Friuli, patriarch of Aquileia, made cardinal-priest of St. Susanna and bishop of Frascati by pope John XXIII. in 1411; died 1431. The cardinal of Venice was Francis Lando, a Venetian, made patriarch of Grado in 1408, and afterward of Constantinople: created cardinal of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem in 1411, and died 1427. (Moreri, Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 406, note (1).]—The sentence in the text is not exactly according to Cochläus, the author to whom Foxe here refers us: thus, the pope's citation of John Huss is put too late, for Cochläus (Hist. p. 19) says, that when he was cited, he refused to obey the summons; *whereupon* the pope wrote to archbishop Sbinco, &c. "Scripsit itaque Alexander Papa V. Suinconi Archiepiscopo, ut autoritate Apostolica prohiberet, ne per aliquos (etiamsi essent super hoc Apostolico seu quovis alio indulto muniti) prædicationes aut sermones ad populum fierent, nisi in cathedralibus, collegiatis, parochialibus, aut monasteriorum ecclesiis, seu earum cimiteriis," &c. The foregoing extract also shows, that the object of the papal letters is not quite correctly stated by Foxe. He has stated the whole matter more correctly from the same passage of Cochläus at pp. 309, 310 of this volume.

Page 407, line 27.]—See Cochläus, pp. 24, 25, where the document is said to have been dated Bethlehem Chapel, Prague, A. D. 1412, March 3d, second year of the Pontificate of John XXIII. The treatise "*De tribus dubiis*" is printed in the "*Historia et Monumenta Johan. Huss,*" fol. 169.

Page 407, line 3 from the bottom. "*Of the human race destroyed by the deluge.*"—This clause is put in from Cochläus.

Page 408, line 9. "*Conrad bishop of Otmutz,*" &c.]—This sentence is considerably modified from Cochläus, p. 29. Foxe reads thus:—

"It followeth, moreover, after the death of the archbishop Swinco above-mentioned, that one named Conrad was placed by the pope there to be chief general, which Conrad, conferring with the divines and doctors of the university

of Prague, required their advices and counsels, what way they might best take to assuage the dissensions and discords between the clergy and the people; whereupon a certain council was devised to be holden after this sort and manner, as followeth." The words of Cochläus (p. 29) are these:—"Ne autem Ecclesia illa Metropolitana, rectore legitimo carens, orphana atque omnino Acephala videretur, datus est ei a sede Apostolica Administrator Conradus Episcopus Olomucensis, Qui a theologis studii Pragensis petiit exemplum illius Consilii quod Swinconi scriptum dederunt, ab eo requisiti, quoniam pacto possint hæc mala, discordia cleri, plebisque motus ac varia in fide et religione populorum dissidia et scandala, de medio tolli, atque redintegrata pace sedari. Cujus sane Consilii hæc quæ sequuntur, fuere capitula."

Foxe correctly, in the very next page, calls Conrad "administrator," and even "the *aforesaid* administrator," which renders the change made in his text necessary. Cochläus intitles the ensuing document, "Consilium facultatis theologicæ studii Pragensis." Foxe miscalls it the "Council of the Prelates of Prague against the Gospellers."

Page 408, Art. VIII.]—This Article is explained by what Cochläus says (Hist. p. 18), viz.—"Libris vero combustis, Joannes Hus, ut Archiepiscopo injuriam rependeret, ita et odiosum et contemptibilem eum suis detractionibus populo reddidit, ut plerique partium suarum Laici vulgares et ironicas in optimum patrem cantiones confingerent ac decantarent in publico, Suinick Kraschy spalil, propter eam librorum combustionem."

Page 409, line 10.]—In Cochläus (p. 32) is a 12th article added, as follows: "XII. Item ex istis omnibus claret, quòd in nobis non deficit inire concordiam, sed in eis; ex quo nolunt ad ista rationabilia et præacta consentire. Quilibet enim compos rationis intelligere potest ex hoc consilio, quòd non propriam laudem nec aliquorum confusionem, sed gloriam Dei, honorem domini regis et sui regni, vellemus libenter procurare. Quia ad omnia supra-scripta nos ipsos subjicimus, et parati sumus hæc eadem facere inchoando. Ipsi autem, nolentes ad ista particularia descendere, nimis reddunt in materia fidei se suspectos."

Page 409, line 15.]—Cochläus (p. 32) says, that this "Consilium" was "datum et exhibitum in congregatione cleri in die S. Dorotheæ A.D. 1413." St. Dorothea's day was Feb. 6th or March 28th. (Nicolas's Chronology of History.) The first three of the ensuing Articles are revised from the original in Cochläus.

Page 410, line 11. "*Was ravaging.*"]—"Infestabat," Cochläus; "had besieged," Foxe.

Page 410, line 27. "Artisans" is put here for Foxe's word "Captains."

Page 410, line 28.]—"Johanne, Martino, et Stascone," Cochläus (p. 38). In "Histor. et Mon. Joh. Huss," &c. fol. 215 (*margin*), it is stated, that at the chapel of Bethlehem a parchment book, called "Passionale," was preserved, in the margin of which (at the chap. de Adriano sub Maximiniano passo) was written with John Huss's own hand: "A.D. 1412, feriâ ante festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sic voluerunt multi decollari, flectentes sub gladio tortoris; quando decollabantur Martinus et Johannes, et Stassek, ex eo quòd contradixerunt prædicantibus quòd licitum est bellare, et quòd in papam credendum, et quòd quicumque dederint papæ pecuniam ad bellum est absolutus à pænâ et à culpâ." This shows that John is a distinct individual from Martin. See note infra, on p. 483, note (2), where it appears that Huss in his *text*, at the place just referred to, calls the three martyrs by the same names as Cochläus and Foxe.

Page 410, last line. "*The sum of eighteen articles.*"]—This does not appear from Cochläus, p. 44, where the "Consilium doctorum contra hæresim Pragæ exortam" is not given in the form of Articles. Foxe probably inferred what he says, from the Objections in reply being eighteen in number.

Page 410, note (1).]—Foxe, in stating that "John Huss preached at the funeral" of the three artisans of Prague, states that with which Huss was undoubtedly charged by his enemies at his trial; but he as undoubtedly denied that he was even present at the funeral (see p. 483, line 12, of this volume,

and the note thereon in this Appendix). Cochlæus himself, whom Foxe professes here to follow, does not say that Huss did *preach* at the funeral: the following are Cochlæus's words:—"At Hus cum suis occurrens interemptorum corpora rapuit, et aureo circumvoluta panno per omnes (ut ait Æneas) urbis ecclesias detulit, cantantibus sectæ suæ sacerdotibus, 'Isti sunt sancti qui pro testamento Dei sua corpora tradiderunt,' &c. Exin cadavera in sacrario Bethlehem reposita, quasi martyrum reliquiæ aromatibus condita fuerunt. De quibus ipse Hus in libro suo 'de Ecclesia' inscripto sic habet et gloriatur (cap. 21), &c." Cochlæus then quotes an account of the affair by Stephen Paletz, in which these words occur: "Accessisti siquidem, et jacentium rebellium corpora sub Mediastino sustulisti, et cum ea quæ tibi videbatur summa reverentia ad cathedram tuæ superbix capellam dictam Bethlehem detulisti, tui ipsius et scholarium tuæ societatis, sanctæ obedientix contrariis, clamorosis et altissimis vocibus usque ad inferni novissima concrepantibus, Isti sunt sancti, &c. Quibus sic inductis per te in Capellam illam, tantum fecisti popularis tui favoris concursum, ut non solum illorum sic justè decollatorum sanguinem linteis maximè Beginæ tuæ et quidam alii abstergerent, sed quasi præ illorum sanctitate et potius pertusa saccitate lamberent. Ita ut te largiente et te donante locus ille tuæ cathedræ summus, non tam Bethlehem, sed ad Tres Sanctos per te et tuos complices vocaretur." (Cochlæi Hist. pp. 38, 40.) Dubravius says expressly that Huss *did not preach*; but only that some of the clergy of their party followed their corpses, singing the words just recorded, "ad templum Bethlehem, ubi Hus concionatorem agebat [*i. e.* was the stated and habitual preacher]. Ac illo quidem die Huss concione abstinuit, sed postea non cessavit mortem illorum deplorare, invidia majori quàm ut illam sedare possent senatores" (Hist. Boiem. lib. xxiii. Hanov. 1602, p. 194). It is clear, therefore, that Foxe has not correctly gathered the import of Cochlæus's words, and that what he represents Huss as doing at the funeral, Huss really did afterwards, especially in his treatise "De Ecclesia," cap. 21. (See Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss. tom. i. fol. 245.)

Page 411, line 3.]—Cochlæus, in his margin, says that Stanislaus de Znoyma was a Moravian, and a chief doctor at Prague. Cochlæus (p. 50) gives this list of names from Huss's "Liber de Ecclesiâ," cap. 11. The concluding sentence of the paragraph—"John Huss," &c.—is from p. 62 of Cochlæus. Who is meant by "the lord of the soil" appears at p. 548 of this volume.

Page 411, line 15.]—The ensuing Articles are revised from Cochlæus, p. 50.

Page 411, Art. IV. "Whereas no man knoweth," &c.]—Huss here refers to some of the opinions attributed to Wickliff: see Art. IV. VIII. XVI. at pp. 21, 22, of this volume.

Page 412, Art. X. "Written under the name and authority of Jerome, in Causa 24, q. 1, cap. 14, 'Hæc est fides, Papa beatissime.'"]—Cochlæus (p. 51) says in his margin at this Article, "Verba Hieron. non ad August. sed ad Damasum scripta sunt." The same remark is made by the Romish Doctors in their reply to these objections of Huss. (Cochl. pp. 50, 51.) The editor of the Decretals of Gregory IX. held the same opinion. And Huss was not ignorant of this circumstance; for in his "De Ecclesiâ," cap. 16, he argues against the inference which the papists draw from the passage, on the supposition of its being written (as the canon law represents) to pope Damasus: at cap. 21, however, of the same treatise he says, "Ad dictum beati Hieronymi de explanatione fidei dictum est cap. 16, supponendo quòd fuisset locutus ad Damasum Papam; sed multis libris antiquis conspectis comperimus, quòd scripsit ad beatum Augustinum, quem sæpius vocat Papam in suis Epistolis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 243.)

Subsequent critics, however, have decided that the letter here quoted is incorrectly assigned to Jerome, and belongs really to Pelagius; who wrote "Libellus fidei ejus Romam missus ad Innocentium, de quo Augus. de Gratia Christi, cap. 30, 32, et 33." (Riveti Crit. Sac. lib. iv. cap. 7.) "Pelagio hæresiarchæ velut legitimo parenti omnium virorum erud. suffragio jam adjudicatur: cui deserte illam tribuunt S. Aug. de peccato orig. c. 21, et Zosimus, epist. 2 ad Africanos Episc. in causa Pelagii." (Natalis Alexandri Hist. Eccles. sæc. iv. tom. vii. p. 327, edit. Bingæ, 1787.) The objection of Huss, though thus losing its strength in this instance, may however be supported from other cases:

see Archbp. Usher's "Religion of the Ancient Irish," chap. 7, end; and more especially Bingham's "Christian Antiquities," book xi. chap. 2, § 7.

Page 414, line 20.]—Cochlæus (Hist. p. 63) says: "At omnium miserrime vexabatur clerus Catholicus, intus et foris, a laicis et a clericis, qui evangelicos sese vocabant: quin etiam a mulierculis et a pueris, ex obedientiæ enim lege cogebantur servare interdictum, ubicunque præsens erat Hus."

Page 415, line 1.]—This letter of pope John is in Cochlæus, pp. 22, 23, whence some corrections have been made in the translation.

Page 415, last paragraph.]—This story is found in Nicholas de Clemangis, "Disputatio super materia Concilii Generalis," and is printed in the "Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum," fol. 201, whence Foxe no doubt took it.

Page 416, line 30. "*The space, already, of thirty-six years.*"—Foxe says, "The space, as I said, of twenty-nine years," and refers to the passage at p. 17 of this volume; where, however, all the editions read correctly "xxxix:" see also p. 778 of vol. ii. Cochlæus (whom Foxe seems still to have before him, p. 68) says, that the schism already "xxx annis pias fidelium mentes male vexaverat," when the council of Pisa was called to put an end to it: the council of Constance came six years later, whence the emendation of Foxe's text.

Page 416, line 38. "*Three years and five months*"—is put in for Foxe's "four years:" the council opened Nov. 16th, 1414, and ended April 22d, 1418.

Page 416, line 43.]—It is a mistake of Foxe to represent the *same* four presidents as acting during the whole council: the list here given will be found in Labbe's Concilia, tom. xii. col. 61, as presiding over the tenth session.

Page 416, note (2).]—The edition of 1563, p. 183, reads 3940, and "Philip and Cheiny," &c. This last expression seems a satirical allusion to the motley assemblage represented as having resorted to the council; see p. 423, and the note thereon in this Appendix. The phrase is used by Becon (vol. iii. p. 276, Parker Society Ed.):—

"They pray for Philippe and Chenye
More than a good meany [sort]."

The phrase seems equivalent to "Tag, Rag, and Bobtail:" Philip was a pet name for a sparrow, and Cheiny, perhaps, for a dog. See Nares's Glossary.

Page 418, line 6.]—Foxe reads "four years:" see the note on p. 416, line 38.

Page 418, note (1).]—A similar recapitulation by Binius is printed in Labbe's Concilia, xii. cols. 289—294, with the dates of the different sessions: some very important corrections are thence made in Foxe's text.

Page 419, note (1).]—A very large collection of documents relative to the Council of Constance was made by Hermann Von Der Hardt, professor of Oriental Languages at Helmstadt, and printed at Frankfort, 1697, 6 tom. in 3 vols. fol., intitled "Historia Œcumenici Concilii Constantiensis, de Universali Ecclesiasticæ Disciplina Reformatione:" several useful hints are introduced from Hardt's work in the ensuing notes. The Decree referred to in the note is in Hardt, tom. iii. p. 522, and Labbe xii. sess. 19:—"Præsens sancta synodus ex quovis salvoconductu per imperatorem, reges, et alios sæculi principes, hæreticis vel de hæresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem sic à suis erroribus revocare (quocumque vinculo se adstrinxerint), concessio nullum fidei catholicæ vel jurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ præjudicium generari vel impedimentum præstari posse seu debere declarat; quò minus (dicto salvoconductu non obstante) liceat judici competenti ecclesiastico de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere et aliàs contra eos debite procedere, eosdemque punire quantum justitia suadebit, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint, etiamsi de salvoconductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii (aliàs non venturi), [Lips. et Goth. add] nec sic promittentem, cum aliàs fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum."

Page 419, note (2).]—See Labbe xii. col. 273.

Page 420. "*The twenty-fifth session.*"—John bishop of Lithomyssel was put in commendam of the diocese of Olmutz, vacant by the death of Wences-

laus, patriarch of Antioch, till the appointment of a new pope. This Wenceslaus is mentioned by Huss at p. 445.

Page 422, line 11. "*These things thus prepared,*" &c.]—This paragraph is very inaccurate as it stands in Foxe: it is corrected from Labbe's Concilia, xii. cols. 251, 252. The emperor is said to have walked "in magno-luto." (MS. Windobonense, cited by Von der Hardt, tom. iii. p. 1490.)

Page 422, line 3 from the bottom. "*John, bishop of Catania.*"—In Von der Hardt this person is called "Johannes de Podiomiris, Episcopus Cathamensis, frater ordinis Prædicatorum, sacræ theologiæ professor."

Page 423, note (2).]—The account in the text of the motley assemblage at the council of Constance will be found in the Paralipomena Urspergensis Chronici, p. 291. Cochlæus, p. 69, says that there were 30,000 horses at Constance at one time, 4 patriarchs, 29 cardinals, 47 archbishops, 160 bishops, and a vast number of abbots, priors, and clergy; besides secular princes in crowds.

Page 423, note (3).]—From this place to p. 530 Foxe follows the "Historia et Monumenta Johannis Huss," &c.

Page 424, note (1).]—This safe-conduct is so often referred to, that a copy of the original is given: it may be well to mention, that in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. v. pp. 352, 392, will be found two papal bulls, directing that faith was not to be kept with heretics, dated A.D. 1378, 3 and 4 Rich. II.

The following is the Latin safe-conduct given to Huss:—"Sigismundus Dei gratia Romanorum Rex, semper Augustus, et Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiae, &c. Rex, universis et singulis Principibus ecclesiasticis et secularibus, Ducibus et Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Proceribus, Militaribus, Militibus, Clientibus, Capitaneis, Potestatibus, Gubernatoribus, Præsidiibus, Publicanis, Officialibus quibuscunque Civitatum, Oppidorum, villarum, et locorum communitatibus, ac Rectoribus eorundem, cæterisque nostris et sacri Imperii subditis et fidelibus, ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, gratiam Regiam et omne bonum.

"Venerabiles, Illustres, nobiles et fideles dilecti, honorabilem Magistrum Joannem Hus, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureum et Artium Magistrum, præsentium ostensorem, de regno Bohemæ ad Concilium generale in civitate Constantiensi celebrandum in proximo transeuntem, quem etiam in nostram et sacri Imperii protectionem recepimus et tutelam, vobis omnibus et vestrum cuilibet pleno recommendamus affectu; desiderantes quatenus ipsum, cum ad vos pervenerit, grate suscipere, favorabiliter tractare, atque in his quæ ad celeritatem et securitatem itineris ipsius pertinent, tam per terram, quam per aquam, promotivam sibi velitis et debeatis ostendere voluntatem, nec non ipsum cum famulis, equis, et aliis rebus suis singulis, per quoscunque passus, portus, ponteis, terras, dominia, jurisdictiones, civitates, oppida, castra, villas, et quælibet alia loca vestra, sine ulla solutione tributi, telonii, aut alio quovis solutionis onere, omnique prorsus impedimento remoto, transire, stare, morari, et redire libere permittatis, sibi que et suis, cum opus fuerit, de securo et salvo velitis et debeatis providere conductu, ad honorem et reverentiam nostræ Majestatis. Datum Spiræ, anno Domini M.CCCCXIV. die Octobris 18, Regnorum nostrorum Anno Hungariæ, &c. 33, Romanorum verò Quinto.

"*Ad mandatum Domini Regis, Michael de Papest, Canonicus Uratistaviensis.*"

Page 426, line 32.]—"Fama hujusmodi"—"Sine meâ culpâ," Latin.

Page 427, line 9. "*Approved.*"—"*Comprobavit,*" Latin; *i. e.* "certified."

Page 427, line 33.]—"Quæ sunt in eo," Latin.

Page 427, line 11 from the bottom.]—The corrections of names and dates in this paragraph and in the ensuing document are derived from the "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 4.

Page 428, line 5.]—"Baccalaurei formati in sacrâ theologiâ," Latin.

Page 430, line 6. "*The public Procuracy.*"—See Hist. et Mon. fol. 3, 4; where it is "procuracione" in the original; but this is an evident mistake for "congregatione," which occurs a few lines below in the instrument. It is

called "convocation," next page, in the "letter which Huss fixed on the public places of the cities on his way to Constance:" the Latin there is "conventu," which would be better rendered by "congregation."

Page 431, top.]—The list of names is revised from the original, in "Hist. et Mon."

Page 431, last paragraph. "*In all cities as he passed by,*" &c.]—"In omnibus itaque civitatibus, maxime verò cum in Germaniam venisset, ingens ad eum multitudo confluit. Ab ipsis verò hospitibus per omnes Germaniæ civitates, à civibus, et nonnunquam ab ipsis etiam Parochis summa humanitate et liberalitate acceptus est, adeò ut ipse Joannes Hus in quadam epistola fateatur, se nusquam majores inimicitias quàm in Bohemia expertum esse." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 4.)

Page 432, note (4). "*The mines of gold in Gilowy, which were perished and lost.*"—Foxe says "Gilory," following the Latin, which says, "Aurifodinæ in Giloroy, quæ perierant." Busching, however, in his Geography, iv. p. 80, says: "Gilowey, Eylau, Eule, or Gilovia, a royal mine-town, near which gold was formerly dug, in the circle of Kaurzim, Bohemia."

Page 432, line 11. "*The twentieth day after,*" &c.]—Cochlæus (Hist. lib. ii. p. 84) says that Huss left Prague the Thursday before St. Gall's Day (which feast was October 16th, and fell on a Tuesday in 1414); and that he arrived at Constance the Saturday after the feast of All Saints (which feast was November 1, and fell on a Thursday, in 1414); and that he lodged "in Platea S. Pauli:" all this agrees with Foxe's text, except the place of residence.

Page 432, line 31. "*Who was the first and bitterest accuser of the said John Huss.*"—"Michaële de Causis, primo Joannis Hus et acerrimo accusatore." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 4.) Foxe merely says: "Who had before falsely accused and blamed the said John Huss."

Page 432, note (2).—"Ex apostematis dolore mortuus est." (Hist. et Mon.)

Page 433, line 29. "*The borough-master of the town of Constance,*" &c.]—"Cum consule Constantiensi Henrico de Ulm, et quodam nobili viro," Von der Hardt, iii. p. 22; who also, at p. 11, mentions Fredericus Grafeneck as bishop of Augsburg.

Page 435, line 16.]—"Didacus" is the Latin for the Spanish name "Diego."

Page 435, line 33. "*Provost of the Roman court.*"—He is called by Hardt, tom. iii. p. 22, "Episcopus Lausanensis Camerae Apostolicæ regens."

Page 436, line 2. "*After this, the said John Huss,*" &c.]—"Qui postea in Cantoris Constantiensis Ecclesiæ domum ductus, per satellites in octavum usque diem ibi sub custodia fuit, inde in monasterium Prædicatorum ad Rhenum productus, et carceri ejus monasterii, ipsi latrinæ proximo, mandatus est." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 5.) "Jacobites" was one term for the Preaching or Dominican friars: friar Wiford (Gratius's "Fasciulus," fol. 133) says: "Fratres Prædicatores non dicebantur Jacobitæ in principio sed posterius valde casualiter: quia Parisiis morabantur juxta portam Sancti Jacobi." But Matth. Westm., sub anno 1198, speaking of Innocent III., says: "Ejus favore exortum est in Italia novum genus ordinis Prædicatorum qui Jacobitæ voluerunt appellari, quia vitam apostolicam videbantur imitari."

Page 436, line 4.]—Von der Hardt says (iii. p. 22), that Huss was taken to the house of the præcentor of Constance November 28th: he also, at p. 32, gives a letter of the Bohemians to the Council, reproaching them for the first imprisonment of Huss; he adds, that Paletz made a handle of this letter for getting Huss removed to worse and severer confinement in the Dominican monastery, January 3d, 1415. Hardt adds, at p. 33, another letter of the Bohemian lords, in consequence of this removal. Either Foxe and his author are wrong as to the "8 days," or they omit the first prison.

Page 436, line 15. "*These articles here under written.*"—The original is in Hist. et Mon. fol. 6, whence considerable improvements have been introduced into Foxe's translation.

Page 438, last line.]—"Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, Episcopus Castellæ, et Episcopus à Libuss." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 7.) Lebus is mentioned

supra, vol. ii. pp. 488, 492. Darcher, in his list of those present at the council of Constance, includes "Johannes episcopus de Lebus in Marchia." The bishop of Castel-a-Mare was "Marinus de Sancta Agatha, canon de Ferma;" he was bishop A.D. 1402—1421 (Richard and Giraud, Bibliothèque Sacrée). In Von der Hardt (tom. iii. p. 33) we read, that on Friday, January 4th, 1415, a general congregation was held, where John Dominici, cardinal of Ragusa, and John, patriarch of Constantinople, were admitted to the council as ambassadors of pope Gregory XII.; p. 37, we read at January 22 of Dominus Johannes Electus Constantinopolitanus. It is curious that Hardt, at tom. iv. p. 1474, mentions John as Pat. Const.; but at the election of Martin V. (p. 1479) names Francis Lando, Venetus, as patriarch of Constantinople. Moreri says Lando was patriarch of Grado, and afterwards of Constantinople.

Page 439, line 25.]—Foxe does not mention the removal of Huss to this third prison; but Von der Hardt says he was removed from the Dominican to the Franciscan convent "Dominica Oculi," i. e. the third Sunday in Lent, March 3d, 1415. Nicolas's Tables show that Palm Sunday in 1415 fell on March 24th, and Von der Hardt shows that John XXIII. fled March 21st.

Page 439, line 18 from the bottom. "*Abominable forfeits.*"—Chaucer, Gower, and the early writers generally, use the verb *to forfeit* in its primary sense of committing a transgression: in French, *forfaire* has the same signification. See Mr. Way's note in Promp. Parv. 172.

Page 439, line 12 from the bottom.]—Darcher's list gives "Marchio Comes Otto de Hochberg," and Gallia Christiana "Otho de Hochber et Rottel," as bishop of Constance from 1411 to about 1433.

Page 440, line 4. "*The deputies of the four nations,*" &c.]—"Quatuor nationum, . . . deputatis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 7.)

Page 440, line 30.]—For "1409," Foxe has "1410;" wherein, however, he follows his author; for the "Hist. et Mon." reads "MCCCC.X," where an I has clearly dropped out before X; the council of Pisa sat March 25th—August 7th, 1409. (Nicolas.)

Page 441, line 21.]—"John of Prague" was bishop of Lythomyšl in Moravia.

Page 441, lines 27, 31. "*The sixteenth day of May.*"—Foxe says "the seventeenth." Whitsunday, 1415, fell on May 19th; and the fourth day before would be May 16th, which was Thursday, and the reply of the Bohemian lords made on Saturday 'pridie Pent.' (p. 442) is said to be *two days* after *this* meeting, and refers to *this* as held on *Thursday*. Foxe has, however, followed his copy in his false date; for Von der Hardt, iii. p. 188 and 208, has several times to correct this error in Crispin, Theobald, and some very old writers whom he cites.

Page 441, last paragraph.]—From hence to p. 449 Foxe's translations of the documents have been considerably corrected from the original Latin in "Historia et Monumenta Joh. Huss," &c.

Page 444, line 13. "*The rival popes.*"—"*Colludentes de papatu*" (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 9), meaning Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., who were declared schismatics, heretics, and perjurers, by the council of Pisa, June 5th, 1409, and deposed. (See Nicolas's Chron. of History.)

Page 448, last line but two.]—One John Vitalis was patriarch of Antioch.

Page 450, line 4. "*The fifth day of June.*"—This day Huss was brought up from the prison at Gottlieben, and lodged again for his last month in the Franciscan convent. (Hardt, tom. iii. p. 306.)

Page 451, line 15. "*Through their advice,*" &c.]—This and the following sentences are corrected from the Latin original, which says:—"Ex istorum itaque consilio senatus dimissus, et judicium in perendianum diem iterum est constitutum. Eo igitur die, qui erat septimus Junii, horam circiter septimam, cum paulò ante totalis penè Solis Eclipsis visa esset, iterum in refectorium fratrum minorum iidem qui antea convenerunt, et Joannem Hus magna turba armorum militum cinctum coram eis sisti mandarunt." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. xii.) The table of eclipses in L'Art de Vér. des Dates states this eclipse to have happened at 7 A.M. June 7th, A.D. 1415.

Page 451, line 6 from the bottom. "*The cardinal of Cambray*"—was Peter d'Ailly, formerly bishop of Cambray, created presbyter-cardinal of St. Chryso-gon by John XXIII. in 1411; he died in 1425. (Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 451, line 4 from the bottom. "*Do you prove,*" &c.]—See Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 12.

Page 453, line 4. "*The cardinal of Florence*"—was Francesco Zabarella, a Paduan, archbishop of Florence, created presbyter-cardinal of St. Cosmo and St. Damian by John XXIII.; he died in 1417. (Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 453, line 23. "*Then said the cardinal again unto him.*"—This would imply the cardinal of Florence: the Latin (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13) says "Tum cardinalis;" and the margin adds "Cameracen."

Page 453, line 31. "*Hath craftily and deceitfully drawn,*" &c.]—"Eum-que insidiose articulos quosdam ex libris tuis, qui post proferentur, excerpisse." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13.)

Page 453, line 6 from the bottom. "*Did withstand,*" &c.]—"Restitisse condemnationi articulorum Wicleff, quæ primum in Romano concilio facta est." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13.)

Page 454, line 6. "*This article,*" said Huss, "*I have thus limited,*" &c.]—"Hunc articulum, inquit, limitavi, ita ut dicerem, eum indigne consecrare et baptizare, quia tunc, cum est in peccato mortali, sit indignus minister sacramentorum Dei," &c. (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13.)

Page 454, line 25. "*An archbishop of England.*"—As neither Canterbury nor York was there, this, most probably, was the bishop of Salisbury, who is mentioned perpetually in Von der Hardt's vol. iii. and iv., and always as "archiepiscopus Salisburiensis." Thus his arrival at the council is announced, vol. iii. January 31, and his death toward the end of the council, tom. iv. See the note in this Appendix on p. 515, line 6 from the bottom.

Page 456, line 11 from the bottom. "*Neither take part,*" &c.]—"Ut neque Gregorio Romano pontifici adhereret, neque Benedicto XII., Avincensi pontifici, qui etiam papæ titulum habebat, ut in Chronicis videre licet." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 14.)

Page 456, line 5 from the bottom. "*Saint Wenceslaus.*"—"*Divi Wenceslai,*" Latin; "the lord Wenceslaus," Foxe.

Page 457, line 2.]—In Darcher's list we have among the auditors of the Rota, "Nicholas Naso, decretorum doctor."

Page 457, line 20. "*Deprived of part,*" &c.]—"Ibi Germani indignè ferentes se parte suffragiorum, quæ tria habuerant, fraudatos esse." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 14.)

Page 457, line 28. "*Dean of the faculty of arts.*"—"*Deacon of the faculties,*" Foxe; "*Albertus Warentapius, qui tum erat decanus facultatis artium.*" (Hist. et Mon. i. fol. 14.)

Page 458, line 10. "*Rigensis.*"—This person is called by Von der Hardt "*Johannes à Wallenrod*" (vol. iii. p. 23), and by Darcher, in his list of prelates at the council, "*Johannes Waldrod.*"

Page 459, line 11. "*Unto whom John Huss,*" &c.]—"Ad quem Joannes Hus: Primum, inquit, Clementiæ tunc, rex serenissime, de literis publicæ fidei ago gratias immortales. Atque hic interpellatus cum non excusaret se de crimine pertinaciæ, admonitus à domino Joanne de Chlum." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 15.)

Page 461, note (1).]—Foxe erroneously says, "this bishop of Cambray." The cardinal of Cambray, Peter d'Ailly, resigned his bishopric when he became cardinal; and we find, accordingly, in Darcher's list of the prelates at the council (in Von der Hardt), "*Johannes Lidberkken, episcopus Cameracensis in Francia.*"

Page 466, line 39. "*The audience;*"—i. e. some of Huss's hearers at his public lectures and sermons. In explanation of this it is to be observed, that Cochlæus (Hist. Hussit. p. 116) states, that Vitalis Valentini, bishop of Toulon, in Provence, and Alan, bishop of Leon, in France, were sent to Prague by the Fathers of the Council, to collect evidence against John Huss on the spot, from those who had heard his lectures and sermons.

Page 472, middle. "*In the time of Agnes . . . lived*"—"without a head" is added from the Latin, and as needed for the argument. By "Agnes," is intended Pope Joan. See Huss's own treatise *De Ecclesia*, cap. 7; and L'Enfant's *Hist. de la Papesse Jeane*, tom. i. 288, Edit. 1758.

Page 477, lines 1, 11.]—Foxe, misled by the Latin (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 22), reads "Canonicals" for "Canticles."

Page 480, line 2.]—Huss, in his "De ecclesia" cap. 21, observes, that eight circumstances were held to be necessary to make an action virtuous, which were comprised in this verse:—

"Quis, quid, ubi, quantum, quot, cur, quomodo, quando;"

where for "cur" we should, probably, read "quare." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 246.)

Page 483, line 12. "*Whereas I was not even present.*"—It is remarkable that Foxe omits this clause, though the original is quite distinct; "Cum ego ne adfuerim quidem." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 24.) See the note on p. 410, note (1).

Page 483, line 24. "*In those three laymen.*"—"In illis tribus laicis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 25.) Foxe erroneously reads "two."

Page 483, line 38. "*The copy of a certain epistle.*"—This testimonial is given in Wilkins (vol. iii. p. 302), dated "Oxonii, in domo nostræ congregationis, quinto die mensis Octobris 1406:" ex MS. Cotton. Faust. c. 7. See the translation of it by Foxe, sup. pp. 57, 58, and a note upon it.

Page 483, note (2).]—In the passage in question Huss is expounding Daniel xi. 31—33, and applies it thus: "Illius textûs intelligentiam exponit facti experientia, quia docti per gratiam Dei simplices laici et sacerdotes docent plurimos vitæ bonæ exemplo, et contradicentes publice Antichristi mendaci verbo ruunt in gladio. Ut patet de laicis, Joanne, Martino et Stascone, qui contradicentes Antichristi discipulis mendacibus in gladio corruerunt." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 245.) See the note supra, on p. 410, line 28.

Page 486, line 12. "*The bishop of Lodi.*"—The same person as is mentioned at p. 419. Foxe here calls his title "Londe;" Cochlæus says, "episcopus Londoniensis;" L'Enfant, in his History of the council of Constance, calls him the bishop of "London." The bishop of London at this time was Richard Clifford, whom Godwin (de Præs.), on L'Enfant's authority, states to have been at Constance, and to have preached before the emperor and council. The above statement, however, does not seem correct; for in the recapitulation of the acts of the council (supra, p. 419), which is given by Labbe, vol. xii. col. 289, he is distinctly called "Jacobus Laudensis episcopus," i. e. of Lodi. The historical narrative near the end of "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss," &c. fol. 345, says that the surname of this bishop of Lodi was Monachus, or Monk. See the note on p. 523.

Page 489, line 23. "*Quòd sit quarta persona Divinitatis futurus.*"—(Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 27.) Milner takes this to mean, that Huss thought "he himself should become a fourth person in the Deity."

Page 491, line 4 from the bottom.]—The "seven bishops" were, the archbishop of Milan, and the bishops of Feltri, Asti, Alexandria, Bangor, and Lavour (Cochlæus, p. 111); and a Leipsic MS. adds, the two suffragans of the bishops of Constance and Bangor. (Hardt, tom. iii. p. 437.)

Page 495, line 14.]—Concerning John Przibram, see Cochlæus, lib. ii. pp. 74, 75; whence it appears as if this account of Huss were taken out of the treatise of Przibram "*De non remanentia panis, contra Wiclevistas.*"

Page 501, note (1).]—Von der Hardt interprets "supreme cardinal" to mean the bishop of Ostia, who presided (iii. p. 307).

Page 511, line 5 from the bottom. "*The tragical . . . history of . . . Master Jerome of Prague.*"—The ensuing narrative Foxe has derived from the same work as that which furnished the account of John Huss: "Johannis Huss et Hieronymi Pragensis, confessorum Christi, Historia et Monumenta: Noribergæ, 1558." Two accounts of Jerome are given in this work, the first at tom. ii. fol. 349, and another at folio 354. Foxe has chiefly made use of the first of

these accounts; some corrections of the text, and additional notices of events, have been derived from thence by the Editor.

Page 511, last line but one.]—This preamble from the edition of 1563 is a translation of the first Latin account, *Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 349.

Page 512, line 19. "*The memory of this most worthy man may, by favour of the author of truth,*" &c.]—"Acta ipsius Magistri Hieronymi decrevi . . . in unum redigere, pro ipsius venerandi magistri vivaci memoria, veritatis auctore et ejus confessorum præmiatore donante" (Latin). Foxe's text absurdly says, "That the memory of this most worthy man, being the author of truth, may hereafter be the more famously celebrate and remembered."

Page 512, line 31. "*On the fourth day of April.*"—Cochlæus (*Hist.* p. 71) says, on the authority of Ulrichus Reichental, a professed eye-witness, that Jerome came to Constance "*feria secunda post festum Paschæ,*" *i. e.* Monday, April 1st: but both accounts in "*Hist. et Mon.*" say, that it was on the feast of St. Ambrose, and the first adds "*feria quinta [i. e. Thursday], quarta die Aprilis.*"

Page 513, line 4. "*The intimation,*" &c.]—This is given in Von der Hardt, under Session 5, dated April 7th, A. D. 1415.

Page 513, line 16 from the bottom. "*Jerome returned again into Bohemia.*"—Von der Hardt (tom. iii. p. 103) states, that Jerome adopted the resolution of returning on Tuesday, April 9th; and (at p. 685) he gives a copy of the Testimonial of the Bohemian nobles, dated "*feria tertia post octavas Paschæ, A. D. 1415,*" *i. e.* Tuesday, April 9th.

Page 514, line 20 from the bottom. "*Sent Master Jerome bound unto the Council.*"—Foxe reads "brought;" but the Latin (folio 350) has "*destinavit*" and "*misit*" (folio 355). See also the context. Jerome reached Constance again May 23d. (Von der Hardt, iii. p. 481.)

Page 514, last line.]—Von der Hardt states, that what follows occurred in the 17th Session, Friday, July 19th. (iii. p. 481.)

Page 514, note (1).]—This "duke John, son of Clement" (as he is called in both the accounts in "*Hist. et Mon.*") is by Cochlæus (p. 71) called "*Præfectus Vici.*" Foxe a few lines later calls him brother to duke Louis, who is called by his authority "*alter filius Clementis.*" (*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 355.)

Page 515, line 28. "*The master of the university of Cologne.*"—The second account says merely "*Magister Coloniensis, nescio quis.*" (*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 355.)

Page 515, line 6 from the bottom. "*The archbishop of Saltzburg.*"—We should probably read "*Salisbury.*" for the first account (folio 350) says, "*archiepiscopus Salisburgensis;*" and the second (folio 355) says, "*archiepiscopus Angliæ;*" this confirms, and is confirmed by, the conjecture thrown out in the note on p. 454, line 25.

Page 516, line 3. "*Looking in at a window of the refectory.*"—"Circa fenestram refectorii foris dixit." ("*Hist. et Mon.*" tom. ii. fol. 350.) The "*refectorium fratrum minorum in Constantia*" had been previously mentioned as the place where the council assembled to see Jerome on his return to Constance, and where the foregoing proceedings had been going on: he is stated to have been hitherto lodging with the duke Louis "*filius Clementis.*" (Lat. fol. 355.) This Hussite came to the window of the refectory, while Jerome was waiting after the proceedings were over "*ut de vespere in captivitate ducatur.*"

Page 516, line 13 from the bottom. "*Then Master Peter asked,*" &c.]—"Et Petrus rogabat, quatenus eidem [*i. e.* Hieronymo] cibaria permittant dari, quia copiam illorum M. Hieronymo vellet procurare." (Latin, folio 351.)

Page 516, line 3 from the bottom. "*About the feast of Mary the Virgin.*"—That feast was Sept. 8th, and Jerome was brought forward both on the 8th and the 11th of September. (Von der Hardt.)

Page 517, line 1. "*They forced him to abjure.*"—According to Von der Hardt (iii. pp. 497, 499) Jerome recanted twice: first, Sept. 11th; secondly,

on Monday, Sept. 23d. He says that the abjuration presently given by Foxe was the second, and contains in its last paragraph but one a reference to the first abjuration.

Page 517, line 9. "*The forced abjuration,*" &c.]—This is printed in Labbe's *Concilia*, xii. col. 164.

Page 517, line 32. "*And I, the said Jerome,*" &c.]—Two or three changes in this paragraph are made on the authority of the Latin account.

Page 518, line 8 from the bottom. "*The cardinal de Ursinis.*"—Jourdain des Ursins, a Roman, archbishop of Naples, presbyter-cardinal of St. Martin of the Mountains, bishop of Albano and Sabine, grand penitentiary of the Roman church, and legate in Spain, France, Hungary, Bohemia, and to the Council of Basil; created cardinal by Innocent VII. in 1405, died 1439. (Moreri's *Dict. v. Cardinal.*)

Page 519, line 12. "*The patriarch of Constantinople and a German doctor.*"—"Johannes patriarcha Constantinop. et venerabilis vir, Nicholaus de Dinckelsphuel, doctor in sacrâ paginâ," had been previously appointed at a general session "commissarii in re fidei" to examine into Jerome's cause; and on Monday, April 27th, A.D. 1416, produced their articles against him, and were directed to communicate them to him in prison. (Von der Hardt, iii. p. 751.)

Page 519, line 15.]—The connexion between the patriarch of Constantinople and Huss may be seen *suprà*, pp. 438, 460.

Page 519, line 22. "*The twenty-third day of May.*"—Foxe says "twenty-fifth," following the Latin "die xxv. mensis Maii" (fol. 352): it is plain, however, from Nicolas's Tables that Saturday fell on the 23d May, in 1416: see also Von der Hardt, tom. iii. p. 748. See the note next following this.

Page 519, line 12 from the bottom. "*The Tuesday after.*"—Foxe says "the third day after," mis-translating "*feriam tertiam ante Ascensionem Domini, post dictum Sabbathum immediate sequentem.*" This incidentally proves that the Saturday preceding was the 23d of May (see the last note); for, by Nicolas's Tables, Ascension day in 1416 fell on May 28th.

Page 519, last line but one. "*As when one of them had demanded,*" &c.]—*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 356.

Page 520, line 17. "*Another then was,*" &c.]—From hence to "inhumanity towards him" (p. 522) is taken by Foxe from the letter of Poggius to Aretin. (*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 358.)

Page 520, line 18 from the bottom. "*Socrates, Boethius, Maro, Seneca, Plato; et multi alii.*"—(Von der Hardt, p. 758.)

Page 522, line 12 from the bottom. "*Their inhumanity towards him.*"—"Adversus se inhumanitatem" (*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 358), which Foxe's text uncouthly renders "their unkind humanity towards him."

Page 522, line 11 from the bottom. "*When he had spoken these,*" &c.]—(*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 352.)

Page 522, line 5 from the bottom. "*The Saturday next after the Ascension day.*"—"Sabbatho autem post Ascensionem Domini" (*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 352); Foxe says, "The Saturday next *before* the Ascension day," in which he is borne out by the other Latin account, "Tandem die Saturni *ante* ferias Ascensionis" (*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 356); but this is wrong: see Von der Hardt, tom. iii. p. 768. Ascension day fell on May 28th, and Jerome was martyred "3 Cal. Junias," *i. e.* May 30th (see the letter of Poggius to Aretin. *Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 359.)

Page 523, line 16. "*The bishop of Lodi.*"—The same person as preached at Huss's condemnation: he is rightly called "Laudensis episcopus" (*Hist. et Mon.* tom. ii. fol. 352), but incorrectly "Lugdunensis," at fol. 356: he is termed "Jacobus episcopus Laudensis" by Cochläus (p. 132), who gives the sermon itself. See the note, *suprà*, on p. 486.

Page 530, line 11 from the bottom. "*Twenty-nine years.*"—Foxe says, "twenty-five:" see note on p. 404.

Page 531, note.]—This history of Claydon is in Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. pp. 371—375. Thomas Fauconer is there mentioned as the mayor of London at the time.

Page 532, line 22. "*David Beard*," &c.]—are mentioned in Wilkins as three of Claydon's servants.

Page 532, line 27.]—"Quo die Lunæ, videlicet decimo nono die dicti mensis" (Wilkins). Foxe wrongly calls it "the twentieth."

Page 536, line 7.]—In Wilkins, iii. 377, is an account of a convocation which met April 1st, 1416, and was afterward adjourned to November 9th; and on November 23d, John Barton, who had been defamed of heresy, "juramento se purgavit."

Page 537, line 15 from the bottom.]—The submission of William James is given in Wilkins, iii. p. 397, and stated to have been made on Palm Sunday, "ultimo die Martii, 1420, indictione decima tertia, pontif. Martini tertio."

Page 537, line 8 from the bottom.]—The process against Jourdelay and Dertford is in Wilkins, iii. p. 493, "die Jovis, 15 Julii, 1428."

Page 538, line 6. "*At the same sitting . . . Master Robert*."]—See Wilkins, iii. p. 493, July 20th.

Page 538, line 16. "*Richard, bishop of Lincoln*."]—This was Richard Fleming, bishop from May 24th, A.D. 1420, to January 25th, A.D. 1430. (Richardson's *Godwin*.)

Page 538, line 18. "*William Hervey*."]—Foxe miscalls him "William Henry." His appearance on Wednesday, July 21st, 1420, and of "Johannes Calle" with him, is mentioned in Wilkins, iii. p. 494.

Page 538, line 30. "*One Radulph Mungin*."]—Wilkins introduces Radulphus Mungyn, tom. iii. p. 497, November 26th, 1428: he is again examined Die Jovis, December 2d; again next day, December 3d. In the course of this last day's examination it appears that he was a friend of Monk, Cornmonger, Hooper, Garenter, and one Shadworth. December 4th, the proceedings against him are reviewed, from whence it seems that he was first cited before a court which sat at St. Michael Bassishaw, July 27th, 1428, and next day at St. Paul's chapter-house, when he refused to own himself a heretic, and was committed to prison till he was produced again November 26th, four months after. On this December 4th he was once more offered to abjure, but refused, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. He is now introduced November 26th.

Page 538, line 36.]—The convocation at which the application was first made for these subsidies, met July 5th: the pope's nuncio was named Conzo de Zwola: the subject was renewed in November. (See Wilkins.) Meanwhile Mungin had spoken against them, and was summoned July 27th, as above stated.

Page 538, line 41. "*Peter Clerk*"]—is the same person who is before in this volume called "Peter Paine" (see p. 97). For his disputation at the council of Basil, see pp. 577, 679, of this volume.

Page 538, line 44.]—The process against William Russel is in Wilkins, iii. pp. 438—459; it began on Tuesday, May 15th, 1425, and closed March 21st, 1427.

Page 538, last line but one.]—This appearance of Mungin was on Dec. 2d.

Page 539, line 1.]—Mungin positively denied that he held this or the next article.

Page 539, line 10. "*Moreover*," &c.]—This was Mungin's appearance on December 3d. (Wilkins, iii. pp. 408—500.)

Page 539, line 17.]—This was the next day, Saturday, December 4th. (Wilkins, iii. pp. 500—502.)

Page 539, line 21. "*The next sitting . . . divers and sundry times afterwards*," &c.]—Foxe has quite mistaken the drift of the Register, which here introduces a review of all the previous examinations of Mungin from July 27th, and then adds *one more for this present day* (December 4th), which was his final appearance.

Page 539, line 29.]—The bishop of Rochester, in 1428, was John Langdon.

Page 539, line 9 from the bottom. "*I held no scripture catholic or holy, but only what is contained in the Bible.*"—The Rev. Dr. Maitland, in his volume on the "Dark Ages," observes, that the term "Scripturæ," and even "Sacra Scripturæ," was applied to all kinds of religious compositions, and whatever was read in churches. See another example of this use of the term in p. 672 (see the note in this Appendix): also in the life of Cardinal Wolsey (Wordsworth's *Ecl. Biogr.* vol. i. p. 619, Ed. 1839), "And at the last he fetched a great sigh, and saide this texte of scripture in this wise, 'O Constantia Martyrum laudabilis!' &c." which Dr. Wordsworth supposes to be part of some ecclesiastical hymn.

Page 540, line 31.]—These two recantations of Monk and Frith are given in Wilkins, vol. iii. pp. 502, 503.

Page 545. "*Articles decreed in the Council of Constance,*" &c.]—Foxe's translation of the ensuing Articles has been revised from the Latin in Cochläus (*Hist. Hussitarum*, lib. iv. p. 165).

Page 546, line 14. "*Christiannus de Prachatitz*" has been already mentioned in this History: he is mentioned in Cochläus, lib. viii. p. 306, with his full titles, as canon of All Saints' church in Prague castle, and rector of the parish of St. Michael's in Greater Prague, and of the university of Prague.

Page 547.]—The first half of this page, as far as "the pope's horse by the bridle," has been, in some particulars, improved from Walsingham's History (pp. 442, 443), which contains most of what Foxe cites from the monk of St. Alban's: thus, at line 5, "six" is put in for Foxe's "five:" for Walsingham says: "*Sex prelati vel alie honorabiles personæ ecclesiasticæ in sacris ordinibus constitutæ . . . sex personæ, sicut superius est expressum:*" then he mentions, as representatives of the English nation, four bishops and the abbot and the dean of York. Labbe, also (xii. col. 241), sess. 40, Sat. Oct. 30th, 1417, mentions *six* as the number.

Page 547, line 11 from the bottom. "*The pope beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians.*"—Cochläus (p. 175) gives the letter, dated Constance, "8 Cal. April. pontif. nostri anno primo" [March 25th, A. D. 1418].

Page 548, line 4.]—The ensuing history of the religious war in Bohemia, as far as p. 557, is drawn from Æneas Sylvius's *Historia Bohemica*, cap. 36, &c. Foxe's text has been collated with the original, and thoroughly revised. This will account for many deviations from his text, which is full of inaccuracies. L'Enfant's "*Histoire des Hussites et du Concile de Basle*" has been consulted. The modern names of places have been sought out with much labour, chiefly through Martinière's and Busching's Geographies.

Page 548, line 13. "*The town of Glattau.*"—Æneas Sylvius reads "*nobile monasterium fratrum prædicatorum apud Sclavoniam, extra mœnia oppidi situm.*" Freherus, in his edition of Sylvius's *Hist. Bohem.* (Germ. Script. tom i.) puts in his margin conjecturally, *Glacoviam, Opatoviam*; but Opataw was distinguished for a Benedictine monastery. Glattau, Klatowy, or Klattau, in the circle of Pilsen, had a famous Dominican monastery (see Busching and Martinière), and *Glattovia* might, in MS., easily be taken for *Sclavonia*. Cochläus (p. 172) quotes the words of Sylvius, without changing "*Sclavoniam.*" He afterwards (p. 197) mentions "*Slatovia*" as one of the towns of the Taborites, and probably means the same place, when he speaks, at p. 306, of "Augustinus de Slatonia:" where "G" in the MS. might easily have been mistaken by the printer for "S." Cochläus adds the following reason why the Dominicans were the first objects of assault: "*Fratres ordinis prædicatorum, qui per solidam Sti. Thomæ Aquinatis theologiam hæreticis acerrimè resistere solent, præ ceteris inveni erant Hussitis: cumque apud Sclavoniam (uti refert Æn. Sylvius) nobile haberent monasterium, extra mœnia oppidi situm, primum illi fecerunt in illud impetum.*"

Page 548, line 16. "*Under the conduct of Nicholas de Hussinetz.*"—"Ductore Nicolao," Æn. Sylvius, cap. 36; who adds, that he was lord of the village which gave John Huss his birth and cognomen. He has been mentioned already as Huss's patron, p. 411.

Page 548, last line.]—Trosnovia or Trocksnow was near Borovania in the circle of Brechin. (L'Enfant, p. 100.)

Page 549, line 13.]—Coranda was a priest, who had joined the Hussites, and is mentioned before by Sylvius, cap. 36, as having been useful to Wenceslaus by his disposition to restrain the Hussites from rebellion and violence.

Page 549, line 21. "*Zenko de Wartenberg.*"—Æneas Sylvius calls him "Cenko Wartenbergensis;" Dubravius "Vartembergus;" L'Enfant (p. 134), "Wartenberg;" Cochläus (p. 84) uses both forms; the modern maps read "Wartenberg;" it is in the circle of Bunzlau in Bohemia.

Page 550, line 17.]—Cochläus says (p. 180), that Zencho betrayed the citadel of Prague soon after Easter [which was April 7th, in 1420], about the feast of St. George [April 23d].

Page 550, line 21.]—"Qui antiquam Prutenorum civitatem ordini jure pignoris obligasset, Brandenburgenses autem a coronâ Bohemicâ alienasset." (Æn. Sylv.) See L'Art de Vér. des Dates, Hist. des Margraves de Brandenburg, articles Wenceslaus, Sigismund, Josse, Sigismund de Nouveau. "Pruteni" means the "New Mark," or the eastern part of Brandenburg, about the Oder.

Page 550, line 5 from the bottom.]—Æneas Sylvius (cap. 40) thus explains the appellation of Taborites: "Tanquam cum tribus Apostolis Salvatoris Christi transfigurationem in Monte vidissent, indeque suas opiniones mutuati essent, quas 'fidei veritates' appellant." [As if equal to the three Apostles on the Mount of Transfiguration.] But "Tabor," in Bohemian, means a *tent*.

Page 551, line 15.]—Voticz is between Tabor and Prague. (L'Enfant, p. 134.)

Page 551, line 28.]—"Nilco Crussina Litubergensis, et Nilco Valdesteinensis." (Æn. Sylv.) In Cochläus, p. 201, we find in a list of Bohemian nobles Hyneck Crussina de Lichtenberg, and Nicolaus de Valstein.

Page 551, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Reguli Rosenses et Chrageri" (Æn. Sylv.): *i. e.* Rosenberg and Gratzky. (L'Enfant, p. 142.)

Page 551, line 4 from the bottom.]—Wiclechon means the White Mountain. (Busching.)

Page 555, line 6.]—Cochläus, p. 214, says: "Comites Kirchburgenses et Gleicenses."

Page 556, line 29. "*Brisau.*"—Foxye, from Æneas Sylvius, reads "Pris-covia;" but L'Enfant (p. 231) has "Przibislaw." Brisau is on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia.

Page 561, Article I.]—This is divided into two by Foxye, improperly (see Labbe and Cherubini); and Articles V. VI. he makes one: he does the same by Articles XV. XVI. and by Articles XVII. XVIII., and by Articles XXVII. XXVIII.; and Article XXX. he wholly omits. The effect of all which is to reduce the number of Articles to XXVI.; whereas the text at p. 564, line 7, alludes to them as "the *thirty* Articles of John Huss above-written." The Articles of Huss were condemned by the council of Constance in the 15th Session, Saturday, July 6th, A. D. 1415. (Labbe, xii. col. 129.)

Page 561, note (1).]—In the original bull, the articles of Wickliff are inserted at full length: they are omitted here, as having been given before; but Foxye gives no notice whatever of them here, which makes the allusion at p. 564, line 7, unintelligible; the line, "The Articles of John Wickliff to be enquired upon," is therefore put in. The Articles of Wickliff were condemned by the council of Constance in the 8th Session, Saturday, May 4th, A. D. 1415. (Labbe, xii. col. 45.)

Page 564, note (1). "*Above-written.*"—The articles of Wickliff are "above-written" in the Latin bull, as well as those of Huss: see the notes, *suprà*, on p. 561. The word "above-written" is not in Foxye, but is put in from the Latin.

Page 567, note (1).]—The last long sentence of the bull is re-translated from the original. The Constitutions of Boniface VIII. and "*De duabus dietis*" are also referred to in pope Innocent's bull *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 524 (see the

note there). The decree "De duabus diætiis" runs thus: "Nonnulli, gratia sedis apostolicæ abutentes, literas ejus ad remotos judices impetrare nituntur, ut reus fatigatus laboribus et expensis liti cedere vel importunitatem actoris redimere compellatur. Cum autem per judicium injuriis aditus patere non debeat, quas juris observantia interdicit; statuimus ne quis ultra duas diætas extra suam dioccesim trahi possit, nisi de assensu partium literæ fuerint impetratæ, vel expressam de hâc constitutione fecerint mentionem."

Page 567, note (2).]—This bull of pope Martin is given in Labbe, tom. xii., and in Cherubini's Bullarium; also by Von der Hardt (tom. iv. p. 1518), who remarks, that it is to be found in many Roman Catholic MSS. with different prefaces, suited to the nations addressed. He gives the preface to that for England, addressed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London, Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Salisbury, Worcester, Hereford, Coventry, Lichfield, Norwich, Ely, St. David's, Asaph, Llandaff, Bangor, Durham, Carlisle, and Candida Casa, *i. e.* Galloway or Whithern. He says that it was first printed at the end of the first edition of the Acts of the Council, published at Haguenau in 1500.

Page 572, last line but one.]—Foxe here resumes his quotation of Æneas Sylvius's *Historia Bohemica*, and the same process of collation and correction has been pursued as before.

Page 573, line 15. "*They had amongst them many cars,*" &c.]—Æneas Sylvius here says that the Taborites—Carros quamplurimos habere, his pro vallo uti. Procedentes ad pugnam, dua ex his cornua facere, in medio peditatum claudere: alie equitum extra munitiones prope adesse. Ubi congregi tempus visum, aurigæ qui cornua duxerunt, ad imperatoris signum, comprehensâ sensim qua voluerunt hostium parte, ordines quadrigarum contrahere: intercepti hostes, quibus sui subvenire non possent, partim gladio à peditatu, partim à missilibus ab his qui erant in carris, viris ac mulieribus necari."

Page 574, line 20. "*The Hanseatic towns.*"—"*Stagnales civitates.*" (Æn. Sylvius.) "*The lower cities,*" Foxe.

Page 574, line 27. "*Meiss*" (in Bohemia).]—"Missam," Æn. Sylvius; who calls the *region* (some lines lower) "*Misnam,*" showing that two different places are meant: Foxe, however, calls both "*Misnia.*"

Page 575, line 10. "*Tæpl.*"—One edition of Æn. Sylvius here reads "*Thopam,*" another "*Teplam;*" Tæpl, being more in the line of march than Teplitz, has been put into the text.

Page 575, line 24. "*Earl of Vaudemont.*"—"*Comes Fidemontensis*" (Æn. Syl.), which Foxe renders "earl of Vandome." This dispute lay between René, brother-in-law to Charles the French king, and Anthony, earl of Vaudemont, about the succession to the vacant dukedom of Lorraine.

Page 576, line 9. "*Metus pudorem evicerat.*"—(Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 576, line 21. "*Przibislau.*"—Æn. Sylvius reads "*Præzorovia,*" Foxe "*Prezorabia:*" the text is according to L'Enfant.

Page 576, line 23.]—"Quingentas," Æn. Sylvius: "fifty towns," Foxe.

Page 576, line 30.]—Æn. Sylvius says, "Exactus legatus ex Bohemia Basileam se contulit, ibique concilium celebravit Sigismundus;" which Foxe's text absurdly renders, "Then was there an ambassage out of Bohemia unto Basil, where Sigismund held the council."

Page 577, line 12.]—A fuller account of this matter is given at pp. 678—680, where Nicolas Gallicus is called simply "a Taborite."

Page 577, line 13. "*Procopius, cognomen Rasmus.*"—He received this surname from his having formerly been a priest, and having taken the tonsure.

Page 577, last line but one. "*That she is the enclosed garden, and the sealed fountain.*"—Alluding to Canticles iv. 12: "A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed."

Page 579, line 10. "*Bois de Vincennes.*"—See the note on p. 405.

Page 581, line 10.]—The accession of Henry VI. was Sept. 1st, 1422; his coronation was at London, Nov. 6th, 1429, at Paris, Dec. 17th, 1430. (Rapin.)

Page 581, line 32.]—The account of William Tailor is printed from the Register in Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. pp. 401—413; Foxe's narrative has been carefully collated with the Latin, and cleared of some inaccuracies.

Page 581, line 10 from the bottom. "*And thus the said William Tailor,*" &c.]—From hence to the end of this paragraph would come, according to Foxe's arrangement, in the centre of the short paragraph in next page, beginning, "Notwithstanding, on his showing signs of penitence," &c. But Wilkins (p. 401) places it all to the examination of Tailor, "A.D. M.CCCCXIX [*i. e.* 1420], Martini V. pontificatûs anno tertio." Feb. 12th, also, fell on a Monday in 1420, by Nicolas's Tables. The Register calls this Wednesday "14 dicti mensis Februarii," which fits the year 1420, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 581, line 6 from the bottom. "*Armilausa (that is, his cloak).*"—Foxe reads "arunlousa;" Wilkins (p. 405) "armilausa (Anglicè dictum, 'a cloak')." See Adelung's *Glossarium Manuale*, vol. i. p. 378 (Halæ, 1772), and Carpentier's *Supplement to Ducange*, in voc.

Page 582, line 4.]—The ensuing examination of Tailor is distinctly dated by the Register (Wilkins, p. 406) "A.D. M.CCCCXXI., Martini V. pontificatûs anno quarto."

Page 582, line 13 from the bottom. "*In the meantime,*" &c.]—Foxe adds, "while William Tailor was thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester;" but the Register says, "sub custodia carcerali iterum arrestatus," which implies that he had been at large.

Page 582, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe says "this was A.D. 1422;" the Register, "die Jovis, 11 Februarii, A.D. 1422 indictione 1., pontificatûs anno sexto;" which proves the year to have been 1423, according to modern computation. The subsequent notes of time only suit 1423.

Page 583, line 14.]—Foxe has incorrectly attributed this remark upon St. Stephen to Tailor, though Tailor, in the Register, gives it to Augustin, "tertia parte Sermorum," or in Natali S. Stephani VI. (tom. v. edit. Benedict.); where it occurs among the "Sermones Supposititii," *Append. Sermo. 215*, col. 358.

Page 583, Article IV.]—This Article is not distinctly stated by Foxe, who merely says "it was much like to the other."

Page 583, line 4 from the bottom.]—Foxe says, "when the Saturday was come, which was the twentieth day of February;" which is corrected from Wilkins.

Page 584, line 17.]—The description of Tailor's degradation is made closer to the Register, as printed in Wilkins; see other examples of degradation *infra* vol. v. p. 191, vol. vi. p. 652, and vol. viii. p. 77.

Page 584, note (2).]—*John Wakering* was bishop of Norwich from May 31st, 1116, to his death, April 9th, 1125 (*Richardson's Godwin*), and is alluded to at the bottom of next page, 585: *William Alnwick* succeeded him, and was translated to Lincoln, September 19th, 1136. (*Ibid.*) From p. 587 it appears that Foxe culled from the years 1428 to 1431 of Alnwick's episcopate. But it is clear that we should here read "John" instead of "William."

Page 586, bottom.] This letter is given in Latin in Edition 1563, p. 349.

Page 591, line 11 from the bottom.]—Blomfield (*Hist. of Norwich*, p. 101) refers to Atlas, p. 421, as giving this account; he says that "Ludham" is the true reading.

Page 592, line 16.] Part of this letter is given in Latin in Edition 1563, p. 353. At line 26, after "catholic faith" restore "as either of them hath so holden and affirmed:" the Latin is, "prout ipsorum uterque sic tenuit et allirmavit."

Page 593, line 23.]—Blomfield (p. 102) calls these places "Tombland," "St. Michael's at Plea Church," and "Cutler-row."

Page 601. "*The story of Thomas of Rennes,*" &c.]—Foxe has taken the ensuing account from Crispin's "Actiones."

Page 601, note (1).]—The allusion in the text is to the phrase in Phædrus's Fable "pro thesauro carbonem," which Foxe refers to in the margin of p. 205

of this volume; where the Latin edition (p. 78) says, "Papa thesaurarius ecclesiæ. Pro thesauro carbones."

Page 604, note (1).]—The following are the Latin verses referred to in the note:—

"Carmina quædam in ejus laudem reperta apud Nicolaum Harlamensem.

"Claustra Thomas Gallus primus qui lapsa reformat

Carmeli gregis, heu cadit immeritò.

Compulit hunc fervor Domini conspargere semen;

Exilium vitiis vita modesta dabat.

Dogmata præconis miracula concomitantur,

Illum quæ doceant pectus habere pium.

Quantum sic populum Zabuli de dentibus egit

Et vita et verbo, credere nemo potest.

Lippis lux oculis nocuit, non sustinere

Vivere tam sanctam fœda Romana cohors.

Sistitur hæreseos, fictus quòd sitque sacerdos,

Eugenio papæ, et frivola quæque patent.

Instituit sacris antistes hunc Rhedonensis:

Testis apud Gallos publica fama volat.

Sordida Roma Thomam, papa sordente, petebat

Flamma sorbendum, namque tyrannus alit.

Urget ad hoc primus Gulielmus Rothomagensis

Cardinei cœtus. Sic perit innocuus.

Perstitit igne Thomas constanti pectore firmus,

Quòd Christi exemplo vivere clerus habet.

Eugenius memorans tandem quòd insidiosa

Morte viri fuerit credulus ipse malis;

Ingemuit crebrò vir quòd tam sanctus obisset;

Hoc quoque præ cunctis conqueritur abiens.

Non nocuit flamma ista Thomæ sed martyrium dat,

Immortalis ei parta corona manet.

Post tormenta pius, sibi dant quæ carcer et ignis,

Martyr ad æthereas convolat iste domos."

Page 605. "*The order and manner of the council of Basil.*"—The ensuing account is taken from Æneas Sylvius's (afterward pope Pius II.) "*Commentariorum de actis et gestis in concilio Basileæ celebrato libri duo;*" printed at the beginning of Orthuinus Gratius's "*Fasciculus,*" and in Æn. Sylvii Opera, Basil. 1571. Foxe states, at p. 658, note (1), that his account is faithfully translated from the Latin by "F. W." who is also mentioned again at p. 699, as one of Foxe's helpers in this line. Who is meant by "F. W." it is now hopeless to inquire; but we may suppose him to have been the same person, who "translated faithfully" the account of the emperor Frederic II. by Nicholas Cisner, *suprà*, vol. ii. pp. 455—509; for the present performance is as inaccurate as that, and has therefore been subjected to the same process of collation with the Latin, and correction. Much pains have been bestowed on the names and titles of persons and places; see, for example, pp. 665, 666.

One might easily imagine Foxe to have been instigated to insert this and several other translations of Latin works in his "*Acts and Monuments*" by the perusal of the following passage in one of Ridley's Letters (Parker Soc. Ed. pp. 373, 374, Tract Soc. p. 200):—"And when he [Grimbold] hath done that, let him translate a work of Æneas Sylvius, of the Acts of the Council of Basil. In the which, although there are many things that savour of the pan, and also he himself was afterwards a bishop of Rome; yet I dare say the papists would glory but little to see such books go forth in English." He then recommends Orthuinus Gratius's "*Fasciculus;*" and says, "I have also many things, but as yet confusedly set together, of the abominable usurpation, pride, arrogance, and wickedness, of the see and bishop of Rome, and altogether in Latin. . . . If such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, I suppose surely great good might have come to Christ's church thereby."

Page 605, line 25. "*This council continued almost the space of twelve years.*"—The council was opened July 23d, A. D. 1431, and the first session

was held Dec. 14th, A.D. 1431; the 45th and last was held May 16th, A.D. 1443. Foxe, however, both here and at p. 673, states, that the council endured the space of "seventeen" years: in both places "twelve" has been substituted. There is an epitome of the different sessions of this council, with their respective dates, by Binius, printed in Labbe's *Concilia*, xii. col. 1421.

Page 605, line 40. "*Would transfer the council.*"]—This was at the 25th session, held March 7th, A.D. 1437.

Page 606, note (1). "*The Bishop of Argos.*"]—The individual meant is John de Ragusa, mentioned at p. 679 of this volume. He was a Dalmatian, and an acute and learned man: he was particularly well read in the Greek writers. He became general of the order of Preaching Friars. He presided with John Polemar at the opening of the council of Basil, in the absence of cardinal Julian. He was sent thrice as ambassador by the council to Constantinople. Authors differ as to whether it was Eugene IV. or Martin V. who made him titular bishop of Argos in Peloponnesus; in Moreri, v. Cardinal, he is put down as promoted by the latter in 1444; but this very history seems to imply that he was promoted much earlier.

Page 607, line 25.]—The "Scotch abbot" is again referred to at p. 611, and was probably Thomas, abbot of Dundrain, mentioned at p. 662.

Page 607, last line but one. "*Proctor of the faith.*"]—Labbe (xii. col. 794) gives the mode of proceeding in the council of Basil, as settled on Friday, Sept. 26th, 1430; whence it appears that there were four distinct deputations or committees, denominated "Fidei," "Pacis," "Reformationis," "Communium." These deputations, or committees, are repeatedly referred to in the ensuing narrative.

Page 607, note (1).]—Sponde (Contin. of Baronius) thus explains "*Grisea Secta:*" "Allusione ut putamus ad Ligas (ut vocant) seu factiones Griseas Rhætorum: vel quòd is color leucophæus sit nec ater nec albus, sed medium quid," *i. e.* "the Grised sect."

Page 607, note (2).]—Who and what title are meant by "*Episcopus Ebrunensis,*" the Editor has in vain attempted to discover. Ferreras, in his History of Spain, gives the following as the ambassadors of the king of Castile to the council, as sent at first: Don Alva Isorna, bishop of Cuença; Juan de Silva, Seigneur de Cifuentes; Don Alfonse de Cartagéne, dean of Santiago; le docteur Louis Alvarez de Paz, privy counsellor; Loup de Galdo, or Delgado, provincial of the Order of St. Dominique; and Juan d'el Corral, another Dominican. Of these, Don Alfonse became bishop of Burgos, anno 1435, on the death of his father Paul de Carthagena, who was a converted Jew, and died bishop of Burgos. (See Cave's Hist. Litt., and Du Pin's Eccl. Hist.) Johannes Corral is mentioned in Rymer's *Fœdera*, as ambassador to England from the king of Castile, under date of March 8th, March 12th, June 3d, November 8th, A.D. 1430, as "*Frater Johannes de Corral,*" "*honestus et religiosus frater Johannes de Corral, sanctæ theologiæ professor:*" he is not improbably the same with "*Johannes de Rupeffore,*" mentioned in Labbe as one of the Castilian ambassadors at the council of Constance.

It seems most probable that "le docteur Louis Alvarez de Paz" was the person meant by "*Ebrunensis,*" for a divine is certainly intended. It appears from the *Theatrum Ecclesiasticum* of Alphonse Garcia that he was dean of Salamanca, the University of which was represented at the council by John de Segovia, a divine on the same side of the question in this dispute. "*Ebrunensis*" may mean titular bishop of Hebron. This same individual is mentioned again at p. 630, line 8 from the bottom. Sponde, in his Cont. of Baronius, calls him "*Ebrenensis.*" An "*Episcopus Ebronensis*" is mentioned at p. 660; but that seems to be a mistake for "*Ebroicensis,*" *i. e.* Evreux. See the note in this Appendix on that place.

Page 613, note (1). "*He meaneth Sylvester II.*"]—The opportunity may be taken of the allusion to this occupant of the see of Rome, to state, that many modern writers have supposed that the charges of magic, intercourse with Satan, &c. though entertained by adherents also of the church of Rome, have arisen merely from that pontiff's superior acquaintance with some of the arts

and sciences, now more generally understood. Anyhow, we are willing to quote, in favour of that view, the following passage from the annotator of Gerhard's *Loci Theologici* (vol. xi.):—

“Non tantum B. *Platina*, sed et *Benno*, ecclesiæ Romanæ cardinalis, *Sigebertus* Monachus Gemblacensis, *Martinus* gente Polonus, itemque *Leo Urbevitanus*, P. M. *Sylvestrum II.* Gerbertum antea dictum, atque exeunte seculo decimo clarum, magiæ criminis commerciique cum dæmonibus adcusare haud dubitarunt. Verum pudenda hæc fabula, qua viri hujus sua ætate doctissimi memoriam invidia atque ignorantia conspurcarunt, digna omnino, quæ ex historiæ sacræ annalibus prorsus eliminetur. Nec improbabilis nobis videtur ea virorum quorundam doctissimorum conjectura, qui aiunt, ipsam eruditionem, quâ olim eminuit *Sylvester*, fabulæ huic occasionem subministrare. Erat enim is vir magno excelsoque ingenio præditus, in astronomia, astrologia, reliquisque artibus mathematicis, mechanica imprimis, pro ratione istius ævi, quo florebat, egregiè versatus. Quum itaque artibus hisce instructus ea subinde præstaret, quæ alios in stuporem raperent, quin et, ut non sine veri specie conjicere licet, ea, quæ præstitit, subinde ambitiosius jaçtaret, fieri facile potuit, ut alii harum rerum imperiti eundem magiæ insimularent, et commercii alicujus cum maligno spiritu suspectum redderent. Certe idem præstantissimis olim philosophis accidisse, variis exemplis uberius demonstravit *G. Naudæus* in *Apologie des grands hommes faussement soupçonnés de Magie*, cap. xix. Conf. *Hist. Littéraire de France*, tom. vi. p. 156; *Jo. D. Koelerus* in *Diss. Altdorfi 1720 edita*, sub tit. *Eximius in medio ævo philosophus, Gerbertus postea R. P. Sylvester II. injuriis tam veterum, quam recentiorum Scriptorum liberatus*; *J. Brackerus* in *Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 649; *Weismannus* in *Hist. Sacra Nori Testamenti*, tom. i. p. 876, edit. nov.: ne alios jam nominemus.” *Jo. Gerhardi Loci Theologici*, tom. xi. p. 309, edit. Tubing. 1772.

Page 614, note (1). “Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers, who affirm that the Virgin Mary,” &c.]—This was the opinion of *Durandus* (*Ration.* lib. iv. cap. 1, § 32), *Thomas Aquinas* (*Opusc. quarto*), *Bonaventure*, *Jacobus de Viragine*, and several others, whose words are given in *Faquet's* notes to his edition of *Ver Meulen's* “*Historia SS. Imaginum et Picturarum*,” (*Lovan. 1771*) pp. 463, 464. *Turrecremata*, he states, went so far as to affirm, “*Esse contra fidem universalis ecclesiæ, asserere, non in solâ B. Virgine mansisse fidem in die Passionis Domini.*”

Page 615, line 3.]—“*Macrobius*,” lib. iii. cap. 3. Line 22. *St. Hilary*, de *Trin.* lib. vii. cap. 4. Line 36. This is a sentiment of *St. Cyprian* de *Unitate*, cap. 2, not of *St. Augustin*. *Calixtus's* opinion, cited further on, is from *Isidore's* Collection of *Decretal Epistles*, and is cited by *Gratian*, *Dist. xii. 1.*

Page 622, note (3).]—*Foxe* reads, “As the ecclesiastical history affirmeth.” The original, however, has “*Historia Scholastica*,” a work written by *Petrus Comestor*. (See *Cave's Hist. Litt.*)

Page 626, line 6 from the bottom. “*The deputations.*”]—See the note on p. 607, last line but one.

Page 627, line 23.]—*Dominique Ram*, archbishop of *Tarragona*, was created cardinal of *St. Sixt* by *Martin V.* in 1426, and died in 1445. (*Moreri*, v. *Cardinal*.)

Page 629, line 15. “*And when he was arguing,*” &c.]—*Æneas Sylvius's* words are: “*Nec ut cæteri jurisconsulti principia legum in disputando allegabat, sed quasi codicem legeret sic textum memoriter referebat.*” *Foxe* says, “*And in disputation he did not repeat the principles of the law, as other lawyers do, but rehearsed the text without the book, as if he had read it upon the book.*” The true meaning of “*Principia legum*” is well illustrated by the speeches of the archbishop of *Sens* and the bishop of *Autun*, vol. ii. pp. 620—639, and many other parts of the foregoing *History*.

Page 629, line 7 from the bottom.]—“*Faceret de necessitate virtutem.*” (*Æn. Sylv.*)

Page 630, line 17. “*Abbot elect of Mount Aragon.*”]—“*Ac Segobricensis, electus abbas Montis Arragonum.*” (*Æn. Sylv.*) *Hoffman*, at the end of his

Lexicon, has "Aragon, oppidulum Aragonie, Latinè Mons Aragonum." "F. W." translates, "the elect abbot of Mount Segobria."

Page 633, line 12 from the bottom.]—"F. W." here reads, "the sixth council holden at Toulouse." But the original calls it, distinctly, "concilium Toletanum." The same misnomer is found next page, line 12, and p. 641: in these cases, therefore, "Toledo" is substituted for "Toulouse." In the present instance, the decree referred to will be found in Labbe's *Conc. tom. v. col. 1701. capit. iv.* This council is called in *Æn. Sylv.* the fifth council of Toledo; in Labbe it is printed as the fourth. It was held A.D. 633.

Page 634, note (1).]—Whatever be the exact etymology of the phrase "Benet and Collet," it frequently occurs in Foxe, as signifying the inferior orders of the Romish church. See the use of it in Tailor's degradation *suprà*, p. 584, Hooper's *infra*, vol. vi. p. 652, and Cramer's *infra*, vol. viii. p. 78 (margin), and by John Lambert *infra*, vol. v. p. 191.

Page 636, line 21. "*The Gauls*,"]—"Galli Senones," (*Æn. Sylv.*), which "F. W." amusingly translates "the Frenchmen."

Page 638, line 11.]—Theodore of Cyrene was a philosopher, disciple to Aristippus, and lived about B.C. 300. Lysimachus was one of Alexander's successors.

Page 638, last line. "*There was at first a dead silence*," &c.]—The original here says: "Omnes in eum affixis vultibus admirationem stupore prodebant: deinde laudare hic memoriam ille doctrinam, hunc esse unum qui dignissimè præsideret, qui et confutare objecta nosset et (ut præidentem decet) impenetrabilem se convitiis exhiberet." The first edition of Foxe, 1563, p. 308, renders this, "All men beholding him did greatly marvel and were amazed: some praised his memory, some his doctrine, other some saying that he alone did most worthily rule and govern, which knew how to confute objections, and as it becomed a president bare himself without all blame or reproach," &c. The subsequent editions (as the stars indicate) omit this whole passage, and at once proceed to mention the uproar produced by the opposition of the Catalonians, as if it were the *immediate* effect of the speech of Arelatensis. This is not the only instance in which the text of the first edition is more faithful to the original than the subsequent. All the editions strangely read "Castilians" instead of "Catalonians:" the error is repeated in p. 645 *bis*, p. 651, p. 655; in all which places the Latin says plainly "Cathelani:" in one instance (see p. 665), the Latin says "Castellani," where, probably, we should read "Cathelani."

Page 639, line 13 from the bottom.]—Dierstein, or Tyernstein, a market-town belonging to the count of Stahrenberg, situate on the Danube, in the circle of Austria, above Manhartz-berge. Near this our Richard I. was imprisoned. (Busching's Geography.)

Page 641, line 12.]—Nicholas Amici and Henry Anester were the "promoters." See Labbe, xii. col. 476.

Page 641, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Ubi nunc Toletani decretum concilii?" (*Æn. Sylv.*) The decree here referred to was passed at the eleventh council of Toledo, A.D. 675, and is in the Decretum of Gratian, Pars II. Causa v. Question 4, cap. 3: "In loco benedictionis." Among other preliminaries to the council of Basil, this decree was read at the first session, see Labbe, xii. col. 471; as it had been also at the opening of the council of Constance, see Labbe, xii. col. 11. "F. W." here repeats the misnomer of "Toulouse," instead of "Toledo." (See note on p. 633.)

Page 642, line 16.]—Vezelai was in the diocese of Autun, and Alexander will be found in the Catalogue of Abbots of this period, in *Gallia Christiana*.

Page 644, line 18. "*Andrew Escobar, commonly called 'the Spaniard'*."]—Æneas Sylvius simply says, "Andreas Hispanus:" but Nicolaus Antonius Hispanensis in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, mentions him as Andreas de Escobar, commonly called "Hispanus," of the Benedictine order, and bishop of Megara. He wrote several works; among others, "*Gubernaculum Conciliorum*," dedicated to Cardinal Julian A.D. 1431, and "*De Græcis Errantibus*," printed at Bologna, December 15, 1437.

Page 644, line 31. "*When he saw he had free liberty to speak,*" &c.]—In Æneas Sylvius we read: "Atque liberum dicendi campum sibi patere vidit, sine fabula sine ulla historia fuit, literarum sibi missarum seriem reseravit," where "sine" is a corruption for "sive." "F. W.," however, follows his author to a fault; for he translates, "without either fable or history of any letters sent." For similar instances, see Appendix on vol. ii. p. 504.

Page 645, line 12. "*Neither ignorantly, neither willingly.*"—"*Ut qui nec ignorans nec volens veritatem oppugnasset*" (Æn. Sylv.): "F. W." says "willingly," which the edition of 1570 corrupts into "unwillingly."

Page 645, line 17.]—"Ad duas diætas se sequestraverat" (Æn. Sylvius) "F. W." says, "sequestered himself to two diets."

Page 645, line 25. "*The twenty-fifth day of April.*"—"*Quæ fuit Aprilis quinta et vigesima.*" (Æn. Sylv.) "F. W." says correctly "the xxvth," but the edition of 1583 corrupts it into "15th." April 25th fell on a Saturday, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 646, line 3.]—"Magis limandum censuit:" "to be more amplified," "F. W."

Page 647, line 15. "*Copistarum pædagogorumque gregem.*"—"F. W." says, "sophisters and schoolmasters."

Page 650, line 12 from the bottom. "*As touching that Panormitane had extolled the authority of the council.*"—"Le cardinal Bellarmin, dans son livre des écrivains ecclésiastiques, dit que ce traité de Panorme a été retranché du recueil des ouvrages de cet auteur, comme un ouvrage erroné, et fait pour la défense d'une mauvaise cause, et qu'il ne l'a jamais pu trouver dans les différentes éditions de cet archevêque de Palerme. Néanmoins il se trouve dans le dernier tome de celle de Lyon de 1547; on l'a aussi imprimé séparément à Lyon d'une fort ancienne édition. Ce Panorme s'appelle Nicolas Tudesqué, et étoit Sicilien. Après avoir été abbé d'une abbaye de l'ordre de St. Benoît dans Palerme, il fut archevêque de cette ville: Amedée de Savoie ayant été élu Pape après la déposition d'Engène, le nomma cardinal en 1440. Mais il fut obligé par les ordres du roi d'Arragon son maître de retourner dans son archevêché, où il mourut de la peste l'an 1445." Fleury, liv. 109, § 72: see also L'Enfant's *Concile de Basle*, vol. ii. p. 117.

Page 651, line 2.]—"That Arelatensis with a few," &c.]—"Solum Arelatensem cum paucis et titularibus episcopis rem concludere" (Æn. Sylv.); alluding by "the titulars" to such as "Ebrunensis," and "Argensis," (pp. 607, 608): "F. W." translates, "that Arelatensis with a few other bishops by name should conclude the matter."

Page 651, line 6 from the bottom.]—For "Castilians" we ought, probably, to read here "Catalonians;" but the original says "Castellani."

Page 652, line 12. "*At the request of the promoters.*"—"F. W." says, "of the deputies:" but Æn. Sylv. says, "promotoribus:" these are represented as performing this same function at pp. 646, 650.

Page 655, note (1).]—The original text of Foxe is very defective in this sentence; it runs thus: "Arelatensis, considering beforehand what would come to pass, caused prayers to be made, and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with tears and lamentations, that he would send them his Holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous." The original Latin, however, runs thus: "Cogitarat Arelatensis quod erat futurum, plurimasque sanctorum reliquias totâ urbe perquiri jussit, ac per sacerdotum manus in sessione portatas absentium episcoporum locum tenere, quæ res maximè devotionem adauxit in tantum, ut vocato postmodum de more Spiritu Sancto, nemo læcrymas continuerit. Erat namque per totam ecclesiam tenerrimus ac suavis fletus bonorum virorum, qui lacrymantes divinum auxilium implorabant, quique, matri ecclesiæ ut opem ferret, magnum Deum deprecabantur. Inter alios quoque magnificus ille baro Imperialis Protector uberrimas ecclesiæ lacrymas præstabat, et inter flendum haud modicam tali actu consolationem recipiebat. Erat autem concio ipsa frequentissima." On this the amended text is founded.

Page 656, line 2. "*The twins.*"—"Gemini." (Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 656, line 10 from the bottom. "*Also there are two kinds of unrighteousness,*" &c.]—"Duo quoque injustitiæ fore genera, quibus aut fienda non fierent, aut fierent non fienda" (*Æn. Sylv.*): this is thus rendered: "There are also ii kinds of injustice: whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should not be done are done." (Ed. 1563, p. 319). Foxe, or the editor of the edition of 1576 (p. 661), perceiving that these two kinds were in fact identically the same, altered it thus: "whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should be done are not done." This makes the proper distinction between the two kinds, but by inverting the order in which *Æneas Sylvius* had stated them, spoils the subsequent reasoning. This error has been obviated.

Page 658, line 28. "*The principal fathers of the council being called together,*" &c.]—This was the 35th session, held June 26th, A.D. 1439. (Labbe, xii. col. 621.) The decree speaks of Eugene as having been deposed "7 Cal. Julii" [June 25th], and mentions the law of sixty days' interval as passed at the 7th session, where it is found in Labbe, col. 496, Nov. 6th, 1432.

Page 659, line 34. "*A sudden fear came,*" &c.]—July 22d ("xi. Cal. Aug.") a congregation was held, in which it was proposed to suspend the proceedings of the council on account of the plague: but this was overruled. (*Patricii Acta Conc. Bas.*)

Page 660, line 9. "*The burial grounds,*" &c.]—"Quapropter exaratis omnibus cœmeteriis, foveas in parochiis peramplas fecerunt, ubi pluribus congestis cadaveribus, terram superinduxerunt." (*Æn. Sylvius.*)

Page 660, line 26. "*About the same time,*" &c.]—This short paragraph appears in the following form in Foxe:—"About the same time, also, died the king of Arragon's almoner, in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Ebron. The abbot of Vergilia died at Spires, and John, the bishop of Lubeck, between Vienna and Buda." The edition of 1684 changes "Ebron" into "Liege." The words of *Æneas Sylvius*, however, are these:—"Per idem tempus diem clausit in terrâ Switzorum vir summâ doctrinâ eleemosynarius regis Aragonum; in Argentinâ paulò post episcopus Ebronensis." Ebronensis seems a mistake for *Ebroicensis*; for Gallia Christiana in the account of Martial Formier (who became bishop of *Evreux* Sept. 27th, 1127) states that he went to the council of Basil; and that he died at *Strasburgh*, in the house of the Templars, of the plague, on the ides of August, 1439. It is remarkable, however, that "Episcopus Ebronensis" was the title of the vicar-general of Martial's predecessor, and of several other vicars-general to the see of *Evreux*. (See *Gallia Christiana*.) That "Ebroicensis" was intended by *Æneas Sylvius* may be further concluded, from the circumstance that the original MS. Acts of the Council (as the Editor has learnt from Basle) call this individual "Eboracensis;" an easy corruption of "Ebroicensis," an example of which in the first edition of the "*Quadrilogus*" is given in the Appendix to vol. ii. p. 203. It is plain also from *Gallia Christiana*, that no bishop of *Liege* died at this time.

Page 662, line 9. "*And those also should be priests.*"—The decree of the council, thirty-seventh session, 9 cal. Nov. (24th October) 1439, respecting the mode of choosing a new pope, is in Labbe, xii. col. 626; and, according to that, the electors were all to be at least in *priests'* orders: *Æneas Sylvius* here says, in *deacons'* orders.

Page 662, line 20. "*Thomas . . . commonly called the Scottish abbot.*"—"*F. W.*" makes strange work of this dignitary: "Thomas, abbot of Dunduno, of the diocese of Candiderace, commonly called of Greece." The words of *Æneas Sylvius* are as follows: "Thoman abbatem de Donduno, ordinis Cisterciensis, diœcesis Candidæ case, vulgo de Græcia nuncupatum." *Æneas Sylvius* seems wrong in calling him "de Græcia," or rather his text seems corrupt here, as in other cases; see the note following this. He is afterwards called, correctly, "de Scotia" (see p. 666, line 14).

Page 662, line 22. "*John de Segovia,*" &c.]—*Æneas Sylvius*'s text gives, "*Johannem de Segovia, archidiaconum de Villa Vissosa, in ecclesia Onetensi*" ("*Fasciulus,*" fol. 21). Foxe's copy evidently read "*Metensi,*" a cor-

ruption of "Ovetensi:" Nicolas Antonio Hispalensis (Bibl. Hisp. Vetus, v. Johannes Segoviensis) observes that "Metensis" is corrected into "Ovetensis" in the edition of Sylvius by Gymnacus, Cologne, 1606.

Page 663, line 32. "*Born in the heart of Germany.*"]—"Born" is omitted by "F. W.:" the original is, "ex umbilico nationis Germanicæ oriundo."

Page 666, line 8. "*Plouneour.*"]—This parish is supplied from Labbe, who calls it "Pleneor;" but the maps call it "Plouneour:" it is on the coast of the province of Finisterre, near St. Pol de Leon.

Page 666, lines 22, 23. "*Barcelona,*" "*Elne.*"]—These two dioceses are supplied on the authority of Sponde.

Page 666, line 41. "*Peter de Atrio.*"]—"Atrio" is Labbe's reading. Æneas Sylvius reads "Atro," which perhaps is more akin to his office of "Soldan." This term, according to Adelung's "Glossarium Manuale ad Scriptores Mediæ Ætatis" is equivalent to "advocate." Æneas Sylvius says of him, "qui etiam ab initio nascentis concilii eo in officio laudabiliter se habuerat." Labbe, however, xii. col. 493, mentions "Titianus de Laude" as being elected Soldan at the fifth session, Aug. 13th, 1432.

Page 668, line 4. "*Performed divine service.*"]—"Divina officia celebravit," which "F. W." translates "sung mass:" it is afterwards called "missarum solemnia."

Page 668, line 16 from the bottom. "*Louis, bishop of Lausanne.*"]—He is surnamed "De Palude" in Labbe, xii. col. 480.

Page 669, line 18. "*Suscepto dominico corpore juramentum præstiterunt.*"]—(Æn. Sylv.) This may mean, that they swore holding the Sacrament in their hands.

Page 670, line 16. "*Nineteen voices:*"]—"Unam de viginti" (Æn. Sylv.), which "F. W." renders "twenty-one," as though it were "unam et viginti." There are other instances in Foxe of this same error; see two at p. 765, and vol. iv. p. 354, pointed out in the Appendix on those pages.

Page 671, line 39. "*There have been popes.*"]—Foxe inserts "many;" but the original only says "fuerunt."

Page 671, note (1).]—"Read the fifth epistle of Ignatius."—The portion intended to be referred to (p. 95, edit. Geneva, 1623) in the epistle "ad Philadelphenos," will not be found in the more modern editions. The testimony of Hilary himself on his marriage (vol. ii. col. 415, edit. Venet. 1749) is, of course, the best, if the letter to his daughter Abra be genuine, as the Benedictine editors are inclined to believe it; on the other side, see Rivet. Crit. Sac. lib. iii. cap. 12; Walch. Bibl. Patr. p. 273, edit. 1834.

Page 672, line 11 from the bottom. "*Scriptures.*"]—See the note on p. 539. What prophecies are here alluded to, does not appear.

Page 673, last line. "*The space of twelve years.*"]—Foxe says, "seventeen:" see the note on p. 605.

Page 675, line 1. "*Moreover . . . the worthy cardinal of Arles.*"]—"This cardinal of St. Cecilia, who was commonly called the cardinal of Arles, for his having thus adhered to the council to the last, is represented by the Papal writers of the time, and by some moderns, as a monster made up of ambition and revenge; Ciaconius, in his Lives of the Cardinals, calls him the great reproach and blemish of his order. And yet, for all that, this monster of a cardinal was, for his extraordinary piety and miracles, beatified by Clement VII. in 1527, and has been ever since prayed to with authority in France: which was done by the pope without taking any notice of his ever having repented of his adhesion to the council of Basil; by which we may see what credit the characters given by the Papal writers to their adversaries deserve." (Geddes's "Council of Trent no free Assembly," Lond. 1697, p. 55, Introduct.) The censure by Ciaconius seems to be omitted in the "Vitæ Pontiff. et Cardinalium," as edited by Oldoinus, Romæ, 1677, tom. ii. col. 841—844.

It appears from "Paralipomena Urspergensis," that on the occasion here referred to Arelatensis was captured a mile from Strasburg, when on an embassy from the council into Germany. The "Armagnacs" were the French troops employed by the Dauphin, at Eugene's instigation, to try and break up

the council, A.D. 1444. (See pp. 700, 735.) They were called Armeniaci, or Armagnacs, from the earl of Armagnac, their leader. See Carion's Chronicle, "Exauctum à Phil. Melancthone, et Casparo Peucero."

Page 675. "*A further continuation of the History of the Bohemians.*"—Foxe here resumes his extracts from Æneas Sylvius's "Historica Bohemica," at cap. 50. This portion of Sylvius is printed in the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Labbe, xii. col. 442. As before, Foxe's text has been much improved from the original.

Page 676, line 3.]—John Polemar, abbot of Mulbrun in Suabia, was also auditor of the sacred palace, proctor-general of the Dominicans, and archdeacon of Barcelona. (L'Enfant, Hist. des Hussites, &c. p. 377.) He and John Gethusius were "Cisterciensis ordinis." (Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 676, line 12.]—Feldkirch was in the Tyrol, and Sigismund was there on his way to Rome to be crowned: this occurred Oct. 15th, 1431. (L'Enfant, p. 364.)

Page 676, line 24. "*Our men*"—is the literal rendering of Æn. Sylvius's "nostros," *i. e.* the papal allies.

Page 676, line 26.]—John Nider was a Suabian, an eminent divine of the order of Preachers, prior of their house at Basil, an inquisitor, and rector of the university of Vienna, which university he represented at the council. He died at Nuremberg, in 1438. (Cave's Lit. Hist., who gives a list of his writings.)

Page 677, line 29. "*Elnbogen.*"—"Elenbogenses" (Æn. Sylv.); "Cubintenses" (Cochlæus, p. 246): Elnbogen is near Tauss, and its Latin name is "Cubitus." (Busching.)

Page 677, line 13 from the bottom. "*After this they conferred,*" &c.]—Labbe, xii. col. 485, gives a letter of the council to the Bohemians, dated Friday, June 20th, 1432; also a safe-conduct, dated 12 cal. Julii (June 20th), at col. 482.

Page 677, line 9 from the bottom. "*That it was long of the ecclesiastics,*" &c.]—"Quo minus cum Bohemis procederet concordia, per ecclesiasticos stare et principes." (Æn. Sylv.) For another instance of the phrase "long of," see *infra*, vol. v. p. 386.

Page 677, note (1).]—Æn. Sylvius says, "ferè cum ducentis et quinquaginta equis."

Page 678, line 6. "*Of Saatz.*"—Saatz or Zatec was the capital of a Bohemian circle, called in Latin "Zateccensis provincia." (Busching.) Cochlæus calls this man "Johannes Zarzensis;" Foxe, "a Zaczen."

Page 678, line 9. "*Cadolzburg.*"—Æn. Sylvius says, "Carelspurgum," which is printed "Catelspurgum" in the "Fasciculus," which probably means Cadolzburg, a considerable village in the margravate of Onolzbach or Anspach, in Bavaria: it was formerly a residence of the burgraves of Nuremberg. (Busching, vol. v. p. 442.) The text of Æn. Sylvius says, "Marchio Badensis;" the "Fasciculus," simply "Marchio," which would imply the marquis last mentioned.

Page 678, line 14 from the bottom. "*Came to Basil the 9th day of October.*"—See above, p. 577.

Page 678, line 8 from the bottom.]—The replies of the four divines on behalf of the council were first printed by Henry Canisius, and thence in Labbe's Concilia, xii. cols. 1013—1419.

Page 678, last line but one. "*Nicolas, a Taborite.*"—Foxe, following his authority, says "Wenceslaus;" but this is a slip, see p. 680, line 26: he is called Nicolas Gallecus *suprà*, p. 577; Nicolas Taborita, Labbe, xii. col. 1159. L'Enfant, p. 405, calls him Nicolas Peldrzimousky.

Page 679, line 4. "*Peter Painc.*"—See what is said respecting him in this Appendix, on pp. 97, 538; he is the "Peter Clerk" mentioned at the latter place. See Lewis's Life of Wickliff, p. 184.

Page 679, line 9. "*John de Ragusa.*"—This is the individual before mentioned as bishop of Argos. See the note in this Appendix on p. 606.

Page 679, line 32. "*Kalteisen.*"—"*Frigidum Ferrum*" (*Æn. Sylvius*). It is "*Kalteisen*" in Labbe, xii. col. 1249.

Page 680, line 3 from the bottom.]—Trinity Sunday in A.D. 1433 fell on June 7th. (*Nicolas's Tables.*)

Page 684, line 2. "*Sanctified.*"—"*Certified,*" Foxe; "*significavit,*" *Æn. Sylvius*; "*sanctificavit,*" the Decrees.

Page 685, line 16. "*Masters and priests.*"—"*Magistri et sacerdotes*" (*Æn. Sylvius*): the edition of 1583 alters "*priests*" into "*prelates.*"

Page 686, line 3. "*Without any circumstances.*"—"*Sine ambagibus.*" (*Æn. Sylvius.*)

Page 686, line 23. "*Exigitur magna peritia.*"—(*Æn. Sylvius.*) The author proceeds, "*Quod sit tortuositas in regulato, sed non est; sed est defectus in applicando, quia non applicatur debito modo regula ad regulatum.*"

Page 686, line 34. "*In eorum partibus.*"—(*Ibid.*)

Page 686, line 5 from the bottom. "*Fourth,*"—"*Quartum*" (*Æn. Sylv.*); "*third,*" Foxe.

Page 687, last line. "A.D. 1434."—Foxe reads "1438:" three ambassadors of the Bohemians and four of the council were despatched to Basil, and came back to Prague, where they remained from the feast of St. Martin to that of the Purification, *i. e.* from Nov. 11th to Feb. 2d: the formula of Concord was agreed on the last day of November. (*Labbe.*) Cochläus gives the formula, dated Prague, A.D. 1433, Indictione XII, Eugen. anno quarto, on St. Andrew's day: the year must, according to this, be 1434 (St. Andrew's day was the last of November). This is further confirmed by what Cochläus says, *viz.* that the treaty of Iglau (July 5th, 1438, next page) was three years after that of Prague; more correctly, three years and a half.

Page 688, line 4. "*Stuhl-weissenburg.*"—("*Alba Regalis*" in *Æn. Sylvius*) was in the centre of Hungary, and there the kings of Hungary used to be crowned and buried.

Page 689, last paragraph. "*During the time,*" &c.]—The ensuing paragraph is much corrected from the decree of the council in Labbe, xii. col. 603.

Page 689, note (1).]—Foxe calls the above the thirty-seventh session: "*thirty-sixth*" is put in from Labbe, xii. col. 622.

Page 690, line 15 from the bottom.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 601, session 31, 9 cal. Feb. 1438.

Page 690, line 7 from the bottom.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 562, session 23, 8 cal. April, 1436. Foxe says, "*Besides them that were already:*" but the Latin says, "*Sic tamen quòd numerum viginti quatuor inter hos qui nunc sunt et assumendos non excederet.*" (*Æn. Sylvius.*) See also Labbe, cols. 1425, 1431.

Page 690, last line.]—See Labbe, xii. cols. 552, 1425, session 21, Thursday, 9th June, 1435.

Page 691, line 4. "*Confirmed . . . at Bourges.*"—on the nones of July, 1438. (*Labbe, xii. col. 1429.*)

Page 691, line 7.]—This Pragmatic Sanction was enacted nonis Julii, 1438. Labbe, xii. col. 1439.

Page 691, line 10. "*Amongst many decrees,*" &c.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 547, 7 id. Sept. 1434.

Page 691, line 21.]—"Non solum propalatione veritatis, sed et aliis humanis officiis ipsos Christo lucrifacient."

Page 691, line 31. "*Another decree, moreover.*"—See Labbe, xii. col. 549, 11 cal. Feb. 1435.

Page 691, line 38. "*Furthermore,*" &c.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 550. The passage is given, to support Foxe's statement: "*Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes pecuniarios quæstus à concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patiendò eos in tali fœditate sordescere; sub pœnâ maledictionis æternæ præcipit, ne deinceps sub pacto, compositione, aut spe alicujus quæstus, talia quovis modo tolerant aut dissimulent: alioquin ultra*"

præmissam negligentiae pœnam duplum ejus quod acceperint restituere ad pios usus omnino teneantur et compellantur."

Page 693.]—This epistle of cardinal Julian, with another of his, is printed in the "Fasciculus" of O. Gratius, whence probably Foxe derived his translation: it has been revised and corrected by the Latin.

Page 693, line 36. "*The captains of their armies.*"—"*Ductores exercituum illius gentis*" (Æn. Sylvius): Foxe says "enemies."

Page 700, line 13. "*After this,*" &c.]—This sentence reads as follows in Foxe:—"After this, the French king being dead, who was Charles VII., about A.D. 1414, the pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of Rome, to excite, as is supposed, the dauphin of France, by force of arms, to dissipate that council collected against him." This must be wrong; because Charles VII. did not die till A.D. 1461. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates): the matter is more correctly stated at p. 735, whence this passage is amended.

Page 702, note (3).]—Nicholas Canon seems only to have been enjoined penance, *suprà*, p. 600.

Page 705, line 14.]—"For their fault" is substituted for Foxe's "for the fact," which seems a corruption.

Page 705, line 9 from the bottom.]—Foxe's text by mistake reads, "Have ye *not* then done well and properly?"

Page 706, line 29.]—This is thus badly exhibited in Foxe's text: "Nor did I mean of her now, but because I couple her in the same story, you say."

Page 706, line 39. "*And of the mother of lady Young.*"—These words ought manifestly to be erased.

Page 719, line 6.]—These verses accompanied several of the early printed books at Rome. The four lines here quoted are followed by that in p. 721 (attributed by Foxe to Aprutinus), and of which numerous examples occur in the *Catalogus Historico-criticus*, Roman edit. sæculi xv. (Romæ, 1783), of Audifredi, pp. 32—40. See the note following this.

Page 721, line 6 from the bottom. "*Campanus, bishop of Abruzzo.*"—This is the same writer as appears in the foot-note to p. 719, under the name of *Campanus*. He became a bishop in the *Abruzzo*, and hence called himself *Episcopus Aprutinus*. (Bayle's Dictionary.) "Fervens qui hominem apprime vivens cognoverat, discrete in vitâ Campani fatetur ipsum fuisse *correctorem* typographiæ Romæ apud Uldaricum typographum, qui tanta artem suam diligentia urgebat, ut Campanum interquiescere non pateretur, ad majorem operis instantiam." Oudin. *Comment. de Scripp. Eccles.* tom. iii. col. 2681. It might seem strange that a bishop should be employed as a paid corrector of the press; but his biographer and other authorities signify that his love of luxurious living rendered some additional means necessary for his enjoyment of it: and for that purpose he was willing thus to increase his annual income.

Page 722, line 16. "*Cilicia.*"—The edition of 1570, p. 838, reads "Cecilia," which subsequent editions alter into "Sicily."

Page 724, line 19.]—Foxe's text has here erroneously, "first, bishop of Chichester, and afterward by the title of St. Asaph, if there were any such saint." The order of his preferments is correctly stated by Foxe at pp. 96, 731: the Latin edition incorrectly calls him "Cisterciensis episcopus."

Page 726, line 13.]—"Somewhere" is substituted for Foxe's "nowhere."

Page 731, line 31. "*After the death,*" &c.]—For the reason of some corrections of dates in this paragraph, see p. 579, note.

Page 735, line 5. "*The Germans at that time,*" &c.]—This paragraph had been for substance already given by Foxe at p. 700, though not so accurately as here. See the note in this Appendix on that page.

Page 735, line 7 from the bottom.]—This cardinal was Peter Barbo, a Venetian, nephew of Eugene IV., bishop of Cervia, afterward pope Paul II. He was by his uncle created in 1410 cardinal of St. Mary la Neuve, and afterwards of St. Mark.

Page 738, line 12. "*After this Pius II. succeeded Paul II.*"—This

pontiff, according to the accounts given by Tursellinus, attributed a recovery from fever and his elevation to the popedom to the assistance of *our lady of Loretto*, and built for her, in consequence, a noble temple. "At ille (Paulus) Beatæ Mariæ promisso ad summi sacerdotii spem erectus, et simul beneficii accepti satis memor, Lauretanæ Ædis Præsidentem protinus accersi jubet. Huic propalam enunciat sibi esse in animo magnificentissimum S. Mariæ Lauretanæ templum condere."

To this indulgences were afterwards attached:—"Pontifex non ædificiis solum, sed litteris quoque ac muneribus Pontificiis Deiparæ domum adornavit. Nam visentibus Ædem Lauretanam diebus omnibus Beatæ Mariæ sacris ac præterea Dominicis diebus peccatorum omnium veniam indulsit."—*Hor. Tursellini e Soc. Jesu Lauretanæ Historiæ*, libri v. (Leodii, 1621) pp. 92, 93.

Page 738, line 19. "*Sixtus IV. who builded up in Rome stews.*"—See Corn. Agrippa "De Vanit. Scient." § 64. Schelhornii "De Consilio de emendanda Ecclesia ad Card. Quirinum Epistola," Tiguri, 1748, p. 40.

Page 738, line 9 from the bottom. "*Innocent VIII.*"—John Michiele, a Venetian, nephew to Paul II. He was made cardinal of St. Lucy by his uncle, 1468; he was afterwards made cardinal of St. Angelo, bishop of Albano, Porto, and Padua. (Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 738, line 8 from the bottom. "*Among the noble facts of this pope (Innocent VIII.) this was one,*" &c.]—Both the "facts" here ranged under the pontificate of Innocent, belong properly to that of Paul II. This will be plain from the Vita Pauli II. first printed by cardinal Quirini:—"Vanam ac scelestam Fratricellorum sectam, quæ in agro Piceno, Assiatensi, atque in oppido Poli flagitiosissimo ritu pullulare jam occæperat, diligenter insectatus est, eorumque plerosque captos coram iudicibus in ea causa deputatis aperta ratione convinci voluit, et quamquam ob eorum gravissima scelera ignis supplicio digni iudicati essent, nihilominus Pontifex satis habuit, nonnullos eorum ab oppido Poli eorumque patria septem annos exulare, annunquæ publico pœnitentium habitu jugiter indui, cæteros vero in tali delicto rursus convictos ac damnatos capitulinis carceribus includi. Stephanum de Comitibus ejus hæreseos fautorem, ut dicebatur, in arce Romana detinueri mandavit, oppidum, et cætera paternæ ditionis libera filiis dimisit."—P. 78.

With regard to the other fact, quite a commentary, we may observe, upon the noted decree of the fourth Lateran, it may be better to quote Quirini's own words from the *Vindicie* prefixed to this volume, p. lix.:—

"Causa Georgii Podiebraccii Boemorum Regis discuti cœperat Callisto III. pontifice, eademque diligenter ad examen revocata fuit sub Pii II. pontificatu, tandemque Paulus II. sententiam in eundem ferens, eum Regno privavit, ejusque bona occupatoribus adjudicavit, pecuniasque plurimas Matthiæ Hungarorum Regi, amplissimasque Indulgentias adversus hæreticum decertantibus dilargitus est."—*Pauli II. Veneti, P. M. Vita ex Cod. Angelicæ Biblioth. desumpta, præmissis ipsius Pontif. Vindicis*, Romæ, 1740. See "Romanism as it rules in Ireland," vol. ii. p. 263.

Page 738, note (1).]—Stanislav Orzechowski, better known under the Latinized name of "Orichovius," was born in 1513 in the Palatinate of Russia (Krasinski's Reformation in Poland, i. 179, where there is an enlarged account of him), and wrote *Oratio de Lege Cœlibatus contra Syricium*, et *Supplicatio ad Julium III.*, Svo. Basil, 1551. The part to which Foxe refers, will be found in the edition of Bale by Lydius (Lug. Bat. 1615), p. 466.

Page 739, line 31.]—The duke of York was declared protector April 2d, 1454, and slain Dec. 31st, 1460. Foxe reads 1453, 1459.

Page 747, line 10.]—"1470" is substituted for Foxe's "1471."

Page 751, last line. "*Untill.*"—All the old editions read "while," in the sense of "until."

Page 762.]—Foxe here resumes his extracts from Æneas Sylvius's "*Historia Bohemica.*"

Page 762, line 15 from the bottom. "*The vaivode or prince,*" &c.]—Foxe's text says, "surnamed Vaivoda, prince of Transylvania," and a few lines lower, "Huniades Vaivoda."

Page 763, line 16. "*Neustadt*,"]—"The new city," "F. W." literally translating the Latin, "*Nova Civitas*" (*Æn. Sylv.*), a city near Vienna, on the frontiers of Hungary. It is mentioned again at p. 767 of this volume.

Page 763, line 36.]—"In the castle chapel at Prague" (*Æn. Sylv.*), and a few lines lower, "the castle rock:" Foxe's text says, "in the high tower of Prague;" and "the rock of the tower."

Page 763, line 10 from the bottom. "*Rochezanians*."] This is according to *Æneas Sylvius*: Foxe's text says "Hussites."

Page 764, line 1.]—*Æneas Sylvius* says, "*Parasitus regis, ex his qui stultitiam simulantes alios stultos faciunt.*" Foxe's translator rather clumsily says, "playing the parasite about the king (as the fashion is of such as feign themselves fools, to make other men as very fools as they.)"

Page 764, line 17 from the bottom. "*He was not bound (he said) to attend his commands.*"]—This seems the true meaning of *Æneas Sylvius*'s words, "*non esse obnoxium.*" Foxe's text says, "it was neither best (said he) for the king nor safest for himself to come."

Page 764, line 2 from the bottom. "*A hundred and fifty thousand.*"]—"Centum quinquaginta millia pugnatorum." (*Æn. Sylv. cap. 65.*) Foxe says, "a hundred and fifteen thousand."

Page 764, last line. "*Belgrade*,"] as it is called *infra*, vol. iv. p. 51. *Æneas Sylvius* (and from him Foxe's text) calls it "*Alba.*" *Æneas* says of it, "*Thaurinum appellavere majores, nostra ætas illum vocat Albam, ad confluentes Danubii Saviqve situm.*" It was called "*Alba Græca*" (whence *Bel-grade*) to distinguish it from *Alba Regalis* or *Stuhl-weissenberg*, see *suprà* p. 688, and *infra* vol. iv. p. 72.

Page 765, line 2. "*A good muster.*"]—"F. W." says, "a small garrison;" *Æneas Sylvius* "*cruce-signatorum manum adducens non parvam.*"

Page 765, last line. "*Being about the age of eighteen years.*"]—*Æneas Sylvius* does not mention his age: "eighteen" is put in on the authority of *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*. Foxe's text reads, "being about the age of twenty and two years;" which he evidently gathered from *Æneas Sylvius*'s statement toward the end of cap. 70, that he died "*adolescens, duodeviginti annos natus;*" where Foxe's translator (as elsewhere) has misunderstood "*duo de viginti*" for "*duo et viginti;*" see the note in this Appendix on p. 670.

Page 766, line 6 from the bottom. "*The emperor Frederic and the empress,*" &c.]—"Imperator et Augusta vocati: ambæ regis sorores cum viris eam celebritatem accessuræ ferbantur." (*Æn. Sylvius.*) Foxe's text reads, "the emperor Frederic, the king's mother, and his sister, &c."

Page 767, line 19. "*About midnight,*" &c.]—Foxe's text here says, "about the 21st day of November, A.D. 1461;" but *Æneas Sylvius* says (cap. 70), that he "*cœpit egrotare decimo calendis Dec. [Nov. 22d] horâ circiter duodecima noctis,*" and that "*intra sex et triginta horas postquam ægrotare cœpit extinctus est.*" Moreover, he was only "eighteen" not "twenty-two" years of age (see the note above on p. 765, last line), having been born Feb. 22d, 1440, and died Nov. 24th, A.D. 1458 (see *suprà* p. 762, and *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*).

Page 768, line 21. "*This Uladislau.*"]—"F. W." by a slip says, "this Casimir."

Page 779, note (2).]—See this passage in the "*Fasciculus*" of *Orthuinus Gratius*, fol. 166.

Page 780, line 18.]—Foxe has derived this fact from *Barns and Bale's* work, "*De Vitis Pontiff.*," p. 472 of the reprinted edition by *Lydius*, Lug. Bat. 1615. See also "*Agrippa de Vanitate Scient.*" cap. 64.

Page 781, note (1).]—The title of this work is given in *Panzer's* "*Annales Typogr.*" tom. ix. p. 204; and in *Maittaire*, "*Ann. Typ.*" vol. i. p. 597, edit. 1733.

ADDENDA.

Page 115, middle. "*Taking anie thing for annuell.*"]—"Annuell" appears from Halliwell, &c., to mean "an anniversary mass."

Page 128, line 30. "*To that his heart brast.*"]—On the use of "to" for "till," see the note in the Appendix on vol. viii. p. 304.

Page 261, line 17. "*Obeie wilfullie.*"]—*i. e.* willingly. Instances of this use of "wilful" seem to be rare: we have it in pp. 258, 279. There is another in the *Festyvall* (fol. clxxxvii, recto, edit. 1528): "do it [confession] *wylfully*, as these whiche henge upon the crosse, and not as Achor:" and again (fol. clxxxvii, verso), "This satysfaccyon must be done *wylfully* without grutchynge."

Page 273, line 31. "*And this holidome,*"]—or, as in 1570 and the subsequent editions, "holydome:" at p. 540, line 25, we find "holydeme." "By holidome" appears to have been an ancient form of oath, as Sherwood observes. "Halidome" in Saxon denoted holiness, or any holy thing (see Nares and Todd's Johnson); in this instance "the holy Gospel" seems intended, for the Latin (p. 91) says, "Ita me Deus adjuvet et hoc sacrosanctum ejus evangelium," "So help me God and this holy Gospel." Nares considers it as "holy" with the termination "dome," as in "kingdom," "Christendom," &c.

Page 279, line 22 from the bottom. "*But if thou leave such additions.*"]—"But if" means except. The Latin edition says here: "Per Dominum Jesum, nisi absque omni cavillo consenseris, captivum te in carceres dedam, tam stricte ut nullus sit æque victus latro aut homicida." See the Glossary in vol. viii. for other instances in Foxe.

Page 281, line 13.]—"Steppe" means here "a vestige."

Page 282, line 28. "*A stable and a sad ground.*"]—"Sad," which is the reading of the first three editions, means "solid." See Todd's Johnson and Halliwell. In the *Festyvall* (fol. lxiv, verso) we have: "But yet the taryenge of Thomas dyd brynge us to *sadder* beleve, and to the blessinge of our Lorde Jesu Chryst."

Page 283, line 3 from the bottom. "*Lousengers and lounderers.*"]—"Lousenger" is a flatterer, a deceiver; see Chaucer's "Nonne's Priest's Tale," 1411, and Todd's Johnson; and "lounderer" may perhaps be a wandering retailer of relics, &c., resembling the Sarabaites of old; see Buck's Theol. Dict. and Augustine, *de Opere Monach.* c. 28; or Gibson's Preservative, Edit. 1818, vii. 180.

Page 288, line 8.]—"Qui presbyterum." Decret. Greg. IX. tit. 38, § 2."

Page 289, line 10 from the bottom.]—"De Sponsalibus." Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iv. tit. 1, § 31."

Page 290, line 6.]—Fill up: "Cap. [13] 'Literas tuas' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. ii. tit. 13.];" and line 20 from the bottom, correct and fill up: "et Caus. xxiv. quæst. 1, § 33, 34, cap. 'Pudenda.'"

Page 291, line 5.]—Fill up: "cap. [4] 'Non minus,' and cap. [7] 'Adversus' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 49];" and line 18, "'Qualiter et quando' [lib. v. tit. 1, § 17];" line 30, "'Nullus judicium et' [lib. ii. tit. 2, § 2];" line 34, "cap. [5] 'Felicis' [lib. v. tit. 9];" line 9 from the bottom, "Dist. 2 de Consecr. cap. 19—cap. 21;" and line 8 from the bottom, "cap. [16] 'Etsi,' and cap. [17] 'In.'"

Page 292.]—On MSS. of Wimbledon's Sermon, see Brit. Magazine, vol. ix 502.

Page 296, line 11.]—"Dread" must be taken imperatively, "*timcant*" is the Latin.

Page 299, note (5). "*Madness.*"—This is the more correct reading in this instance, the original being "*Quæ est ergo ista animarum insania, &c.*" See Augustine's Sermo 368, edit. Bened. § 1, al. 25, *de verbis Dom.*

Page 300, middle.]—On "demerits," used originally in a good sense, see Nares.

Page 324, line 2.]—For "unpeaceable," which is Foxe's reading in all editions, Bale has "unpacable" in the reprint of 1729, p. 28.

Page 325, line 13. "*Or the tilthe.*"—All the old editions read here correctly "tilthe," which means cultivation.

Page 326, line 3 from the bottom.]—The preamble to Lord Cobham's declaration of his Belief, which has been omitted, is here supplied from the first edition of Foxe, p. 264: "I, John Oldecastel, knyght and Lorde Cobham, wil all Christen men to understande, that Thomas Arundell, Archebysshop of Caunterbury, hath not only layde it to my charge malitiously, but also very untruly, by his letter and seale wrytten against me in most sclaunderous wyse, that I should otherwyse fele and teache of the sacramentes of the churche (assigning specially the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of penaunce, the worshippinge of Images, and goinge of pilgrimage unto them), far otherwise than eyther beleveyth or teachethe the universalle holye churche. I take* Almightye," &c.

Page 338, line 3. "*And lead you blindling into hell with themselves.*"—So all the editions of Foxe: but we should probably read here, as in Bale's account, "blindlings." See Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.

Page 380, middle.] "*Excuss*" means "discuss." See Richardson's Dictionary.

Page 475, line 4. "*And yet they do no honour*" &c.]—In the edition of 1576 and all subsequent editions the "no" is erroneously omitted. It is found in ed. 1563, p. 227, and ed. 1570, p. 731.

Page 606.]—The title "Bishop of Argos" is applied in the Tonstall London Register, folio 48, to John Tynmouth, vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, and suffragan bishop of Argos, who died 1521.

Page 613, line 21. "*How Marcellinus . . . did sacrifice unto idols.*"—This charge, it may be observed in addition to what appears in the note on vol. i. p. 277, is still retained in the *Breviarium Romanum*, April 26, for the sake of the testimony which it bears, apparently, to the exemption of the bishop of Rome from human jurisdiction. On being summoned before the equally apocryphal Council at Sinuessa, yet no one, says the 5th Lesson in the Breviary, ventured to pass condemnation on him; "*omnes unâ voce clamant, Tuo te ore, non nostro judicio judica, nam prima sedes a nemine judicatur.*" Most modern writers, Papal as well as Protestant, question the whole story: see Lumper's *Hist. theologicæ-criticæ sanct. Patrum*, tom. xiii. p. 792.

Page 637, line 9 from the bottom. "*Simonides writeth thus.*"—As translated, that is, by Cicero, in his *Tusculan Questions*, i. 42; where, however, for *Spartanos*, the reading is, *Spartæ nos*, which accords better with the Greek original—

³Ω ξείν' ἄγγελον Λακεδαιμονίους κ. τ. λ.

The anecdote about "Theodore of Cyrene" (p. 638) is also taken from the *Tusculan Questions*, i. 43,

Page 712, line 12 from the bottom.]—From hence to "was amiss," line 12 from the bottom of next page, will be found in the edition of 1563, p. 883, as part of the account of the Duke of Somerset.

Page 713, line 23. "*Fastly.*"—All the old editions, and Sir T. More's

Dialogue (book i. chap. 14), read "fastly," *i.e.* stedfastly, firmly, unhesitatingly. See Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dict. under *Fæst*.

Page 713, line 31.]—The first edition reads "faitour," the rest "traitor : " "faitour" means imposter, traitor, scoundrel. See Prompt. Parv. (where it is latinized by *fictor, simulator*), Halliwell, Todd's Johnson, Glossary to Chaucer.

Page 755, line 9.]—It would seem that John Goose was not the only person burnt in this reign; for in the registers of the Archdeacon of London relating to this period it appears that one Thomas Underwood, of the parish of All Saints the Great, carter, was cited in the month of October, 1486, for holding the opinion "quod omnes presbyteri ex Salvatore nostro essent heretici." The register adds, "quam opinionem hereticus crematus post festum Natalis Domini tenebat." Underwood was cited for October xvi, and "Comparuit xxii. die Octobris," when he purged himself by 5 compurgators. The Editor is indebted for the above information to the kindness of Mr. Archdeacon Hale. This must be a distinct case from that of John Goose, who suffered in August, 1483, in which year Robert Belisdon was sheriff. (See list of Sheriffs in Maitland's London.) The story of John Goose will be found as told by Foxe in Fabian's Chronicle.

Page 781, line 28. "*A nobleman of Aix-la-Chapelle.*"—Foxe's text here erroneously reads "a nobleman of Aquine." See Possevin's Apparatus Sacer, tom. i. p. 959.

END OF VOL. III.

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